

# SAMRAF

SOUTH

AFRICAN

MILITARY

REFUGEE

AID

FUND

29 Seventh Ave./Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217

57B Manchester St./San Francisco, CA 94110

(212) 638-0417

(415) 641-9055

## SAMRAF ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

November 22, 1982

### RON BITZER

Director, Center for Veterans Rights  
Los Angeles, CA

### RON CHISOM

National Alliance Against Racist and  
Political Repression

### RAMSEY CLARK

Former U.S. Attorney General

### MARILYN CLEMENT

Executive Director,  
Center for Constitutional Rights

### REV. JOHN COLE

Minister, Grace United Methodist Church  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

### DAVE DELLINGER

Peace Activist

### DR. JOHN DOMMISSE

ACCESS (American Co-ordinating  
Committee for Equality in Sport & Society)

### PROF. JIM DUNN

Director, H.U.M.A.N. (Help Us  
Make a Nation)

### JOHN GARVEY

People Against White Supremacy (PAWS)  
Brooklyn, NY

### YVONNE GOLDEN

Vice-President, Women's International  
League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF) and  
Principal, Alamo Park High School (S.F.)

### ANNA GYORGY

Director, Critical Mass Energy Project  
Author, No Nukes

### JIM HAUGHTON

President, Harlem Fightback

### JERRY HERMAN

Coordinator, Southern Africa Program  
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

### GEORGE HOUSER

Past Executive Director, American  
Committee on Africa (ACOA)

### WINONA LA DUKE

Women of All Red Nations (WARN)

### KEN LAWRENCE

Civil Rights Activist and Author  
Jackson, Mississippi

### ANTHONY LEWIS

Black Vanguard Resource Center  
Norfolk, VA

### JOB MASHARIKI

President, Black Veterans for Social Justice

### MIKE MEYERS

Native American Self-Sufficiency Center

### CORNELIUS MOORE

Southern Africa Media Center of  
California Newsreel

### REV. LUCIUS WALKER

Executive Director, I.F.C.O.

### REV. BILL WIPFLER

Director, Human Rights Office  
National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC)

Organizations for identification only

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is issue #9 of SAMRAF news & notes. We view it as a special issue because it highlights two specific anti-apartheid activities that are occurring in New York City.

The first is a campaign for South Africa's cultural isolation, trying to prevent U.S. entertainers from collaborating with apartheid. To explain this issue, we felt that the Village Voice did a very good job. So we have re-printed it and added some further information including a letter which SAMRAF wrote in response to this article.

The second activity is one which SAMRAF is initiating. It is a demonstration at the South African Airway's New York office to coincide with the annual draft of thousands of young white men for the South African army. The demonstration is in support of the liberation struggle in southern Africa and is specifically calling for support of South African military resisters. SAMRAF has held similar actions in previous years.

This issue of "news & notes" contains the call for people to support and participate in this protest. We are seeking endorsements from a wide range of organizations and individuals. If you feel you would like to assist us in our organizing efforts, please contact us. We need to publicize this action as widely as possible. A good turnout on January 22, '83 at South African Airways will aid military resistance against the racist apartheid war machine and support the freedom struggle. It will likely be reported and talked about widely in South Africa.



Finally, we would again like to encourage those of you who find this newsletter informative to subscribe. We are asking \$10 per year. In return you will receive six issues of SAMRAF news & notes. We hope you find this issue interesting reading.

In struggle,

*New York SAMRAF*

### SAMRAF DEMONSTRATION INFORMATION

DATE:

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1983

TIME:

11AM TO 1PM

PLACE:

SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS OFFICE  
605 FIFTH AVENUE  
(BETWEEN 48th & 49th STREETS)  
NY, NY

## Fleeing Apartheid's Draft

Dominic Holzhaus is on the run. And he's not alone. Every year an estimated 1,000 South African whites like him flee the country to avoid mandatory service in police or military units. Holzhaus holds the dubious distinction of being the first South African military resister to seek political asylum in this country since nine were admitted during the Carter administration.

The all-white draft, says Holzhaus, "is one of the more abhorrent ways in which the apartheid system operates." The 24-year-old former Wit-

watersrand University activist, who automatically became a political dissident by refusing to serve, fled his country in January 1981. "I felt I could be more effective in speaking out against that system from abroad," he says.

After arriving in the United States, Holzhaus contacted the South African Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF), a Brooklyn-based organization that assists South African draft resisters seeking political asylum. Holzhaus' application, which was filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in April

1981, is now awaiting an advisory opinion from the Department of State.

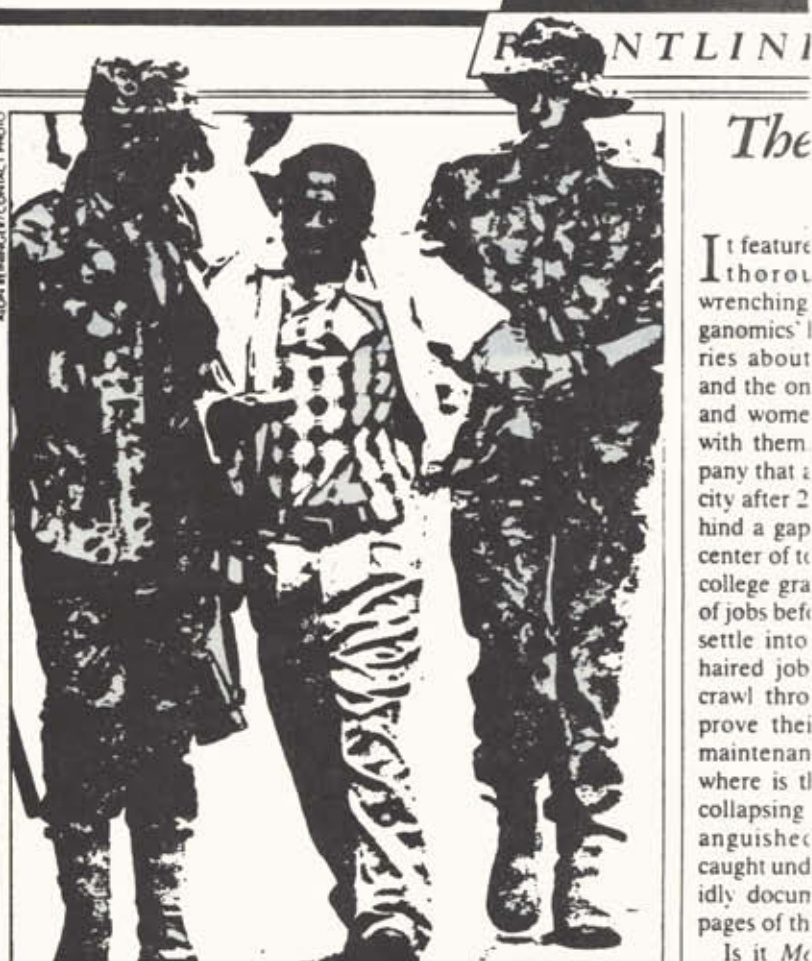
But SAMRAF is afraid Holzhaus may wait forever. Since the Reagan administration launched its "constructive engagement" policy toward Pretoria, no South African military refugees have been granted political asylum in the United States.

In response, SAMRAF is stepping up its campaign to convince U.S. city councils to pass resolutions that welcome South African military resisters into their communities and recommend they be granted asylum. The SAMRAF initiative, which welcomes "those refugees from South Africa who have been forced to flee to the United States because of their refusal to participate or fight in the military forces of apartheid," has been passed in

several California cities, including San Francisco and Oakland. SAMRAF's Steven Feedback says similar campaigns will be waged in Atlanta, Minneapolis and Washington, D.C., during the upcoming year.

Meanwhile, back in Pretoria, Parliament is doubling the size of its military by upping the time limit for regular post-service call-ups from eight years to 12, and requiring, beyond that, additional service every year for white men up to the age of 55. The result could be a new influx of South African draft resisters into SAMRAF offices: "Coupled with the city resolutions," says Feedback, "a positive decision on Dominic's case could see the mere trickle of ten inquiries a month turn into a steady stream."

—Kathryn Olney



My mother didn't raise me to be a stormtrooper. To avoid being drafted into South Africa's police and military units, many young whites are fleeing the country. Some seek asylum in the U.S.

The

It features a thorough wrenching analysis of the economy and the on and on with them. A company that a city after 20 years behind a gap center of the college graduates of jobs before settle into a haired job crawl through prove their maintenance where is the collapsing anguished caught undidly documented pages of the

Is it Mc again trumblast of se No, we're The Wall newspaper rate American coffee. It's not

THI



Burtley may the poor and



SOUTH

AFRICAN

MILITARY

REFUGEE

AID

FUND



## Singing for Apartheid

*American Artists  
in South Africa*

By Michael Beaubien

Millie Jackson and Frank Sinatra have probably done more to strengthen the international cultural boycott of South Africa than any of its advocates. Their widely publicized visits helped to launch a boycott movement within South Africa and prompted increased activity by U.S. organizations to enforce the boycott. (Continued on Page 2)

## Help Disarm Apartheid's Racist War Machine

a call to demonstrate  
and participate on Jan. 22, '83

coinciding with the mass  
draft of white youth into  
the outlaw South African military

demonstration at South African Airways  
"the wings of apartheid"

(Page 3)



# Singing for Apartheid

## American Artists in South Africa

DAVID H. HARRIS

No dance with them,  
Don't trade with them,  
For them there should be no  
tomorrow.  
This race problem,  
Their apartheid system must not be  
allowed to grow.  
The world is suffering tremendously  
as a result of their racial  
slavery...  
If I was a freedom fighter in this  
world like America,  
I would see that my guest was under  
duress and do my best to isolate  
South Africa.

—The Mighty Sparrow



Frank Sinatra



Millie Jackson



Glen Campbell



Ann-Margret and Tina Turner



Candi Staton



Sha-Na-Na

By Michael Beaubien

(Continued from page one)

During a 1980 visit to South Africa, Millie Jackson met with representatives of the Music, Drama, Art and Literature Institute (MDALI), a cultural and professional organization working for improvement of the opportunities for black South African artists. When MDAI representatives asked her to cancel her performances and to support of the United Nations-sanctioned cultural boycott, Jackson is reported to have said, "I am not a politician and I am not going to mix my career with politics. All I want is the money." Jackson has subsequently argued that her statements were intentionally distorted by the group.

Nevertheless, Millie Jackson's apparent insensitivity angered both MDAI and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), a Black South African political group. They issued a joint call for a domestic boycott of all foreign artists and the compilation of a boycott list for inter-

national circulation of all entertainers who visit South Africa. Thus, the growth of a boycott movement within South Africa and the cooperative effort between AZAPO and the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to distribute a list can be described as "Millie's contributions."

Frank Sinatra's 1981 summer engagement at the controversial Sun City Hotel Casino and Country Club in Bophuthatswana was Pretoria's most ambitious effort to undermine the cultural boycott. Sinatra received \$1.79 million for a series of nine concerts; the spectacular fees have started a stampede of American artists eager to perform at the resort modeled after Las Vegas. Pretoria made use of Sinatra's performances in the newly-created "independent" territory to bestow a PR legitimacy on South Africa's Bantustan policy, the foundation of the apartheid system. The myth of the "tribal homeland" as a separate and independent country was echoed in the announcement from Sinatra's press agent, Lee Solters.

"We think the establishment of Bophuthatswana as an independent country is the right step for their [Black South Africans] future development," Solters said.

Sinatra and the other American artists who have followed his lead have prompted a number of organizations here to undertake actions to put some muscle into the boycott. Organizations which have recently begun activity include: Trans Africa, the American Committee on Africa, the Black Music Association, the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the Black United Front, Operation PUSH and the Continuations Committee of the October Solidarity Conference. Their subsequent demonstrations, meetings, and resolutions to broaden the movement could be called "Frank's" contribution.

The cultural boycott is one part of the international campaign to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The United Nations first sought to impose a cultural boycott of South Africa

in December 1968. The resolution (2396) adopted by the General Assembly requested "All states and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting, and other exchanges with the racist regime and with other organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."

Over the years the wording of similar resolutions has undergone an interesting metamorphosis. In 1972 the General Assembly invited "all organizations, institutions, and information media to organize a boycott of South Africa in sports and in culture and other activities." Resolution 3324 of 1974 added scientific exchanges to the list. Yet by 1980, the General Assembly was appealing directly to "writers, artists, musicians, and other personalities to boycott South Africa."

The 1980 Resolution (35/206E) also requested that the Special Committee Against Apartheid promote campaigns for the total isolation of South Africa. The Special Committee proposed a number of actions in accord with the General Assembly resolution and dictated by the UN General Assembly designation of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa. In the Special Committee's 1981 report to the General Assembly, the committee proposed to "initiate a register of cultural contacts with South Africa in order to promote an effective boycott." In addition, the committee plans to organize an international conference to mobilize artists for action against apartheid.

The official UN boycott list will soon be published and distributed to organizations around the world. Artists who travel to South Africa will be faced with the possibility of being blacklisted or even banned from any number of countries and being picketed by domestic boycott supporters. For black American artists the decision to go to South Africa has always presented some special problems due to the intensity of feelings such a decision can provoke among their fans both here and in South Africa.

As Eric Rosenthal wrote in *Stars and Stripes in Africa*, "South Africans are very familiar with the American showman, more widely known as Yankee Medicine Man, Yankee Conjuror, Yankee Circus Artist, Yankee Actor and Lecturer..." The year 1858 marked the first visit of an American artist when the producer of *Black-eyed Susan* imported a Mr. Walker of New York to handle the wardrobe. South Africans were introduced to American "darkie minstrels" in 1860 when Joe Brown's Band of Brothers arrived with Brown claiming the title of the "World's Champion Jig Dancer." In the same years, the U.S. also introduced South Africans to the three-ring circus when McMullin's circus went over.

Mark Twain was perhaps the most notable among U.S. artists to visit South Africa by 1896. Upon observing the native Africans, he stated, "These fiendish clothes, together with the proper lounging gait, good-natured face, happy air and easy laugh, make them the precise counterparts of our American Blacks."

Artistic relations between the U.S. and South Africa were not limited merely to the exchange of individual artists. Metro-Goldwyn built the first modern theater with over 2000 seats in Johannesburg in 1932. They were soon joined by 20th Century-Fox and others who eventually dominated most of the region's entertainment industry.

In a recent article for *Rolling Stone*, Christopher Connelly reported that during 1980 "U.S. companies exported \$3.8

continued on page 4



# Help Disarm Apartheid's Racist War Machine

## Apartheid and Militarism

White power in South Africa is a hideous open sore. The system known as apartheid has been judged by the world to be "a crime against humanity."

The reasons for this indictment are clear. Only 16% of the population (whites) own the land and control the lives of the overwhelming black majority. Black people in South Africa have been forceably removed from their land, denied the right to vote for their own leaders, relegated to the most menial rungs of the economic ladder, and stripped of their basic human rights such as freedom of movement and of expression. White domination means hunger, poverty, servile education, poor health care, migrant labor, separation of families, and a thousand injustices for Black people.

This system can only be maintained through brute force such as torture and detention. All forms of political dissent are severely restricted or crushed. Black resistance is outlawed as soon as any open organizing gains momentum. The resistance must battle apartheid from underground and from exile.

The mainstay of apartheid's military apparatus is the South African army, the largest mobilizable offensive force in Africa. This army is officially 96% white. All white males are forced to do military service—most from the age of 17. As of June, 1982, virtually a life-long military obligation stretches out before the white youth of South Africa.

The South African army could put 500,000 troops into the field to fight on behalf of apartheid. Presently an occupying army of 100,000 soldiers maintains South Africa's illegal colonial control over Namibia (South West Africa). These occupation forces are waging an unjust and racist war against the Namibian people, represented by their liberation movement, SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization), and against the people of Angola. Cross-border invasions have become regular occurrences, with massacres and massive devastation aimed at Angola and the other Frontline States.

Generations of black South Africans and Namibians have fought valiantly against this oppressive system. Today the national liberation movements are inflicting heavier casualties and damage in their struggle with the apartheid regime. The pressure is mounting on South Africa's embattled white minority and their rulers. It is only a matter of time before the inevitable overthrow of apartheid. Yet, despite the certainty of such change, the struggle remains a bloody and protracted one.

Namibia and South Africa will be liberated. Black people will one day determine the future of their countries with full control over the governing of their lives. Nothing in the world can stop the struggle for that change. White power will be buried, as slavery was buried before it. But, this process demands the complete disarming of the racist South African military.

## United States Support for Apartheid

Over the years, the build up of the South African war

machine has been dramatically assisted by the U.S., Britain, and Israel, among others. The apartheid armed forces have received sophisticated weaponry, exchanges of technology, and economic aid to construct a vast weapons industry in South Africa. United States support has been key to the development of nuclear weapons as well as very deadly conventional weapons like the 155 mm. artillery.

Since Reagan entered the White House, U.S. policy has stepped backward to embrace the South African government under the banner of "constructive engagement." This policy has come to mean that what South Africa wants, they get. Criticism is deflected by the myth of U.S. dependence on South Africa's minerals.

The South African government is called a friend and ally in the international fight against "Communism" as well as a reliable trading partner. So, the United States sells shock batons to the South African Police and buys gold stained with the blood of black mineworkers. Both ways, South Africa's Black people suffer, and apartheid rules with the support of the White House, U.S. corporations, the Pentagon, the International Monetary Fund, and plenty of American racists.

## Turn the Guns Around

The overwhelmingly white South African army represents white unity with apartheid in the fight against genuine black majority rule. The opposite is also true. White military resisters represent a break in the ranks of white unity. Despite government censorship, it is known that from 3,000 to 5,000 young white men refuse to answer the call-up for military service each year. This is still a small percentage, but it represents a crucial blow to white loyalty.

Military resistance is viewed by the apartheid regime as a grave danger to "national security." Conscientious objection, like all forms of draft resistance or even the advocacy of draft resistance, is illegal in South Africa. Conscientious objectors and resisters receive mandatory jail sentences of 1 to 3 years. In early 1982, there were 520 resisters locked up in detention barracks, including conscientious objectors on religious and political grounds, like Charles Yeats, Mike Vivieros, Neil Mitchell, and William Paddock. They have been recognized by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience. Thousands of other resisters have fled South Africa to avoid military service. At least 300 of them have applied for and received political asylum in Great Britain, Holland, Canada, Australia, Norway, Botswana, and the United States (under the Carter administration).

Military resistance opens a whole new front in the overall battle against apartheid. The generals and military strategists must worry about a crucial factor in the battle plans—the loyalty of their troops. It creates a manpower problem. It effects the morale of the army by questioning its right to exist from within its own ranks. It is a break from the historical role of white people in



continued from page 2

million worth of LP's, singles and prerecorded tapes" to South Africa. In addition, Connelly noted that the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) had "paid more than \$262,000 in royalties to its member artists for performances in South Africa over the same time period."

In fact, there have been so many American artists traveling to South Africa recently that the international cultural boycott seemed nonexistent. Among the 30 or more American entertainers to have performed in South Africa during 1981 and 1982 are Candi Staton, Joe Henderson, Cher, Isaac Hayes, Curtis Mayfield, the Village People, The Osmonds, Ann-Margret, Olivia Newton-John, Paul Anka, Dakota Staton, Tina Turner, Lou Donaldson, George Shearing, Glen Campbell, Sha Na Na, the Beach Boys, Brook Benton, and Helen Reddy. On May 16 of this year Stephanie Mills and Neil Sedaka opened at the Sun City resort in Bophuthatswana.

An impressive list of artists have also refused to perform in South Africa. Ben Vereen, Gladys Knight and the Pips, the Floeters, the Jacksons, Elton John, Roberta Flack, and Phyllis Hyman have all declined to entertain apartheid. While most American artists are guaranteed at least \$250,000 for a tour, Roberta Flack was offered \$2.5 million. In response to her \$100,000 offer, Phyllis Hyman said, "I could not tour South Africa under any circumstances. I have a moral commitment that supersedes money."

The decision by George Wein not to take the Newport Jazz Festival to Bophuthatswana was particularly good news for the anti-apartheid movement. George Wein told the *Voice* he was "sympathetic to the opponents of apartheid and supportive of the cultural boycott."

Thomas Shepard, an associate producer for Wein said, "George had some initial confusion over Sun City and Bophuthatswana. He was told that it was an old African kingdom. Yet he was sensitive to the feelings of jazz musicians on this question. By the time pressure was applied, George had already canceled. No group or individual can claim to have turned George around on this issue," he added. "I admire and respect George's decision on this. It was the cancellation of a multimillion-dollar tour."

The confusion regarding Bophuthatswana is understandable. After all, it does sound like Botswana, an independent country located to the north of South Africa. In reality, Bophuthatswana is part of the apartheid scheme of assigning the black majority on the basis of tribal affiliations to 10 arbitrarily drawn "Bantustan homelands" scattered around the country on 13 per cent of its most barren land. Once made citizens of the nation that they forfeited South African citizenship, a significant detail in the plan.

Under the 1912 and 1936 South African Land Acts, 87 per cent of the country's territory, which includes all the major cities and the best farmland, has been reserved for whites, who constitute only 16 per cent of the total population. The remaining 13 per cent of the country has been designated as tribal homelands for Africans, who cannot own land in the white areas and may not remain in white areas without a permit. Indians and Coloureds (South Africans of mixed ancestry) are restricted to segregated areas in the territory reserved for whites.

Since 1960 South Africa has resettled some two million Africans in one of the largest forced relocations Africa has ever witnessed. Of the 10 designated Bantustans, South Africa has promoted "independence" for the Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981). Despite the rhetoric of independence and the absence of racial laws on the books, each of the territories has remained economically dependent upon the South African government for as much as 50 per cent of its "national"

budget. The civil service of each territory is made up almost entirely of white South Africans. Americans need only recall the experience of the American Indian and our domestic version of sovereign Indian nations (reservations) to get the general idea.

The United Nations General Assembly described South Africa's Bantustan policy as a design "to consolidate the inhumane policies of apartheid to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights." Consequently, none of the territories has been recognized as independent by any country in the world. Only American artists and athletes seem to have failed to recognize Bophuthatswana as a fictional creation of South Africa.

Bophuthatswana represents a special problem for anti-apartheid activists owing to the presence there of the Sun City Hotel Casino and Country Club, which provides such big-money contracts. The Las Vegas-style resort is reported to be jointly owned by the Bophuthatswana government through its National Development Corporation and Southern Sun Hotels, the largest hotel chain in southern Africa. The \$42 million entertainment complex includes a 7000-seat arena, a 120,000-acre game park, a Garry Player-designed golf course and tennis courts. The gambling casino is advertised as the second largest in the world, with more than 250 one-armed bandits, and features topless entertainment.

Admittedly, Sun City is not much by Las Vegas standards. However, in a country such as South Africa where gambling is illegal, cinemas are closed on Sundays, and its Calvinist preachers warn about the evils of exposed female flesh, Sun City must seem a modern-day Sodom and Gomorrah. Sun City also offers another attraction that receives far less publicity—the opportunity for white males to engage in South Africa's "forbidden fruit" of interracial sex.

Under South African law, sexual relations between blacks and whites are criminal offenses punishable by up to five years imprisonment. Yet visitors to Sun City are not subject to South Africa's Immorality Act. According to a report leaked to the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, the Human Sciences Research Council found, "Most of the women offering sex for sale at the hotel are Black, but white, colored and Indian prostitutes are also available at times. The services of prostitutes are usually sought by white visitors with hotel staff occasionally acting as go-betweens." The article also noted that Sun City had also brought to the indigenous African population an increase in crime, truancy, alcohol abuse, prostitution, and a loss of earnings through gambling.

The Bophuthatswana Development Corporation announced this spring that three additional large hotel complexes are to be built in the territory. A hotel with casino facilities will go up near Thabetsjo between Bloemfontein and the Lesotho border at a cost of \$13 million. The Southern Sun Organization will co-operate in this venture and Israeli interests will assist in the development of a new hotel at Lendberg, about 45 kilometers northwest of Rutenburg and another at Mmabatho.

Many observers suspect that the South African government has been offering the casinos to homeland leaders—extolling the benefits of income from gambling—as an inducement for them to accept Bantustan "independence." A new casino and hotel developed by Holiday Inns opened this year in the Transkei. Contracts for other hotel/casinos have been signed by hotel/chains and territorial administrations in Ciskei, Venda, and KwaZulu.

The rapid development of these hotel/casinos and the importation of foreign entertainers have presented a very serious problem for supporters of the cultural boycott. Elombe Brath, a Harlem-based activist and coordinator of the Patrice

## Writers and the Cultural Boycott

Despite the prevailing misconception that the UN-sponsored cultural boycott of South Africa extends to all writers, it was never intended to include writers who function as journalists. Creative writers working as performers, however, are a different question.

The African National Congress (ANC), the principal liberation movement in South Africa, has always made an exception for journalists since the initial call for sanctions in 1969. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity share the ANC belief that objective reporting of the conditions in South Africa will assist the international struggle against apartheid. After all, how could one gauge the potential impact on world opinion of articles like David Halberstam's "The Fire This Time" in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Kenneth Walker's 1981 series in the *Washington Star*, or the 1976 prize-winning series by Les Payne in *Newsday*?

The cultural boycott does, however, extend to creative writers who allow their works to be presented as theatrical productions or who travel to South Africa to deliver lectures and readings based upon their works. In these instances, the writer is more accurately seen as a performer.

Anti-apartheid activists hope that more American writers will follow the lead of Ntozake Shange. In 1979 the author of *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Is Enuf* refused to allow her play to be produced by the Market Theater of South Africa. Ntozake Shange's principled stand and rejection of a lucrative contract have earned her the anti-apartheid movement's respect.

This distinction between writers as journalists and writers as performers was not clearly explained last October at the American Writer's Congress here in New York. The resulting controversy over the wording of a resolution proposed at the congress on the issue of the cultural boycott was unfortunate.

One of the factors which led to the controversy at the Writer's Congress was the simultaneous convening of the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa, held at Riverside Church. Most of the anti-apartheid community was preoccupied with the Solidarity Conference, and neglected the important work of the Writer's Congress. Activists failed to adequately coordinate their activities with the Black American Writers Caucus, which introduced the South Africa resolution.

Lumumba Coalition, observed, "One of the most important things that needs to be done is to establish the fact that to visit, perform, or to do business in any of the Bantustans—the so-called homelands—is to participate in recognizing the final objective of apartheid: the permanent political disenfranchisement of the national birthright of the indigenous African population."

Among the foremost proponents of the myth of Bophuthatswana independence are Southern Sun's managing director, Sol Kerzner, and Southern Sun's general manager, Peter Bacon. Kerzner and Bacon have developed a close relationship with Lee Solomon, a vice-president of the William Morris Agency, to recruit American artists for South African tours. When contacted by the *Voice* Solomon refused to comment on the relationship.

Informed sources have said that the William Morris Agency hosted a meeting last April between Bacon, Kerzner, and Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH. Ap-

Also contributing to that controversy was the issue of continuity in the efforts of Black American writers to support the cultural boycott of South Africa. During the late '60s, a number of Black American writers, such as John O. Killens, Louise Meriwether, Audre Lorde, William Demby, Mari Evans, Jayne Cortez, Quincy Troupe, Rosa Guy, John A. Williams, Paule Marshall, and Carole Gregory, formed Black Concern, an organization which called for a "rejection of any dialogue with South Africa... and for the continuation of the boycott of South Africa in economic, cultural, sports, and other fields." The controversy at the American Writer's Congress would seem to suggest that there is a real need to rekindle this initiative.

Despite these problems, one is hard-pressed to understand how support for the cultural boycott could be construed as support for censorship ("Write and Wrong: A Congressional Record," Steven Levy, *Voice*, October 14, 1981). South Africa might well be the primary practitioner of censorship in the world today. South Africa has more than 100 laws pertaining to censorship and maintains, as Jonathan Spivak reported in the *Wall Street Journal*, "a system where any citizen can petition the government to ban a book on the grounds that it is obscene, pornographic or politically offensive."

American writers should be embarrassed by the congress's failure to issue any resolutions of support for their embattled colleagues who fight censorship and risk imprisonment in South Africa. And how could American writers in "congress" fail to express solidarity with South African writers in exile such as Dennis Brutus? (At that time Brutus was involved in a political struggle to avoid deportation from the U.S.) How could American writers neglect to take issue with South African propaganda operations in the U.S.? Was it racism that blinded American writers even to the question of South Africa banning the works of such American writers as William Styron, James Michener, John Updike, Jack Kerouac, Oscar Lewis, Norman Mailer, James Baldwin, and Joseph Heller?

The American Writer's Congress's failure to address sufficiently the issue of apartheid and the American writer raises an important question. Who among American writers will speak for Nelson Mandela, Herman J. Toivo, Steve Biko, and the countless others who spend half their lives behind bars or who die at the hands of the real "terrorists" for daring to speak of freedom? —M.B.

parently, Jackson is widely perceived in South African entertainment circles as the chief obstacle to booking black American entertainers and has been asked by Kerzner and Bacon to send a PUSH delegation to Bophuthatswana. However, Jack O'Dell, director of international affairs for PUSH, told the *Voice*, "Under no circumstances will we be sending anyone to Bophuthatswana. We know what the Bantustan policy is all about."

Another major actor in this drama is Robert Leonard of Red Beard Presents Productions Ltd. of Las Vegas. Leonard is responsible for taking so many American entertainers to South Africa that he is often called the "American connection" in South Africa papers. Among the American artists he is responsible for taking to South Africa are Billy Eckstine, Gwen Brisco, Joe Henderson, Carla Fontana, James Moody, Lou Donaldson, Karen Nelson, and Bob Anderson. Leonard told the *Voice*, "Politics and music are two different realms of activity, they should not be mixed."



Artists who do travel to South Africa tread on dangerous ground. Such a warning was provided by Gordon Winter in his sensational book *Inside Boss*. (South African Bureau of State Security) Winter wrote, "Pretoria has a raging phobia about famous stars who visit South Africa, as they have high voltage publicity potential. A politician might knock apartheid but when a famous star does so it usually rates headlines in newspapers all over the world."

If anyone has any doubts about the effectiveness of AZAPO's call for an internal boycott, they should talk to the O'Jays. The black American vocal trio, arrived in Johannesburg on April 6, 1981, for a seven-concert tour. After AZAPO's call for a boycott, the O'Jays' tour collapsed owing to financial problems and low attendance at concerts. The black South African promoter, Victor Mazibuko, is reported to have lost \$42,000. When the O'Jays departed, their manager was forced to remain behind. South African authorities had impounded his passport and air ticket. The O'Jays recently issued a public apology in the American black press and pledged not to go again.

South African exile musician Sathima Ibrahim warned about the potential for violent confrontations. During a UN program in March, she said, "We want you to know that our people, especially our youth, have strong aspirations. They are militant. At this point in time, they will not be satisfied with entertainment."

During the height of the O'Jays boycott, tour promoter Mazibuko had his home stoned and pelted with gasoline bombs. Ray Charles failed to heed AZAPO's request that he cancel a concert scheduled for Black Consciousness Day on October 19, an important anniversary in the history of black political struggle. Charles's entourage was later stoned during a visit to the Black township of Welkom. In addition, Lovelace Watkins, an American singer now living in London,

has said repeatedly that he will never again attempt to perform in Soweto, because he was nearly killed the last time he was there. Concert sites in the African townships are particularly vulnerable to AZAPO's boycott. Despite the nominal desegregation of local theatres, audiences for these black American acts would be overwhelmingly black.

Among the factors contributing to the intensity of emotions around the cultural boycott are the naiveté and insensitivity demonstrated by black American artists. Not only have these artists demonstrated little respect for significant holidays in South African history, but they have also shown limited understanding of conditions facing black South Africans. Candi Staton told the *Sowetan*, a black South African newspaper, that she had never heard of Soweto and she was under the impression that blacks and whites were allowed to live in the same neighborhoods.

Likewise, Lee Variety, the leader of the Variations, is quoted as describing AZAPO as "opportunists without a body." During an interview with the *Sunday Times*, Variety stated, "These people are on an ego trip trying to further their personal political ends. We are not going to allow anyone to tell us where we must perform and where we can't perform."

These comments and a host of others prompted one columnist for the *Sowetan* to write, "We are just about getting disgusted with the same stories given by various black American artists who perform here, particularly those who profess an astonishment that blacks are living under dubious conditions. It would be much more honest for artists from abroad to come out straight with the truth. They have come here for the money." Those controversial statements have served only to inflame the sense of betrayal most Black South Africans feel when Black Americans perform in South Africa.

The large numbers of black American artists traveling to South Africa has posed

*Continued on page 34*

Stephanie Mills has helped convince anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. of the necessity for the boycott list. Several hours before her scheduled departure to Bophuthatswana, a group of activists was successful in reaching Stephanie Mills. After an emotional confrontation Stephanie assured her visitors that she would cancel her engagement. Imagine their surprise, when several days later, official word had been received that Stephanie had arrived in Johannesburg and had begun rehearsals.

Such incidents serve to reaffirm the experiences of activists such as Richard Lapchick, who told a U.N. audience, "In most of the cases with which I have been involved in the last decade, the moral argument has fallen on deaf ears. The bottom line has got to be that if artists and athletes go to South Africa, it is going to cost them—that they can't sell out their brothers and sisters without paying a price. And we are the ones who are going to have to bestow that upon them when they come back."

Johnnie Makatini, UN representative for the ANC, agreed. He explained, "We have been speaking a language they did not understand. Now we will hit them in their pockets. Perhaps this is a language they will understand and they will finally hear us."

American artists must not underestimate the support that AZAPO's call for a boycott of foreign artists enjoys among Black South Africans. Surveys among black readers by the *Sowetan* reveal overwhelming support for the boycott. One reader stated, "There was a time when we were proud that Ray Charles and Isaac Hayes would never come here, because we believed that they were with us in the struggle. But one by one they are proving us wrong. They have hurt our pride to the jubilation of our oppressor."

This is not to deny that AZAPO's initiative doesn't have its critics. There are several black South African artists who have publicly stated their fears that isolation from foreign artists would further impoverish the lives of blacks. There are also substantial differences between

MDALI and AZAPO over implementation of the boycott. MDALI appears more willing to compromise and to reach some kind of accord with foreign artists involving the cause of black promoters, guaranteed rates for local black artists, and donations to black charities. Despite the lack of any unanimity of opinion within South Africa, the international community is convinced of the necessity for the total isolation of South Africa.

First and foremost among the advocates for a total boycott has been the Organization of African Unity. Ambassador Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, permanent representative of the Republic of Nigeria to the UN and present chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, reminded an Atlanta audience of the depth of Africa's commitment to this effort. He stated, "Africa is totally identified with the struggle in South Africa as it is the last and crucial stage of the continent's struggle for emancipation. To us in Africa, this is a matter of life and death."

While Africa has clearly played a leading role, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Socialist community of nations, and the Nordic countries remain steadfast supporters of the boycott. Ambassador B. Akporode Clark, past chairman of the UN Special Committee, recently told a UN audience that the current U.S. policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa would not contain the international movement for isolation. Ambassador Clark stated, "South Africa will remain a pariah of the international community as long as it practices apartheid, and it is the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Socialist countries, and the Nordic countries that have made South Africa a pariah state. No other power can remove this status until South Africa purges itself of this terrible stain and moral evil."

American artists who travel to South Africa must now confront the possibility of international blacklisting, demonstrations from domestic supporters of the boycott, as well as physical threats while on tour. All of this will certainly force them to reconsider if it is profitable to entertain apartheid.

## BEAUBRIEN

*Continued from page 13*

special problems for anti-apartheid activists. Johnnie Makatini, the African National Congress (ANC) representative to the UN, observed, "The case of black American entertainers, who, for a mass of potage are prepared to betray the cause of blacks in South Africa, and the dignity of blacks the world over, poses a big challenge to the black community in the U.S."

A problem of long-standing with the visits of black Americans to South Africa is the acceptance of "honorary white" status in order to perform there. It is a volatile political symbol to black Africans and black Americans. As Elombe Brath puts it, someone who becomes "honorary white" in our eyes, minds and hearts will surely be known as a dishonorable black."

Anti-apartheid activists, however, have been slow to recognize that Africa holds a special emotional and psychological appeal for Black Americans. Published interviews with those artists who have traveled to South Africa reflect how important it was to them to take advantage of any opportunity to travel to Africa and experience African culture. Saxophonist Joe Henderson, who took six months to decide to go to South Africa, still has mixed feelings about his trip. "I felt uncomfortable about feeling so comfortable while I was there," he says. Henderson did not meet with AZAPO while in South Africa and thought blacks were happy to have him perform for them. Activists will also have to be careful not to give the impression that black artists, despite the special political significance of their visits, are being singled out for criticism.

Even Max Roach, whose 1960 recording "Tears for Johannesburg" was banned in South Africa, has expressed such fears to the *Voice*. He asked, "Is this part of an effort to discredit leading black artists? Isn't the boycott counterproductive if it helps to kill off black artists?"

Well known jazz musician Archie

Schepp, shared Roach's concerns. "There has never been any systematic attempt to politicize Afro-American musicians. It is not surprising that we find people who are in various states of confusion around this issue," he said. "So I am not unconditionally supportive of those people who are critical of Black artists for performing in South Africa. I am also critical of the situation which has led to this."

The need for an educational campaign to acquaint U.S. artists with conditions in South Africa has begun to be recognized by the UN community. Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, chairman of the UN Subcommittee on the Implementation of UN Resolutions on Collaboration with South Africa, said, "Member states have stressed the necessity of educating the entertainer and other cultural personalities first—it is only when they reject all pleas and advice for cooperation and remain adamant about going that they will be placed on the boycott list..."

Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, the black American lobby for Africa and the Caribbean, has also recognized this problem. He said, "The South African government is prepared to spend large sums of money in the attempt to buy international legitimacy and respectability. To the degree that black Americans participate, they help to make this possible. We must be prepared to do more educating of those who don't know the conditions of South Africa." TransAfrica will soon host a conference in Los Angeles to organize support among American artists for the cultural boycott.

Maxine Gregg, a New York-based musician's manager, also stressed the crucial need for educational outreach. She told the *Voice*, "It is very important to get more information out to artists who often fail to recognize that their work can be used for political ends. Artists must recognize that even with the money earned, they are being used for propaganda purposes."

However, a recent incident involving

## SAMRAF DEMONSTRATION INFORMATION

DATE:

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1983

TIME:

11AM TO 1PM

PLACE:

SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS OFFICE  
605 FIFTH AVENUE  
(BETWEEN 48th & 49th STREETS)  
NY, NY

Subscribe to

SAMRAF News & Notes

\$10 for 6 issues per year



Editor  
Village Voice  
842 Broadway  
N.Y., N.Y. 10003

Dear Editor,

Michael Beaubien's article was brilliant. His attention to "American Artists in South Africa" shows the leading vision of black activists and the resonance that the campaign against performing for apartheid has in the black community. What is the correlary activity for progressive whites, among white people in general?

First, we can pay special attention to the white artists flocking to Sin City (as they call it in South Africa). Blue-eyed gangsters like Sinatra will go where the dollars are flowing. Perhaps Glenn Campbell didn't know whether he was in Galveston or Pretoria. Ann Margaret always was more befuddled than bewitched. But, someone like Dolly Parton can and should be talked out of going. Actually, she should be convinced to join many entertainers (mostly black) pledging not to tour South Africa until apartheid is completely destroyed. Here is a chance for Jane Fonda and Lily Tomlin to help Dolly understand that sisterly solidarity extends beyond the 9 to 5 grind in the office. It extends across the ocean to Winnie Mandela, banished to a remote area of South Africa, and to 25 million black South Africans. We, as whites who care, cannot fail to apply the necessary influence on our performing artists.

Also, white performers and bands like Pink Floyd, the British rock 'n' rollers, have been banned in South Africa. "Another Brick in the Wall" became an anthem for the militant black student movement against apartheid schools that took place in 1980. The South African government censored "The Wall," refusing to allow the album into the country during a period of student boycotts and demonstrations.

The other obvious activity suggested is the flipside of a white American contribution to apartheid's cultural isolation. It is an effort to encourage defections among white South Africans. For South Africa's white youth, the same apartheid government which makes the country a cultural wasteland also demands a life-long military obligation in defense of these policies. Most white kids would rather listen to Pink Floyd than fight an unjust war. But South Africa's young whites have no choice. The whites-only draft is compulsory for young men 17 years old and up, with service required until the age of 55. There is no right to conscientious objection, only 1 to 3 year recurring jail sentences.

Singing for apartheid is bad enough, but fighting for apartheid is a thousand times worse. Doing that fighting against the aspirations and the drive for freedom of black people is a South African Defense Force that is officially 96% white. The United Nations has passed two resolutions urging all countries to welcome South Africa's draft resisters and grant them asylum. So have the city governments of San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, and Santa Cruz. White Americans can and should assist white South Africans taking a stand of conscience against fighting for apartheid. When white military resisters fleeing South Africa arrive here, as they already do, we can nurture their resistance and make of it an example of what whites can do to support blacks in their struggle to bury apartheid and achieve their freedom—after over 4 centuries of white domination that has been described as a (white) crime against humanity.

Dolly Parton is scheduled to go to South Africa on December 2. Her manager is justifying the tour with the myth that Sun City and the tribal bantustan of Bophuthatswana are not in South Africa. "Dolly is not going to South Africa. She would never go to South Africa. She's going to Sun City," claims her manager.

The Bophuthatswana "homeland" scattered in six pieces around South Africa has been recognized as independent since 1977, but only by the apartheid government of South Africa. No other country in the world would agree that this area is no longer South Africa.

People who seek freedom and racial justice in South Africa have always viewed the entire "homeland" scheme as an integral part of apartheid. It is a strategy for preserving white power by depriving Blacks of their birthrights and citizenship in South Africa. Over and over again, the "independent homelands" have been proven to be a cynical exercise, totally under the control of the apartheid authorities in Pretoria. Does the opening of a multi-million dollar casino change fic-

tion into reality?

The campaign to end cultural collaboration with South Africa was revitalized recently in New York City with radio appearances by Johnny Mahkatini, the ANC's Chief United Nations Representative, and a demonstration at a Ray Charles concert. The demonstration was called by a coalition of black organizations led by the Black United Front and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. It proved to be very effective in educating people, turning some folk away, gaining publicity for the cultural boycott, and embarrassing Ray Charles. Then the preceding article appeared in the *Village Voice*.

SAMRAF has submitted the letter reprinted above as a "letter to the editor." We're hoping the *Voice* will print it. We have also joined with other concerned whites in a sub-committee, under the direction of the black coalition, called Stop Performing for Apartheid. We intend working with white entertainers and with the white community to build support for further isolating apartheid South Africa.



South Africa in that it defies fighting in support of white racial superiority, as our ancestors have done.

We want to nurture a segment of whites in South Africa who not only refuse to become cannon fodder for the apartheid regime, but also actively support the aspirations of Black people and their right to freedom. SAMRAF has consciously built itself as an organization which supports the liberation process by encouraging white military resistance. We believe this is a form of direct solidarity with Black people's struggle in Southern Africa.

These young men should be encouraged by all people of conscience and should be made welcome when they seek asylum here in the U.S. They are making the right decision. It is a crime to fight for apartheid, and it is humane to refuse.

The U.S. government would rather recognize the generals, the diplomats and the businessmen of apartheid as the welcome guests here. We believe these people should be recognized as defenders of white supremacy and refused entry. We say that freedom fighters should be welcomed and supported here, and that white South African war resisters are our friends.

It is a very positive sign internationally that young whites in South Africa are saying no to racism. They need to be nurtured and made into an example of what whites can do to support a black struggle for freedom. In a most significant way they are resisting the very life-line of racism. Their ability to resist and to turn their guns around on the real enemy is a hopeful message to black freedom fighters in Southern Africa and will speed the inevitable: the creation of a free, non-racist South Africa.

### **South African Airways: They Don't Fly Our Way**

Many of apartheid South Africa's overseas offices are shielded from public view. Here in New York City, the South African Consulate and the unseated Mission to the United Nations are both located anonymously in mid-town skyscrapers. South African Airways, however, is at ground floor level on Fifth Avenue, replete with full-size replicas and large full color photographs of wild animals, the main image apartheid South Africa wants to create in order to entice tourists to a nation at war. The colors of the apartheid flag—blue, white & orange—are everywhere.

South African Airways is not an independent commercial body. It was nationalized by the South African government in 1934. The official yearbook of the so-called Republic of South Africa, in referring to this period of history, writes that by making the airlines state-owned they were able to create more white jobs and therefore eliminate the "poor white problem." The state also sought to expand beyond South Africa's borders, making SAA an international carrier, even though today it is not allowed to land anywhere in Africa.

People in Houston, Texas are currently struggling to prevent South African Airways from gaining landing

rights at their international airport. The South African government estimates that attaining landing rights in Houston would mean \$10 million in additional earnings per year.

South African Airways is thoroughly integrated into the apartheid state. It represents South Africa's direct connection with the outside world at a time when apartheid should be increasingly isolated.

The advertising slogan of South African Airways is "We Fly Your Way . . . SAA" Our response is that SAA will never fly our way until South Africa itself belongs to the people.

### **A Call for Support**

It will probably be pretty cold in New York City on January 22. Yet, we hope to have a thunderous demonstration outside the South African Airways office, calling on everyone to help disarm apartheid's racist military machine.

We are asking organizations from all over the United States to endorse and support this demonstration. Please let us know as soon as possible. Spread the word. Tell your friends and co-workers to come out January 22, in support of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

There are other ways in which people can actively participate.

One is letter-writing:

- Write to the Bureau of Human Rights & Humanitarian Affairs at the U.S. State Dept., U.S. Government, Washington D.C. 20520—Recommend that South African military resisters be granted asylum in the U.S., in accordance with United Nations resolutions.
- Write to the South African Embassy, 3051 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington D.C. 20008—Protest the oppression of Black people under the apartheid system and the drafting of white youth to fight in defense of apartheid.
- Write to General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defense, Private Bag X427, Pretoria 0001, Rep. of South Africa—Protest the invasions into neighboring countries along with the imprisonment of conscientious objectors and military resisters who refuse to carry out such crimes.

Another way to participate on January 22 is to call South African Airways and make reservations for flights from New York to Johannesburg. This will tie up their phones on the date of our demonstration and will lodge an effective protest because we would like people to make reservations for the following dates:

- March 21, 1983—anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. A protest by some 10,000 African people was held as part of a nationwide campaign, organized by the Pan African Congress, against the South African pass laws. White police fired into the demonstration. When the firing ceased 69 Africans



lay dead and 186 were wounded.

- June 16, 1983—anniversary of the 1976 Soweto rebellion, a day on which more than 20,000 black students protested against "bantus education" and ignited demonstrations throughout the country lasting for a year and a half. At least 25 black students were killed by police and military forces on June 16, with around 1,000 killed in the demonstrations thereafter. These protests were spearheaded by the organizations of the Black Consciousness Movement.
- August 8, 1983—closest flight to the anniversary of the August 9, 1956 march on Pretoria, organized by the South African Women's Federation and the African National Congress, against the extension of the pass system to African women. Over 20,000 took part in the protest, and the date is now recognized as South African Women's Day. It was one of the largest peaceful demonstrations ever held in South Africa. With the outlawing of peaceful protest in 1960, the ANC was forced to take up arms.
- August 26, 1983—anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle to free Namibia, in 1966. The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO of Na-

mibia) was founded in 1960 as a liberation movement embracing all Namibians and dedicated to ending South Africa's colonial domination. The date is now celebrated as Namibia Day throughout the world. Inside Namibia, rallies are held even under the guns of South Africa's occupying army.

The telephone number for SAA reservations is 826-1245, if you're calling locally. From outside New York City, use the toll free numbers: 800-442-5985 for New York State and 800-223-1160 for calls from anywhere else in the United States.

Reserve seats for parties of two to six people, thereby swelling their reservations for those four dates. They may very well find out about our protest, but will be unable to know how many reservations are for real and how many are made in solidarity with the actions of January 22. You can call as many times and use as many names as you like. Be creative. If they run out of seats on that date, just book the next available flight. But don't tip them off that your reservation is part of the protest. Make it real. The protest is in our collective actions.

## SAMRAF and Our Programme

SAMRAF is a political organisation and a network of supporters. It is composed of white South African exiles, especially military resisters, as well as American activists. We began organising work in the USA in late 1977, the first overseas group to form in support of the war resistance movement inside South Africa.

SAMRAF believes that it is a necessity to build support among white South Africans and white Americans for the national liberation struggle which will free South Africa and bring the destruction of the apartheid system. Since the South African military has become the dominant force within the whites-only regime of Botha, Malan & Co., and because a thoroughly militarised Total Strategy has been developed to preserve apartheid, SAMRAF believes that we can and should foster white resistance through encouraging military resistance.

SAMRAF publishes "an uncensored resistance magazine for white South African soldiers and draftees," called *Omkeer* (in English, the military command: about face). This call for resistance is distributed to white youth currently facing military obligations. Inside South Africa, military resistance takes many forms. Some active-duty soldiers distribute *Omkeer*. Some have organised mass walk-outs from base. Some conscientious objectors to apartheid military service are locked up in Detention Barracks, often under solitary confinement. Some draft resisters and deserters disappear within South Africa, while others take a big step into forced exile. Resistance has even reached into the high schools where white students are forced to undergo military training. This entire movement is still small, but is growing in importance.

We have established a base of support for this work in the USA. For those military resisters who are exiled in this country, we can help with legal counsel, especially for those seeking political asylum. We also provide general guidance and orientation for re-settlement. We have found that we can be particularly helpful in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Boston. We also campaign for U.S. government acceptance of the right to political asylum in the case of genuine South African military resisters and political exiles.

SAMRAF is investigating the moves by the apartheid regime toward greater mobilisation of white women in support of the military. This is done through research, active recruitment of women to our work, and fostering the development of a women and war project designed to counter the enemy's propaganda toward white women.

Educating the American public about the South African military as a threat to world peace, a nuclear menace, and a festering sore of violent racism against Black people is one of our primary goals. SAMRAF participates in the broader U.S. movement to support the liberation struggles of Southern Africa. In this we have raised funds and other material aid for SWAPO, the liberation movement of Namibia. We also participate in other progressive movements in this country and take part in numerous coalitions.

### SAMRAF CONTACTS

29 Seventh Ave.  
Brooklyn, NY 11217  
(212) 638-0417

San Francisco  
(415) 641-9055

Chicago  
(312) 252-2849