

IX. QUESTION OF ASSISTANCE TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The United States Government's relationship to the South African Government has always taken precedence over United States relationships with the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. Relationships under Democratic Administrations have been more open than those under Republican ones. Under President Carter, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations was available to the liberation movements. Under Reagan, for example, the ANC representative to the United Nations has not been inside the United States Mission even once.¹³⁵

Funds for South African and Namibian refugees are channeled through the United Nations. The Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO, is specifically banned by federal law from receiving United States funds designated for "international organizations and programmes." Of the \$500,000 granted to the United Nations Institute for Namibia in 1983, \$10,000 was withheld because the United States said it would have gone directly for expenses of SWAPO members of the Institute's board of directors.¹³⁶ The following chart illustrates that the House of Representatives more than the Senate or the Administration has been primarily responsible for securing funds for the Institute for Namibia and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. The figures in the "conference" column are those actually granted, after negotiations between the Administration and both Houses of Congress. Aid for 1985 has not yet been agreed upon.

UNITED NATIONS REFUGEE PROGRAMMES
(in millions of dollars)

	<u>ADMINISTRATION REQUEST</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>CONFERENCE</u>
<u>1984</u>				
Institute for Namibia	0	.5	0	.5
United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa	0	.34	0	.343
United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa	1.0	1.0	0	1.0

¹³⁵ Karis, Thomas G., "Revolution in the Making: Black Politics in South Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1983/84, pp.399-401.

¹³⁶ *Washington Post*, 6 May 1984.

1985

Institute for Namibia	0	.5	0
United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa	0	.34	0
United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa	1.0	1.0	

The United States Government has for many years made regular contributions to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. Further, as referred to in Chapter V the United States also supported other refugee directed programmes, such as the Southern African Scholarship Programme, from the 1960s on. This programme, now called the Southern African Training Programme, is open to refugees from apartheid who have political asylum in an African country and seek post-secondary training or degrees. The grants are given for study in the United States or in one of several African countries. All students must pledge to return to their country of asylum for at least two years after finishing their education. They are encouraged to study subjects with relevance for development. Between August 1976 and March 1984, 179 South Africans and Namibians had been sponsored for training in other African countries, while 113 had come to the United States.¹³⁷

The Reagan Administration is not, however, channeling most of its aid to South African blacks through the United Nations or directing it toward refugees from apartheid. Instead, between \$15 and \$16 million for fiscal years 1984 and 1985 is being given as part of the over-all policy of "constructive engagement." This is the largest amount of aid granted to South Africa in any recent period. It will not go to the South African Government, but is being divided between a number of agencies in the United States and South Africa. "Peaceful, evolutionary change," rather than "violent revolutionary change," is what the aid is allegedly intended to promote.

Education for blacks and support for human rights activities seem, on the face of it, to be unobjectionable. But this United States aid does not contradict the strategy adopted by the white minority Government to maintain and perpetuate the *status quo*. According to this strategy, economic prosperity for whites is essential, and the limited white labour pool requires the development of an elite black force that can supplement white skills and will, it is hoped, see its interests not as those of the majority of blacks, but as maintaining the economic *status quo*. The largest amount of United States aid to South Africa goes to train black South

¹³⁷ African-American Institute, interview, 17 May 1984.

Africans. It is directed towards obtaining skills in the United States compatible with moving them into a black middle class.

The first residents from South Africa covered by the new projects came to the United States in 1981. For the years 1984 and 1985, a total of \$8 million is being channeled through three American institutions which are administering the scholarship programme in the United States. There are 169 students in the United States under the auspices of the South African Educational Programme (SAEP) of the Institute of International Education in 1984. The American African Educational Foundation (AAEF) has 17 students and Aurora Association has 21. The students for SAEP and the Aurora Associates Programme are chosen by the South African Educational Opportunities Committee headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches. The United States Agency for International Development administers the funds for these two programmes. AAEF students are chosen by the United States Embassy and a USIA person in South Africa, and the Programme is administered by USIA.¹³⁸ The SAEP programme is a joint government, university and foundation venture; participants agree to return to South Africa upon completion of their training. An effort is made to place graduates in jobs with United States corporations in South Africa.¹³⁹

A second programme has set aside \$2.15 million to help black South Africans, hindered by inadequate secondary schooling, to prepare for university. An additional \$3 million has been granted to the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) to train black business leaders. Although the administration of this grant has not yet begun, many members of NAFCOC reside in the bantustans and support for them will help strengthen the bantustan structures that fragment South Africa.

United States aid is also aimed at the emerging black trade union movement in South Africa. Universally recognized as the most important development with profound economic and political implications, the pressures to influence and control it come from many quarters. For the year 1984, \$875,000 is being channeled through the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center for leadership training for black trade unions.

When efforts were made to establish links between the African-American Labor Center and the South African unions in 1982, it was widely reported in the South African press that the CIA was attempting to gain an influence in the trade union movement. Stories alleged that the African American Labor Center had

¹³⁸ *Washington Notes on Africa*, Winter 1984.

¹³⁹ *Proposal to the International Communication Agency for a Grant to the South African Education Program*, Institute of International Education, April 1982, pp.1-6; Conversation with African-American Institute.

long been suspected of such ties.¹⁴⁰ It is unclear if there will be additional funds for the programme in 1985.

At the very end of the 1983 Congressional session, \$1.5 million was approved to aid human rights groups in South Africa. The grants of up to \$10,000 will be administered by United States Aid, but no recipients have been named to date.

Finally, the United States Embassy in Pretoria has discretionary funds, and these have dramatically increased because of the devastating drought in southern Africa. In 1983, \$55,000 was designated for emergency drought relief. The amount was increased to \$255,000 for 1984 and the 1985 amount has not yet been allocated. In addition, the Ambassador has been allocated for 1984 the amount of \$275,000 in discretionary funds. He is likely to have an equivalent amount allocated in 1985.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ *Sunday Tribune*, Johannesburg, 12 September 1982.

¹⁴¹ *Washington Notes on Africa*, *op. cit.*