

The American Friends
Service Committee and Africa

Vision and Action over Five Decades

by William Minter
Research by Matthew Baird



**American Friends
Service Committee**

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Vision and Action over Five Decades

Written for the American Friends Service Committee
by William Minter

William Minter is the editor of *AfricaFocus Bulletin*
(www.africafocus.org). His most recent book, co-edited with Gail
Hovey and Charles Cobb Jr., is *No Easy Victories:
African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century,
1950–2000* (Africa World Press, 2007; www.noeasyvictories.org).

Research: William Minter and Matthew Baird

Photo selection: Terry Foss

Book design: Gerry Henry

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About This History

by William Minter

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Neither Imani Countess nor I remember exactly how the idea for this short history came up. But a memo on my hard drive from July 2003 indicates that it probably came from a presentation by Carole Collins at a meeting organized by Imani shortly after she joined the AFSC Africa Program the previous year. At that time I was beginning my own research for the book [*No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists over a Half Century, 1950-2000.*](#)

We were both aware of the key role that people in the AFSC had played in building support in the United States for African liberation. We both knew [Bill Sutherland](#) and the central role he played in the network of progressive U.S. connections to Africa over most of that period. And we had also personally seen the impact of AFSC offices around the country on local activism for African liberation, and the role of the national AFSC Africa program as one of the key national organizations supporting such grassroots activism. We were convinced that awareness of this history was a vital part of carrying that tradition into the future.

I had two other reasons for being interested when Imani suggested that I take on the project as a consultant. As a scholar as well as an activist, one of the key issues I have tried to understand is the complex process of how movements are built, or, more accurately, how they grow. Aldon Morris, in his book [*The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*](#) (1984) devoted a chapter to what he calls "movement halfway houses," organizations that provide continuity and resources to social movements through good times and bad. As key examples he mentioned the American Friends Service Committee as well as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Highlander Folk School.

The other reason was my family history. My parents met at [an AFSC work camp](#) at Delta Cooperative Farm in Bolivar County, Mississippi in July 1939, where my father was the doctor who ran the clinic at the farm and my mother, just graduated from the University of Iowa, was one of 23 campers. They were married the following year. One of the other members of this interracial community was Wilmer Young, who started the AFSC work camp program in the United States in 1934.

Although I was the principal writer, this small book was a collective product. I can't possibly thank all those who contributed, directly or indirectly. But key among them were AFSC staff including not only Imani, but also particularly archivist Don Davis, photographer and photo researcher Terry Foss, and book designer Gerry Henry. I also had access to an earlier draft manuscript on AFSC's programs in Africa by Matthew Baird, and was able to have telephone interviews with Carole Collins, David Sogge, Jerry Herman, Ted Lockwood, Debra Calhoun, Maghan Keita, and Gerald Lenoir. AFSC staff, particularly Ana Cristina Haubrich, facilitated planning the publication. From South Africa, Dereje Wordofa reviewed and commented on the final draft and design.

The last version I received was this PDF, from July 2008, with only a few small points flagged for filling in missing information. I do not know what blocked previous plans to publish the book and was never sure who to ask to find out more. Over the years, I have shared the PDF privately with researchers who inquired. But given that the decision to publish or not was the organization's responsibility rather than mine, I did not make it public on the web.

Last month, I was reminded of this by an inquiry from Elizabeth Enloe, who is working with Thandi Luthuli Gcabashe on her memoir including her time with the AFSC in Atlanta. We agreed that it would be very useful to have this document widely available to researchers. I contacted Don Davis at the AFSC archives, who consulted with his colleagues and agreed that "it's about time it was made available."

This short volume is based on only a few days of archival research in Philadelphia and only a limited number of interviews, although it is rooted in decades of personal interaction with AFSC networks and insights from many friends who have worked at the organization. Hopefully the rich history to which it points will attract not only new younger researchers interested in the American Friends Service Committee as an organization, but also in its role in the wider history of progressive movements for racial and social justice in the United States and around the world.

Any such researcher seeking to begin their exploration of relevant sources should begin with the AFSC's own archives (<https://www.afsc.org/project/archives>) and with the African Activist Archive Project at Michigan State University (<https://africanactivist.msu.edu>).

PREFACE

The American Friends Service Committee has been working in Africa for half a century. Past AFSC staff have made remarkable contributions to Africa's freedom, to ending apartheid, and to saving lives and building livelihoods across the continent. As current staff, we honor their principles and values and their will to bring positive change. As the AFSC nears its centennial anniversary, this booklet tells a small part of that story.

Today, there are achievements to celebrate in every part of the continent. Yet many African countries still face political turmoil, economic upheaval, and persistent poverty and inequality. Millions of children, women, and men are suffering and dying from protracted conflicts in Somalia, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In the face of these enormous challenges, AFSC staff members and partners are determined to play their part to nurture peace and end injustice. We will continue to use our skills and the resources we have at hand to pursue these goals in Africa and in the world.

Dereje Wordofa, Director of AFSC Africa Programs

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was founded in 1917 by Quakers to provide alternative service for conscientious objectors during World War I. Taking a stand against war, as part of the Quaker tradition and the wider pacifist movement, the organization also worked to provide immediate relief for those affected by war. It focused first on war refugees in Europe. But the scope soon extended beyond relief to running training programs for women and setting up opportunities for postwar dialogue.

Beginning in the 1920s, the AFSC built programs inside the United States as well, concentrating on poverty areas such as Appalachia, the Deep South, and Indian reservations. It particularly emphasized self-help community programs, and it organized work camps that brought young people from around the country to labor with local communities on projects such as building schools and clinics. It continued its focus on world peace, with peace education in the United States and support for relief and self-help initiatives in conflict areas in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The AFSC's engagement on multiple social justice fronts made the organization a natural vehicle for making connections, including within the civil rights movement and in actions such as sponsoring Martin Luther King Jr.'s trip to India in 1958. It combined action to meet immediate needs with a commitment to speak out against injustice, as when it protested U.S. relocation of Japanese Americans into concentration camps during World War II and helped them find jobs and housing after the war.

From the 1950s to the present, the AFSC's involvement with Africa has extended to all regions of the continent. At the same time, it has worked to mobilize people in the United States against apartheid and for African freedom. The scale of its Africa operations has been far smaller than that of better-known relief and development agencies. But it has distinguished itself by combining relief and development with commitments to foster dialogue, build networks of human understanding across boundaries, and "speak truth to power" to oppose injustice. The mix of these different elements has varied in response both to different local realities and to the demands of the times. Following the principle of devolving programs to local groups whenever possible, the AFSC did not build large institutional infrastructure in any one country or seek to entrench any one program. Instead, it has sought opportunities where the AFSC could make a contribution not being made by other groups.

MAKING PAN-AFRICAN CONNECTIONS

The AFSC began its organizational involvement in Africa in the late 1950s, in the context of the Algerian war for independence in North Africa and the rising movement for freedom in white-ruled Southern Africa. But the informal connections began earlier, in the intersection between peace activism and opposition to racism in the United States and around the world. A key figure was Bill Sutherland, an African American student activist in the 1930s and an AFSC volunteer after his graduation from college in 1940. He spent four years in prison for draft resistance and helped to found the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1945.

Sutherland's contacts helped spark the formation of Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR), set up in 1952 to support the Defiance Campaign in South Africa. Meeting Jacob Nhlapo, editor of the *Bantu World*, when they shared a platform at a meeting of Quakers in Birmingham, England in the fall of 1951, Sutherland heard of the plans for the campaign. He was given a list of contacts in South Africa, including Walter Sisulu of the African National Congress (ANC). Returning to the United States, Sutherland successfully urged George Houser and Bayard Rustin, his colleagues at CORE, to organize a group to support the Defiance Campaign. He also sent literature to South Africa, urging the campaign leaders to contact Houser and Rustin.

AFSAR was transformed into the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) in 1953. Sutherland moved to Ghana that year, and on to Tanzania (then Tanganyika) in 1962. In both countries his house became a gathering place for African American and other American activists visiting or living in Africa. Before the anti-apartheid cause attracted wide public attention in the 1980s, Ghana and then Tanzania were the African countries that most inspired Africa activists in the United States. In each case, Sutherland was there, to open doors and make introductions. Between 1975 and 1982 he served officially as the AFSC representative in Southern Africa. For almost five decades, both before and after those years, he served as an informal link to the AFSC as well as to other American networks becoming engaged with Africa.

SOUTHERN AFRICA AND EAST AFRICA, 1957–1975

In 1957, the year that Ghana gained its independence from Britain, the AFSC sent George Loft as its first staff representative in Africa to Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe). Southern Rhodesia was then part of the British-created Central African Federation, which also included North Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi). Ghana's independence signaled the begin-



Kenya, East Africa 1956. Workcamp to build 20 small houses for tuberculosis convalescents and their families. American and African workcampers worked together. Ralph Way, an American volunteer, and John Makesi, an African volunteer, are the ones working on the roof.

ning of the wave of African independence that would peak in 1960, when 17 countries celebrated their freedom from colonialism. But Southern Rhodesia was in that part of Africa, from Kenya in the east to South Africa in the far south, where white settlers still shared power and privilege with the European colonial rulers.

The AFSC had contacts in the region as a result of several extensive trips earlier in the 1950s by Douglas and Dorothy Steele. It also was involved in a work camp project in Maikosi, Kenya. But the program in the Central African Federation was the organization's first ongoing presence in that part of Africa.

The British projected the Central African Federation as a multiracial partnership, one that could soften the extreme racial views of whites in Southern Rhodesia and provide a gradual path to political participation for Africans of the three countries. The AFSC leadership in Philadelphia saw some hope for peaceful progress in the partnership concept. But the kind of racial partnership envisaged by whites was at best the partnership of "rider and horse," in the words of the Federation's first prime minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins. Loft and the two men who succeeded him as AFSC representatives in the region, Lyle Tatum from 1960 to 1964 and Jim Bristol from 1965 to 1967, built their closest ties with African nationalists in the three countries. These nationalists opposed the Federation in favor of full independence for each country with equal rights for all, regardless of race.

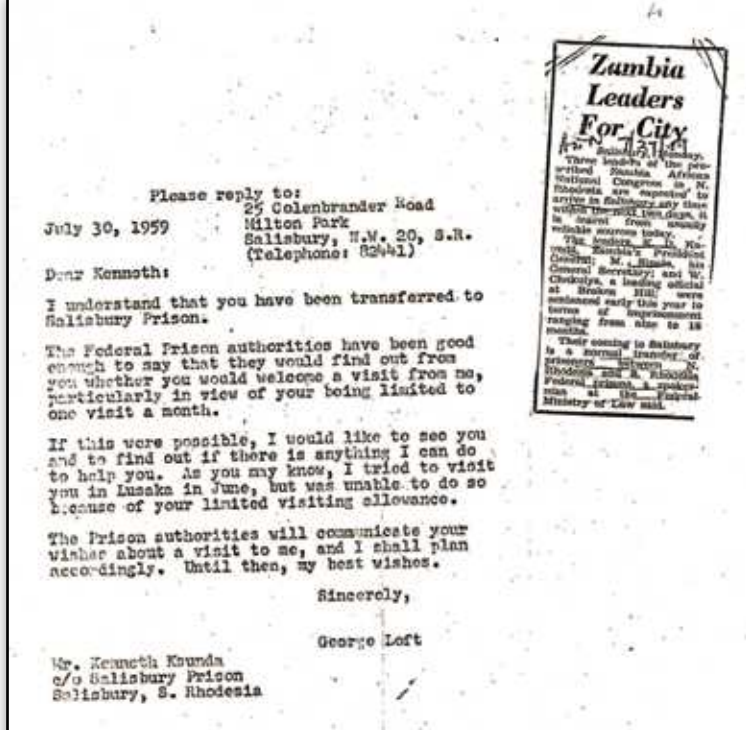
During the years that Loft and Tatum were based in Southern Rhodesia, African

nationalists from all three countries were imprisoned on repeated occasions, even by ostensibly “moderate” white settler and colonial administrations. In 1962, the extremist Rhodesian Front party won whites-only elections in Southern Rhodesia, preparing the way for the white-minority unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. Britain conceded the independence of Zambia and Malawi on the basis of majority rule, and the Federation dissolved in 1963. The two countries became independent in 1964 under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda and Hastings Banda, respectively, who joined Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana as British “prison graduates” who became presidents.

The AFSC representatives, based in the capital of settler-dominated Southern



Bill Sutherland (left) and Houser (right) at the Zambia independence celebration in Lusaka, 1964. Photo: Courtesy George Houser.



George Loft, who served as AFSC representative in what was then the Central African Federation, visited African nationalist leaders imprisoned by the colonial authorities. This early letter was sent to Kenneth Kaunda after he was transferred from prison in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).

Rhodesia, carried on with low-key contacts across racial and political lines, such as visits to political prisoners and support for interracial educational and social activities. George Loft visited Kenneth Kaunda and Hastings Banda when they were in prison, taking messages to and from their families and bringing in books. On one of his visits, Loft delivered to Kaunda books by Nehru and Nkrumah that Kaunda had requested. Tatum continued Loft’s contacts with prisoners. Their wives, Eleanor Loft and Bickie Tatum, were active in working with the interracial YWCA and with interracial student groups. In the late 1950s the YWCA in Salisbury was small, with only about 80 young women, about half African and the rest

European and Asian in origin. During their time in Salisbury, the Tatums also promoted school exchanges among schools, which were divided at the time into three separate systems for Africans, Asians and "Coloreds" (mixed race), and "Europeans" (whites). They were involved in the organization of the Salisbury Work Camp Association, which organized interracial work camps on weekends.

The outcome of such engagement, as with many AFSC programs, was primarily the building of personal ties and understanding. These relationships continued after AFSC staff returned to the United States. The AFSC thus had links both to those leaders who took office in independent states and to the nationalists in countries still under white-minority rule. From the start, the AFSC representatives in Southern Africa were aware of the wider context of their work, maintaining a wide range of informal ties. Loft attended both the first and second All-African People's Conferences in Ghana in December 1958 and Tunisia in January 1960, where he met nationalists from many African countries. .

As the minority regime led by Ian Smith continued moving to the right, however, even limited activities in Southern Rhodesia became difficult to maintain.

While on a visit to Tanganyika, Lyle Tatum was declared a "prohibited immigrant" by the government of Southern Rhodesia. Bickie Tatum died in an automobile accident in Tanganyika. Tatum returned to the United States in 1965, but he continued his active engagement in AFSC's Africa work. The geographic focus of AFSC activities in the region shifted to Zambia and to Tanzania (formed by the merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964).

Zambia, under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, and Tanzania, under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, were the two countries that were most active in promoting African

UHURU AFRICA FREEDOM ACTION KWACHA

ORGANIZATION SPONSORS

Tanganyika African National Union
President: Julius Nyerere
Vice Pres.: Rashidi Kawawa

United National Independence Party
President: Kenneth Kaunda
Vice Pres.: R. C. Kamanga

Pan African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa.
Chairman: Kenneth Kaunda
Secretary General: Mbiyu Koinange

World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action.
Co-Chairmen: A. J. Muste—U.S.A.
Michael Scott—U.K.
Jayaprakash Narayan—India

WORKING COMMITTEE

I. M. Bhoke Munanka
Simon M. Kapwepwe
Mbiyu Koinange
R. S. Makasa
S. A. Maswanya
Bayard Rustin
Randhir B. Thaker
Michael Scott
Bill Sutherland

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
P. O. BOX 9111
DAR ES SALAAM
TANGANYIKA
Tel: 22098 (Office A)
23375 (Office B)

Dear Lyle:
Tried to get you on the telephone through Ax Nelson several times while you were in Moshi I wanted you to come back through Dar and listen to some first hand information and to see some first hand evidence of beatings and intimidation Northern Rhodesia. What I have seen for myself leads me to believe that you are in an ~~xxxxxx~~ ivory tower down there in Salisbury! Incidentally there was no answer at Ax's and I didn't know Her number; please give it to me for future reference

Herewith a very poorly done newsletter from us. The experience with this one has taught us how we can avoid a repetition. Sending this one first class but will send the others 2nd class unless you think it a bad idea.

Best regards,
Bill
Bill Sutherland

Letter from Bill Sutherland, in Dar es Salaam, to Lyle Tatum, in Salisbury (now Harare). Sutherland was working with "Africa Freedom Action," an international network linking African freedom movements and supporters in India, Britain, and the United States.

and international cooperation to free the rest of the continent. Tanzania hosted the liberation committee of the Organization of African Unity in Dar es Salaam, and both Tanzania and Zambia hosted political refugees and movements from the white-ruled states. Both leaders were part of the political tradition of nonviolent political mobilization for freedom, drawing on the inspiration of India and of Ghana, and they maintained close contact with international pacifist networks that were also linked to the AFSC.

In Zambia and Tanzania the AFSC turned its attention to new programs to support development. It also sponsored Jim and Christine Bristol in Zambia, whose task was to maintain contacts with political exiles and continue the dialogue and networking work of the Lofts and Tatums. The Bristols were in Zambia from 1965 to 1967. But their work, and that of their predecessors, bore fruit primarily in later years, back in the United States, where they passed on to the constituents of the AFSC and other Americans what they had learned about the oppression and the freedom struggles in Southern Africa.

The doors opened in Zambia and in Tanzania, particularly by Lyle Tatum, resulted in several AFSC programs that continued for years. In Zambia, the primary focus was on self-help programs, beginning with education and later broadening to include housing. In Tanzania, where involvement was more limited, the AFSC ran a non-governmental volunteer program known as VISA.

The Zambia program began in 1964 with support of a night school established by local residents four years earlier in Broken Hill (now Kabwe), a community of some 50,000 people 60 miles from the capital, Lusaka. AFSC's presence in Broken Hill began with Alan and Polly Connor, who started working with the Bwacha Adult Education Association night school, purchasing reference books and assisting as educational advisers. In addition, Alan Connor worked to encourage a furniture-making cooperative and literacy classes while Polly developed a day camp program for primary school children during school holidays. The night school was extremely successful, operating five nights a week and catering to more than 300 students of all ages. Many of the school's graduates went on to hold leadership positions in the community and in organizations such as the Zambia Youth Service. Alan Connor also helped local carpenters establish a cabinetmaking co-op, the



Jim Bristol, AFSC representative in Lusaka, Zambia, is shown conferring with a Zambian friend.

Kabwe Joinery Cooperative Society. The co-op began by renting premises, but due to the high demand for their products they were able to build their own shop and offer apprenticeships

The Broken Hill program expanded with additional expatriate and local staff, including Dan and Audrey Dibble, John Chenga, Andrew Temba, and Sophia Mutale. Mutale's program work with women gained a good response, and included leadership training, sewing classes, and information programs on child care, health, sanitation, and arithmetic. Two students from the Oppenheimer School of Social Service, located in Lusaka, supported AFSC's work with local women's groups.

After 1967, AFSC involvement in the Broken Hill program gradually wound down. Emphasis shifted to a three-year self-help housing project in squatter settlements around Lusaka, carried out in cooperation with the Zambian government. This was located in Kafue, south of Lusaka, and included 1,220 plots in the Chamwana area. AFSC was responsible for 228 of the plots. The task was to organize families to participate and assist them in building their houses. Participants formed building groups of about 20 families each, with each family committing 1,000 work hours to the project. After training and preparation during 1969, ground was broken in January 1970, and the final home was completed early in 1973. Both national and local government personnel as well as AFSC expatriate and local staff were involved at all stages. AFSC also helped build a community health clinic, a roofed market area, and a four-classroom school that served 80 children living in the community.

In Tanzania, AFSC ran the Voluntary International Service Assignments (VISA) program, which brought volunteers over for two-year stints in development work. This AFSC program preceded and served as a model for the U.S. government-funded Peace Corps. It operated in Central America, Asia, and the United States; VISA's Tanzania program, its only presence in Africa, was operational from 1961 until 1968. During this period, a total of 45 volunteers, beginning with an initial group of 12, worked in over 30 different communities in health care, rural reconstruction, agriculture, and education. Most of the volunteers worked with the Community Development Division of the Ministry of Local Government, in the Northern and Tanga provinces. They lived in local housing and were integrated into programs in



Self-Help housing, Kafue, Zambia. 1971. Photo: Bard McAllister.



Tony Henry (*far right*), an AFSC worker on a two-year Voluntary International Service Assignment in Tanzania, holds a literacy class for village children.

coordination with other agencies such as UNICEF, the YMCA, and local community and youth centers. Groups overlapped so that each year the volunteers included both new arrivals and those in their second year. The program was considered very successful, but was wound down in 1968 in response to the Tanzania government's emphasis on building self-reliance in carrying out development efforts.

NORTH AFRICA, 1958–1972

AFSC began its work in North Africa in 1958, providing relief to Algerian refugees in the border areas of Morocco and Tunisia. This was a natural extension of its previous work with refugees in Europe. Algeria's war for independence was launched in 1954. While France, a U.S. military ally, was engaged in a brutal counterinsurgency campaign to retain French control of Algeria, the AFSC decided to focus on assisting the victims fleeing the war.

This involvement began with visits by AFSC's Paul Johnson in 1958 and 1959. The scale of the crisis was growing, with 50,000 Algerian refugees in Morocco and 60,000 in Tunisia in 1959, increasing to 80,000 in Morocco and 90,000 in Tunisia the following year. The Moroccan and Tunisian governments welcomed outside help, and the AFSC responded with a large program involving both direct relief and training programs. After a peace agreement ended the war in 1962, the

program's emphasis shifted to resettlement work inside Algeria. For several years this program was by far the largest international program that AFSC operated, with an annual budget of around \$300,000 and a staff of 26 expatriate AFSC appointees and 50 Algerians.

Work with Algerian refugees in Tunisia began in August 1959, with an initial shipment of 710,000 pounds of clothing, blankets, drugs, sewing machines, cloth, and other materials. The AFSC established six sewing centers on the Algerian frontier that were used to teach women sewing skills; when these proved successful, four more centers were added. Milk centers were set up and equipped with sanitary equipment. The AFSC provided school supplies and supported Algerian students living in hostels in Tunis. AFSC staff worked in close cooperation with the Tunisian government under the umbrella of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In Morocco the response took a similar form, with a first shipment of 154,000 pounds of relief supplies in January 1960. Based in Oujda, the AFSC worked through women's centers and was involved in the training of women, operation of a mobile clinic, and support of a student hostel. As in Tunisia, AFSC worked in conjunction with government officials and the UNHCR as well as other groups involved in the humanitarian effort.

After the signing of the Evian peace agreement in March 1962, the repatriation of refugees began in May of that year. The AFSC shifted to supporting resettlement inside Algeria, with community development, agricultural programs, and medical

programs. These were set up with the intent to devolve responsibility, a plan that was successful. AFSC programs in western Algeria were handed over to local control in 1965. Those in the east passed to local control by 1969, with the exception of two medical staff who stayed until 1972.

The AFSC's approach was to combine distribution of material aid with training programs. In the early stages of repatriation, when most rural refugees were in temporary camps, the



Milk distribution Algeria.
Jan 1963 Photo: Maurice Hatton.



A young Algerian girl reads from the blackboard in the course of a literacy class sponsored by the AFSC in Robertville, Eastern Algeria.

organization provided staff for milk distribution stations and emergency clinics. The AFSC training programs for refugees in Morocco and Tunisia were transferred to 20 villages in western and eastern Algeria respectively. Training focused on labor skills to help improve living standards along with skills to enhance democratic participation and community problem solving. In the public health field, the AFSC collaborated with the Algerian Health Ministry to set up a maternal and child health center, one of a handful in the country at the time. This effort included training Algerian health professionals such as midwives and clinic aides.

In the second half of the 1960s, after programs in the west were handed over to the Algerian government and other agencies, the AFSC focused on the coastal regions of Skikda and the Collo Peninsula in eastern Algeria. After conducting a survey of some 30 villages to determine the most pressing needs, AFSC undertook a series of small-scale self-help projects. These included, for example, draining a swamp, installing an irrigation system, establishing demonstration gardens, and building a bridge at El Oulddja; installing public latrines in Cheraia; and helping to install running water and constructing a new mosque in Ain Zouit. A maternal and child health center was established in Skikda in December 1965, with AFSC staff

continuing their involvement until 1972.



A Nigerian Quaker Service Worker measures a child's upper arm circumference. This will be compared to height on the QUAC stick, providing a reliable indication of degree of malnutrition.



Andrew Clark, team leader of Quaker Service in Southeastern State, Nigeria, takes a measurement of this child's upper arm while a helper holds the calibrated stick to measure height. This is part of the QUAC stick survey process to determine degree of malnutrition.

WEST AFRICA, 1960–1977

The AFSC was also involved in West Africa in these years, in several different programs. Paul Blanshard was sent in 1960 as an AFSC representative to Nigeria, based in Lagos. His mandate was to explore opportunities for AFSC involvement in dialogue and service projects, but the opportunities were limited. A professional educator in radio and television by training, Blanshard was able to work with Nigerian officials to facilitate health education programs. And he organized two work camps bringing young people from West Africa, Europe, and the United States to work



Quaker Leadership Seminar 1964 Cotonou, Dahomey (now Benin).

with local groups building youth centers in Ibadan and Port Harcourt. The work camp program continued after Blanshard's term ended in 1962, under the leadership of John and Ann Salyer.

The AFSC was also involved with relief support during the Biafran war, with personnel both in Biafra and elsewhere in Nigeria. At its height that AFSC program supported two doctors and two nurses in Biafra, and two doctors and three nurses elsewhere in Nigeria. By May 1969 there were two doctors and two nurses in Biafra serving 300,000 people through a hospital and 22 feeding stations and rural outpatient clinics. Elsewhere in Nigeria there were three administrators, two doctors, three nurses, one mechanic, and one community development worker involved in meeting emergency feeding and medical needs. After the war, the AFSC continued its capacity-building support for rural medical facilities in the Abia and Benue-Plateau areas.

Another AFSC activity in West Africa was a program of regional conferences and seminars, organized out of Togo. Operating from 1962 to 1977, the program brought together civil society members from across West Africa to discuss a range of topics such as education, African unity, development, youth, and leadership. A seminar usually had 20 to 30 participants and lasted a week. Two seminars were conducted each year, along with a smaller annual conference for planning future seminars.



Africa Seminar IV Kumasi, Ghana, July 1966.

This program was based on the model of an ongoing program that the AFSC had launched after World War II, with international seminars and conferences in the United States, Europe, Japan, and South and Southeast Asia. Participants in those seminars were generally students,

young professionals, and mid-career or senior diplomats. Although these earlier events did not take place in Africa, many Africans had participated, including 100 African students, 15 African diplomats, and 32 non-African diplomats who went on to serve in 14 different African countries.

The West African program began when Paul Johnson set up the AFSC office in Lomé, Togo, in 1962. The first seminar was held April 8–12, 1963, at the University of Ghana, with the theme “Africa Today: Common Tasks and Aspirations.” There were 29 participants, about half of whom came from eight different West African countries; the remainder included Quaker service personnel active in other parts of Africa. Staffing of the office after Paul Johnson left in 1963 generally involved married couples appointed from the United States who served two-year terms, traveled in the region, and organized two seminars a year. Seminars were held in Dahomey (now Benin), Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Nigeria, Togo, Senegal, and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso).

During the war in Biafra, the seminar program fostered private meetings with both sides of the conflict, encouraging dialogue. The program continued until 1977, but was then closed after an internal evaluation concluded that the general aims of supporting peace, understanding, and social justice were still relevant but that it was difficult to gauge concrete results.

In a separate West Africa-based program, the AFSC supported Pierre Pradevand, based in Dakar, Senegal for two years, in organizing national and regional conferences on family planning. AFSC medical consultants also met with professionals in the field in Algeria, Kenya, and other African countries to discuss this key health topic.

IN THE MIDST OF APARTHEID'S WARS

As the worldwide anti-apartheid movement grew in the 1970s and 1980s, the American Friends Service Committee became one of the key organizations linking U.S. activists with liberation movements in the region. Despite the continued pacifist commitment of the AFSC and its leading activists, strong personal ties facilitated an understanding of why the African movements felt compelled to turn to armed struggle. The ties built by the Lofts, the Tatums, the Bristols, and Bill Sutherland were strengthened, and the AFSC's Peace Education Division made anti-apartheid action one of its central programs.

While many traditional Quakers balked at association with African liberation struggles, these networks fostered an alternate perspective. As Bill Sutherland put it in an interview in 2003, "I'm a person who believes in nonviolence on principle. ... But I respect the revolutionist who adopts a violent method, because I think that the most important thing is the revolution." In an influential AFSC statement, "Nonviolence Not First for Export," published first in *Gandhi Marg* in 1972 and later as a pamphlet, James Bristol argued that activists in Western countries should understand the options open to movements in Africa. They should focus their own work on changing the policies of Western countries that supported the colonial and apartheid systems. "I believe in nonviolent revolution," he concluded, "but I also believe that it is neither humane nor practical to urge nonviolent revolution upon others whose situation is so totally different from our own."

The AFSC had the unique advantage of having offices around the country, almost all of which served as gathering points for progressive activists involved in many different issues in their communities and regions. The AFSC's work on Africa built on the energy of the group's Third World Coalition, founded in 1971. Visits by Bill Sutherland from Tanzania continued from the 1970s into the 1980s, and the AFSC was also one of the first groups to host Bishop Desmond Tutu on a U.S. tour. Sutherland recalls that the AFSC, itself a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, regularly nominated Tutu for the award, years before he received it. Based in Atlanta, Thandi Luthuli-Gcabashe, daughter of the 1960 Nobel laureate Chief Albert Luthuli, ran the AFSC's peace education program for the U.S. South from 1981 to 1996. AFSC offices in Seattle, Portland, Baltimore, Ohio, western Massachusetts, and North Carolina, to name only a few, were strong centers of local anti-apartheid activism.

Beginning in 1981, the AFSC national Southern Africa program office, headed by Jerry Herman, organized speaking tours focused on a different area of the United States each year. These annual "Africa Peace Tours," sponsored by a coalition of

groups, often included representatives of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Namibia's SWAPO. They met with local activists, spoke in schools and churches, and contacted local media. In the election years 1984 and 1988, the tours targeted key primary states such as Iowa and New Hampshire. In 1981, 1987, and 1990, the tour targeted Southern states, a particular emphasis for the AFSC.

Like other groups in the United States, the AFSC gradually increased its involvement in the anti-apartheid movement, primarily in response to events in South Africa. In 1965, as U.S. student groups launched one of the first protests against bank lending to South Africa, with demonstrations against Chase Manhattan Bank, the AFSC began a dialogue with that bank, where it kept an account. But dialogue failed to bring any results, and the AFSC eventually closed its bank account at Chase Manhattan in protest in 1969. In the 1970s and 1980s, the AFSC became fully involved in the divestment movement, which called on universities, cities, states, and other institutions to withdraw their investments from U.S. companies involved in South Africa.

AFSC brought to the anti-apartheid movement the strengths of its networks both in the United States and Africa, making connections and fostering dialogue among diverse sectors of the movement. But this did not happen without tension and debate within the organization, and with its traditional constituency among Quakers.

DEBATING NONVIOLENCE, DIVESTMENT, AND SANCTIONS

In the 1960s and 1970s the AFSC was an active and visible participant in both the U.S. civil rights movement and the movement against the war in Vietnam. In these years it recruited to its staff an increasing number of activists from those movements who were not Quakers by background, including black Americans and other people of color. It was forced to confront issues of race within the organization at a deeper level than it had previously done. The Third World Coalition, which began as an informal network of staff within the organization in the late 1960s, was officially recognized as a caucus within AFSC in 1971. The debate on apartheid therefore took place within a context in which the organization was challenged to deliver on its own commitment to anti-racism.

Jim Bristol's pamphlet stirred controversy among U.S. pacifists, with influential critics such as Gene Sharp and Kenneth Boulding contending that it failed to fully explore the options for nonviolence in South Africa. But Bristol and others who supported his position argued convincingly that white outsiders had no right to second-guess such leaders as Nelson Mandela, who had concluded that "all chan-



Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda serves tea to Bill Sutherland (right) in Lusaka in 1977, during Southern Africa trip by AFSC delegation. Photo: Harry Amana.

nels of peaceful protest had been barred to us.” Preaching nonviolence to both oppressors and oppressed would only serve to reinforce white privilege. Southern Africans had a long history of nonviolent resistance, Bristol reminded his readers. But the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 “brought an end to that chapter of the struggle.” Activists in the United States, including believers in nonviolence, should instead focus on removing the complicity of their own government and business in supporting the apartheid system.

From 1973 to 1975, the AFSC explored ways to increase its involvement in Southern Africa. Eventually it chose to employ Bill Sutherland as a Quaker International Affairs Representative based in the region and to set up a Southern Africa program in the Peace Education Division in Philadelphia. This stepped-up response came as the international anti-apartheid movement was growing in response to the Soweto uprising in 1976.

For the next six years, Sutherland spent half of each year in Southern Africa, based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and half the year traveling in the United States, educating Americans about apartheid and the liberation movements. In Philadelphia, staff members including Lyle Tatum, Jim Bristol, South African exile Peter Molotsi, and Third World Coalition leader Michael Simmons, among others, worked on the apartheid issue. In 1980 Jerry Herman was recruited to head the program.

The anti-apartheid message evoked an enthusiastic reaction from many staff in AFSC’s regional offices around the country. The AFSC published an “Action

Guide on South Africa” in 1976, used by local anti-apartheid groups. This attracted the attention of the right-wing *Citizen* newspaper in South Africa, that headlined it as a “U.S. Master Plan to Wreck S.A. Economy.” There was also opposition, from within Quaker circles, coming primarily from Dr. Hendrik W. van der Merwe, an influential spokesperson for the Southern Africa Yearly Meeting of Quakers. Van der Merwe, based in Cape Town but with many contacts in the United States, questioned the association of the AFSC with the liberation movements and the support for economic sanctions and divestment.

Van der Merwe and others argued against sanctions on the grounds that they would hurt black South Africans. But Sutherland recalled:

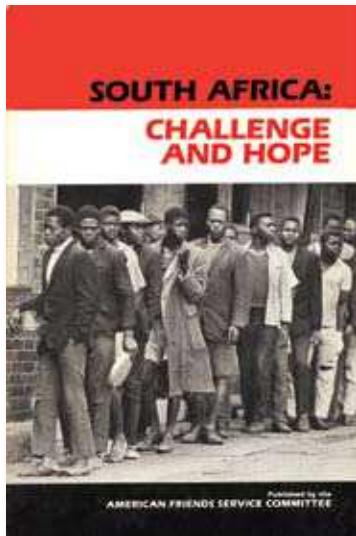
Others of us were listening to people on the ground in South Africa, as well as to the ANC and the PAC, who were all calling for sanctions. Bishop Desmond Tutu told us at the time, “Let us determine how much we want to suffer in order to achieve dignity and freedom.” For us, the corporate participation in the South African economy constituted a greater violence than sanctions, which may have cut down on some jobs, but remained true to a principle of noncooperation with apartheid. Ultimately, we were always able to arrive at a consensus or pull a majority at AFSC in favor of sanctions (Bill Sutherland and Matt Myers, *Guns and Gandhi in Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, p. 154).

The AFSC organized two study trips to Southern Africa that had a significant effect in building this consensus. In 1977, Bill Sutherland led 15 other delegates from the AFSC, including staff, board members, and members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) on a visit to Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Botswana. The majority of the participants were members of the AFSC’s Third World Coalition. They met government leaders and leaders of the liberation movements in exile, including President Nyerere in Tanzania and President Kaunda in Zambia. In Botswana they participated in a workshop on nonviolence organized by British and South African Quakers. Many of the participants were shocked to find that the white South African Quakers, led by Dr. van der Merwe, strongly opposed both sanctions and AFSC contacts with the liberation movements. The study tour reported to the AFSC board that white “South African friends never mentioned the giving up of white privilege” and did not see themselves as part of the problem.

In the summer of 1978, AFSC Southern Africa program director Michael Simmons organized a “South Africa summer,” which placed some 40 college and high school youth in 10 U.S. cities, working on campaigns to stop bank loans to South Africa. Many of those involved were African American, and the project was coordi-

nated with a speaking tour by Bill Sutherland.

The AFSC organized another study tour in 1980, this time visiting South Africa and South African-occupied Namibia as well as Botswana and Zimbabwe, despite opposition from Bill Sutherland and program director Michael Simmons. Sutherland and Simmons noted that South African exiles and others barred from South Africa could not participate in the tour, and that anyone whom the participants met either would not be able to speak freely or would be endangered by the contacts. Nevertheless, the AFSC leadership decided the trip was necessary to continue the dialogue with South African Quakers, who continued to raise questions about AFSC's Southern Africa program and its support for economic sanctions. The participants, who met with Bishop Desmond Tutu as well as a large number of the South African Quakers, concluded that the AFSC should take its cue from black leaders such as Bishop Tutu, who urged them to increase their efforts to build international pressure. Tutu, who had visited AFSC headquarters in 1979 after



meeting Bill Sutherland in 1978, was nominated by the AFSC for the Nobel Peace Prize, which he was eventually awarded in 1983.

After extensive study and debate by a working party appointed by its board of directors, the AFSC reached a consensus on South Africa and the role of the AFSC in the anti-apartheid movement. This position was formalized in *South Africa: Challenge and Hope*, approved by the board in April 1982. This, along with the increasing visibility of South African church spokespeople such as Bishop Tutu and others, facilitated the AFSC's active involvement in the rising movement of the 1980s.

ORGANIZING IN THE UNITED STATES

AFSC's anti-apartheid organizing in the 1980s involved information distribution, publications, and organizing from the national office, work with coalitions such as the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, and participation in the annual Africa Peace Tours. It engaged staff and volunteers in most of the AFSC's regional offices around the country. While focused primarily on South Africa, these efforts were also informed by contacts in other Southern African countries and particularly by reports coming from the Quaker International Affairs Representatives in the region—Bill Sutherland in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, until 1982, followed by Ted Lockwood, Carole Collins, and Mackie and Zubeida



Southern Africa Task Force Meeting, New York City, October 1993. Jerry Herman is in back row on right. Thandi Gcabashe and Francis Crowe are in the middle in front. Photo by David Gracie.

McLeod in Harare, Zimbabwe later in the decade.

In addition to *South Africa: Challenge and Hope*, published first in 1982 and in an updated version in 1987, the AFSC published *Automating Apartheid*, a detailed research study on the role of high-tech U.S. exports in reinforcing South Africa's military and security apparatus. Beginning in 1987, the national office published a *U.S. Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*. Both national and regional offices produced many pamphlets and leaflets for public education and for handing out at meetings and demonstrations.

As in the broader anti-apartheid movement, local and regional AFSC activists took their own initiatives. Those who were involved at the regional level included, among many others, Francis Crowe in eastern Massachusetts; Ann Stevers, Maryamu ElTayeb, and Randy Carter in Seattle; Gerald Lenoir and Avel Gordley in Portland, Oregon; Tony Henry and Miloanne Hecathorne in the California Bay Area; Grace Jones, Nozipo Glenn, and Debra Calhoun in Ohio; Harry Amana in North Carolina; and Damu Smith and Kathy Flewellen in Washington, DC.

As the list shows, AFSC involvement reached around the country. But the program also decided to emphasize areas where other anti-apartheid groups were less represented, particularly the states of the U.S. South. Although these anti-apartheid activities came two decades after the high point of the civil rights movement in the

region, the activist networks of the period and the links to the history of Jim Crow segregation made the connections to the anti-apartheid cause easy to explain.

The 1981 Africa Peace Tour, for example, visited Charlottesville, Virginia; Greensboro and Charlotte, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama; Jackson, Mississippi; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Tallahassee, Tampa, and St. Petersburg, Florida. Speakers included Jerry Herman of the AFSC staff; Lindiwe Mabuza of the ANC; Rebecca Matlou of SWAPO; Jean Sindab, executive director of the Washington Office on Africa; Carole Collins of the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa; and Wilfrid Grenville-Gray, who represented the International Defense and Aid Fund at the United Nations at the time. As other peace tours had done, they spoke at universities and high schools, met with activists and local officials, spoke on radio shows, and did newspaper interviews.

In November 1985 the AFSC hosted a U.S. tour by Leah Tutu, in which she visited Philadelphia, Washington, DC, Atlanta, and Jackson, Mississippi. She spoke strongly in favor of sanctions and denounced the state of emergency that had been declared by the South African government. “I would like to see peace and justice in my country,” she said. “But if we continue along the path we are on now, peace and justice will not come without death and bloodshed.”

The high point of anti-apartheid action in the United States came in 1984 to 1986, as rising internal resistance met with renewed repression in South Africa. More than a year of demonstrations by the Free South Africa Movement at the South African Embassy in Washington and steady grass-roots pressure around the country culminated in passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, over the veto of President Ronald Reagan. This act imposed additional economic sanctions on South Africa and, most significantly, made clear to Pretoria that it could no longer count on support from Washington. Both the national AFSC and its regional offices were among the hundreds of groups around the country that were actively involved in this movement.

In 1987 the Peace Tour, chaired by the AFSC and coordinated by Nick Mottern of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, again focused on the U.S. South, arranging for over 30 American and African activists to visit the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Involving 12 national organizations, the tour addressed not only apartheid but also the militarization of U.S. foreign policy and its support for South Africa’s wars in neighboring countries. Speakers on the tour from Senegal, Uganda, and Western Sahara as well as South Africa made links to issues elsewhere on the African continent as well,



Leah Tutu was hosted by AFSC on a tour of several U.S. cities in 1985. (Top) Leah Tutu is third from left, to her right are Elizabeth Enloe (AFSC), and Coretta Scott King. (Lower left) Leah Tutu with Bill Sutherland. (Lower right) Leah Tutu with Coretta Scott King. Photos: Terry Foss.

and between issues of poverty and of militarization.

The annual peace tours thus provided a way for the AFSC to place the issue of apartheid in the context of Africa-wide issues of peace and social justice. Within the Southern African context, it provided an opportunity to educate Americans about the deadly results of apartheid's wars on neighboring countries. Media coverage of South Africa in the United States during these years focused almost exclusively on events inside South Africa and anti-apartheid protests in the United States. But thanks to its contacts in the region, the AFSC was well aware that the dying apartheid regime was not only attacking its opponents inside South Africa but was fueling devastating wars in Angola, Mozambique, and other countries in the region. Communicating this reality on the ground to Americans through AFSC networks was one of the major tasks of the Quaker Affairs International Representatives in Harare, who traveled regularly throughout the region.

ON APARTHEID'S FRONTLINES

For those who served as international representatives in these years, their involvement was a continuation of their active involvement in mobilization on Africa back in the United States. Episcopal priest Ted Lockwood had been among the leaders in divestment actions in his church, beginning in 1969, and had first visited the region as an observer at the 1971 trial of Dean Gonville French-Beytagh, whom the South African regime charged with treason because of his support to political prisoners. From 1972 to 1980 Lockwood headed the Washington Office on Africa, which was active in supporting sanctions against white-minority Rhodesia.

Carole Collins, who succeeded him for the period 1986–1990, was a longtime activist both in Chicago and in national coalitions. She had headed the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa and had wide-ranging contacts in Africa, including Sudan and the Congo as well as Southern Africa. Trained as a journalist, she reported regularly on the region for AFSC and for other media outlets such as the *National Catholic Reporter*. Mackie and Zubaida McLeod were Boston activists, experienced in the broadcast media, who had been active in both local Massachusetts and international issues and were particularly active in the Mozambique Support Network in the 1980s. After working in Harare for AFSC,



Demonstrations of South African Embassy (Top) Kathy Flewellen; (bottom) Jim Matlack, Joe Volk, Carlie Numi, and Steve Cary. Photos: Terry Foss.



AFSC observers at the 1994 South African election include Jerry Herman (second from left) and, to his right, Aishah Simmons and Debra Calhoun. Photo: Terry Foss.

mized the spirit of the AFSC mission. It was not merely a matter of providing services, but of connecting people across borders and barriers. Summarizing their work in a few words is all but impossible. To cite only a few among many projects: Lockwood built ties among rural cooperatives in Tanzania, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, making it possible for co-op members to meet and exchange experiences. Collins used her contacts in Angola to set up dialogue between visiting Angolan artists and Zimbabwean artists and civil society. Both Collins and the McLeods gave special attention to fostering ties between women's groups in different Southern African countries, particularly across the language barriers between Portuguese-speaking Angola and Mozambique and the English-speaking countries. And all continued Bill Sutherland's tradition of hosting and introducing visiting activists from the United States or elsewhere, and of participating in the Africa Peace Tours and other educational programs on visits back to the United States.

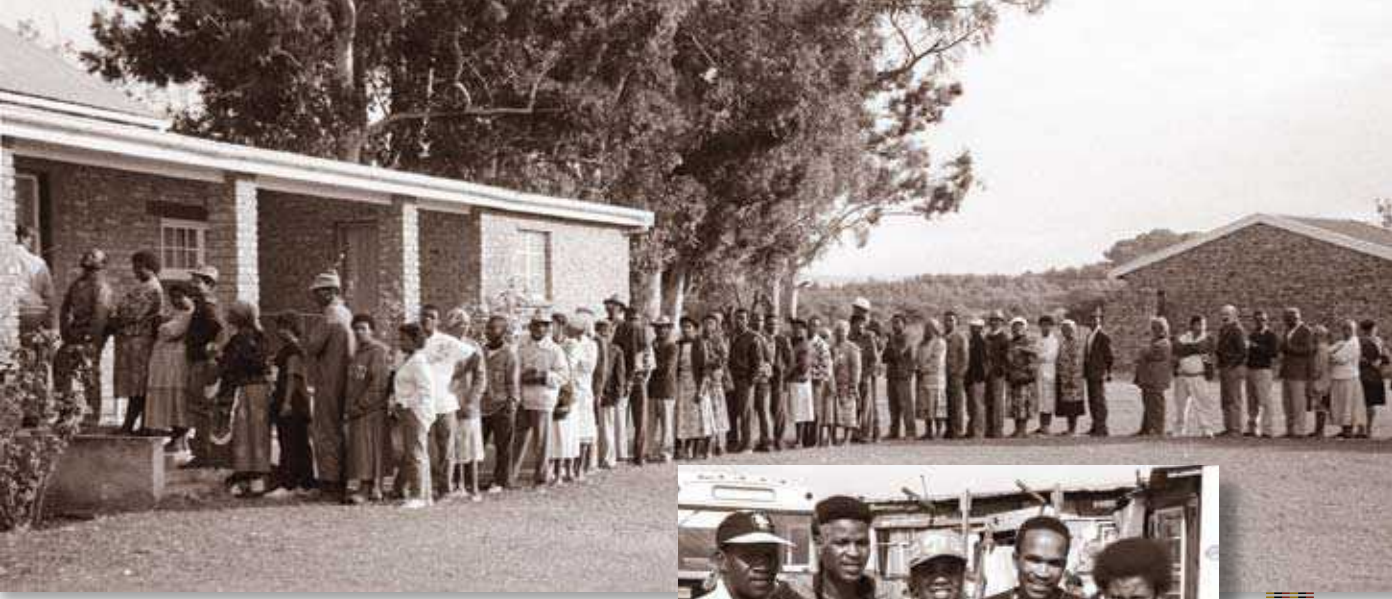
This period culminated in 1994 with the first free elections ever held in South Africa. The AFSC along with many other international groups sent observers to the historic event. The end of political apartheid was a time for celebration, but it was also a time for new thinking about the challenges for the entire continent that still lay ahead.

they worked in South Africa, where Mackie McLeod headed the Lotus Trust supporting the use of computer technology for development. Mackie's slogan while a broadcaster in Boston, Themba Vilakazi recalled after McLeod's death in 2005, was, "If you don't like the news, go out and make some of your own." The same slogan could apply to activist-journalist Carole Collins, who died in 2006.

Like Ted Lockwood before them, Collins, McLeod, and other AFSC staff epitomized



Bill Sutherland Institute, Washington, DC, 2005. Dianne Forte of AFSC's international division and Carole Collins, former AFSC representative in Southern Africa.



First South African election, 1994: Voters
 (above) Photo: John Stewart. **Observers** (right)
 Photo: Deborah Saunders.



RELIEF, DEVELOPMENT, AND DIALOGUE: 1975–1994

The movement to end apartheid set the context for AFSC's work in Africa from the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s. But that did not mean that the organization neglected opportunities to provide support for development. Service, it was always understood, required multiple forms of action, improving people's lives now while simultaneously addressing the issues of peace and justice that are indispensable for long-term change.

In Southern Africa, the AFSC continued its work in Zambia and launched new programs in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It fostered regional dialogue on development issues through the Southern Africa Quaker International Affairs Representative based in Harare, Zimbabwe in the 1980s and 1990s. In West Africa the organization concentrated on programs in Mali and in newly independent Guinea-Bissau. In East Africa, the AFSC developed a program of both development and relief that carried on under difficult circumstances in the 1980s and 1990s. Maghan Keita, David Sogge, Patricia Hunt, Mokeyane Mohulatsi, Mary Massaro, and Dianne Forte were among the international division program administrators for Africa, working out of the AFSC national office in Philadelphia during these years.

In Zambia, beginning in 1973–1974, the AFSC was involved in a new program, the Lusaka Housing Project, along with the Zambian government, the World Bank, and UNICEF. This was a large squatter improvement project designed to benefit 160,000 people in three communities in Lusaka. The underlying philosophy of the

project, and AFSC's particular emphasis, was a self-help approach to the housing needs of the squatters. AFSC and UNICEF were responsible for the community participation, community development, and communication aspects of the project. It was an unusual project for AFSC both in its scale and in the type of cooperation with other organizations, especially the World Bank. The program was started with local Zambian leadership and plans for devolvement to full local control were included from the start. AFSC staff supported local staff and provided training that helped facilitate a smooth transition. As an advocate for local community leadership, AFSC succeeded in convincing both government personnel and World Bank representatives that community members must have a voice in the decision-making process. In 1982, this program was successfully turned over to a Zambian non-governmental organization called Human Settlements of Zambia.

After Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, the AFSC set up the Technical and Material Assistance Program in Southern Africa (TAMAPSA). This program was directed by James and Patricia Seawell and was based near Harare. The program focused on community development and also facilitated the resettlement of Zimbabweans who had been refugees in Zambia and Mozambique. Centered around the Mhondro Communal Area, it provided small grants for community organizations working to rebuild local infrastructure and provide services for returning refugees. Specific projects included supporting a school for the handicapped, providing funds and training for a sisal-and-cement roofing project, and giving a grant to a women's collective to lease a 700-acre farm that was divided into small garden plots that residents could rent for a small fee. In 1982 AFSC also hired a public health physician, Nancy Foote, and outfitted a small van as a mobile health clinic as well as supporting the construction and operation of a Community Health Center in Nyanga.

These locally owned projects led to the creation of an umbrella community-based development organization known as the Matsvaire Rural Development Service Committee (MRDSC). In a three-year process that began in 1984, the Zimbabwe program was fully devolved to the MRDSC. In practice there was little that had to be formally "turned over," as local leadership had been central in the program since the outset.

While AFSC had been involved in humanitarian assistance in Mozambique since 1975, the year of independence from Portugal, the first AFSC staff there were Paul and Andy Epstein, a doctor and nurse who went to work in Beira in 1978. In the couple's two years there, their patients included not only Mozambicans but also Zimbabwean refugees. Paul Epstein was one of the first to document use of chemi-



In Mozambique, the AFSC concentrated on supporting women's development through grass-roots groups in Manica province. *Photo: Terry Foss.*

cal warfare by Rhodesian forces against Zimbabwean guerrillas. "On 23 April 1978 the nightmare began," he wrote in case notes from May 1978. "Five Zimbabwean refugees arrived in the emergency room, bleeding from the noses. One died in the emergency room, another died on his way to the ward. The next morning a third young man was in shock. By the end of two weeks, 15 men had died in front of us from excessive bleeding, out of 35 who were admitted and approximately 200 who had suffered from the mysterious hemorrhages." Suspecting poisoning, he sent a sample to the World Health Organization for analysis, which found a fatal quantity of warfarin, an anti-coagulant used to poison rats. Later reports documented the use by Rhodesian and South African forces of this and other chemical agents.

In the late 1980s AFSC began to focus its work in Manica, a province with a population of about a million people, adjoining independent Zimbabwe and more easily accessible from Harare than from the Mozambican capital Maputo. Although the South African-sponsored war by Renamo was then at its height, the AFSC focused on development work as well as relief. It worked mainly with women and children, whom it recognized as important actors in development. A program of support to local women's groups associated with the Organization of Mozambican Women had significant success and continued to grow, under local leadership, in later years.

Meanwhile, AFSC's West African programs focused on two countries, Mali and Guinea-Bissau. The development program in Mali began after the severe droughts of the early 1970s, with a request by the Malian government. The AFSC provided aid to a small group of nomads in northern Mali who wanted to settle, form a com-

munity, grow food, and start a school. The program was very successful, and in 1978 AFSC began a second area of focus, assisting village-based women's groups under a formal agreement with the Malian government. The drought worsened in the early 1980s, and in 1982 AFSC was asked to expand its program in the Goundam area, offering technical assistance in water management, rice production, grain storage, vegetable gardening, tree planting, animal husbandry, and literacy training for women and men.

AFSC's focus on strengthening local leadership in Mali led to the emergence of a pool of people skilled and experienced in community development, who began to take increased ownership of the programs. In 1987 the village groups formed a women's association called Women and Development (FEDEV), which established itself as independent from AFSC sponsorship. AFSC organized training for the staff and community development workers in cooperative management, bookkeeping and technical skills, budget preparation, and fundraising. In 1988 the group, now named Association for Aid and Development (AED), gained official recognition from the Malian government and became the first registered women's nongovernmental organization in Mali. AED continued to work as a partner with the AFSC in a number of other areas.

The other arm of the program, focused on sustainable development in Goundam, moved in a similar direction: program control passed to local leaders and

AFSC representatives completed their terms of service in 1991. Operating as an official Malian nongovernmental organization known as the Malian Association for Survival in the Sahel (AMSS), the program was fully devolved in 1992.

In neighboring Guinea Bissau, the AFSC began a similar development program in 1980. This supported soap production and later cooperative gardening associations. The emphasis was on appropriate technology, allowing rural women to earn money for their families. It also provided them an opportunity to

take an active part in planning and implementing the socioeconomic development of their communities. AFSC assisted local women in organizing associations and



AFSC representative David Negus (left) confers with the director of newly founded school in Tin Aicha, Mali. 1985. Photo: Terry Foss.



Woman in Guinea-Bissau building a pump in a training workshop. Photo: Terry Foss.

regional networks, as well as providing access to training programs. AFSC also established two child care centers that were transferred to local control.

As a result of this low-key, supportive approach to communities, AFSC staff were able to promote local participation in the 28 villages that participated in the horticultural program. The training and technical assistance organized by AFSC staff contributed to increased production of food, better marketing, and improved income generation by women. AFSC supplied rice hulling machines that allowed women to spend more time with their families or get training

for new income-generating activities.

In 1990 two Guinean staff members became the program co-directors and they began to operate with an all-Guinean staff. The co-directors received training in program and financial planning, management, accounting, and community organizing. They began a gradual process of devolvement that culminated in 1995 when the program was renamed the Association for the Integrated Rural Development of Women (ADIM) and began operating as a government-recognized independent nongovernmental organization. AFSC continued to work with ADIM as a partner in regional exchanges and conferences.

In East Africa, AFSC began relief and development assistance in Somalia in 1982 in the wake of the Ogaden war with Ethiopia and a massive drought in which more than one million people died. A quarter of the population became refugees. AFSC stayed with Somalia throughout years of civil conflict, maintaining Somali staff and program activities in the country. The aim was to increase the socioeconomic security of ethnically and socially marginalized groups, which are particularly vulnerable in situations of conflict and political instability.

The AFSC Somalia program paid particular attention to women as single heads of households. Based on action plans developed with each community, AFSC provided training and technical services in four major areas: food security, literacy, health, and community capacity building. AFSC provided humanitarian relief in the most pressing times of crisis and sought to promote sustainable development as the country struggled for stability.



Milling grain in Somalia. *Photo: David Funkhouser*

In 1989 the last AFSC expatriate representative left Somalia and the program was turned over to an all-Somali staff. In 1991, Mohamed Abdirahman, who had worked with AFSC since 1982, became AFSC program director. Much of the work focused on northeast Somalia, where AFSC helped seven remote villages more efficiently use water from natural springs for agriculture. The result was a significant increase in cultivated area and production.

In 1992–1993 AFSC’s emergency assistance provided desperately needed aid to thousands of Somalis. The development of the Omeria Cooperative, a model for the southern region of Somalia, was significantly enhanced by AFSC’s involvement. As one of the nongovernmental organizations that remained in Somalia during the civil war, AFSC contributed to ongoing reconstruction and development. AFSC expanded agricultural and veterinary services in 17 villages in the Janalle area in 1994, including distribution of seeds and hand tools. AFSC was also involved in training teachers and providing medical services at the Afgoi Girls’ Orphanage.

SEEKING NEW ROAD MAPS: 1994–PRESENT

When the South African elections of 1994 ended political apartheid, the high drama of the anti-apartheid era was over. The AFSC, like other organizations that had been deeply involved in that movement, had to adjust to a new period in which there was no unifying theme, but rather a wide range of issues to confront. The next decade was a period of both continuity and experimentation. While it continued established development programs in Mozambique and Somalia, the AFSC also became involved in new areas: supporting peace and reconciliation in Angola and in Burundi, and working to promote post-conflict demilitarization in Southern Africa.

MOZAMBIQUE

AFSC continued its programs in Manica province, providing health services. At this time AFSC was the only organization in Manica Province that focused on the role of women in development. In 1993 the Women and Children in Development program moved into a new phase, with the Organization of Mozambican Women

assuming more responsibility and with an all-Mozambican staff. This process was enhanced in 1994 on the basis of a plan developed through local consultation. This plan allowed for the provision of training and support to three income-generating projects for groups of women organized by the women's organization, with outreach through training seminars to women in surrounding rural settlements.

These three income-generating projects were centered in the areas of Vila de Manica, Chimoio, and Sussundenga and included a poultry project, a tie-dye project, and a hog project. Staff assisted with construction, initial inputs, and training in the management of the projects. The program sponsored seminars in sewing, cooking and nutrition, agriculture, horticulture, and food preservation and also provided facilitation, inputs, and resource people for the training. Staff also conducted exchanges between all three groups and launched a functional literacy program.

Throughout the year, staff continued monitoring each group and helped them



Well-baby clinic in Mozambique.

manage their projects. Sessions were offered on banking, basic bookkeeping, inventory, pricing, and marketing. The women's facilitator incorporated the popular education method of drama as a technique for group problem solving and information sharing. Over the next few years the program remained broadly the same but expanded into different communities.

In 1997, responding to immediate needs, the AFSC program provided an emergency relief shipment to assist flood victims in Manica Province and also provided local area transport for personnel

conducting the national census. The program provided modest contributions from its discretionary fund for the Manica youth group AIDS education program and youth exchange, for emergency hospital transport, and for a leadership seminar. While continuing support to the women's groups that had been long-term partners, the program also began to develop some new components with the Catandica project for men and women with disabilities.

By 2000 AFSC was working with seven groups of approximately 20–40 members, supporting sustainable development. The flood that hit the country that year forced a shift in program priorities.

In its initial response to the natural disaster, AFSC provided maize seeds and farming implements to 3,351 families. It then launched a Recovery to Development

program that provided intensive support to three relatively isolated rural communities in Manica Province. The program implemented a program for building community coping and support structures as well as providing direct assistance.

Now known as the Mozambique Integrated Rural Development Program (MIRDP), the program makes use of participatory methodology. It promotes social mobilization and facilitates analysis, planning, and self-evaluation by local communities. It works with relevant government departments and other nongovernmental organizations in areas such as agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, adult literacy, reconstruction of local infrastructure, water, sanitation, and HIV/AIDS.

SOMALIA

In the late 1990s and early 2000s AFSC staff in Somalia trained men, women, and youth in vegetable gardening and organic farming to increase the quality and volume of crops. Training was also conducted in fishing, livestock, and dairy production techniques, and there was rehabilitation of the agricultural infrastructure such as access roads and flood control structures.

In addition to preventive health training and a project to ensure safe drinking water for all participating villages, staff and communities started bilharzia and malaria control campaigns and an environmental sanitation project to introduce affordable pit latrines and waste disposal systems. Each community developed its own basic health care system with trained community health workers and village midwives. Each village also provided for the primary education of its children, and AFSC supported an adult literacy program in each community.

To promote self-management and ensure sustainable peace, the villages also instituted development committees to attend to other issues of governance and inter-community cooperation. In 2003, shortly after completing the rehabilitation of the Asayle Canal and the introduction of manual oil-press machines, AFSC ended its formal program activity in Somalia.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REGION

In Southern Africa, the AFSC continued to work through its Quaker International Affairs Representative, with a particular emphasis on reconciliation and rehabilitation as well as economic development. Staff for this office were recruited from Africa rather than from the United States. John Stewart served from 1992 to 1998, Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga from 1999 to 2004 (from 2001 on special assignment in Angola), Ezekiel Pajibo from 2001 to 2002, Brenda Mofya from 2003 to 2005,

and Hollyn Green from 2006. The Representative's office was based at different times in Zimbabwe and Zambia and is now in South Africa.

John Stewart, who was born in South Africa and grew up in Lesotho, Kenya, and England, was active in regional networks working on demobilization and reintegration of former combatants. He was based in Zimbabwe before (and after) his work with AFSC. Ezekiel Pajibo, a human rights activist from Liberia, had been an active participant in the Africa Peace Tours program in the United States before moving to Zimbabwe to work for the AFSC. He eventually returned to his home country. Brenda Mofya, a Zambian active in Southern Africa civil society organizations, worked from her base in Zambia to organize AFSC regional programs, with a particular focus on the situation of cross-border traders in the region. Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, an Angolan Baptist minister who had worked at the World Council of Churches, worked from South Africa before returning to Angola, continuing in both places his work on reconciliation in his home country. And Dereje Wordofa, an Ethiopian who is current director of AFSC Africa programs, came to the post with an extensive background in humanitarian, development, and public policy work.

The program emphasis over this period was on facilitating processes of reconciliation and political, social, and economic empowerment. Within the region, this included personal contact and dialogue and coordination of exchange pro-



Ezekiel Pajibo speaks to students on Africa Peace Tour, North Carolina, 1994. Photo: Terry Foss.

grams and conferences. In order to inform AFSC, its constituents, and the public about key issues, the Quaker International Affairs Representative also provided analytical reports and participated in speaking tours in the United States. Working with appropriate government agencies and ministries, nongovernmental groups, church and civic organizations, popular movements, and individuals, the program was active in Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, and Zambia.

Supported by AFSC, Ntoni-Nzinga was a leader in promoting engagement by Angolan churches and civil society in the movement for peace in Angola. The country was beset by a civil war that

continued throughout the 1990s despite an initial peace settlement and elections in 1992. Ntoni-Nzinga worked with the Inter-Ecclesial Committee for Peace in Angola (COIEPA), organizing dialogue inside Angola as well as two delegations to the United States to urge greater support for peace efforts in Angola. Although peace was achieved only in 2002, after the death of rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, the churches continued to play an important role in promoting reconciliation at community level. Surveys showed that most Angolans distrusted all the political groups and placed greater confidence in information from the churches.

During Brenda Mofya's service, the AFSC gave particular emphasis to economic issues, including debt cancellation and cross-border trade. She arranged a series of trainings and workshops drawing together cross-border traders, trade activists, and government officials. Working with a local partner, the Community Organizations Regional Network (CORN), AFSC produced an information packet that outlined the issues surrounding cross-border trade and detailed the policy changes that cross-border traders favor. During this same period, both in Southern Africa and in the United States, the AFSC joined other groups to emphasize the importance of debt cancellation for making resources available for development in African countries.

AFRICA INITIATIVE

In 2002 the AFSC board decided to launch a three-year Africa Initiative, engaging all units within the organization, with the goal of reinvigorating AFSC's involvement in building U.S. constituencies for Africa. The organization aimed to establish new links between these constituencies and Africans involved in civil society mobilization for peace and social justice on the African continent. Entitled the



Graça Machel, former Mozambican minister of education and first lady, now married to Nelson Mandela, looks at the Life over Debt education packet used in the Africa Initiative, in Maputo, Mozambique, 2004. On the right is Imani Countess, former national coordinator of the AFSC Africa program. In the center is tour participant Meg O'Shaughnessy.

"Peace with Justice Capacity Building Program," the initiative focused on both short-term and long-term goals. In the short term the emphasis was on strengthening the movement for cancellation of African countries debt, in order to curb the drain of resources that these countries could use to meet their pressing development needs. In the long term the emphasis was on engaging and training new activists, particularly among African Americans and recent African immigrants.



Participants in a 2004 AFSC study tour meet in Maputo with Graça Machel (*in center, holding packet*). AFSC staff shown in the photo include Linda Watson (*to the left of Graça Machel*) Imani Countess (*front row, second from right*), and Dianne Forte (*back row, second from left*).

For both goals, AFSC considered it essential to strengthen ties with African activists engaged in parallel efforts. At the same time, it sought to foster greater exchange and dialogue within Africa across national and regional boundaries. Although the Africa Initiative as such was limited to the years 2002 to 2005, it helped set the direction for ongoing AFSC programs both in the United States and in Africa.

The AFSC was part of a wider movement of debt cancellation activists in Africa and around the world. Within the movement, the AFSC Africa program focused particularly on popular education and on engaging African American and African immigrant communities. Activists mobilized by AFSC's national and regional offices explained that accumulated foreign debts were unsustainable and crippled efforts to address urgent needs such as health and education. In many cases they were also illegitimate, taken on by dictators to pay for repression or simply siphoned off for personal profit. Rising interest costs and global economic fluctuations caused the debts to balloon over the decades.

Even the international financial institutions recognized that the debt needed to be reduced. But the political will to turn promises of cancellation into reality was most often lacking. From 2002 to 2006, the AFSC's program significantly added to the pressure brought by the U.S. debt cancellation movement as it urged the U.S. government and international institutions to act. Although long delayed, the cancellation of debts in countries such as Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, and Mozambique freed up resources to build clinics and send children to school. But overall, Africa still pays out more in debt repayments than it gains in official development assistance. The unequal world economy continues to recreate more inequality, in-

A NEW APARTHEID

“Unjust debt has created a new Apartheid: one that is not just political but is economic and cultural. Shall we let Africa’s children die of curable or preventable disease; prevent them from going to school; destroy their opportunities for meaningful work—to pay off odious loans made to their forefathers?

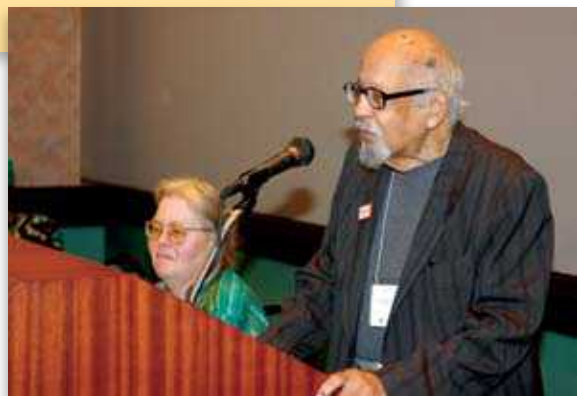
No! If we are going to be compassionate, we must be prepared for action! Today, we are called to pray, boycott, and protest the scourge of debt, which has replaced apartheid as a crime against humanity. We must muster the spiritual strength and vigor of the American civil rights movement and South Africa’s anti-apartheid movement to remove this crushing burden from the poor.

Join the American Friends Service Committee’s Life Over Debt Campaign with people all over the world who call for 100% debt cancellation for ALL African nations, without harmful conditions. Help ensure that Africans are able to use their own resources for their own development.”

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

cluding debt, and the campaign to put human needs before profit by canceling unsustainable debt continues.

Peace and justice education, the Africa Initiative stressed, must use innovative ways to get behind technical jargon to reveal the human realities that result from government policies and seemingly abstract economic processes. Thus the “Life over Debt Workshop,” developed in 2006, featured activities and discussions to show participants how the inequalities of global apartheid reproduce themselves, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Building on and continuing the annual Peace Tours under the new name of Africa Peace with Justice Educational Tours, the initiative also established an annual Bill Sutherland Institute for Africa Advocates and a youth exchange program featuring three-week workshops in African countries, with participants both from African countries and from the United States.



Bill Sutherland Institute, Washington, DC, 2005. Bill Sutherland speaking to group. Veteran peace activist and AFSC staff member Saralee Hamilton is seated at left.



Participants in the 2004 Africa Initiative Youth Exchange, from Africa and the United States. Photo: Terry Foss.

The three-day Sutherland Institute was held in Washington in 2004, 2005, and 2006, and as part of the U.S. Social Forum in Atlanta, Georgia in 2007. It provided training in organizing skills and intensive discussion of issues, as well as opportunities for young and experienced activists to meet. Both the Sutherland Institute

and the Peace with Justice tours drew activists from Africa as well as those from around the United States. Countries represented during these years included, among others, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Ghana, the Gambia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, and Burundi.

Between 2002 and 2006, over 120 young people from 15 U.S. cities and 15 different countries in Africa participated in the youth leadership development workshops. Workshops were held in Angola, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Zambia, and the United States. Participants pledged to continue their participation in activist campaigns in the United States and in ongoing networks, such as the Africa Youth Initiative Network (AYINET) in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and other countries.

The Africa Peace with Justice Educational Tour, organized in 2002, 2003, 2005, and 2006, visited the states of California, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia, and Texas, as well as Washington, DC. Over 10 days in California in 2006, for example, speakers from Zambia, Zimbabwe, the AFSC, JubileeUSA, and Global Justice visited 11 cities in the Los Angeles and California Bay Area, focusing on debt cancellation and related issues. In addition to media appearances, the tour involved approximately 550 people, particularly university students and community activists.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Within Africa, the region where the AFSC has most expanded its involvement in recent years is Central Africa. Beginning in the late 1990s, a few years after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the AFSC began to explore cooperation with other



Anyango Reggy, left, with Jean-Claude Nkundwa, John Bomba Briggs, and Nomsonto Mthimku-lu, participants in the 2007 Africa Peace Tour, at Forest Park Community College in St. Louis, Missouri. Photo: Faheemah Thabit.

Quaker groups in supporting reconciliation in Central Africa. It began with links to Quaker Service Norway's Change Agent for Peace Program and with Quakers in East Africa, as well as other groups involved in supporting peace. Ahmed Sharif was hired to make contacts in the region, serving from 2000 to 2002, and the AFSC began support for grassroots projects such as training programs for judges in Rwanda and for trauma healing trainers in Burundi and Rwanda. It also helped organize a series of local-level listening projects in six countries to prepare for the August 2001 World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. It also supported a visit by the Rwanda peace and reconciliation commission to South Africa to dialogue with those who developed that country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

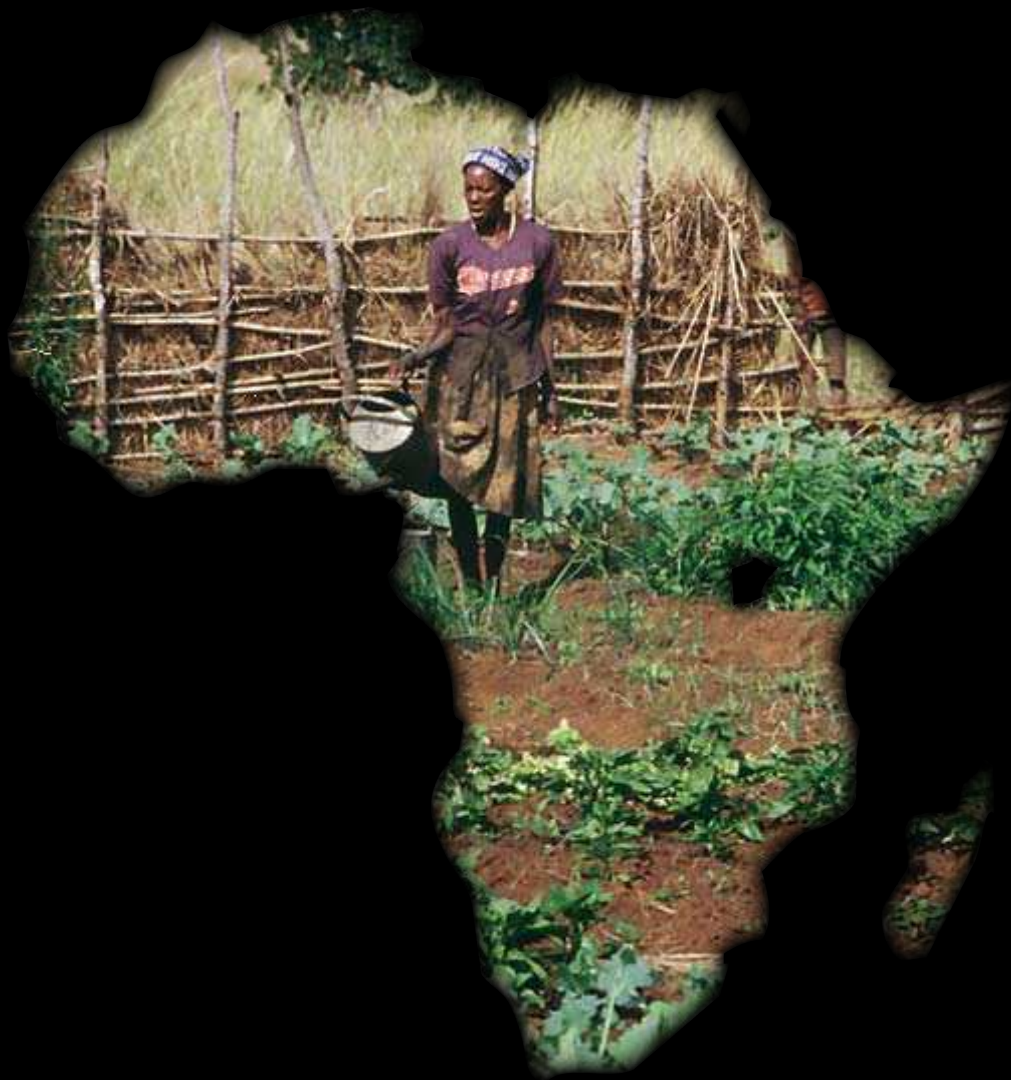
From 2004 on, the AFSC expanded its involvement in Central Africa, as local staff supported peace-building projects in Rwanda, Burundi, and the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Other Quaker groups, including Quakers in these countries and in neighboring Kenya, were already actively working in the region. The AFSC's participation was designed to support these efforts through networking and by stressing the important roles to be played by women and youth. Recent activities supported by the AFSC include the first meeting of the regional Quaker Peace Network linking Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the training of youth as observers for the 2006 election in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

All AFSC regional Africa staff met in Mozambique in 2007 and again in Nairobi, Kenya, the future hub of AFSC programs in Africa, in 2008. It was an opportunity to share insights and experiences as AFSC looks for ways to continue strengthening its Africa programs to meet new challenges. The focus going forward will be on Southern, Central, and East Africa, as well as on education and policy advocacy in the United States. While the issues have changed somewhat since the anti-apartheid era, it is still true that contributing to a more just and peaceful future requires not charity but a spirit of dialogue and mutual respect. The fruits are not just in specific project outcomes but also in the threads of solidarity that are woven to build our common humanity.



International Program regional staff meeting, 2008.



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