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FOCUS

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South Africa's Death Squads

Special Police and Military Teams Are Terrorizing Anti-Apartheid Organizations and Killing Their Leaders

Remaking U.S. Policy Toward the Caribbean

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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On Mandela, the U.S. and Africa

A near universal respect bordering on reverence has grown around the name of Nelson Mandela, who for many personifies the human will to be free. The South African government was unable to still his voice or break his heroic spirit even after 27 years of imprisonment. Yet what we admire most about this statesman is not that he endured those long harsh years of confinement, but that he emerged with his humanity intact. Indeed, he is able to sit down with his former captors free of bitterness.

Mandela's cause stands out for its moral clarity against the brutality and injustice of a system where police death squads still murder those who dare stand in opposition. His presence in our country should remind all of us that the struggle in South Africa to abolish apartheid and secure genuine democracy is far from over. While we recognize that South African State President F. W. de Klerk has removed some of the oppressive policies of his predecessor, it is clear that he must go much further to accommodate the just demands of Mandela. First steps are just now being taken on the road to true democracy.

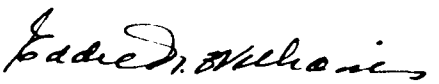
The Mandela visit also challenges us to refocus U.S. foreign policy on other areas of the African continent that deserve our attention and concern. The U.S. has strategic, economic, and humanitarian interests in Africa, which in addition to everything else is a treasure trove of strategic minerals and other natural resources and remains a largely untapped market for American goods and services. Furthermore, many of the 51 African states are influential members of the United Nations and of other international organizations of which the U.S. is a member. We need their political support in these bodies.

Many nations on this continent desperately need our help. Famine continues to prey upon starving millions. A band of South African-supported terrorists is waging a war in Mozambique, where even children are pressed into the killing fields as combatants. Civil strife is ravaging Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, and Angola. Moreover, many African nations are saddled with huge debts to industrialized countries, choking economic development.

As we reassess our policy on Africa, we must not lose sight of the success stories. Ivory Coast and Gabon are humane societies with stable economies. Senegal is a democracy with a genuine multiparty political system. And in Zimbabwe, a multiracial society can boast that the civil and political rights of its white minority are protected.

In a new, more positive policy toward Africa, the United States should choose to stand with Nelson Mandela and to provide assistance to the African National Congress. We must maintain economic sanctions as leverage to press the South African government to accelerate the process that will bring full political equality to its black population. We should support increased development assistance to Africa and the Caribbean. Michigan Congressman George Crockett's aid bill (the Mickey Leland African and Caribbean Development Act—H.R. 4443) is designed to do just that. The bill would increase development assistance to Africa and the Caribbean from $673 million to $1 billion.

The U.S. can also support development on the continent by restructuring and forgiving some of the crushing debts of African countries. Finally, we are in an excellent position to be a force for peace in Africa. There are many conflicts that our good offices might help to settle. This continent, the ancestral home of 35 million Americans, needs our understanding, friendship, and support. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS
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South Africa's Death Squads

Special Police and Military Teams Are Terrorizing Anti-Apartheid Organizations and Killing Their Leaders

by Gay McDougall and Carl Soderbergh

"Bheka, these Boers are after me." Those were the words of South African human rights lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, to a colleague after being released in Durban from questioning by the South African Police in November 1981. Mxenge had been held on suspicion of channelling funds to the African National Congress (ANC). He also called his brother in Ireland and told him that he was worried. Only days later, Mxenge's body was found mutilated. He had been stabbed 45 times, his throat had been slashed and his ears cut off. The attack was made to look like a robbery since Mxenge's car had disappeared and his jacket and wallet had been taken.

In fact, evidence has emerged that Mxenge was murdered by a death squad operating under the auspices of the South African Police. His death is one of numerous unsolved killings, including the tragic deaths of anti-apartheid activist David Webster in May, 1989, and of human rights lawyer Anton Lubowski that autumn.

Until recently, government complicity in political killings had been suspected but never proven. That changed last October when Butana Almond Nofomela confessed that he had belonged to a South African Police death squad. This was the first hard evidence that scores of anti-apartheid activists may have been killed by death squads controlled by South African police and military.

At first, South African State President F.W. de Klerk refused to address the allegations. In response to pressure from human rights groups, however, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced on January 31, 1990, the formation of a judicial commission of inquiry. The sole commissioner is South African judge Louis Harms. The commission began its inquiry in February of this year, and on its first official day Orange Free State Attorney General T. McNally presented a list of 71 unsolved politically motivated killings since 1977. While its investigations have been restricted to attacks which occurred inside South Africa, evidence presented to the Harms Commission has revealed the following:

- The death squads target key anti-apartheid leaders in a calculated plan to terrorize and eradicate the opposition;
- Several death squads controlled by South African police and military organizations have existed in South Africa at least since 1981;
- The activities of the death squads extend far beyond the borders of the country;
- The annual budget is very high (28 million rand or about $10.5 million annually for one death squad alone), making claims of ignorance from high government officials doubtful;
- The death squads continue their activities today.

The Bloody Trail of Murders

Griffiths Mxenge is only one victim on a long list of people killed under mysterious circumstances. Tragically, his wife, Victoria Mxenge, was slain four years later by unknown assailants. The Human Rights Commission, a private human rights organization in South Africa, estimated last year that approximately 61 anti-apartheid activists had been killed in the country since 1978. In only two cases was anyone ever brought to trial. The Human Rights Commission also reported that, during the same period, at least 61 more activists and family members were assassinated while in exile. The ANC states that at least 60 of its members have been assassinated outside South Africa. These figures do not include the hundreds of cases where individuals have died at the hands of government-backed vigilantes.

Eleven assassinations were documented in 1989 alone. Among them was the death of David Webster, founding member of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, who was shot outside his home in a Johannesburg suburb last May. Two men were detained for that murder in October, but they have since been released. One reportedly told his father that he had been under the command of South African Military Intelligence. Another victim, Anton Lubowski, a lawyer and the first white to openly proclaim his membership in the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), was shot at least 20 times with an AK-47 assault rifle last September outside his home in Windhoek, Namibia.

In addition to assassinations, offices and members of opposition groups have been targeted in a variety of attacks, including bombings, thefts, and vandalism. In a pre-

(Continued on page 4)

Ms. McDougall is an attorney and the director of the Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. Mr. Soderbergh is a human rights attorney from Sweden who is interning at the Lawyer's Committee.

South Africa's Death Squads

(Continued from page 3)

liminary report completed last autumn for the period since 1985, the Independent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression counted 165 incendiary attacks; 15 bombings; 47 reported cases of vandalism; and 37 reported burglaries (thefts mainly of files). The Board was formed in July 1989 to investigate assassinations and attacks on anti-apartheid organizations. Although these assaults follow a clear pattern aimed at subduing opposition to apartheid, proving they were the work of the South African government had remained difficult until recently.

Government Involvement Proven

The startling confession of Butana Almond Nofomela has laid responsibility for many unsolved murders squarely with the South African government. Nofomela, who is black, served with the security branch of the South African Police from 1981 through most of 1987. His signed affidavit of October 19, 1989, details his role in a police death squad known as Unit C1. Nofomela was due to hang the following day for a murder unrelated to his work for Unit C1, but with the affidavit the government granted a stay in his execution.

The facts of Nofomela's confession have been confirmed by death squad leaders. Nofomela named Brigadier Willem Schoon and Captain Johannes Dirk Coetzee, his superiors on the police force, as leaders of his death squad. Both are white. Nofomela said he was involved in at least eight killings and numerous kidnappings. He told his lawyers that the death squad was stationed at Vlakplaas farm, located in the Transvaal near Pretoria and leased from a private citizen.

Nofomela reported that he and other members of the death squad were told by Coetzee that Griffiths Mxenge "was to be eliminated for his activities within the African National Congress." "[Coetzee] instructed us specifically not to shoot Mxenge, but to kill him with a knife," Nofomela said. On the night of the murder, Nofomela and three other death squad members parked their pick-up truck near Mxenge's house in Umlazi Township and acted as if they had suffered a mechanical break-down. When Mxenge stopped to offer help, Nofomela drew a gun. Mxenge was taken to Umlazi Stadium, where, Nofomela stated,

> We then started assaulting him with kicks and punches, until he fell to the ground. We then all stabbed him several times. He immediately died, and we carried on butchering his body. In accordance with our instructions from Captain Coetzee, we removed Mxenge's items of value, like money and a watch, in order to simulate a robbery.

Each of the participants was paid a one-thousand rand bonus (about $377).

Brigadier Schoon "coincidentally" retired only days after Nofomela's affidavit was taken. Coetzee, fearing that he would be marked as a scapegoat, fled to exile in Mauritius. There, in an interview with the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* on November 17, he confirmed many of the details in Nofomela's affidavit including: his instructions that Mxenge had to be knifed and not shot, the names of the other assailants, and the thousand-rand bonus. Coetzee claims his orders to kill Mxenge came from Brigadier Jan Van den Hoeven, Port Natal police commander.

Coetzee described other murders as well. Among the victims he identified were two ex-ANC members who were being "uncooperative" and Sizwe Kodile, a university student who suffered brain damage during interrogation in 1981, allegedly jumped out of a window and then had to be gotten rid of. Coetzee also described several bombings and killings in Botswana and Swaziland. He said he took part in a break-in at the office in Swaziland of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. An envelope stolen from that office, he said, was later used to send the letter-bomb which killed anti-apartheid writer Ruth First in 1982. "I was in the heart of the whore," Coetzee said. "I know the deepest secrets of this unit, which was above the law. I am guilty of, or at least an accomplice to, several murders."

The Military's Hand of Death

At about the same time that the Harms Commission was announced, evidence of a second death squad surfaced. This group, known as the Civilian Cooperation Bureau (CCB), is sponsored by the South African Defence Force (SADF). One of the CCB's planned targets was Dullah Omar, a prominent opposition lawyer. Heart-attack-inducing pills were allegedly going to be substituted for Omar's normal heart medicine. The plan failed. Another reported assassination target, who was not killed, was Gavin Evans, a journalist with the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* and a member of the End Conscription Campaign.

On February 10 of this year, Defense Minister Magnus Malan said that the purpose of the CCB (known in Afrikaans as Burgerlike Samewerkingsburo or BSB) was simply to gather information on the enemies of South Africa. Malan also assured the Harms Commission that all CCB operations had been suspended. The CCB chief, Colonel Joe Verster, was placed in detention under the terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, apparently in an attempt by the military to find a scapegoat.

High-ranking military officers have been implicated in connection with the CCB, including General Witkop Badenhorst, currently chief of staff for Military Intelligence, and Major General Eddie Webb, head of SADF Special Forces. When Webb testified, he contradicted Malan's statement that the CCB was no longer operating. Webb asked Justice Harms to close the CCB inquiry to the public, since "more or less two hundred projects that the CCB is currently engaged in could be jeopardized."

On March 29, Lieutenant Abraham "Slang" van Zyl, a

(Continued on back page)

June 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **Southern runoff primaries remain resistant to court challenges from civil rights lawyers.**
- **An experimental Wisconsin education voucher program is opposed by public school advocates.**
- **Washington, D.C., area members of the Nation of Islam are the first from that religious organization to run for elective office.**
- **Across the Nation: Kenneth "Muskie" Harris wins the GOP nomination in Arkansas; Democrat Harvey Gantt wins the right to challenge incumbent Jesse Helms for his U.S. Senate seat from North Carolina; Theo Walker Mitchell wins the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in South Carolina; and the Louisiana state legislature kills a bill to eliminate minority business set-asides and calls on the U.S. Congress to study reparations for blacks.**

The Struggle Over Runoff Primaries

With their May court challenge to Georgia's primary system, civil rights groups continue the fight to do away with runoffs throughout the South, charging that they are discriminatory and violate the Voting Rights Act. Runoffs are used to nominate candidates in nine Southern and border states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, and Texas). In most of the South, if no candidate wins a majority of the votes in a primary, the top two vote-getters must face each other in a second primary, or runoff. Critics of the system say that, until recently, these second primaries have spelled doom for many black political aspirants seeking congressional or statewide office because they dilute the influence of minority voters. Often, a minority candidate who wins the plurality of votes in the first primary loses in the runoff to the white opponent, who is aided by white bloc voting. It was for this reason that Jesse Jackson sought to abolish the Democratic party's runoff primaries in the 1984 presidential campaign.

Yet for Southern Democratic leaders, race is only one of several facets of the runoff. They fear that eliminating or drastically changing the runoff system could fundamentally alter Southern politics, which is now dominated by their party. Without runoffs, they argue, black candidates in states like Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina—where the black voting-age population ranges from 20 to 30 percent—could earn a plurality of the votes in a single primary but then be unable to attract white voters in the general election. These Democratic leaders are concerned that in cases where black (or white liberal) candidates do not have broad-based appeal, whites will cross party affiliation to vote Republican.

The most recent state to revise its runoff primary law was North Carolina. In 1988, after two successive failures to enact legislation eliminating runoffs, black state Rep. **H.M. "MICKEY" MICHAUX** (D-Durham), himself a casualty of the runoff system, was able to get a law passed to lower the threshold of votes that would trigger a runoff from a 50 percent majority to 40 percent plurality. In the 1982 Democratic primary race for North Carolina's 2nd congressional district (left vacant by retiring congressman **L.H. FOUNTAIN**), Michaux beat second-place finisher **TIM VALENTINE** 45-to-33 percent in the primary, but then lost to Valentine in the runoff. Valentine later won the general election. A similar fate befell former Chapel Hill mayor Howard Lee when he lost a runoff election for lieutenant governor in 1976.

Efforts to secure changes through the courts have been less successful than in state legislatures. A 1986 lawsuit in Mississippi challenging runoff elections was dismissed. In a more recent case in Arkansas, a federal court of appeals let stand a lower court decision affirming the state's present runoff system. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is deciding whether to appeal the Arkansas case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In Georgia, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has asked the courts to delay the state's July 17 pri-

mary pending a judicial ruling. Democrat **ANDREW YOUNG** is expected to be one of the top vote-getters in his party's gubernatorial primary there. Young opposes the ACLU lawsuit, even though he is running in a four-candidate primary field that includes Lieutenant Governor **ZELL MILLER.** Neither Young nor Miller is expected to win a majority. Young, however, says he is interested in winning not only the primary but also the general election, and therefore opposes efforts to change the system.

Given the saturation by black officeholders of majority-black districts and jurisdictions (created in the 1980s in response to judicial Voting Rights Acts challenges), future opportunities for black political aspirants are likely to be in non-majority-black districts and in statewide offices, places where runoffs have the greatest consequence. The fight over runoffs continues to be a source of division within the Democratic party in the South, between blacks whose clout is increasing within the party and whites who are being lured toward the GOP. Although without runoffs Democratic nominees lacking broad appeal could lose some elections to Republicans, if runoffs are maintained disgruntled supporters of black or white runoff losers might refuse to back the victorious nominee in the general election. Reconciling this dilemma will probably keep the Democratic party occupied for years to come.

Education Vouchers Cause Furor in Wisconsin

Starting this fall, 1,000 inner-city Milwaukee families with children in grades one through six will receive up to $2,500 in state funds to send each child to any Milwaukee County school they choose—public, private, or parochial. Teachers' groups and black organizations are concerned that the five-year pilot program, known as the Parental Choice Initiative, will draw resources away from urban centers and might not deliver on the promise of providing minority children a better education.

The initiative will provide low-income, inner-city families with financing credits (vouchers) that may be used at any participating school. (Parents are responsible for transportation.) The plan calls for the eventual expansion of the program to include other parts of the state where the school boards agree to allow transfers. Conservative Republican Wisconsin governor TOMMY THOMPSON proposed a similar voucher program in 1988 but was unable to get it passed by the legislature. The current voucher plan was sponsored by black state representative ANNETTE "POLLY" WILLIAMS from Milwaukee, a one-time welfare recipient who chaired JESSE JACKSON'S Wisconsin presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988. The measure was strongly backed by Thompson and won passage by the Wisconsin state legislature last year. Neighboring Minnesota's experimental "Open Enrollment" demonstration program, which also allows parents to shop around for schools, is in its third year and serves almost 1,000 children. It will become mandatory for all school districts this coming school year despite opposition by the Minnesota Education Association.

Educational vouchers are just one component of Wisconsin's conservative "public choice" agenda, which is based on the concept that a competitive market—survival of the fittest—is the best way to provide public services. Thompson is a strong proponent of that agenda. In addition to advocating school vouchers, he has implemented other controversial policies, including a Learnfare program whereby Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments are cut off from families whose teenage children are not attending school. (With the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' approval, granted in June, the program is being expanded to include children age 6 to 12). Thompson is also attempting to implement a two-tier welfare system under which people who migrate to Wisconsin from states with lower welfare payments will be denied the higher Wisconsin rate for their first six months of Wisconsin residency (see *Political TrendLetter,* February 1990).

Local opponents of the Parental Choice Initiative, including the Milwaukee teachers union, fear that with the mass implementation of a voucher system, private, parochial, and suburban schools will become the institutions of choice, likely to skim off the best students and siphon money away from inner-city public schools. State senate majority leader JOSEPH STROHL (D-Racine) warns that the initiative will "have the effect of eroding the quality of our public schools" and "further weakening the sending schools."

The appropriateness of competition in providing education is also part of the controversy. Some educators argue that if government relinquishes a portion of its responsibility for providing education and essentially becomes an issuer of vouchers, there will be no way to guarantee equal access to education among America's diverse population. Furthermore, some schools may refuse admittance to inadequately prepared children from poor neighborhoods. Milwaukee's most selective private school, University School in River Hills, has decided not to participate in the program after learning that the school might be expected to waive the difference between the $2,500 state payment and its $4,665 to $5,565 tuition. The issue of church-state

separation is also a factor in the debate, since it will be difficult to ensure that public money used for tuition at a church-sponsored school is not subsidizing religious instruction.

Finally, critics of vouchers worry that the students least likely to benefit may be the very ones educational vouchers are being touted to help—disadvantaged minority children in the inner city. According to EVELYN K. MOORE, executive director of the Washington, D.C. based National Black Child Development Institute, those suffering most in urban public school districts will have little freedom of choice. Moore warns that "vouchers would do little to help poor parents because many don't have cars to take their children to schools far from home and often don't have the time to shop around for new schools for their children."

Although few blacks share Rep. Williams' support for voucher programs, she has become a highly visible travelling spokesperson for what has become a controversial white issue. It remains to be seen whether other states will follow Wisconsin and Minnesota's lead in enacting voucher plans. In 1989, parental choice or educational voucher proposals were under consideration in 20 state legislatures.

Muslim Politics

For the first time in its 60-year history, members of the Nation of Islam have chosen to enter electoral politics. Three Muslim candidates, GEORGE X. CURE, SHAWN X. BRACKEEN, and ABDUL ALIM MUHAMMAD are running for various offices in the Washington, D.C. area. None of them has any previous political experience. Cure, an attorney, is running in a crowded field for the post of non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives from the District of Columbia. That seat is being vacated by WALTER FAUNTROY, now a candidate for D.C. mayor (see Across the Nation, May 1990). Brackeen, a D.C. schoolteacher, is running for an at-large D.C. school board seat. And Dr. Muhammad, a surgeon, Muslim minister, and national spokesperson for Nation of Islam leader LOUIS FARRAKHAN, is seeking the 5th congressional district seat in Prince Georges County, Maryland, currently held by STENY H. HOYER, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. Although the District is about 50 percent black, Hoyer, who is white, has enjoyed considerable black support while in Congress.

Charging that some black politicians are morally corrupt and more responsive to the white power structure than to their black constituents, the Muslim candidates are campaigning on a platform of disciplined and moral black leadership. Farrakhan says of the Muslim candidates, "You can't offer them a strange woman because they have their wives. There is not going to be any backroom smoking and drinking. And you can't serve them any drugs."

The Muslims first departed from their long established practice of political separatism in 1984 when members helped register blacks to aid Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. The Washington, D.C., area is where the Nation of Islam has run its successful and well publicized Dopebusters drug-fighting program to reclaim black neighborhoods from crack dealers. Dr. Muhammad is executive director of the Dopebusters program. Farrakhan, noting that it is time to "come out into the community to serve the needs of all with equal justice, all with equal representation," has challenged whites and the media to "accept these [candidates] in the same spirit that you accept any who step forward to serve." These campaigns are probably test-case races. Depending on their outcome, there may be future Muslim candidates for elective office in other parts of the country.

BOOK ANNOUNCEMENT: *BLACK VOTES COUNT*

Mississippi, a state once synonymous with racism and segregation, has made unprecedented strides in "attaining democracy and political justice for its black citizens" since passage of the Voting Rights Act, writes **FRANK R. PARKER** in his new book, *Black Votes Count*. Parker, who directs the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington, spent 13 years as a civil rights lawyer in Mississippi. As of January 1990, Mississippi had 669 black elected officials—the second highest number (after Alabama) for any state. Yet Parker also notes that those gains remain in jeopardy, as some of Mississippi's white politicians continue to try to dilute the voting strength of the state's 36 percent black population through at-large elections, racial gerrymandering, and the conversion of elective offices to appointed ones.

The book is available in paperback ($12.95) and hardcover ($29.95) from the University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288 (or call toll-free, 1-800-848-6224). A 20 percent discount is available from the publisher to those who identify themselves as *Focus* subscribers.

Across the Nation

ARKANSAS: Capturing 86 percent of the vote, black former college football star KENNETH "MUSKIE" HARRIS rolled over white supremacist RALPH FORBES in a June 12 runoff primary for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor. The picture had looked very different two weeks earlier, when Forbes finished first in the May 29 primary, garnering 46 percent of the vote to Harris's 36 percent. ROB BREAUX, owner of a printing company, had come in third. Since no candidate polled more than 50 percent of the votes, the two top vote getters, Forbes and Harris, went head-to-head in the June runoff.

Harris, well known as a defensive back for the University of Arkansas Razorbacks in the 1970s, now manages a realty company in Little Rock. He was unsuccessful in previous bids for state representative and for a seat on the Little Rock board of directors (equivalent to a city council). This year, Harris is campaigning on a platform of economic development, improved services for senior citizens, and increased funding for education, while opposing abortion.

Forbes, an avowed segregationist and fundamentalist minister from Pope County, is the executive director of the Sword of the Lord Good News Ministries. A former member of the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan, he opposes the idea of black and white people serving in the same government. The lieutenant governor's post, which pays $14,000 a year, is largely ceremonial. Nevertheless, during his campaign Forbes claimed that, if elected, he would convene a special session of the state general assembly as soon as the governor travelled outside of the state, so it could consider outlawing abortion. Forbes was recently an aide to David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and current Louisiana state representative and GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate. Like Duke, Forbes has attempted to use the electoral process to advance white supremacist and extreme right-wing philosophies.

Since registered Democrats outnumber Republicans in Arkansas by five-to-one, Harris is unlikely to beat the Democratic nominee, former state attorney general and one-term congressman **JIM "GUY" TUCKER,** in the November general election. With 344 black elected officeholders, according to the Joint Center's 1990 *Roster* of black elected officials (BEOs), Arkansas has the eighth highest number of BEOs in any state. Nevertheless, the state currently has no black members of Congress or statewide elected officials, and only six blacks, all Democrats, serve in Arkansas' 135-member state general assembly.

NORTH CAROLINA: HARVEY GANTT, the black former mayor of Charlotte, has emerged as the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate after defeating Brunswick County prosecutor MICHAEL EASLEY in the June 5 runoff primary. His victory gives Gantt the right to face three-term Republican senator JESSE HELMS in November.

Gantt defeated Easley by a strong 57 to 43 percent, despite a voter turnout of only 25 percent. Gantt garnered broad support from the state's major metropolitan areas: Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, and the coastal city of Wilmington.

With his war chest depleted by the two primary battles, Gantt faces an uphill battle against Helms, widely known for the effective direct-mail fund-raising of his political action committee, the Congressional Club. Compounding Gantt's fund-raising troubles, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee has dragged its feet in providing financial backing for his campaign, according to Washington insiders.

Meanwhile, the right-wing Senator Helms has already raised six million dollars and is expected to spend large sums on negative media ads similar to those he used against former governor JAMES HUNT, who challenged Helms unsuccessfully in 1984 (Helms outspent Hunt $16.5 million to $9.4 million).

Gantt, a political progressive, offers a clear ideological alternative to Helms, who is known for his strident opposition to civil rights enforcement and reproductive choice and for his support for the death penalty.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Black state senator THEO WALKER MITCHELL from the city of Greenville, has won his bid to become the Democratic gubernatorial nominee and to take on popular incumbent Republican governor CARROLL CAMPBELL in the general election. Mitchell has represented his majority black community in the state legislature for the past 16 years. In the June 12 primary, he beat white senate colleague ERNIE PASSAILAIGUE with 60 percent of the vote.

While Mitchell can credit much of his success in the primary to his grassroots campaigning, especially among black churches, he'll now have to broaden his base of support among the voters and raise more money if he is going to prevail against Campbell. He'll also need the strong backing of his party, which so far has not been energetic in supporting him. This lack of enthusiasm for Mitchell is viewed by black Democratic leaders in the state as symptomatic of how the white Democratic power structure feels about blacks in the party generally.

For some blacks, the Mitchell race is not only an election campaign, it has become a struggle for more clout in the party apparatus as well. In a state that is 30 percent black, no blacks are currently members of Congress, mayors of major cities, or holders of statewide office. And black politicians complain that the party does not stand with them on a redistricting strategy or efforts to abolish at-large election systems that dilute the black vote. One black party insider, who asked not to be named, says, "Former two-term Democratic governor **RICHARD RILEY** and former lieutenant governor **MIKE DANIEL,** the unsuccessful 1986 gubernatorial nominee, both white, got the full support of the party. But what we're seeing now is a subtle backing away from Mitchell by the party leadership, and we're getting tired of that kind of double standard."

LOUISIANA: A bill to "prohibit discrimination in affirmative action," which would outlaw minority business set-asides in Louisiana, passed the state house of representatives by a vote of 66-to-26 on May 29. The bill, which was sponsored by Republican state representative DAVID DUKE, a white supremacist and former KKK grand imperial wizard, has been referred to the Senate Finance Committee. In spite of the bill's apparently strong backing in the house, black state senator WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON from New Orleans, who is a member of the finance committee, says the bill is dead. The senate committee passed his motion to defer the bill indefinitely. "Duke is a skillful political maneuverer, and he keeps introducing anti-black legislation in the cloak of good government," says Jefferson, "but getting the bill passed by the House was an aberration."

In an unrelated move, the state legislature recently passed a joint resolution calling on Congress to look into the possibility of providing reparations to the descendants of American slaves. The measure, which is advisory in nature, asks Congress to study the impact of slavery and racial and economic discrimination on African-Americans and to recommend remedies.

Remaking U.S. Policy Toward the Caribbean

Congressman George Crockett Is Working With the People and Leaders of the Caribbean to Make U.S. Foreign Policy More Responsive to the Economic Needs of the Region

by Atherton Martin and Greg Asbed

Through the lens of tourist brochures and television dramas, the Caribbean appears an inviting place, its exotic landscape filled with smiling faces and the lilting music of steel drums. Yet beneath this facade, life for the majority of the people is anything but a fantasy. The region faces serious economic problems, many of which have their origins in its colonial past. Much of the Caribbean saw its debt to developed countries soar in the 1980s, while during this same period the terms of trade for the region's major exports deteriorated precipitously.

The most important U.S. economic development strategy for the region during the 1980s was the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), passed by Congress in 1983. The CBI purported to revitalize area economies by promoting increased U.S. investments, which in theory would create jobs and expand exports to the U.S. market. After seven years of the CBI strategy, however, U.S. investors have not flocked to the Caribbean. More jobs have been lost in agriculture and industry than were created, the region's trade balance with the U.S. has worsened significantly, and many of the needs and priorities of the Caribbean people remain ignored. Today, most nations in the region face rising unemployment, growing food shortages, and deterioration in the health of their populations.

Many in the Caribbean are nevertheless hopeful that a legislative proposal introduced by Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.) will address some of these problems and amend CBI's deficiencies.

CBI Is Not the Whole Answer

The Caribbean Basin Initiative emphasized bilateral aid and trade relations between the U.S. and countries in the region. Central to the new initiative was a provision to increase quotas, lower duties, and remove other barriers to imports from the Caribbean to the U.S. Unfortunately, the plan fell victim to domestic U.S. politics. Members of Congress representing districts with textile, footwear, leather, and tuna industries were able to remove import preferences for these products, on the grounds that they were thereby protecting domestic U.S. industries from Caribbean competition. Protection of these key industries essentially gutted CBI as a catalyst for economic growth in the region.

Furthermore, CBI was externally conceived, financed, and directed and made no provision for grassroots participation. By not involving groups representing the Caribbean's youth, farmers, workers, or women, U.S. policy makers failed to take advantage of local expertise in the formulation and execution of the CBI strategy. And by insisting on creating new institutions financed, staffed, and controlled by U.S. personnel, the CBI program excluded the managers and technicians of indigenous Caribbean agencies (such as the Caribbean Common Market, formed in 1973, and the Caribbean Development Bank) who could have played a meaningful role in the area's revitalization.

Toward a Remedy

In 1987 and 1988, Congressman Crockett held four hearings in Washington and two conferences in Barbados with representatives of local farmers, workers, women, and small manufacturers. These meetings led Crockett, who is chair of the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, to introduce the Caribbean Regional Development Act in 1989.

Without denigrating the value of the trade and investment components of CBI, Crockett's legislation targets U.S. aid to the region so that it more directly helps those it is intended to benefit. Development assistance would be directed to support democratic Caribbean institutions that benefit the poor.

The legislation lays out 11 broad priorities for U.S. economic assistance to the Caribbean: increased food produc-

(Continued on page 6)

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Remaking U.S. Policy

(Continued from page 5)

tion; rural development; support for small- and medium-scale enterprises; expansion of tourism; regional economic integration; upgrading technical and managerial skills through scholarships, training, and other means; sensitivity to environmental protection; private sector development and export promotion; support for democracy; and improved human services.

The proposal aims to achieve these goals through the involvement of a broad range of public, private, and non-governmental organizations in programs of economic diversification. Government-to-government assistance is to be supplemented by aid that would be directed to local grassroots and community organizations. Small- and medium-scale manufacturing and agriculture, however, are seen as the primary engines of growth and employment. Therefore, credits to small farmers would be designed to deemphasize traditional cash crops (sugar, bananas, and citrus crops) and expand food production for local consumption. This would reduce the dependence on food imports and stem the outflow of foreign exchange to pay for them.

A Rocky Road in Congress

The Crockett bill calls for $60 million in government-to-government economic support funds and $93.6 million in development assistance that would be targeted to projects. With the strong support of Rep. Dante Fascell, chair of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill has been incorporated into two major House foreign aid authorization bills. Ultimate adoption by Congress is problematic, however, since action on foreign assistance has been stalled in the Senate.

The growing consensus in the region among leaders of government, the private sector, and grassroots organizations is that the Caribbean has its best chance for sustained development through closer cooperation among the countries. Crockett's bill honors this approach and could signal an important new direction in U.S. policy. ■

The Colonial Legacy of Economic Constriction

The roots of the present crisis in the Caribbean run much deeper than the failed U.S. development policies of the 1980s. Many of the region's problems are the byproduct of more than 300 years of colonialism. Caribbean colonies were restricted to buying and selling almost exclusively with Europe, precluding the development of trade partnerships with other nations in and out of the region.

As the dominant form of production, the colonial plantation system itself left the region a dual heritage. It monopolized the best agricultural lands, limiting the region's capacity for industrialization and food production, and it made each island dependent on one or two agricultural exports (usually sugar, bananas, or citrus crops). In 1958, the Federation of the West Indies was inaugurated, with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados at the forefront of the united colonies. In 1959, Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba. These two events represented different answers to the same central question put before the Caribbean's emerging political leaders. How would economic development be possible for the tiny nations of the Caribbean with their high levels of unemployment, illiteracy, and racial inequality and with economies that were bound to a single principal trading partner?

The U.S. response to the Cuban model of socialist sovereignty sent a clear message to the neighboring nations: political independence must stop short of economic self-determination, and any direct challenge to the western, free-enterprise model of economic growth would not be tolerated. This message set the parameters within which the nascent independence movement in the British West Indies would have to operate after the vacuum created by the withdrawal of Great Britain had been filled by the United States.

As elsewhere in the hemisphere, U.S. economic stewardship in the Caribbean was governed by an export-led, market-oriented model of economic development. However, the U.S. did not encourage the use of local resources and expertise in ways that would strengthen links among the economies of the region and reduce their dependence on foreign aid.

The newly independent nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean began to exhibit the classic symptoms of "underdevelopment." Economies that had been self-sufficient in food production during colonial times became net importers of basic food staples as small-scale farmers converted their acreage to cash crops, leading in turn to urban unemployment on an unprecedented scale. Social services in areas such as transportation, health, housing, and education were stretched thin while the crime rate spiraled upward.

In response to these crises, development models along the lines of the Federation of the West Indies were resurrected and, in 1973, the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) was founded, forging intraregional links in production, finance and credit, marketing, professional training, health services, transportation, culture, sports, and diplomatic representation. Nevertheless, this approach had only limited success, and the promise held out 10 years later by the Caribbean Basin Initiative has gone equally unfulfilled.

Hardcore Cocaine Use on the Rise

Increased Addiction to "Crack" and Cocaine Is Straining Social Services and Law Enforcement Institutions Nationwide

by Katherine McFate and Dennis Hoyle

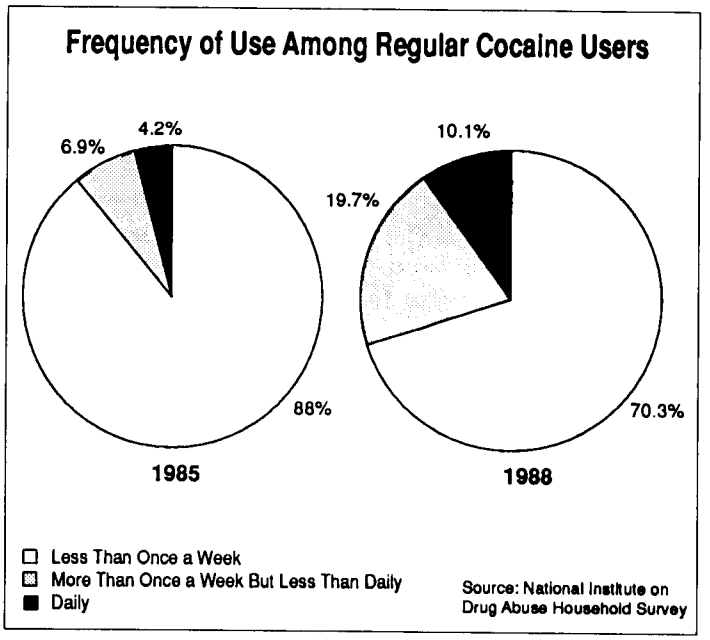
In the early 1980s, the amount and quality of cocaine entering the U.S. increased dramatically, making the drug less expensive. At the same time, a new, more addictive form of cocaine—"crack"—began to appear in the nation's major cities. These two developments made cocaine much more accessible, and by the mid-1980s the epidemic of cocaine abuse had spread across the nation, hitting poor central city neighborhoods the hardest.

The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) in 1985 and 1988, indicates that casual (or occasional) use of illicit drugs has significantly decreased since 1985. However, the same surveys show that among regular cocaine users, the proportion of hardcore abusers (who reported using cocaine weekly or daily) tripled between 1985 and 1988 (see chart).

During the same period, NIDA reported a similarly steep rise in the number of hospital emergency room cases in which patients tested positive for cocaine. In the 21 major metropolitan areas studied by NIDA, these cases more than quadrupled, increasing from 10,248 to 42,511. Even more disturbing, the percentage of individuals in these cocaine-related episodes who reported that they were "dependent" on cocaine rose from 42 to 63 percent.

Hardcore users present serious challenges to society. They are likely to commit street crimes to support their habits, and their subsequent arrests further cram already overcrowded jails and choke the judicial system. A rapid increase in young female cocaine addicts has also exacerbated a number of public health problems. Many female addicts support their drug habits through prostitution, and the number of pregnant addicts is growing.

One NIDA study estimated that 11 percent of all children born in the U.S. in 1988 had been exposed to drugs. Some central city hospitals report that 60 percent of pregnant women test positive for cocaine, and other surveys show that one in four babies is born with cocaine in its blood system. As the first wave of cocaine-exposed children enters public school, they are creating a new set of challenges for already struggling urban school systems. Teachers and administrators are being asked to educate children with new health and developmental problems added to the known disadvantages of growing up in chronically poor neighborhoods.



Another side-effect of this epidemic is that the children of drug abusers, who do not receive adequate care, are flooding the child welfare systems of many large cities. In Los Angeles, foster care placement of drug-exposed children increased elevenfold between 1981 and 1987.

Public health systems are being overwhelmed by the cost of treating emergency room patients, overdoses, drug-exposed and abandoned "boarder babies," and addicts seeking detoxification. Last year, hospitals in Washington, D.C., spent $176 million on non-reimbursed indigent health care, much of it drug-related. Caring for each drug-exposed baby generally costs $20,000 to $30,000 for the first six weeks; a boarder baby can cost $100,000 a year to support.

The pressing problems associated with the drug epidemic are common to many American communities: a large number of addicts without access to treatment programs; escalating drug-related public health costs; and high rates of violence and homicide among young males. Those problems, coupled with the large and growing number of hardcore cocaine users, are straining municipal services to the breaking point. Unfortunately, the data indicate that things are likely to get worse before they get better. ■

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South Africa's Death Squads

(Continued from page 4)

white former member of the CCB, disputed Malan's assertion that the organization was merely an information-gathering group. He said that the CCB's aim was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the Republic of South Africa." Van Zyl confirmed the plot to poison Dullah Omar, and added that Omar's death had been called for by high ranking military officials because he was viewed as an "enemy of the state." Van Zyl also said that he had been ordered on August 25, 1989, to monitor the movements of Lubowski in Cape Town and Johannesburg only weeks before Lubowski's death.

Evidence presented to the Harms Commission has indicated that the CCB had a budget of 28 million rand ($10.5 million) per year. Van Zyl said his monthly salary was 3,500 rand ($1,320), plus a pension contribution of 800 rand ($302) per month and two productivity bonuses of 3,000 rand ($1,132) per year. In addition, he received a BMW automobile, housing, telephone allowances, and free medical care. A bookkeeper for the SADF implied that little care was given to accounting for CCB funds, and the group supplied no explanations for its expenses.

The Killing Continues

The Harms Commission has been obstructed in several ways. The CCB and the South African Defence Force have not been forthcoming with requested documents. Indeed, most of the financial and operational records have "disappeared." The inquiry's geographic limitation, which restricts it to acts within South Africa, has also hindered the production of evidence. At one point, Brian Tshikalange, an accomplice in the Mxenge murder, was interrupted while describing an operation into Botswana; his description would have added credence to his claim that he was an assassin.

It is feared that the geographic limitation may offer a *carte blanche* for assassinations to continue outside the country. A rash of murders this year has already confirmed these fears. On April 23, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member Sam Chand and his family were gunned down in their Botswana home. On April 28, Anglican chaplain Michael Lapsley, who lives in Zimbabwe, received a letter-bomb. He lost one eye, his left hand, and most of his right hand. Lapsley is a member of the ANC.

Attacks suspected to be the work of death squads continue inside South Africa as well. On April 7, Aldo Mogano, an activist in Alexandra Township near Johannesburg, was shot to death outside his house by unknown assailants. There has also been a series of mysterious car crashes involving PAC members. In mid-April, PAC president Japhta Masemola died near Pretoria in a collision. In a second crash, PAC member Ishmael Chand died enroute to the funeral of his brother Sam. On May 3, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander entered the hospital in critical condition following a third car accident.

The South African government's handling of the Lubowski inquiry makes it appear doubtful that any of the assassins will ever be brought to trial. The day after Lubowski was murdered, the Namibian authorities detained Donald Acheson, an Irish national and reputed mercenary. In light of its inquiries into Lubowski's death, the Namibian government sought the extradition of six South Africans, five of whom were alleged to be members of the CCB. Two of the individuals sought were to stand trial as co-defendants with Acheson. The others were requested as witnesses. However, following Namibian independence, the South African government refused to grant extradition, forcing the Namibian government to release Acheson on May 7 of this year for lack of evidence.

Justice Harms is scheduled to complete his inquiry next month, and a report of his findings will eventually be released. Unfortunately, it seems doubtful that the Harms Commission will have any real effect on ending death squad activities. Despite the revelations of commission testimony so far, the killing continues. ■

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