

## Defiance Campaign Takes Anti-Apartheid Action to a New Level

by Rachel Rubin

This summer heralded an upsurge in organized anti-government protest in South Africa under the banner of the Defiance Campaign. The campaign, which takes its name from a similar action led by Nelson Mandela in 1952, is directed by a new formation - the Mass Democratic Movement. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) is an outgrowth of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an umbrella group of anti-apartheid organizations which formed in 1985 in the wake of the then newly imposed State of Emergency. However, in February, 1988, the UDF and a number of its member affiliates were banned and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the UDF's largest affiliate was prohibited from conducting any political activity.

Since 1985, more than 30,000 people have been imprisoned without charges (i.e., detainees) including many UDF and COSATU leaders. Scores of community and labor leaders have been tried on charges of sedition and treason for peaceful protests against apartheid policies. Numerous organizational offices have been violated; Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches was bombed and the offices of COSATU and the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) were ransacked.

Some feared the anti-apartheid

forces were losing ground as a consequence of these bannings and imprisonments, but in February 1989 a hunger strike among many of the detainees resulted in international pressure for their release. The regime was forced to release most of the known 900 detainees, but at least 700 of these people are now severely restricted. They cannot go to political meetings or gatherings of more than ten people and

must check in with local police twice a day. Their restrictions have made them convenient targets for vigilante attacks and murders. Nevertheless, the hunger strike put new life into the anti-apartheid movement with the subsequent formation of the mass Democratic Movement.

The MDM has launched its Defiance Campaign with the follow  
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*In solidarity with the Defiance Campaign protest of the September 6th Election, over 150 Chicagoans demonstrated at the South African Consulate. The demonstration was co-sponsored by CCISSA, Free South Africa Movement, Transafrica, Black United Front and the Mozambique Support Network.*

**CCISSA ANNUAL MEETING: Oct. 29th 6pm United Church of Oak Park..**

*see story on page 5*

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS:** Timuel Black, Basil Clunie, Earl Durham, Tommie Fry, Judy Hatcher, Tena Johnson, Toni Moore, Cheryl Johnson-Odim, Alice Palmer, Orlando Redekopp, Rachel Rubin, Robert Starks, Lucille Teichert, Kevin Thompson, Tim Wright

# WALKATHON RAISES \$12,000

The June 16th Soweto Day Walkathon was a resounding success! Over 275 walkers from churches, labor and community organizations participated in the walk raising \$12,000.00 to aid detainees and their families within South Africa. The Walkathon was co-sponsored by CCISSA and Church World Service.

Walkers enjoyed perfect June weather and a variety of neighborhoods along the 10 kilometer route beginning and ending at the Charles Hayes Center, 4859 S. Wabash. Rest stops were provided along the route by the Center for New Horizons, Center for Inner City Studies, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization and Operation Push. The Walkathon was followed by lunch and a Rally for Sanctions sponsored by the Illinois labor Network Against

Apartheid (ILNAA). The Rally gave walkers a chance to rest their tired feet and rejuvenate their spirits by listening to speakers including Alderman Danny Davis, ILNAA's Rose Daylie and Carl Shier, Prexy Nesbitt, consultant to Mozambique, and CCISSA's own Basil Clunie. All speakers stressed the need for strong comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

Proceeds from the Walkathon have been sent to the South African Council of Churches and the National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa. Both of these organizations are playing important roles in the ongoing defiance campaign. If you still have outstanding pledges, please forward them to CCISSA and we will send them on.

CCISSA and Church World Service



would like to thank all who helped to make the Walkathon such a tremendous success. If you would like to become involved in planning for next year's event, please contact CCISSA today.

**Defiance** ...continued  
ing declaration: "This is to be a peaceful program of nonviolent mass action, directed against apartheid laws and addressing the immediate needs and demands of our people. We are saying that we can no longer jail ourselves, nor accept segregation and racial division, nor stand silent in the face of the crushing economic problems of the mass of our people. Our people lead their lives under conditions that are intolerable. Poverty, unemployment, homelessness and disease stalk our townships. Gangsterism is on the increase as the direct result of the curbs on individual and community organizations. The restrictees are jailed in their own homes although they are guilty of no crimes. Schools are in a state of crisis and disrepair. The organizations that should speak to these problems are silenced. In the light of this situation, we have gathered to announce a campaign of mass, peaceful defiance."

The first major action of the Defiance Campaign occurred on August 2 when Blacks appeared at whites-only hospitals demanding to

be seen and treated. Since then, there have been several marches to desegregate whites-only beaches, the singing of banned songs on trains, and Black miners have moved into whites-only canteens, washrooms and living quarters. Many restrictees have unrestricted themselves and organizations have unbanned themselves.

There were massive protests and a boycott against the September 6th parliamentary elections with resultant low voter turnouts for the seats in the Colored and Indian Parliaments. There was a stayaway of over 3 million workers on September 8 to protest the elections. Since the elections, the MDM has challenged the new government with massive, peaceful protests in which flags and banners of the African National Congress and other banned organizations were prominently displayed.

With the exception of the highly publicized allowance of protest marches immediately following the elections, defiance campaign actions have met with fierce resistance and reprisals by the South African regime including arrests, beatings and deaths (52 deaths reported in

August and scores of deaths and injuries during the elections) at the hands of the police, but people are not being deterred. Each day brings new protests.

The new state president F.W. DeKlerk comes from the most conservative elements of the national Party and is a member of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, an organization dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy in South Africa. No one should be fooled by his allowing a few peaceful protest marches or ordering an end to the use of sjamboks (whips) by the police and defense forces. Only one week after the banning of the sjambok, news footage seen on the weekly T.V. report "South Africa Now" showed police brutally beating peaceful protesters with whips and clubs. The MDM and its Defiance Campaign marks a new era in massive, organized anti-apartheid activity in South Africa. It brings together community, student, labor and religious groups and activists, black and white in a unified program of peaceful defiance to create a free South Africa.

# Mozambique: Realigning the Course

by Roberta Washington  
Mozambique Support Network

## FRELIMO's Fifth Party Congress

From July 24 to July 30, more than 700 Mozambicans participated in FRELIMO's fifth party congress chaired by President Joaquim Chissano. The country's social, economic and developmental reality and perspectives had changed greatly since the Fourth Congress. The emphasis of each of FRELIMO's five congresses has been determined by the objective reality at the time, and this congress was no different.

## Interval of War and Sacrifice

Since the convening of the Fourth Party Congress many events and changes impossible to imagine in 1983 have transpired. The most tragic of these was the death of President Machel in a plane crash which took place under highly suspicious conditions inside South African territory.

The toll of the terrorist war waged by the South African-backed MNR is higher than anyone in 1983 could have imagined. With more than 500,000 dead as a direct result of the war and thousands more wounded, mutilated or kidnapped, almost every Mozambican family has been personally touched by the war. Nothing functions as it should. With more than 2,655 primary schools destroyed by the MNR and teachers a principle target of the MNR, education has suffered greatly. At last count 847 hospitals and health centers have been destroyed by the MNR.

Who at the Fourth Congress could have known that instead of being routed out of the areas they have infested, the MNR menace would spread to every part of the country, with residents in the suburbs of Maputo becoming as vulnerable to attacks as farmers in the remote fields of Niassa province. Without the army the MNR would have advanced even further, but the army also has its logistical and material handicaps.

With the country's economy

almost destroyed Mozambique adopted new policies intended to heal damaged economies. But in Mozambique, as in other countries, the cure can also be dangerous. Stores empty since the late 1970's now have goods but the devalued metical makes it difficult for most families to buy anything. What Fourth Congress delegate would have guessed that their country would enter into a peace accord with the South African government in 1984 and that the war would get worse. This then was the setting for the fifth party congress.

## Vanguard Party Redefined

The Fifth Congress was attended by 712 Mozambican delegates. Of these 275 were peasants, 130 were classified as salaried workers and 97 represented various organs of the armed forces. The other attendees were connected to state and party organizations, were managers or officials for governmental departments or were technicians or artisans. Thirty nine percent of those attending were illiterate and some who did not speak Portuguese used interpreters to address the audience. Twenty-nine percent of the delegates were women. The process to elect the delegates began months before in each province as villages, cooperatives, state offices and other workers gathered to discuss the issues as outlined in the theses prepared by the party.

For this reason many of the decisions taken at the congress were not surprises to Mozambicans. But some of the announcements regarding the definition of the party were surprising to Mozambique watchers. References to Marxism-Leninism were dropped from the party statutes and programs (although a socialist society is still spoken of as



the intent). Why the change? Some observers believe that on the diplomatic ball court where the stakes are high, the Marxist label alienates some players needed on the Mozambican team. "The party was redefined as a vanguard party of the Mozambican people"

Another view is that with the war situation what it is, the time is right to internally open up the party to potential supporters who do not consider themselves Marxists. The party was redefined as a "vanguard party of the Mozambican people" rather than of the worker and peasant alliance. "We are a party of the vanguard", President Chissano stated in reading the Central Committee report which was later approved by the congress. "But", he continued, "we are at the same time a party which seeks to express the wishes and feelings of all the people by realizing what they consider their aspirations at the time." "This means that we must know how to combine the perceptions and aspirations of transformation which are characteristic of a vanguard party with the feelings of various social groups who make up our nations. . . as militants we must not only seek to express what the militants feel and want as a social group, but also the aspirations of all the people." The feeling that the party was opening up was evidenced by the wide range of invited Mozambican

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guests including prominent members of all major religious organizations who would not have been considered, strictly speaking, to be supporters during the Fourth Party Congress.

#### Changes in Social Policies

Another surprise for some Mozambique watchers was the liberalizing of controls under which such nationalized state institutions as education and housing functioned. For instance, the proposal that some form of education with private tuition be established was adopted by the congress as part of the report of the Central Committee. Not-for-profit organizations such as coops, private firms or social organizations would be encouraged to set up schools, given the means to do so. The state would continue to control the syllabus and set up guidelines, but communities or other groups could set up their own schools. Although it is understood that such a policy could lead to new problems, it is felt that the inability of the state to provide an education to all at this time should not prevent those who have or can create the means from providing for themselves.

This measure is also intended to lessen the burden on the state. In response to the state's difficulty in maintaining and increasing the housing stock inherited at independence, the party also decided to loosen the state's grip to allow private and public concerns to buy and build housing. In the future Mozambicans will be able to buy their house or apartment as some foreigners are able to do now only in foreign currency.

The Central Committee report also encouraged people who could to build their own houses, or create housing cooperatives. It encouraged institutions to set up the credit and saving mechanisms needed to make financing possible and ministries to build housing for their employees.

#### Ending War Main Focus for Delegates

While new terminology and changes in social policies may have been the prime interest of those who

follow events in Mozambique from afar, the main focus of delegates was clearly the effects of the war and how to end it. A worker from Zambezi province explained that without peace, life in his province could never be normal again. "Only with peace can we construct schools, vaccinate, rehabilitate the railroads or travel by bus or train to whatever part of the country" he explained. From Maputo a delegate expressed concerns about the lack of support available to victims of the MNR 'bandits'. When they are attacked, they lose everything. If they come to the city it's a fight for food. To get away from the bandits", she continued, "these people sleep on the streets of the city."

From Gaza come stories of how families in some areas can no longer sleep in their houses. Instead families are forced to sleep in the woods each night to prevent attack by the MNR. Farming has been disrupted in all such areas. A delegate from Tete warns those present that while peace is wanted desperately no one wants peace at any price.

#### Peace Initiatives Supported

All the Mozambicans who presented their view of the country's problems and their proposals for change shared one characteristic. They all appeared to stand behind the president and the party in its peace initiatives. While the army stepped up its move against the MNR's mountain headquarters in Sofala province, new Mozambican diplomatic initiatives were also revealed. Between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. Mozambique waged a deliberate campaign to gain the support of countries who by the Fourth Congress standards may have seemed too conservative to be reached. But at the Fifth Party Congress, representative after representative from such countries as Kenya, Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Morocco expressed their strong support with the Mozambican government. Kenya's president Daniel Arap Moi will be one of the chief mediators in talks with the MNR along with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. The contact between church leaders and the MNR, encouraged by the govern-

ment, led to an aborted meeting in Kenya before the Congress, but hope is still high that something positive will develop from these contacts.

President Chissano also explained to the Congress the twelve principles for peace discussions developed by FRELIMO and given to the church representatives who met the MNR. The most enthusiastically received speakers at the Congress were Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who each presented their view of Mozambique's path to peace.

#### Central Committee and Politburo Expanded

While the sessions open to foreign invitees revealed little dissension or disagreement about the major themes, from all indications the closed sessions were frank and fiery. The election of the new Central Committee was announced at the closing session. The Central Committee was expanded from ten to twelve members. There were four new members to the Politburo, while two previous members, Sebastiao Mabote and Oscar Monteiro, were dropped.

#### International Expressions of Support

In addition to local invitees, there were close to 100 other representatives of governments and support groups present at the Fifth Congress. About 35 foreign observers delivered messages at the Congress. Delivering the message of the Mozambique Support Network was Loretta Williams of the Boston chapter who was selected to represent the national group. Allen Isaacman and myself were present as cochairs of MSN. Prexy Nesbitt, special consultant to the Mozambican government, also attended. While the Fifth Party Congress exposed the failures in the dream of the new society envisioned at the Third Party Congress, it also made it clear that the Mozambican people's dream has not been altered -- just the road to get there.

# ROB JONES TO ADDRESS CCISSA ANNUAL MEETING

CCISSA's Annual Meeting will take place on Sunday, October 29th, at 6:00 PM at the United Church of Oak Park, 848 Lake Street, Room 21, in Oak Park. The featured speaker at the meeting will be Rob Jones, the Projects Director of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) in New York.

Rob Jones has recently returned from a six week trip to southern Africa, including 17 days in South Africa at the invitation of the United Democratic Front. Mr. Jones brings a fresh perspective on the current situation in southern Africa and the Defiance Campaign in South Africa itself. He will also report on the international campaign for sanctions and bank loan restrictions against South Africa.

Also at this Annual Meeting, CCISSA members will affirm a new



Board of Directors and plans for 1989-90. These plans include continued solidarity and educational programs as well as the Sister Community Project and the second Soweto Day Walkathon.

We are looking forward to meeting with Rob Jones and we encourage you all, CCISSA members and old and new friends to join us as we celebrate the accomplishments of CCISSA's first two years and renew our commitment to the struggle against apartheid.

## CCISSA Initiates Sister Community Project

One of the ways that the apartheid government has held the balance of power is by relocating over three million non-whites over the past three decades. Despite Pretoria's propaganda, forced removals continue, uprooting entire communities and pushing the black majority onto the least desirable land.

A number of cities, including Milwaukee and St. Paul, have established official links to threatened communities in South Africa through the US-South Africa Sister Community Project. St. Paul residents helped stop the planned eviction of the township of Lawaaikamp. Berkeley, California,

organized support for leaders from Oukasie who had been detained for activism.

The Sister Community Project, which is endorsed by the United Democratic Front and other members of the resistance movement, is eager to have Chicago be the first major city to establish an official relationship with a community in South Africa. If you would like to help start a support committee of churches, unions, civil rights and peace organizations and elected officials in Chicago, please send a note to the CCISSA office, or leave a message on the answering machine.

## NAMIBIAN ELECTIONS - NOVEMBER 6TH

The election for a constituent assembly for the purpose of writing a constitution for a free, independent Namibia is scheduled to begin on November 6th. However, church, community and political organizations within Namibia are expressing concern that the process may be in trouble.

There have been repeated delays in finalizing the laws and rules for governing the election and incidents of political intimidation have been reported with alarming frequency. The assassination of SWAPO official Anton Lubowski in front of his home on September 12 stirred an international outpouring of condemnation and outrage. But his murder is only one in a series of violent attacks against SWAPO

activists and supporters.

It is feared that the current level of United Nations forces in the territory will be unable to ensure the minimum conditions for free and fair elections. South Africa has continually found ways to delay and subvert the process. Many observers fear that unless action is taken to end the violence and clarify the process, the November poll could trigger a new round of bloodshed and repression.

We urge you to contact James Baker, Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC 20520, to demand U.S. support for an increase in U.N. forces and strict enforcement of all provisions of the Namibian independence plan, Security Council Resolution 435.

## BUSH AND DE KLERK: NOTHING NEW

Despite flowery rhetoric about reform, there is nothing new in either the Bush or DeKlerk administration policies toward apartheid.

The Reagan Administration claimed that sanctions wouldn't work and credited "Constructive Engagement" for changes in petty apartheid laws. Now the Bush Administration argues that sanctions have played a role in recent

developments in South Africa, bringing to power a reform-minded DeKlerk who now needs a chance to fulfill his mandate for reform. Therefore, Bush, like Reagan, opposes the strengthening of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

DeKlerk's self-acclaimed "man

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## South Africa Now Comes to WTTW

As most of you know, in August, WTTW (Channel 11) began showing South Africa Now, a unique news program, on Friday nights at 11:00 p.m. The show was created last year in response to the lack of coverage of anti-government protests and human rights violations. The apartheid regime's harsh press restrictions, which began in 1985 and have tightened since, have kept much of the resistance movement's story under wraps.

Despite a no-frills budget, South Africa Now provides in-depth coverage to 62 PBS stations nationwide, and in several African and Caribbean nations. The program gives talented South Africans training in television journalism, and

encourages the U.S. media to expand its coverage of southern Africa. Most importantly for grassroots organizations like CCISSA, South Africa Now offers a broad, thoughtful perspective on breaking news in South Africa and the front-line states.

Although South Africa Now has garnered numerous awards, its producers have declared a "state of emergency." The program is struggling to raise enough funds to stay on the air. Call them at 212/941-0255 if you can help with contributions or funding ideas.

**Starting October 15, WTTW will show South Africa Now at a new time: Sunday mornings at 10:30 a.m.**

**Nothing New** (continued)  
date for reform" stops short of a plan for one person one vote in South Africa. DeKlerk has assured white South Africans that the "group rights" concept will be retained no matter what laws may be repealed.

The Mass Democratic Movement continues to call for defiance and strengthened sanctions until apartheid is totally abolished. We support them in their efforts. To express your support of the Dellums-Simon Comprehensive Economic Sanctions bill HR 21/S 507, contact:

Senator Paul Simon  
230 S. Dearborn, Suite 3892  
Chicago, IL 60604 353-4952

Senator Alan Dixon  
230 S. Dearborn  
Chicago, IL 60604 353-5420

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## CCISSA NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

Support CCISSA's anti-apartheid campaign by joining CCISSA or renewing your membership during our Fall membership drive.

A \$10.00 membership will keep you on our mailing list but an additional contribution will make it possible for CCISSA to expand its educational resources and to reach out to more people in the coming year. Please consider joining CCISSA's Amandla Club, a group of very special friends who contribute \$100.00 or more per year. Some Amandla Club members make a single contribution while others make monthly payments.

CCISSA really needs your support and involvement to keep our campaign going. Please be generous! Thank you in advance for your support of our mutual struggle to end apartheid.

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PLEASE RETURN TO CCISSA, 343 S. DEARBORN, #918, CHICAGO, IL 60604

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Enclosed is my check for  
CCISSA membership \$10.00

\_\_\_\_\_ Additional contribution  
to CCISSA enclosed.

\_\_\_\_\_ I would like to join the  
AMANDLA Club:  
\_\_\_\_\_ contribution enclosed.

\_\_\_\_\_ pledge per month.

I WOULD LIKE TO GET INVOLVED IN:

\_\_\_\_\_ CCISSA educational work

\_\_\_\_\_ Sister Community Project

\_\_\_\_\_ Soweto Day Walkathon