

**CALLING FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL CHILDREN DETAINED UNDER STATE OF EMERGENCY REGULATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 141) calling for the immediate release of all the children detained under the state of emergency regulations in South Africa, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

**H. RES. 141**

Whereas the Government of the Republic of South Africa under its system of apartheid indiscriminately and repeatedly has detained black children without charge or trial and has denied parental access to such children for extended periods of time;

Whereas the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee of South Africa has compiled information estimating that more than 25,000 people have been detained since June 12, 1986, under state of emergency regulations, of whom approximately 10,000 were children, some as young as age 10;

Whereas the Government of the Republic of South Africa has admitted on numerous occasions that it has detained children without charge, and that on a certain day in December 1986 256 children under the age of 16 were in detention, that on a certain day in February 1987 281 children under the age of 15 were in detention, that on a certain day in April 1987 1,424 children under the age of 18 were in detention, and that on a certain day in May 1987 280 children under the age of 16 were under detention;

Whereas human rights groups in South Africa estimate that many more children have been detained under the state of emergency regulations than the Government of the Republic of South Africa admits and that approximately 700 to 1,000 children currently are being detained;

Whereas the state of emergency regulations authorize the detention of individuals without charge for an indefinite period of time; and

Whereas the United States Ambassador to South Africa Edward J. Perkins has stated that such detentions are "a most serious abuse of human rights, particularly so where detainees are children as young as 11": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) calls for the cessation of the practice of detaining, without charge or trial, children under 18 years of age in South Africa;

(2) calls for the immediate release of all children currently under detention in South Africa under state of emergency regulations and other laws which authorize detention without charge or trial; and

(3) pending the release of children under detention, calls on the Government of the Republic of South Africa to—

(A) permit the detained children immediate and frequent access to parents and legal counsel;

(B) make public the names and locations of all the detained children;

(C) provide the detained children with adequate food, clothing, and protection; and

(D) permit a recognized independent and impartial international humanitarian organization to verify that the provisions of this resolution are being carried out and that the detained children are not being abused, tortured, held in solitary confinement, or held under detention in the company of adults.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a second demanded?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] will be recognized for 20 minutes and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE].

(Mr. WOLPE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to urge support and passage of a Foreign Affairs Committee amended version of House Resolution 141 which passed unanimously in both the Subcommittee on Africa and the full Foreign Affairs Committee.

This resolution, sponsored by Congresswoman CARLIS COLLINS maintains bipartisan support and has more than 100 cosponsors. House Resolution 141 calls for:

First, the immediate release of children detained by the South African Government under the state of emergency and other laws which authorize detention without charge or trial;

Second, the cessation of the practice of detaining children under 18 years of age; and

Third, parental and legal access, along with permitting a recognized independent and impartial international humanitarian organization to monitor and verify the conditions of children in detention in South Africa.

The Senate under the sponsorship of Ms. MIKULSKI and Mr. HELMS has adopted a similar amendment which was attached to the State Department authorization last week.

The issue of children in detention in South Africa is, unfortunately, not a new phenomena is South Africa. As early as the Soweto Uprisings in 1976, the South African Government has regularly assaulted and detained children.

This horrendous practice of incarcerating children, and holding them indefinitely without charge or trial is only one example of the actions that the South African regime has undertaken to maintain control. The South African Government continues to jail its political activists; to jail its labor leaders; and to attack people in the streets of South Africa. All of these repressive acts are a reminder that the South African Government survives not as a result of consensus but only as a result of the coercive means at its disposal.

Since the July 12, 1986, state of emergency we have seen the wholesale detention of South Africans. Internationally respected South African orga-

nizations have estimated that more than 30,000 people have been detained, including approximately 10,000 children. Conditions of detention under security legislation are brutal and inhumane: detainees have no legal rights, they have no access to family or lawyers, they can be detained without charge or trial for an indefinite period, and many are subject to assault or torture by security forces.

Precise numbers of those detained are difficult to determine because the South African Government has refused to permit an independent investigation to verify the numbers and to examine the conditions under which people are being held. The Detainees Parents Support Committee, a monitoring group formed by concerned parents in South Africa, and others estimate that the number of children still being detained range between 700 to 1,000.

The South African Government has recently stated that it has released most of the children who were detained, and that there are currently 11 children under age 16 and 200 under the age of 18 who remain in detention. These figures differ from the estimates of both independent South African organizations and our own administration. The South African Government has yet to explain why these children are being held? If they are suspected of criminal acts, as they have asserted, why are they not charged?

In June 1987 the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law, South Africa project, held a symposium on South African children in detention which has both House and Senate sponsorship. Fifteen South Africans, including youth who had been detained, spoke on the current situation. Their testimonies are astounding. They spoke of being brutally arrested, held in solitary confinement, of being assaulted through beatings, tortured both physically and mentally, tear-gassed, and deprived of both food and sleep during periods of detention. Further, they talked of their parents and of lawyers being denied the right to visit them, and of their sense of isolation.

One young man, age 17, testified that: "they would handcuff me, push me against a wall and push a table against me so I couldn't move, then someone would jump on the table and help himself to me—just beat me, beat me in the face. Every time they asked me a question, they would beat me."

Another young man who spent more than 3 months in a communal cell with 36 other young people remembers that there were two 9-year-olds detained in that cell. He recounted the pain and isolation that these young children suffered being locked in prison without any of the comforts needed by the young.

The impact of this horrendous practice was reiterated by a South African

physician. He noted that the traumatic impact of detention on children is psychologically devastating. He testified that: "Children are subject to physical violence and abuse. They are separated from their families, their friends, and their intimates. They are cut off sources of support and help and have to face the rigors of brutal imprisonment alone. Their world is disrupted and no longer predictable. They can no longer play, exercise, or interact socially in normal and healthy ways."

Further, it was reported by the detainees that warders at the prison had been responsible for indiscriminate assault and harassment of detainees. In particular, the detainees were forced to squat for lengthy period of time, eat extremely hot food with their bare hands, and, after being placed in a confined space, were viciously assaulted by a group of approximately 50 warders armed with batons and similar weapons. Thereafter, they were tear-gassed and placed back in their cells.

These practices must end. I would like to urge support of this noncontroversial resolution which calls for the South African Government to end this intolerable situation by immediately releasing all children still in detention. Through this action we can again make clear to the South African Government that the continued inhumanity of the apartheid regime is a cause of growing concern within the United States Congress that, if unabated, will lead to a much stronger sanctions initiative in the months ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for his cooperation in moving this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, no one can condone the detention of children without due process of law. No one can condone the mistreatment of children already placed in detention. We should however make sure, that we address the entire problem of violence by and against children in South Africa. Most of the children placed in detention were not picked up jay walking. We do not know how many of these children placed in detention were involved in acts of murder, assault, robbery, and arson.

In subcommittee I worked with the majority to clarify the language of this bill to refer to children who are detained without charge. With this change, I support the bill. I would however like to expand on the issue of children in South Africa.

The sad fact is that children in South Africa are caught in the middle of a cycle of revolution and retribution. Both sides are to blame in the perpetuation of this cycle. Tragically, children are used as the cannon fodder of the revolution by the African National Congress, an organization controlled by Communists, the chief pro-

ponent of violent change in South Africa.

Executive member of the Communist ANC and their spokesmen have used every propaganda device available to them in the past few years to incite the youth of South Africa to greater and greater heights of outrage and bloody violence.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

One of those tools that they have used is necklacing. In Time magazine on January 26 of this year, they defined what necklacing is, and every Member who is listening to this discussion ought to know what necklacing is all about.

Mr. Speaker, I submit a copy of the January 26, 1987, Time magazine article entitled "The War of Blacks Against Blacks," as follows:

[From Time, Jan. 26, 1987]

**THE WAR OF BLACKS AGAINST BLACKS—  
BLOODY BATTLES FOR POLITICAL CONTROL  
TORMENT THE TOWNSHIPS**

The term is familiar by now, but the "necklace" is so benign a description that it barely hints at the horror of one of the world's most savage forms of execution. This is how it happens. In the townships of South Africa, militant black youths first capture a victim. Next they chop off his hands or tie them behind his back with barbed wire. Finally they place a gasoline-filled tire over the terrified victim's head and shoulders and set it ablaze. The melting rubber clings like tar to the victim's flesh, while flames and searing fumes enshroud him. Within minutes the execution is over. By the time the police arrive, the charred body is usually burned past recognition. Horrified family members, who may be forced to watch the killing, are often too intimidated to identify the murderers.

Such viciousness is a regular occurrence in South Africa today. Two people were killed by necklaces in Soweto, the sprawling black township outside Johannesburg, on New Year's Day. Steve Kgame, a well-known community leader in the Soweto-Witzwatersrand area who has faced demands from radicals to quit his local government post, was in serious condition last week with gunshot wounds in the head and chest. Near Durban, two officials of Inkatha, a political organization made up mainly of members of the Zulu tribe, died earlier this month after fire bombs struck their homes. Outside Port Elizabeth, a vengeful mob last week murdered two youths in the Kwanobuhle township. Nearly 80 gold miners have been killed during the past ten weeks in tribal battles among black workers.

Since racial unrest broke out in South Africa in September 1984, more than 2,300 people have been killed. In the past six months nearly three-quarters of the victims have been blacks killed by other blacks. And for all its cruelty, the necklace is only one form of the violence that South Africa's blacks are inflicting on one another in segregated townships across the country. The bloodshed has made ungovernable many of the townships in which the country's 24 million blacks are forced to live and has given the government of State President P.W. Botha a potent propaganda weapon. Invariably referring to the slaughter as "black-on-black" violence, officials suggest that it proves blacks are to uncivilized to rule one another, much less the whites.

In fact, the reign of terror is in large part a grisly reflection of the apartheid system that gives power to South Africa's 5 million whites. Bottled up in teeming townships and denied any voice in the political life of their country, many blacks are filled with fury. The Rev. Nico Smith, a white Dutch Reformed minister who has moved into Mamelodi, a black township outside Pretoria, compares the situation to that of laboratory animals that begin to devour one another when conditions become unbearable. Says Smith: "Social pathology is consuming the townships. There is a loss of sensitivity for people's own lives and for the lives of others."

The relentless toll stems in part from the breakdown of traditional authority in the townships. Of about 20,000 blacks who have been arrested since the state of emergency was imposed last June, many were local leaders who headed activist community organizations and helped maintain order in the black townships. With them now in jail, new and more violent leaders have come forward. In some cases the toughest person on the street rules, exercising a savage authority that does not dispense much justice and drives many townships toward chaos. Some township residents have complained that white police authorities often remain on the outskirts, watching to make sure that the violence stays confined to the black community. Inside the townships, meanwhile, the mobs seize control.

In many areas the violence is part of a struggle among South Africa's black factions for the soul of the anti-apartheid movement and for political power. The battle is waged between youths and their elders, between tribes, classes and political organizations. The names and identities may differ widely, as gangs call themselves the A-Team, the Green Berets, Amabutho (the Warriors) or Mabangalala (the Intimidators). In Soweto, the conservative Zulu tribesmen are often in open warfare with the more radical Xhosas. In Kwanobuhle, the fighting is between members of the all-black Azanian People's Organization and the multiracial United Democratic Front.

The most dangerous group is the militant youths known as the "comrades," who have been responsible for much of the killing in the townships. Ranging in age from about 14 to 22, they are typically poor, uneducated and overflowing with rage. In their fierce battle to gain control of communities like Soweto, they have become the chief users of necklaces, the executioners who make the night a time of terror for the black populace. Barbara Harker, training manager in Johannesburg for the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders, has studied the comrades. She concluded that the poverty and hopelessness of life in the townships make them impulsive and largely incapable of compromise. The primary object of their wrath is anyone suspected of collaborating with the government. The victim's "crime" can be trivial or wholly nonexistent. Even payment of rent for government-owned housing can be a capital offense. Some recent victims:

Mbuseli ("Freddy") Nqgene, 39, a mental-hospital attendant, was murdered in Kwazakel township near Port Elizabeth because the comrades thought he was a police informer. Nqgene had been mistakenly arrested on a rape charge and released within hours. His killers assumed that he was let loose so quickly because he was in the pay of the police. As a consequence, they struck him with axes, stabbed him 13 times and set him on fire.

Patrick Marenene, a community council member in the township outside Oudtshoorn in the Cape province, was watching

television at his home when a mob gathered in front and demanded that he come outside. Marenene managed to escape as the comrades threw his furniture into the street and ignited it. As Marenene was picking through the rubble two days later, the youths returned. This time they quickly hacked and burned him to death.

Masabata Loate, a leader of the 1976 anti-apartheid student uprising, was slain with axes and knives near her Soweto home after serving a five-year prison term for treason. Loate, 29, had angered the comrades by speaking out strongly against necklaces.

So intimidating have the comrades become that in many parts of South Africa they can terrify township residents simply by holding up boxes of matches. When they are not carrying out spontaneous attacks, they may hold kangaroo "people's courts" that are designed to intimidate the public. In a typical court session, young toughs drag the accused forward, inform him or her of the charges and then pronounce and execute the sentence. The outcome is never in doubt.

The people's courts are a brutal offshoot of street committees that were once promoted by the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress, South Africa's outlawed anti-apartheid group. Initially formed to discuss grievances and political protests, the committees have since turned to more direct and violent action.

After first expressing support for the comrades, the A.N.C. now disavows their tactics. Winnie Mandela, the wife of jailed Black Leader Nelson Mandela, caused a furor last April by declaring, "With our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country." A.N.C. leaders later told her to stop making such statements, and at the group's 75th anniversary celebration in Lusaka two weeks ago, A.N.C. President Oliver Tambo declared, "Of course we are not in favor of necklacing. We don't like necklacing, but we understand its origins. It originated from the extremes to which people were provoked by the unspeakable brutalities of the apartheid system."

The violent radicals are not responding to calls for moderation. Notes Allister Sparks, a liberal South African journalist: "An element is emerging in the black townships of South Africa that is beyond anyone's control, an element so brutalized that it now seeks only to kill and burn in blind revenge."

A black and just as violent backlash, however, has grown against the comrades. In the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town, community leaders known as "fathers" have donned white headbands and armbands and organized patrol groups called vigilantes. "The people of Old Crossroads will hunt them down and beat the comrades," said Sam Ndima, a leader of the fathers. Frequent clashes have claimed dozens of lives on both sides and destroyed thousands of shanties. In Soweto the city council has called for the formation of vigilante bands to stamp out "political renegades" and protect local citizens.

Many vigilantes are middle-class people who are willing to strike back at the comrades to protect their property and the positions they have achieved. A recent study by Jeremy Seekings of Witwatersrand University found that they include shopkeepers, taxi owners, teachers, police officers and town councilors. Seekings says such people are driven by their "material interest in stability, a related inclination toward conservatism and fear for their lives and property."

None of the vigilante groups that have recently sprung up are linked, and none have a political agenda. Many of their battles with the comrades come down to genera-

tional conflicts. Says Wilfried Schärf, a lecturer at Cape Town University's Institute of Criminology: "The clashes between the vigilantes and the comrades are indicative of the youth movement's attempts to shatter the older generation's power." To that extent the feuding is, quite literally and tragically, a battle between fathers and sons.

White police forces look favorably upon the vigilantes. In fact, many blacks suspect that the police are secretly advising and supporting groups like the fathers. "I wouldn't have any trouble choosing sides," says one white officer. In Crossroads, witnesses have reported seeing men atop armored police vehicles firing at comrades in support of the fathers. The Rev. Allan Boesak, a U.D.F. founder, has charged that the government is behind much of the township killing. Says he: "It is not a question only of black-on-black violence. It is a question of the South African government deliberately creating groups and supporting them, even creating situations of violence."

The issue of who is ultimately responsible for the bloodshed is one of the most politically charged in South Africa. While many black leaders blame whites, the Botha government insists that the violence proves that ever more crackdowns and restrictions are needed to maintain order. While that debate goes on, the appalling parade of violence is one more sign of a people in agony.—By John Greenwald. Reported by Peter Hawthorne and Bruce W. Nelan/Johannesburg.

On June 25, I chaired a hearing by the Republican Study Committee on the plight of children in South Africa. I listened to testimony from Salaminah Borephe, an African National Congress youth wing organizer and participant. Let me quote directly from her testimony describing the ANC youth wings.

These organizations use children of the age of 12 to 18. The children at these ages become easily influenced. We were told to burn schools because they said Communists will come and build better schools for blacks \* \* \* Anglican ministers taught me and other young terrorists to make petrol bombs that are used to burn down the homes of blacks who oppose the ANC and the violent overthrow of South Africa's white-minority government.

She said the ministers "always used the bible to tell us why we must murder black township councilors \* \* \* I used to pour petrol on people, every time we burned a person with a tire, we would shout 'Tambo! Tambo!'" Oliver Tambo, by the way is the exile leader of the Communist dominated ANC, who recently visited Washington for a meeting with Secretary of State George Schultz and was welcomed with open arms by the chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee.

There are countless other testimonies by children not unlike the one I just mentioned. I recently witnessed a reporter's film of a woman attending the funeral of an anti-apartheid activist. She was pointed out as a collaborator by youthful activists known as "comrades" on the grounds that she once had an affair with a policeman. Within seconds she was surrounded, beaten viciously, and set on fire with kerosene. As she lay dying, she was kicked and stoned. Long after her

body has ceased to twitch under the rain of blows from clubs, stones and feet—the chanting mob danced around her, kicking and stoning her lifeless corpse. The film showed that several of the killers were children, clearly younger than 12 years old.

Oliver Tambo said in a radio interview on May 12, 1987 that "the youth for instance in our country \* \* \* have been clearing our townships of collaborators, of black bullies and black councilors." Mr. Chairman, while it is tragic that a child must be detained by the police at any time, we must take into consideration the harsh realities of the situation in South Africa today.

We should also note that the New York Times has reported that the South African Government has released 269 of the 280 children under the age of 16 and that the 11 children still held were facing charges of violence, including murder.

We all agree, there must be due process. Anyone held by the authorities should be charged and given the benefit of legal counsel. I think all freedom loving Americans would agree to that. But in addition, we must all remember it is the Communist backed ANC that is using children to do their dirty work in South Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. GRAY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

First let me say that the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. COLLINS] who introduced House Resolution 141 absolutely could not be here today, and the gentlewoman wanted to be here very much.

I joined with the gentlewoman in cosponsoring this resolution, and I am sure that if the gentlewoman were here, the gentlewoman would want the Members to know that it has been a year since we have had a debate on this floor with regard to the brutality of apartheid in South Africa.

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But because we have not talked about apartheid does not mean that it no longer exists or its systematic brutality no longer exists. Because President Botha forbids journalists to show the suffering in that troubled land does not mean that all is well. Over the past year alone, Mr. Speaker, the South African Government has arrested more than 30,000 men, women, and children, without bail, without charge, without trial.

The physical and psychological torture suffered by these individuals has been documented by not only international organizations, but also the United States based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, as well as our own State Department and our own Ambassador.

Mr. Speaker, the denial of human rights is a despicable event whenever and wherever it takes place; but almost 10,000 of the 30,000 South Africans who were arrested and thrown in jail were children, that is right, children, 14, 11, 9, and even 7 years of age.

How much of a threat can a 7-year-old pose to the South African Government?

How can the South African Government justify throwing children in jail for wearing T-shirts urging their friends released from jail?

In fact, last year when I was in South Africa with a bipartisan delegation, we met and saw children who had been put in jail, had been abused and tortured, and they were 11 and 12 years of age.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GRAY of Pennsylvania. Bipartisanly, Mr. Speaker, we were shocked and appalled that these children had been put in jail simply because they had gone to a church meeting and as they came out the security forces had arrested them.

Our own U.S. Ambassador, Ambassador Perkins, when he was here this summer testified that they had documented that nearly 8,000 children had been placed in jail without charge, without trial, many of them with no contact with their parents.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is time for this Congress to speak out on behalf of the children of South Africa. If it were children in the Soviet Union, we would all speak out loud and clear. If it were children in Poland, we would have spoken already. I think today is a perfect opportunity for us bipartisanly to say that it is wrong to incarcerate without trial, without charge, and torture and abuse children in South Africa.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleague, the gentlewoman from Illinois, Mrs. CARLISS COLLINS, in co-sponsoring this resolution and urging the unanimous passage of this resolution. We are not a nation who sits idly by while children are oppressed.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. OAKAR].

(Ms. OAKAR asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I want to first of all compliment the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee that deals with the important continent of Africa. I think that his work, not only on this resolution, but on the whole

subject of apartheid has been outstanding.

I want to also compliment the minority leader of the subcommittee for his words. I think it is very important to have a bipartisan attempt to pass a resolution that sends a clear message to South Africa.

I especially wanted to take the floor to say a few words about the major sponsor of this legislation, Congresswoman CARLISS COLLINS. Congresswoman COLLINS has spend really most of her career worrying about children. That is why she has introduced for many years a comprehensive bill dedicated to day care for American children and Congresswoman CARLISS COLLINS is indeed the major sponsor of this resolution. She, as Congressman GRAY of Pennsylvania said, wanted to be here. Her mother, unfortunately, is very ill and she could not be here for something that means an awful lot to her. That is why she was able to get more than 100 cosponsors of the bill; so we want to say a few words to Congresswoman CARLISS COLLINS to wish her and her mother well and especially to compliment her on the very hard work that she did relative to this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution and commend my colleagues for their hard work in keeping our concern for children before us, wherever in the world they live.

In the press of personal concern with our security here at home and half way round the world, I would urge us to pause a moment to reflect how much closer to the heart the harm can come. With all our woes, we are still more fortunate than most.

Stephen Vincent Benet, in his "Litany for Dictatorships," laid out the injustice:

We thought we were done with these things but we were wrong.

We thought because we had power, we had wisdom.

Our fathers and ourselves sowed dragon's teeth.  
[Now] our children know and suffer the armed men.

In February, the South African Minister of Law released the apartheid regime's list of those detained without charge under the emergency. Among the 4,000 names were 281 children 14 years old and younger. The Minister of Prisons later admitted that 2,677 children under 18 were in prison last year. Human rights monitors estimate that the actual number of children detained since the emergency was declared June 12 is closer to 10,000.

As appalling as they are, these reluctant, sterile numbers do not begin to confess the extent of the crime.

Most parents say they are never informed that their children have been arrested or where they are being held. One mother with two children in detention—one only 14 years old—expressed the fears of mothers and fathers everywhere. She cried: "I can't eat, because I wonder if my children

are eating. I can't sleep because I don't know where my children are sleeping."

Even infants are held in South African prisons when their mothers are detained. Over 2,200 babies were imprisoned last year. One mother was arrested with her 2-year-old son Richard in June 1986. After 3 weeks the infant was so thin that she thought he was going to die. Despite his critical condition, Richard was admitted to the hospital only after fierce protests by all the imprisoned women. Richard and his mother were held for a total of 8 months.

In police cells and prisons, children are mistreated the same as adults. They are sometimes held in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions, supplied with thin lice ridden bedding.

Torture of children appears to be all too commonplace. It typically involves severe beating with whips, fists, or rifles. Broken teeth, and broken bones result. One young boy reported:

I had to lie on a bench face down and then different police took turns delivering between 50 and 56 lashes to my body \* \* \*. About three hours later, a five liter can of petrol was poured over me \* \* \*. There was talk among the police of burning me \* \* \*.

Another 11-year-old had wires connected to his mouth as he lay in handcuffs and leg irons. The wires were connected to a socket in the wall and then a policeman turned the switch.

Mr. Speaker, it is time and past time that the South African regime release all the children detained under the emergency. With this measure we record the human horror we share with parents whose love of their own becomes a weapon in war.

The plight of these children is but a part of the continuing tragedy of South Africa. This resolution is an important step toward humanity on the larger questions of the conflict.

With the maturing of a new generation here in America, we are returning to fundamental values of family and the future of our children. If I may, I would remind us all of the sentiment President Kennedy expressed as our own youths were finally treated as equals during the American civil rights struggle. All peoples "ought to have the right to be treated as we would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated."

I urge support for House Resolution 141.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. CLARKE], a member of the subcommittee.

(Mr. CLARKE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CLARKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 141, which was supported by a bipartisan consensus in the Committee on Foreign Affairs as well as in the Subcommittee on Africa. I commend the gentlewoman from Illinois for sponsoring

this resolution and providing effective leadership on this important issue.

One of the cruelest results of apartheid, Mr. Speaker, has been the suffering of children. South African authorities have detained children for long periods without bringing charges against them in most cases without allowing visits from their parents. The police have rounded up thousands of children and subjected them to extended questioning in isolated, harsh conditions. The American people and Congress want this inhuman practice to stop. The South African Government must understand that. This resolution will help them get the message that we want these children released.

The American people lack full information about events in South Africa because of the strict press censorship exercised by the authorities there. Without that censorship, the level of American indignation at this mass retention of children would be even higher than it is..

Mr. Speaker, I urge strong support for House Resolution 141.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 141 and commend the gentle lady from Illinois [Ms. COLLINS] for bringing this matter before the House.

Mr. Speaker, among the many distressing occurrences which appear to be a part of daily life in South Africa none touches the hearts of Americans more than the plight of those children who have been detained without charge or trial under the current state of emergency in that country. Detention of anyone without charge or trial strikes at the core of the American sense of justice; detention of children under such circumstances is even more repugnant. This resolution is an attempt to focus on that problem.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution is straightforward and to the point. In calling on the Government of South Africa to release those children in detention without charge or trial, it seeks to protect those persons least able to protect themselves. I urge all Members to join in urging the Government of South Africa to release these children and cease in this policy.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to support House Resolution 141 and the efforts of Congresswoman CARLISS COLLINS to gain the release of the more than 10,000 black children who are being detained under the current state of emergency in South Africa. As a cosponsor of House Resolution 141, I am honored to lend my support to efforts to gain the release of the children in South Africa.

Pretoria has repeatedly insisted that it is working toward the reform of its brutal system of apartheid, that they are "struggling" to correct a bad situation. The Government of South Africa, however, has simply changed its tactics of enforcing its racial segregation. By detaining the children of South Africa, Pretoria has reached what I consider an all time low. Does Pretoria have any shame? Do they even care what the rest of the world thinks about the brutal treatment of what we here in the United States consider to be our most precious resource, our children?

Children, many as young as 6 years old are being snatched from their homes, schools,

and off the streets by the South African authorities. Those who are fortunate enough to be released have told horror stories of being sexually abused, tortured, given shock treatments, starved, and nearly beaten to death.

I am the father of three children. And, I can only imagine what the parents of these children are experiencing, especially since they are not told anything about the whereabouts of their children.

House Resolution 141 calls upon the Government of South Africa to release all of the children who have been detained. Pending their release, the bill calls on the Government of South Africa to allow parents to visit their children, publicize the names of the children with information about their whereabouts, provide the children with adequate food and clothing. In addition, the bill calls upon Pretoria to allow an international organization to monitor their enforcement of the provisions of House Resolution 141.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to note that the Government of South Africa has not implemented any of the measures which Congress approved last year in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Pretoria has not repealed the state of emergency; Nelson Mandela and other black leaders remain imprisoned. And, all citizens have not been given the right to participate in the political process. In addition, Pretoria has not developed a timetable for the abolishment of apartheid laws. They have not even begun good faith negotiations with representatives of all racial groups. Military and paramilitary activities in neighboring countries have not ceased.

Since the United States enacted sanctions legislation, the Government of South Africa has continued its state of emergency, arresting an estimated 30,000 people. Even more frightening is the country's budget which was recently presented to Parliament. This budget contains an increase of 43 percent in police expenditures and 30 percent in defense expenditures. Moreover, the Government has organized the National Security Management System, committees charged with involving the military directly in policymaking toward the black townships.

Mr. Speaker this does not sound like the Government of South Africa is planning on taking steps to institute reforms. It is clear to me that Pretoria is holding firm to its political structure, in spite of international public outcry.

Congress took an unprecedented action last year by overriding a veto of a foreign affairs bill for the first time during this administration. Since then President Reagan has been lax in implementing several key features of the sanctions law. By allowing loopholes to exist in the enforcement of the sanctions law, and by not supporting the implementation of stronger sanctions, the administration is attempting to continue its old policy of constructive engagement and thus contributing to the continuance of apartheid in South Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I am appalled by the detention of the 10,000 black children in South Africa and by that government's refusal to create a nonracial democracy. The South African Government's brutal treatment of children is morally repugnant to me, and to the people in my district and our country. I am losing patience with the Government of South Africa and believe that it is time for the United States to

take an even stronger position by imposing even more far reaching sanctions.

It is morally right for the United States Government to take a strong stand against apartheid and even more so against the detention of the children of South Africa. These children have not been charged with anything; they have simply been jailed for no apparent reason other than to hold blacks hostage of Pretoria.

Again, I want to congratulate Congresswoman COLLINS for introducing this timely measure. I know how committed she is to gaining the release of the children in South Africa. I want to join her in sending a strong message to Pretoria to release the black children in South Africa who have been detained under the current state of emergency.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I would like to reiterate for the record at this time the problem in this regard that the Republic of South Africa is facing.

Earlier this year, my good friend from Indiana served as chairman of the hearing of the Republican Study Committee. I participated in the hearing, and at that time we heard the testimony of several witnesses. One of these witnesses was Salaminah Borephe, a former youth wing organizer of the African National Congress.

This remarkable young woman—who demonstrated great courage in coming in the United States from her native South Africa and testifying—explained to us just what many of the children we are talking about today were led to do.

I would like to read to you some excerpts from her testimony if I may, Mr. Speaker:

In 1975 I joined SASO (South African Students Organisation), the student organization which was operating at black schools, because they said that they would help get us better education. All their meetings were held through the Student Christian Movement at our school. After I had joined they told us that SASO was a branch of the ANC.

In 1976 we were fighting against Afrikaans at our schools, but we at Jordan High School were not doing Afrikaans. So we influenced other students from other schools. We assaulted our teachers and burned cars.

\* \* \* \* \*

We used to hold meetings at school for the students. The easy way to get the students was through SCM [Students Christian Movement]. We pretended to be having the service but in fact we were told by our leaders about communism.

\* \* \* \* \*

Because our leaders told us that we must burn the schools if the students wanted to go to school, we burnt down some of the schools in the area. Our leaders told us that white people had told them to tell us to burn down schools. Our leaders in SASO also told us that the communists would set us free from slavery.

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1979 I joined COSAS [Congress of the South African Students]. This was seen by the Students as a continuation of SASO, and had the same leadership. We were told by our leaders in COSAS that COSAS was the youth wing of the ANC.

\* \* \* \* \*

In COSAS we were told how to make petrol bombs. We were told by the Church Ministers how good communism was, and

they promised us a better education in other countries which are ruled by the communists. That was the thing which made me to join these organisations. The Anglican Ministers taught us in the Catholic churches how to make petrol bombs, and told us that the communists would kill the whites to set the blacks free. We were told that the communists were black people from central Africa, and they taught us that Samora Machel from Mozambique, and Dos Santos from Angola, and Mugable and Nkomo from Zimbabwe were heroes and would liberate us. Once they took us to a meeting in a large hall in Johannesburg where there were a lot of white people. There they explained what COSAS was, and told us how to make petrol bombs.

In 1983 a COSAS meeting was called. When we arrived at church there were lots of weapons. The minister told us that the Russians had sent the weapons, and that the children from 16 to 18 must take a gun. The leaders took one first. They were all AK.47's. The guns that were left over were given to the COSAS members. The minister told us that they would teach us how to use the guns because everybody were asking. He told us that the guns were to kill white people, but we never killed white people, only blacks. He then told us that we must always try and get more guns, and that we must kill the policemen to get their guns.

They told us that all community counsellors must die on the 3rd September 1984, if they did not want to listen to the people.

On Monday people were confused, some went to work and when they returned they were assaulted, others were even killed. Some of the residents who went to work were burnt with petrol.

The ministers told the people to kill the community counsellors the following day because they did not want to listen to the residents. On Monday morning at about 5:30 a.m. we were already at the streets stoning cars and buses.

At about 8:00 a.m. we went to the community counsellors' homes. The person we wanted more than others was the Mayor Mr. Mahlatsi. Firstly we went to Mr. C. Motshiane's home because he was the nearest of them all.

After that we went to the shop centre and we burned all the shops, but before burning we took all the things out of the shops and took them home. After burning the shops we sent some of the students to go to Mr. Motshiane's home and check if he's not yet back. They came quickly and told us that he was there.

He locked himself in the house together with one of his friends. The wife and children were not there.

The friend tried to escape. He went out of the house and tried to go to the street. The boys caught him and burned him with a petrol bomb. Mr. Motshiane also came out and was hacked by knives and pangas. He died there in the street.

We ran away and went back to zone 12 to finish off the shops. The other three died this way. Mr. Diamin was necklaced, in Sharpville. Mr. Diphoko was shot while run-

ning to the helicopter. The other one was also hacked by knives and pangas.

While we were members of COSAS we were told that the town councillors were sell-outs, and must be killed. They always used the bible to tell us why we must murder the councillors.

We were also told to kill the policemen. Some COSAS members had guns to do this.

These organizations use children of the age of 12 to 18. The children at these ages become easily influenced.

So, Mr. Speaker, I say yes, let us urge the South African Government to expeditiously free anyone detained without cause. However, let us not through our actions here in this Chamber, unwittingly join with those who sanction murder and violent revolution. For lining up with such terrorists cannot possibly achieve the goal of peace in that troubled land.

Mrs. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, as the first Member to introduce a resolution condemning human rights violations in South Africa 10 years ago, and as the sponsor of House Resolution 141, I want to express my appreciation to my distinguished colleagues, HOWARD WOLPE and DANTE FASCELL, and the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee for their expeditious consideration of this critical resolution.

Eleven years ago, in 1976, the children of Soweto bled in the streets; victims of the horrors of apartheid. They had marched in opposition to the imposition of Afrikaans, the language of their oppressors, in their schools. They began their protest peacefully, but the South African police responded with tear gas and bullets.

Over the next few days, the protest spread throughout black South African communities and universities. Many unarmed demonstrators were killed by the police.

Since that time, I have introduced several resolutions protesting continued American involvement in South Africa. House approval of these resolutions has been overwhelming.

Regrettably, however, the administration's response to the injustice committed by South Africa has been tepid at best. It has taken far too long for this administration to act responsibly and cut off American support for this regime.

Eleven years ago, blacks in South Africa rose up to fight for their fundamental rights. Eleven years later, these rights are still being denied. The world's condemnation of the South African Government's repression rings ever louder in the ears of rulers, who lord over a land where the ancestors of those being oppressed today lived long before there were any Dutch or other white people in South Africa.

Increasingly, the white minority government in South Africa has lost any pretense of being a representative government. Blacks are jailed, tortured, and killed. They are manipulated to serve the interests of the whites in power. We hear talk of reform, yet how are circumstances in South Africa different today than they were 10 years ago?

In fact, little has changed. The most tragic victims of the inherent oppression of apartheid are children. Forty percent of the 25,000 people detained under the state of emergency

laws are children; many less than 10 years old. Any regime that feels threatened by children will never be at ease to open its iron fist.

Many of these children have been beaten, whipped, threatened, and subjected to electric shock while in custody of South African security forces. Parents are often left ignorant as to the nature of their children's fate. Worse, they are not even informed of their whereabouts. It is essential that these activities do not go unnoticed.

House Resolution 141 calls for the immediate release of all children detained under South African state of emergency regulations. Pending their release, my resolution urges the Government to do the following:

Provide parents with access to jailed children;

Prepare an official list of the children's names;

Supply these children with adequate clothing and housing; and

Verify their health and safety by means of an international organization.

Mr. Speaker, the Government of South Africa must be warned, in no uncertain terms, that Congress will not tolerate the jailing and torturing of children. It is our moral and ethical obligation to do the most we can to end this heinous policy. I urge my colleagues to approve House Resolution 141.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, in closing today's debate, I would like first of all to pay tribute to Congresswoman COLLINS, the principal sponsor of this legislation, and Congressman BILL GRAY, both of whom have provided the leadership on this issue in bringing this matter and keeping it before the attention of the Congress and the American people. I personally greatly appreciate the role that they have played in this matter.

I also think it is well to note that the treatment by the South African regime of the children of South Africa is perhaps as dramatic an expression as there can be of the level of dehumanization that has occurred within that society. We talk oftentimes about the concern that we all share in this body about the growing violence in South Africa. Most of that discussion focuses upon the violence of those who are opposing the apartheid regime.

I think we need to remind ourselves constantly that the origins of the violence in South Africa are the regime itself. This is a government that exists by reason of violence. Twenty-six million people do not willingly acquiesce in their subjugation. It is force and force alone that keeps this government in power. It is force that is now being directed against the children of South Africa.

By the passage of this resolution we will be, I think, expressing as clearly as can be the bipartisan consensus that exists within this country and within this body. We may have differences with respect to particular policies to be pursued by this Government toward the South Africa regime, but there is no difference when it comes to our abhorrence of the inhumane kinds

of policies and practices of the apartheid regime itself.

Again, I want to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], the distinguished ranking member of this committee, for his cooperation in advancing this legislation and in making possible this kind of bipartisan expression.

Mr. Speaker, I am told there is one more speaker. I thought I would be closing the debate, but I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MFUME].

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I would like also to lend my support to House Resolution 141.

Mr. Speaker, I keep hearing the voice of 17-year-old Patrick Makhoba. He was held by South African security police for 42 days last summer—the first 39 in solitary confinement. It was June 11, 1986, the day before a new state of emergency was declared in his homeland. Patrick was with six friends on the grounds of his Soweto high school when the police came out of nowhere. "We had no way of running. They were everywhere," he recalls. "The school is huge. It was surrounded. I couldn't believe so many people would come for seven little boys. I was 16."

One of the ugliest and perhaps least known aspects of South Africa's oppressive apartheid system is the arbitrary detention of children during the current state of emergency. It is estimated that of the 25,000 people who have been detained since June 12, 1986, under state of emergency regulations, approximately 10,000 were children, some as young as age 10.

According to the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, a group that has been monitoring the detention of children in South Africa and that brought Patrick Makhoba and two other young men to Capitol Hill in June to participate in a symposium on the problem, many of the children in detention are being held without formal charges and most of them are assaulted or tortured. For these and many other reasons I ask Members of this body on both sides of the aisle to unanimously support this very important and humane resolution.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H.Res. 141, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. DREIER of California. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I and the

Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 141, the resolution just considered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Debate has been concluded on all motions to suspend the rules.

Pursuant to clause 5, rule I, the Chair will now put the question on each motion on which further proceedings were postponed in the order in which that motion was entertained.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

H.Res. 277, by the yeas and nays;

H.R. 85, by the yeas and nays; and

H.Res. 141, by the yeas and nays.

The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for any electronic votes after the first such vote in this series.

#### SENSE OF THE HOUSE WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN AFGHANISTAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the resolution, H. Res. 277, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 277, as amended, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 411, nays 0, not voting 22, as follows:

[Roll No. 365]

YEAS—411

Ackerman	Bereuter	Buechner	Hall (OH)	Mfume	Slaughter (NY)
Akaka	Bevill	Bunning	Hall (TX)	Mica	Slaughter (VA)
Alexander	Bilbray	Burton	Hamilton	Michel	Smith (FL)
Anderson	Bilirakis	Byron	Hammerschmidt	Miller (CA)	Smith (IA)
Andrews	Bliley	Callahan	Hansen	Miller (OH)	Smith (NE)
Annunzio	Boehert	Campbell	Harris	Miller (WA)	Smith (NJ)
Applegate	Boggs	Cardin	Hastert	Mineta	Smith (TX)
Archer	Boland	Carper	Hatcher	Moakley	Smith, Denny
Armedy	Bonior	Carr	Hawkins	Molinari	(OR)
Aspin	Bonker	Chandler	Hayes (IL)	Mollohan	Smith, Robert
Atkins	Borski	Chapman	Hayes (LA)	Montgomery	(NH)
AuCoin	Bosco	Chappell	Hefley	Moorhead	Smith, Robert
Badham	Boucher	Cheney	Hefner	Morella	(OR)
Baker	Boulter	Clarke	Henry	Morrison (CT)	Snowe
Ballenger	Boxer	Clay	Hergert	Morrison (WA)	Solarz
Barnard	Brennan	Clinger	Hertel	Mrazek	Solomon
Bartlett	Brooks	Coats	Hiler	Murphy	Spence
Barton	Broomfield	Coble	Hochbrueckner	Murtha	Spratt
Bateman	Brown (CA)	Coelho	Holloway	Myers	St Germain
Beilenson	Brown (CO)	Coleman (MO)	Hopkins	Nagle	Stagers
Bennett	Bruce	Coleman (TX)	Horton	Natcher	Stallings
Bentley	Bryant	Combest	Houghton	Neal	Stangeland

Conte	Howard	Nelson
Conyers	Hoyer	Nichols
Cooper	Hubbard	Nielson
Coughlin	Huckaby	Nowak
Courter	Hughes	Oakar
Coyne	Hunter	Oberstar
Craig	Hutto	Obey
Crane	Hyde	Olin
Daniel	Inhofe	Ortiz
Dannemeyer	Ireland	Owens (NY)
Darden	Jacobs	Owens (UT)
Daub	Jeffords	Oxley
Davis (IL)	Jenkins	Packard
de la Garza	Johnson (CT)	Panetta
DeFazio	Johnson (SD)	Parris
DeLay	Jones (NC)	Pashayan
Dellums	Jones (TN)	Patterson
Derrick	Jontz	Pease
DeWine	Kanjorski	Pelosi
Dickinson	Kaptur	Penny
Dicks	Kasich	Pepper
Dingell	Kastenmeier	Perkins
DioGuardi	Kennedy	Petri
Donnelly	Kennelly	Pickett
Dorgan (ND)	Kildee	Pickle
Dornan (CA)	Klecza	Porter
Downey	Kolbe	Price (IL)
Dreier	Kolter	Price (NC)
Duncan	Konnyu	Pursell
Durbin	Kostmayer	Quillen
Dwyer	Kyl	Rahall
Dymally	LaFalce	Rangel
Dyson	Lagomarsino	Ravenel
Early	Lancaster	Ray
Eckart	Lantos	Regula
Edwards (CA)	Latta	Rhodes
Edwards (OK)	Leach (IA)	Richardson
Emerson	Leath (TX)	Ridge
English	Lehman (CA)	Rinaldo
Erdreich	Lehman (FL)	Ritter
Espy	Leland	Roberts
Evans	Lent	Robinson
Fascell	Levin (MI)	Rodino
Fawell	Levine (CA)	Roe
Fazio	Lewis (CA)	Rogers
Feighan	Lewis (FL)	Rose
Fields	Lewis (GA)	Rostenkowski
Fish	Lightfoot	Roth
Flake	Lipinski	Roukema
Flippo	Lloyd	Rowland (CT)
Florio	Lott	Rowland (GA)
Foglietta	Lowery (CA)	Roybal
Foley	Lowry (WA)	Russo
Ford (MI)	Lujan	Sabo
Frank	Luken, Thomas	Saiki
Frenzel	Lukens, Donald	Savage
Galleghy	Lungren	Sawyer
Gallo	MacKay	Saxton
Garcia	Madigan	Schaefer
Gaydos	Manton	Scheuer
Gejdenson	Markey	Schneider
Gekas	Marlenee	Schroeder
Gibbons	Martin (IL)	Schuette
Gilman	Martin (NY)	Schulze
Gingrich	Martinez	Schumer
Glickman	Mavroules	Sensenbrenner
Gonzalez	Mazzoli	Sharp
Goodling	McCandless	Shaw
Gordon	McCloskey	Shays
Gradison	McColum	Shumway
Grandy	McCurdy	Shuster
Grant	McDade	Sikorski
Gray (IL)	McGrath	Sisisky
Green	McHugh	Skaggs
Gregg	McMillan (NC)	Skeen
Guarini	McMillan (MD)	Skelton
Gunderson	Meyers	Slattery
Hall (OH)	Mfume	Slaughter (NY)
Hall (TX)	Mica	Slaughter (VA)
Hamilton	Michel	Smith (FL)
Hammerschmidt	Miller (CA)	Smith (IA)
Hansen	Miller (OH)	Smith (NE)
Harris	Miller (WA)	Smith (NJ)
Hastert	Mineta	Smith (TX)
Hatcher	Moakley	Smith, Denny
Hawkins	Molinari	(OR)
Hayes (IL)	Mollohan	Smith, Robert
Hayes (LA)	Montgomery	(NH)
Hefley	Moorhead	Smith, Robert
Hefner	Morella	(OR)
Henry	Morrison (CT)	Snowe
Hergert	Morrison (WA)	Solarz
Hertel	Mrazek	Solomon
Hiler	Murphy	Spence
Hochbrueckner	Murtha	Spratt
Holloway	Myers	St Germain
Hopkins	Nagle	Stagers
Horton	Natcher	Stallings
Houghton	Neal	Stangeland