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SOUTHERN AFRICA

NOVEMBER 1977

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

NOVEMBER 1977

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COVER: Woman agricultural worker in Mozambique. (*Tempo*)

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CORRECTION: The captions and photos on page 9 are in the correct positions but should read: "Donald Woods, banned editor of the *Daily Dispatch*" and "Percy Qoboza, banned editor of *The World*."

Special Reports

Expelled Nun Reports People Support Guerrillas

"When you first arrive in Rhodesia, you don't get the feeling there's a war on at all," commented Sister Janice Anne McLaughlin, a Maryknoll nun from Pittsburgh whose three month stay in Rhodesia ended in arrest, trial and deportation. "Salisbury is like another planet. You just don't see many soldiers and policemen. The whites are living in an unreal world, where they go to their tea parties and their bowling greens and their clubs as if nothing were happening."

But the real world is creeping closer. Even within the city of Salisbury itself, it is no further away than the downtown office where McLaughlin worked with the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe.

"There is a climate of suspicion around the city, as though everything is bugged," McLaughlin commented. "So you get this feeling of uneasiness . . . except in our office. There people would speak very openly. It was amazing sometimes."

During her three months working out of that office, Janice McLaughlin heard numerous accounts of the campaign of terror the Rhodesian government has unleashed against the African population. Much of this information appeared in a report published by the Commission after McLaughlin and three other leading members had been arrested. [Excerpts of this report were printed in the October issue of *Southern Africa*.] She heard about torture, murder, and relocation at gunpoint into "protected villages." But she also heard about widespread popular resistance and encountered virtually unanimous support for the guerrilla fighters of ZANU and ZAPU.

"I never met an African who expressed doubts about them," McLaughlin stated emphatically. "Everybody refers to them as 'the boys.' And people speak very highly of them. It's with real pride—our boys' did this and 'our boys' did that."

Support for the guerrilla forces isn't limited to sympathetic words for "the

boys." The conditions of the guerrilla war have not allowed for the creation of liberated areas, according to McLaughlin. ("It's too small and the army is all over, so they can never stay static.")

"But administration has broken down in a lot of places," she continued. "People refuse to pay taxes and to participate in the government's Rural African Councils. A lot of schools have closed. The local people have become so resistant that they are refusing to cooperate with the government."

Population Proud of Guerrillas

Meanwhile reports indicate that they cooperate fully with the guerrillas. "Mainly it's by providing food and giving them a place to stay," McLaughlin said. The guerrillas have extended their area of operation over more than three quarters of the country. And wherever they go, McLaughlin asserts, "People are ready to accept them and to help them."

Even in areas where the guerrillas cannot yet operate openly, the African population speaks proudly of them and finds ways to express its support.

"I heard of meetings right in Salisbury where people pretended to be collecting money for some 'good cause' when it was really for 'the boys,'" McLaughlin said. "Even in prison, after I was arrested, the African women guards kept telling me, 'We don't support this government. We have to feed our children so we work. But we're for the boys.' They used to be very kind to the prisoners. There are even a lot of informers within the Rhodesian Army who give information to the guerrillas."

Faced by this virtually unanimous support for the guerrillas, the government has stepped up efforts to drive a wedge between them and the people, both physically and politically.

In the countryside, government forces have fallen back on the strategy US phrasemakers in Vietnam euphemistically called "strategic hamlets." In Rhodesia, the name has been changed



Moll/Zimbabwe News

Zimbabwe Guerrilla: Support for 'the Boys' is strong

to "protected villages." But the concept and the results remain the same.

At last count, government troops had rounded up more than half a million people and forced them to live inside villages "protected" by government barbed wire and guns. McLaughlin wasn't able to visit any of these villages. The government doesn't seem particularly anxious to show them off, so "it's very difficult to get in," she said. But she spoke with many people who had lived or visited inside the barbed wire. By all accounts, the methods used to force people into the villages and the conditions they find once they get there have simply hardened resistance to the government.

"The people hate them," McLaughlin said. "I think that's the policy that has the most animosity from the people. It's really aroused them."

"Even while I was there, the government was trying to put more and

more people in. They're burning down villages and just forcing people to go into them. And the people resist. A lot of people run off into the bush or into Salisbury."

If the "protected villages" are supposed to cut the guerrillas off from the population, they have failed miserably. "People still have regular contact with the guerrillas," McLaughlin said. "They are forever attacking the villages and letting people out. They even go in and hold meetings in there."

Government Propaganda Increases

Meanwhile, the government has done its best to try sowing divisions among the people politically. It has stepped up its campaign of propaganda and psychological warfare, even going so far as to try imitating the guerrillas. "They are trying to copy guerrilla strategy by going into villages at night and holding meetings and so on," McLaughlin said. "Before that they just relied on beating and torture."

Government printing presses are churning out reams of leaflets denouncing the "mad dog communist terrorists." "But all Africans have a skeptical attitude about anything they see from the government," McLaughlin said, so when the newspapers print gory accounts of guerrilla atrocities, "definitely all the Africans I ever met assume the government did it."

McLaughlin's own research into one such incident confirmed popular suspicions that the government's own Selous Scouts had committed the massacre in an attempt to discredit the guerrillas.



UN/Davis

For some, life goes on as usual

Rhodesian
Propaganda
Pamphlet

Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors in Mocambique

See the evil communist camp instructor with his big stomach. Now look at the starving recruits. There is little food in the Mocambique communist training camps and the communist camp instructors eat it all. They don't care if the recruits have no food and cry with hunger. Those comrades who have been to Mocambique know this is true. They know they starved while the communist camp instructors ate well and had plenty of beer to drink. The communist camp instructors are evil men. All they care about is forcing the evil ways of communism on the recruits.

Terror and death is the way of the communist camp instructors



"We were investigating the massacre at a tea plantation, and we had a lot of proof that it was the security forces who were responsible," McLaughlin said. "Every single witness we interviewed—and there were many, we interviewed the workers, the wives, the managers—every single one concurred that the guards were not on duty that night. Every night there are guards on duty. And that night they just didn't show up. Why? That was the first thing we asked ourselves. How could [a strange outside] group just walk into a guarded, fenced-in tea estate, march the people way down past the houses, all across the front of the factory. It just couldn't happen. That place was always guarded, there were armed guards there daily. That was one of the most telling points."

Not Taken Seriously

In this case, as in several others, the government flew reporters and photographers to the scene in time to photograph the mangled corpses and write heartrending stories about the guerrilla atrocities. "But most people don't take them seriously," McLaughlin said. Just as they look somewhat

skeptically at the headline treatment given to various African politicians touted as possible accomplices in Ian Smith's "internal settlement."

"While I was there, [Ndabaningi] Sithole came back and he was all over the papers. He was a big hero. He denounced terrorism. He bought 16 Mercedes-Benz cars and a big house in an all-white district in Salisbury."

But many Africans remained unimpressed, McLaughlin said. "It's almost impossible to gauge support for any of these people. While I was there (Bishop Abel) Muzorewa's organization was falling apart. People were leaving him and he dissolved his executive council. The government loves anything that can divide people up. So people try not to fall into that trap. They're very careful about saying who they support, and they all support the boys."

"Everybody says that when people go to join the armed struggle, they could be anybody's supporters. Kids I knew said they just find the best way they can to get across the border and take the nearest route they know to get out. They just know they're going to fight for their country's freedom." □



Robert van Lierop

Young and old, men and women are learning to read and write.



Allen/LNS

Women work on a government-sponsored program in Maputo to replace their shanty homes

Progress In Mozambique

Southern Africa collective member, Allen Isaacman is a Professor in the Departments of History and Afro-American Studies at the University of Minnesota. He is also an Associate of the Center for African Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo.

He was an active FRELIMO supporter during the years of the anti-colonial struggle and has written two highly praised books about Mozambican history, focusing particularly on the long tradition of resistance against Portugal's rule. He has been able to spend considerable time travelling in Mozambique talking to people and watching the process of change.

For six weeks in August and September he visited factories, schools, health centers and communal villages in three provinces, Maputo, Gaza and Nam-pula, and outlines some impressions of contemporary problems and progress in Mozambique.

The first two years since the achievement of independence have not been easy ones. FRELIMO (the Mozambican Liberation Movement) inherited a country whose population

suffered from all the brutal afflictions of underdevelopment. The illiteracy rate was over 90 percent, rural health care was non-existent, and the urban population was forced to live in makeshift shanty towns. The country's economy, moreover, was totally dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia—countries whose political and racial ideology is the very antithesis of what FRELIMO had fought for.

To add to the difficulties, widespread floods hit the country in February 1977, leaving thousands homeless and destroying much of the food production. Many Portuguese settlers, angry at their loss of privilege, destroyed factories, farm equipment and trucks before they departed, and the massive exodus left the country with an acute shortage of technicians and professionals, since only Europeans had been allowed access to higher education during the colonial period.

Further, Mozambique's decision to support United Nations' sanctions against Rhodesia cost it more than \$150 million and brought tough military retaliation by Smith's troops. Over 1000 civilians have already been killed in more than 150 Rhodesian attacks on Mozambique.

Despite these setbacks, FRELIMO has begun to improve the quality of life for most Mozambicans. It has moved forward in designing and implementing a program to restructure Mozambique society, based on the socialist principles and practices developed during the ten years of armed struggle. And it has involved the people fully in each step taken.

Building People's Power

Striking evidence of FRELIMO's commitment to popular participation and collective action is the widespread institutionalization of the "reuniao" or meeting, at all levels of the people's lives—where they live and where they work. Mass mobilization and participation were introduced into the liberated zones during the ten years of armed struggle. Once the Portuguese were finally defeated FRELIMO organized country-wide dynamizing groups in factories, schools, urban neighborhoods and rural villages, to explain to Mozambicans, intimidated by years of oppression, that it was both their right and their duty to become involved in the creation of a new society. Dynamizing groups meet weekly to discuss and debate a whole range of social,

economic and political issues which affect the immediate lives of the people, as well as the young nation as a whole.

Marcelino dos Santos, Minister of Economic Development and Planning, talking with me about Mozambique's future, stressed the central importance of dynamizing groups. They are extremely effective, he said "precisely because they instill in the people a sense of confidence and a recognition that they are masters of their own destiny."

The government's attempts to integrate all segments of the population include a concerted effort to reach out to the white community. One of the first things I noticed when I arrived at Maputo's international airport was a very large poster, of a black and a white arm embracing. The caption read "Abaixo com racismo"—down with racism. The radio and the newspapers carry this message daily, and it is an important theme in the large wall drawings and "wall newspapers" that one sees everywhere in the cities.

The commitment to a multi-racial society is quite clearly demonstrated in the Nationalities Act, which extended Mozambican citizenship to all Portuguese who had lived in Mozambique for five years, or had been born there. White Mozambicans are represented at the highest levels of government, among their rank being three Ministers.

Most Portuguese, fearing retribution or unwilling to live under an African government, have fled, but a small number continue to reside in Mozambique as expatriates. Some own factories and farms which the government has promised to protect as long as they do not exploit their workers.

Dismantling the Old State

As soon as independence was established FRELIMO began to dismantle the oppressive colonial institutions of the old state. In July 1975, the government abolished private schools and nationalized the education system. Its aim was to make education available to all Mozambicans. In the two years that followed, primary school enrollment jumped from 700,000 to 1,200,000 and the proportionate increase in the number of students in secondary school has been even greater. Young girls, who were rarely sent to school during the colonial period, are now coming into the classrooms in growing numbers, and the government has been making special efforts to explain to parents the importance of educating their daughters as well as their sons.

The emphasis on collective action has also begun to transform the once very authoritarian traditional classrooms. Teachers were eager to discuss their ideas with me, enthusiastic about the changes that they were involved in. As they saw it one important step forward was the abandonment of an education system which combined authoritarianism and paternalism to perpetuate elites drawn from the ranks of the wealthy. The new education structures being developed are based on the dual concepts of student participation and student responsibility.

Student Responsibility

Students are organized in units of 25-30, each of which elects a "responsible" who works with faculty and staff representatives to initiate academic, cultural and productive activities. Each unit is further subdivided into groups of 5-6 which are responsible for the collective education of their members. More advanced students in the group help those who are behind. Collective work in the fields is also seen as an integral part of the education process, because it demonstrates the value of group action and prevents the development of intellectual elitism. At the university level, the same principle is reflected in the requirement that students spend July living and working with peasants outside the capital.

As part of the democratization of education, the government has established adult literacy centers throughout the country that are staffed on a voluntary basis by more than 9,000 workers and students. About 400,000 adults are now going to classes in factories, communal villages, and urban residential areas.

Health Care

There have been equally impressive developments in the delivery of health care. When the government nationalized the medical profession, President Machel declared that proper health care was a right rather than a privilege of wealth or race. Today, virtually all medical care is free and the number of patients treated has increased dramatically.

Gabriel Almeida, who had been a patient in a Nampula hospital for two and one-half months, told me, "If we were ever lucky enough to get admitted to a hospital during the colonial period, we were treated like animals; now we are treated with dignity."

FRELIMO has deliberately set out to destroy the impersonality and elit-

ism that characterize most hospital environments. Despite doctors' initial resistance, hospitals now involve patients and the larger community in much of the decision-making process. Patients meet regularly with doctors and nurses to air complaints and to make suggestions. Patients are also given basic information about preventive medicine which they are asked to take back to their own villages. Often convalescing patients are involved in health center projects such as the vegetable garden, and will be encouraged to use their stay to learn about new crops and new systems of cultivation.

Efforts are currently underway to increase the number of community volunteers who work in the hospitals, thus freeing the limited staff from non-technical jobs. Hospital personnel also meet regularly with community groups to discuss ways in which the health centers can provide effective health care information.

National Vaccination

This interaction is an essential part of the government's health strategy, which emphasizes preventive medicine. High-level officials with whom I spoke frequently referred to the government's commitment to protect its citizens from the most widespread debilitating and infectious diseases as quickly as possible. There is much ground to be covered, because the colonial government had not even developed a national vaccination system, nor was there any effort to provide pure water or simple sanitation for the majority of the population.

In its first two years the FRELIMO government has mounted a nationwide sanitary and health education campaign; more than 3.6 million Mozambicans have been inoculated against smallpox, and by 1980 between 90-95 percent of the entire population will have been inoculated against basic diseases. Playing a critical role in this campaign are "barefoot doctors," men and women chosen by their rural communities to take an intensive six-month course in preventive medicine and then return to serve their villages.

New housing opportunities have also helped to improve the quality of life for urban Mozambicans. In an effort to combat residential segregation and end speculation by landlords, FRELIMO allowed homeowners to retain their permanent residence and even a summer place, but abolished landlordship and nationalized all rented living quarters. This action, together with the outflow of large

numbers of Portuguese, made available many modern apartments into which more than 125,000 Mozambicans have been resettled. The rent charged is determined by income and family size as well as by the type of residence.

Communal Villages

Changes in residence patterns are proceeding even more rapidly in rural than in urban areas. Within the past two years more than fifty communal villages have been established, and many more are in the planning and formative stage.

They range from relatively modest villages of a few hundred families to massive communities housing up to 11,000. Officials believe that these communal villages hold the key to Mozambique's rural transformation, and will help give birth to a new socialist society. Fully developed villages include nurseries, schools, health stations and consumer co-operatives, as well as extensive fields.

All the evidence I saw indicated that frequently made Western press charges about peasants being forcibly conscripted into these villages were false. I talked at some length with more than 20 men and women in three provinces about their reasons for moving into the communal villages and their reactions to the new conditions that arose from their decision to live and work collectively. Their decisions have been made carefully and voluntarily, and it is not uncommon to see private holdings and communal villages side by side.

Those peasants who decided to organize communal villages worked collectively from the outset. They built houses, schools and health centers, cleared fields and constructed new roads. They also elected committees to plan agricultural production, to obtain technical assistance and capital from the government, and to organize social and educational services. All adults meet weekly to discuss long-term planning and immediate production problems. All profits are divided equally and are supplemented by yield from the small private plots that each member farms.

Not all peasants live in communal villages. Many are part of agricultural co-operatives, and others are still right outside the new systems. Peasants in the agricultural co-operatives work the fields collectively, but there is as yet no common housing or supporting social services. Perhaps the most successful of the co-operatives is Herois de Mocambique in the south.

The high level of production attained has provided members with an average wage of 85 escudos a day, eight times greater than salaried workers received during the colonial period.

Production Problems

Peasant enthusiasm and the consequent short-term agricultural gains cannot mask the very serious difficulties that the rural sector still faces. The shortage of agricultural equipment, the lack of capital, the absence of trained agronomists are very immediate problems that are likely to intensify with the increase of communal villages

employs 6,000 workers, salaries were increased by as much as 300 percent and plans have been made to provide housing for the laborers and their families. Higher morale, along with the arrival of 100 tractors and a number of foreign technicians, has increased rice production to about 40,000 tons/year—significantly higher than under the Portuguese. Conditions are also improving on state cotton and tea farms in the north, although not as dramatically as at Chokwe.

Industry

FRELIMO also found it necessary to nationalize a number of factories



Men and women attend a FRELIMO neighborhood meeting in Maputo

during the next few years. Even more damaging is the lack of an effective transport network. Portuguese settlers destroyed thousands of trucks before they left, and this has isolated rural villages from urban markets. Throughout my travels I was repeatedly shown spoiled tomatoes, grain and other commodities which had perished for lack of transportation and equipment. This, together with widespread flooding, created serious food shortages in the capital last February.

To overcome agricultural shortages FRELIMO nationalized many large abandoned European estates. The peasants who had worked on them were assured of better working conditions and have been directly involved in all production decisions through their workers' committees. On the sprawling State Farm at Chokwe, in southern Mozambique, which encompasses several thousand hectares and

which had been abandoned or were being badly mismanaged. Although this prevented the total deterioration of the industrial sector, the lack of raw materials, the breakdown of machinery, and the absence of skilled technicians has been devastating. Repeated sabotage has further eroded the industrial base. A shipment of Swedish trucks, sent via Lisbon, arrived in Maputo with smashed engines and in another case, frequently cited, Mozambique received crates filled with rags and rocks rather than the West German cloth that it had ordered for its textile plant.

Although few factories are running at full capacity, there are signs that the situation is beginning to improve. Serious labor problems, such as drunkenness, tardiness and on-the-job accidents have declined appreciably during the past year. Production in some factories that have been able to get raw

materials has increased dramatically. More bicycles are being manufactured than in colonial days, and the major cloth factory in Beira has increased output 400 percent in the past year.

Both workers and foreign technicians with whom I spoke attributed these recent gains to the reorganization of labor in October 1976. Minister of Labor Matsinha, outlining the principle behind the reorganization said the aim was to develop new types of relations of production which eliminated exploitation and the traditional boss over worker dominance.

The government set as its goal the integration of workers into the full

production process [i.e. at the decision making point as well as the output point]. It also sought to intensify political and technical education for the workers. To help achieve these goals production councils were elected by the workers at each plant; their tasks include determining the causes of low production and seeking remedies for the problems, assigning work, deciding on salaries, improving safety conditions, and handling the social problems that affect workers' lives. The production councils hold regular meetings at which all workers are encouraged to criticize, discuss and make suggestions.

Two years after independence a quiet confidence prevails among Mozambicans. They believe that through hard work and collective action a new and just society is in the process of being created. They already have much to be proud of—new schools, hospitals, communal villages. No one ever said to me that they thought the years ahead would be easy—but they are used to hardship, and they now have a profound sense of being able to control their own destiny. "A Luta Continua"—the struggle continues—is still a living slogan for the people of Mozambique. □

Interview With President Machel

On October 3, Mozambique's President, Samora Moises Machel, addressed the United Nations General Assembly. In an exclusive interview in New York, Africa News representative Ruth Minter spoke with President Machel about recent developments in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Zimbabwe Nationalists Move Toward Unified Army

AN: Please clarify how much progress has been made towards unifying the armed forces of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). Do the forces with rear bases in Zambia and those with rear bases in Mozambique collaborate?

Machel: It is the desire of all of us that there be only one army in Zimbabwe. We admit that there are various parties, in the same way as there are various parties in the United States. But there is only one army in the United States.

That is why we insist that the army [in Zimbabwe] be unified. The army is the symbol of national unity, and therefore cannot be fragmented. Such fragmentation would mean retreating to a state of primitivism—of tribal armies, of feudal armies. We have already gone beyond this.

The job of the army today is to guarantee tranquility, and permit the development of the country. [The army should] also participate in national reconstruction. If it is divided, it cannot carry out its essential tasks of security, tranquility, peace, mainte-



Samora Machel

AN

nance of order, and maintaining people's confidence.

In this respect the steps already taken have been positive. There is already a secure platform around which the two armies can unite.

Unification of the army could only become possible once the top leadership itself understood and promoted the necessity of this unity. The leadership at the top has already understood and carried out [acted on] this understanding.

In the second place, the officials of the two armies must assume and understand the importance of unity.

There has been progress in this matter. Further steps are under way and the current process is more promising than in the past. Conditions

are favorable now, logistics are coordinated now.

The ZAPU army is in Zambia. There is no [permanent] ZANU army in Mozambique since fighters of ZANU and ZAPU both train in Tanzania. When they come to Mozambique they are on the way to Zimbabwe; Mozambique is a transit point. We support them. We provide the rear bases, the logistic support. However, there are no forces stationed in Mozambique. There are refugee camps [for] about 40,000 refugees in Mozambique. But yes, you can be sure that the army of Zimbabwe will unite.

Mozambican People Take Up Election Challenge

AN: Elections for People's Assemblies are in process right now in Mozambique. What is the importance of these elections and how are the local people responding to the opportunity?

Machel: You should come, film, see what a real election is in democracy. Come and see how the people elect their deputies.

This is the coming to fruition of the fundamental objectives for which our people agreed to make so many sacrifices—the creation of a popular democratic state.

On September 25, all Mozambican citizens began the process of effective exercise of people's democracy, electing people's assemblies at the local level and at the national level. We are building a new type of State on the ruins of the colonial State. Power belongs to, and is exercised by the broad masses through the people's assemblies.

For me it has been a tremendous education. We could not anticipate what the people would do.

The people know their own: the party proposes a candidate; they may reject [him/her]. They say, "No. We know him. He was a collaborator with colonialism" or "That one? No. He has no respect for women. He chases married women." They say this in public. It is a remarkable phenomenon.

These elections are a great education for the population—a huge school. The people are beginning to engage themselves in the political life, in the national life.

Come. Come first to the rural areas to see how it is, then to the cities. Come before December 4 when the elections end.

New Economic Structures Take Hold

AN: Mozambican workers have been organized through production councils to participate in transforming and planning the economy. How well are these councils working?

Machel: The production councils are developing and consolidating very well. The workers are gaining experiences they never had before—in agricultural production, factory production, animal husbandry. All these areas of production show development.

And there is enthusiasm. I mean there is active participation of the population—of those who never knew

anything and are today capable of speaking about the economy.

AN: In the new Mozambique, communal villages, cooperatives, and state farms all play a role in meeting food production goals. Have there been notable successes with these structures?

Machel: Particularly in Gaza Province, the agricultural cooperatives and the communal villages have advanced greatly, [despite the ravages of] the floods. Collective and co-operative production have also increased substantially in Manica.

The state farms have also grown. For example, it was calculated that the production of tomatoes would perhaps be 6,000 tons, but they are going to harvest 40,000 tons of tomatoes just in Gaza province. A canning factory that never operated for more than two months a year in Gaza province during the colonial period will operate for about six months this year because the produce is there!

Production of rice in Gaza Province is approaching 50,000 tons, a quantity never reached throughout the colonial period. This increase is a result of [improved] organization—through state farms, agricultural cooperatives, communal villages and other forms of organized production.

I visited Nampula Province for fifteen days and found immense enthusiasm for building communal villages among the peasants. They see this as the backbone around which to build our economy.

This province used to produce cotton, essentially with forced labor. Then the plantations were abandoned [by the Portuguese owners]. [Now] the participation of the population in planning and programming production and defining which grain should be planted has galvanized the local peoples.

Our slogan is this: Liquidate hunger and eliminate the scarcity of clothing. This is fundamental to make other steps possible. First, hunger and clothing.

We are certain that we will succeed in this battle. It is a tough battle but a decisive one. The people have an understanding of the problems and are engaged in the necessary tasks.

AN: Mozambique is trying to construct a socialist economy to replace the colonial structures based on a capitalist model. It has also suffered economic dislocation as a result of its solidarity with the struggle for independence in neighboring Zimbabwe. Have you found international support for the nation's economic development plans?

Machel: We have found support in the world, especially in the socialist countries. As you know they were always our natural allies. We have found very active support in the Scandinavian countries for the programs outlined in our Third Congress [February 1977]. In addition there have already been contacts with some Western countries who are interested in certain sectors vital to our development. □

South Africa

Black Resistance, White Crackdown

South Africa's white-minority government, hoping to contain mass opposition in a single stroke, last month ordered the banning of virtually every major black organization in the country.

A total of 18 heretofore legal organizations, along with two black-circulation (though white-owned) newspapers—the *World* and its sister publication, the *Weekend World*—were

closed down "permanently" on October 19. More than 50 prominent black leaders were detained under national security laws, and seven white activists and journalists who had given considerable support to the black struggle were banned.

The government justified its headlong dash towards full police state status by a classic exercise in doublethink: the organizations, newspapers

and leaders were all guilty of creating a "revolutionary climate" and provoking a black-white confrontation.

The Vorster regime's latest excess comes on the heels of widespread and militant protests against the murder in detention, September 12, of Black Consciousness leader Steven Biko.

Nonetheless, while the Biko affair has been an important catalyst, recent events are best understood in a wider

context and as a culmination of a process going back, at the very least, to Soweto June 16, 1976, and the beginning of the student-led uprisings in which hundreds of blacks were killed by the regime's security police.

Opposition to the government's apartheid policies has long been national in scope, and not limited to any particular ethnic or age grouping. On balance, however, it is clear that students are playing a leading role in the confrontations of the '70s.

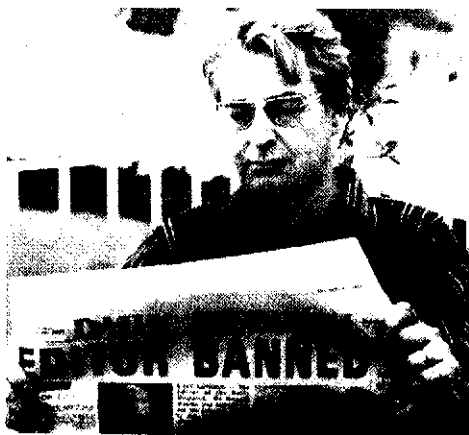
But it is also worth noting that the majority of the 50 men and women recently detained were not student leaders, but well-established, mainly middle-class members of their communities who numbered several churchmen, school principals and other professionals in their ranks. Initial student action succeeded in mobilizing large segments of the black community, and once the community was in motion, its leaders could not remove themselves from the general thrust without losing their credibility and isolating themselves.

Formation of SASO

The formation in 1968 of the all-black, university-based South African Student's Organization marked the beginning of a new phase in the student contribution to the overall liberation struggle. With Biko as its first president, and together with its community counterpart, the Black People's Convention, SASO promoted a program of above-ground resistance that struck at the crucial underpinnings of the white-supremacist state.

The program, elaborated over eight years of struggle and joining the student movement to the black population at large through the medium of development projects in the urban ghettos, organized around three main themes:

- One South Africa, as opposed to the government's bantustan scheme



Donald Woods,
banned editor
of *The World*

Percy Qoboza,
banned editor
of the
Daily Dispatch



whereby the country is fragmented, according to ethnicity, into black "independent" homelands.

- An insistence on independent black mobilization, a rejection of "moderating" white elements or of the concept of working within the system and attempting to reform it. Thus as the struggle developed, the so-called black consciousness groups moved towards a position of non-collaboration with all government sponsored bodies such as the Urban Bantu Council in Soweto.
- Equal educational opportunities, as opposed to the Bantu Education Act, which provides separate and inferior curricula for blacks so as to constantly replenish the reserve of cheap black labor.

The Vorster regime correctly perceives this program as fundamentally endangering the status quo. And it has responded by harassing, jailing, banning and even murdering members of the SASO/BPC leaderships.

BPC President Kenneth Rachidi told 15,000 mourners at Biko's King Williams Town funeral that the murder was part of the government's "vendetta" against the nationalist movement:

"Steve Biko's death is merely a continuation of the pattern of our experiences . . . a culmination of attacks, onslaughts and executions of

the movement by those who illegally wield power."

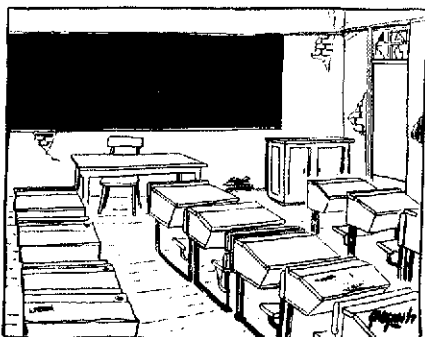
Mr. Rachidi said that within six months of its formation in 1972, BPC interim Vice President Mthuli KaShezi died after being pushed under a moving train. After the Soweto demonstrations last year the organization's entire leadership and active members had been detained.

But even these extreme methods, aimed at leaders, have failed to dampen the ferment, and so it is not surprising to see the BPC and SASO heading the list of 18 black organizations now entirely banned.

Student Council Axed

Another organization high on the government's list is the Soweto Students Representative Council, which, for the last 15 months, has challenged white control in the streets of the black Johannesburg township, apparently undeterred by the massacre of their fellows more than a year ago. The targets the students picked in the first days of their uprising in 1976 indicated a consistent political focus: Bantu Administration offices where most records relating to the control of peoples' movement were kept; government-run beerhalls; etc. That focus has been continued.

The SSRC, whose leadership has been operating clandestinely since the arrest in June of its last set of public officers, currently is spearheading a



The Cape Times

Banned Organizations

The following organizations were banned on October 19, 1977, under the Internal Security Act (1976). Their offices were immediately closed down and all papers, equipment, membership rolls and assets seized by the regime. The Minister of Justice (Police and Prisons) James T. Kruger has appointed 'liquidators' who will pay debts and wind up the affairs of the banned organizations. Any balance of funds shall be distributed to one or more charitable or scientific organizations designated by the Minister.

Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa (ASSECA) — modeled after the US's NAACP

Black Community Programs

Black Parents' Association (BPA) — president, Lutheran Bishop Manas Buthelezi

Black People's Convention (BPC)

Black Women's Federation (BWF)

Border Youth Organization (or Union)

Christian Institute of Southern Africa (CI) and its monthly journal, *Pro Veritate*

Eastern Province (or Cape) Youth Organization

Medupe Writers Association (meetings at US Information Service library)

Natal Youth Organization

National Youth Organization

South African Students Movement (SASM)

South African Students Organization (SASO)

Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)

Soweto Teachers Action Committee (STAC)

Transvaal Youth Organization

Union of Black Journalists

Western Cape Youth Organization

Zimele Trust Fund (Kingwilliamstown)

The World and The Weekend World — newspapers

Persons Believed Detained In Prisons

Rev. Dr. Beyers Naude, director, CI

Rev. Theo Kotze, CI director, Cape Town

Rev. David Russell, Cape Town, under charges of producing and distributing banned documents and of blocking demolition of an African squatter settlement at Modderdam

Rev. Brian Brown, CI

Cedric Mayson, editor, CI journal *Pro Veritate*

Peter Randall, CI

Donald Woods, editor, East London *Daily Dispatch*

Persons Served With 5-Year Banning Orders

Veli Kraal

Sylvester Makdaphela, SASO

Vuyisile Maleleni, BPC; Medupe Writers Association

Nosibima Pityana, social worker; wife of Nyameko Barney Pityana, former president, SASO

Nomsa Williams

Mpunelelo Qeqe, student

Mackenzie Sloti, teacher

Bonile Tuluma, BPC chairman, East London

Mxolisi Mvovo, BPC vice president, eastern Cape; already banned

Sydney Moletsane, BPC

Skenjana Roje, SASO executive

Diliza Mji, past president, SASO

Norman Dubizane, medical student

tri-partite campaign to bring the apartheid system to a halt.

First element in an overall strategy of non-collaboration with "apartheid platforms" is an almost 100% boycott of Soweto's 42 secondary schools. Some 27,000 pupils have remained out of classes for three months now, precipitating mass resignations from the teaching staffs and community school boards, and forcing the regime's Department of Bantu Education to take over direct administration of the schools from the local boards that had partial responsibility for day-to-day supervision.

The SSRC is also backing the adult Committee of Ten, which has called for full municipal autonomy for Soweto, and a boycott of upcoming elections to government-sponsored "community councils" which are seen as thinly-disguised retreats of the now-defunct Urban Bantu Councils.

Thirdly, the students have delivered an ultimatum to black traffic policemen to keep away from their posts in Soweto. In an early incident in this campaign, ten students were arrested for allegedly assaulting and robbing a traffic stop.

To enforce this resistance, students have been in the streets of Soweto almost daily, and the police have responded with extreme brutality, their orders being to ban or attack any political meeting or demonstration not sanctioned by the government.

The results have been mass arrests of students, shootings and killings. No precise figures on deaths are issued, but fatalities of black teenagers rose dramatically during commemorative rallies of the June 16 shootings, and in the aftermath of the death of Mr. Biko.

The police tour the townships in convoys often invading schools, even when they were still in session to

harrass and brutalize the students. They are armed, for their war against the students, with automatic weapons shotguns, rubber bullets, riot clubs, attack dogs, protective helmets and shields and two types of adaptive vehicles, one which sprays tear gas at ground level, and another—nicknamed the "sneeze machine"—that sprays a sticky mixture of gas and powder which adheres to clothing.

Boycott Widespread

By early October more than 190,000 students were boycotting schools in various parts of the country: 27,000 in Soweto, 114,800 in the Venda bantustans, 50,000 in the Ciskei, thousands more in other townships such as Alexandra (Johannesburg), and Atteridgeville and Saulsville, near Pretoria. Angered by student actions, Brigadier J. J. Gerber of the Soweto police justified four student deaths in one week as follows:

Persons Known To Be Detained In Prisons

Percy Qoboza, editor, *The World and The Weekend World*, Soweto

Aggrey Klaaste, news editor, *The Weekend World*

Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi, national president, BPC

Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman, Committee of Ten, Soweto; St. Paul's Anglican Church, Soweto; his wife, Ms. Sally Motlana, is an executive member of the South African Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches, and a guest on tour of the US government in 1975.

Leonard Mosala, Committee of Ten; chairman, Soweto Principals' Union

Lekgau Macaulay Mathabathe, Committee of Ten; former principal, Morris Isaacson High School, Soweto; St. Paul's Anglican Church; a guest on tour of the US government in 1975

Douglas Lolwane, Committee of Ten

Ms. Ellen Khuzwayo, Committee of Ten; social worker; St. Paul's Anglican Church; delegate to synod of Diocese of Johannesburg

Thandisizwe Mazibuko, Committee of Ten; STAC; national secretary, BPC; St. Paul's Anglican Church, Soweto

Sedupe Ramsy Ramokgopa, Committee of Ten; BPC

Fanyana Mazibuko, STAC

N. J. K. Molohe, STAC

Rev. Mashwabada Mayaphula, Committee of Ten, Soweto

Rev. Drake Tshenkeng, national vice president, BPC; rector, St. Mary's Anglican Church, Orlando, Soweto

Aubrey Mokoena, national organizer, BPC; BPA; director, Black Community Programs

Ms. Thenjiwe Mthintso, former reporter East London *Daily Dispatch*; already serving banning order

Rev. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, acting general secretary, Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference; already serving banning order

Thomas Manthata, BPC labor secretary; staff, South African Council of Churches; St. Paul's Anglican Church, Soweto; BPA; former SASO executive

Jairus Kgokong, BPC executive

Malusi Mphumlwana, eastern Cape director, Black Community Programs

Kenneth Matime, former SASO official

Raymond Ramapapa, BPC; student leader

Sadecque Variava, former SASO official; SASO Terrorism Trialist, 1975

Woodraj Ramathar, student University of Durban-Westville

George Wauchope, BPC

Curtis Nkondo, chairman, STAC

Mongezi Stofile, past president, SASO

Hanif Valli, Black Students Society, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Thabo Sekume, BPC chairman, Atteridgeville, Pretoria

P. W. Mamabola, president, Students' Representative Council, University of the North, Turfloop

Jacob Mabola

Kanekane Matsena, BPC chairman, Mamelodi, Pretoria

Gabriel Lentjwe Mokgatle

Gabriel Moloka

James Moleya

Moses Tshekane

T. Mathabatha

Ntsitisi Moremi, CI

"School yards are no longer sacrosanct. Students are under the impression they can do what they like in school yards. That is out. I said that police baiting is bloody dangerous. I meant it."

While school yards are not sacrosanct, neither are churches and funeral ceremonies. Isaac Seko, eventually sentenced to a total of 22 years for a series of bombings, told the court the last straw for him had been the funeral of student leader Jacob Mashabane on October 24, 1976. There, police had fired on mourners, killing seven and wounding 50. Seko and others, already grieving because Mashabane had died mysteriously in detention, were then forced at gunpoint to carry the dead and wounded to vehicles.

While they are not yet the rule, this type of "mini-massacre" occurs with disturbing regularity in South Africa. During June 16 commemorative rallies

in the black township of Uitenhage, north of Port Elizabeth, riot police descended on KwaNobuhle district and, during two days in which protesters burned schools and offices, killed a total of ten people, wounded 23 and arrested 278.

In September, Justice Minister James T. Kruger announced that a total of 2,430 people had been arrested on charges related to "rioting" since June, 1976; 817 of whom had been tried and convicted of substantial offenses.

This official figure—which excludes the 662 persons the anti-apartheid Institute of Race Relations says are currently being held in detention without charge—is undoubtedly understated. There is resistance going on all around the country. It has surfaced in large and small towns, on white-owned farms and in the bantustans which, until recently, had been re-

garded as pacified by the Vorster regime.

Bantustan Resistance

In Bophuthatswana, due to become the second fully "independent" homeland on December 6, students have been boycotting schools in protest against Bantu education. In October, 33 of them were arrested, reportedly as they were marching, cudgels in hand, to rout some boycott-breakers out of a schoolhouse.

A month earlier, Tswana youth had burned down the Ga-rankua branch of Barclay's Bank after chasing away nightwatchmen. Before troops could move in, they had proceeded to damage two other buildings, the Africa Bank Building, and offices of the African National Federated Chambers of Commerce. Last year, the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly was burned to the ground in retaliation for the June 16 Soweto massacres.



Student protesters after the first Soweto shootings

Camera Press/TNI

Meanwhile, in Gazankula, homeland of the Shangaan people, 135 students were arrested in a "Biko demonstration" held to coincide with a massive protest in the Venda reserve.

In Venda, in the Transvaal, close to the border with Rhodesia, 35 secondary schools were closed "indefinitely" and 12,000 students sent home following a "riotous demonstration" by 5,000 of their number in the homeland capital of Sibasa. Almost 200 students were arrested for stoning police, shattering the windows of the Legislative Building, and setting fire to the residence of the white official seconded to the Venda local government.

In the Ciskei homeland, recently, special powers were extended to the local government following incidents of arson and looting at Dimbasa, and the killing of two policemen at Mdantsane. The Ciskei capital of Zelitsha is less than two miles from King Williamstown, where Biko lived his last five years under banishment. At the funeral, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Lennox Sebe, was condemned as a collaborator.

The special powers proclamation provides for: detention without trial; banishment by decree; prohibition of meetings of more than 10 persons unless they are authorized by a magistrate; jail terms for any attempt to organize a boycott of meetings called by tribal leaders.

Emergency Powers

The enabling legislation in the Ciskei is similar to Proclamation 400, which extended emergency powers to the Transkei government during the

1960s. In one year alone, 1963, more than 600 people were detained as Chief Kaiser Matanzima crushed militant opposition in the Transkei to his policies of cooperation with the South African government and ultimate acceptance of "independence."

Even now resistance simmers in the Transkei. Between January 1 and October 26, 1976, date of that homeland's independence from South Africa, 30 people were detained under Proclamation 400. Twenty-five remained in detention after "independence," while two, Thabo Mosala and Joyi Twasifene, joined the list of 24 persons who, since March, 1976, had died while in detention somewhere in South Africa.

Meanwhile, in Gazankulu, homeland of the Shangaan people, 135 African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress — both banned since 1962—are reflected in a spate of large and small trials.

The rate of jailings leaped precipitously during this last year when 18 persons were convicted in two ANC trials alone. They join at least 400 political prisoners Pretoria admits are currently serving sentences under South Africa's Catch-22 security laws.

In the two trials, dubbed those of the Pretoria 12 and the Pietermaritzburg 10, allegations were that the accused were part of a vast ANC conspiracy to: subvert; spread illegal propaganda; sabotage; possess explosives; stockpile and smuggle arms; undergo military training in the Soviet Union; infiltrate illegally into South Africa; and to recruit others to join the

ANC; or go abroad for guerrilla training.

These two cases can be differentiated from the scores of others now in session throughout the country only in terms of the number of accused in the dock at one time. There are also many Isaac Sekos, unaffiliated freedom fighters, having their day in court.

Some of them, however, don't get that far. On September 26, for example, police uncovered what they termed a guerrilla hideout in Soweto, after a prolonged exchange of gunfire in which a black man was killed and two white security policemen wounded.

It is against this backdrop of ever-escalating resistance that the regime has launched its attack on all visible black opposition. The government crackdown represents its answer to a tremendous sharpening of South Africa's one great and irreconcilable contradiction: that between separate development for the benefit of the white minority, and total liberation for blacks within the context of a unified South African state.

There are still people who argue that "gradual change" is a possibility in South Africa. They are ignoring, and it seems quite willfully, the reality that where some four million whites have absolute power over eighteen million blacks, and derive great wealth and luxury from that dominance, any serious demand for change must inevitably be seen as an attempt to overthrow the whole system. That is revolution, and ruling classes do not aid and abet revolutions aimed at destroying their privilege. □

Overview

Finally, after years of African effort, the Security Council has imposed limited sanctions on South Africa. The events behind the adoption on November 4 of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa are a useful index of the continuing Western reluctance to take strong action against the Pretoria regime.

In March 1977 the 49 African countries at the United Nations initiated a new attempt to have the Security Council impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The move was side-tracked by a Western-bloc strategy based on trading off promises of efforts to pressure South Africa into a settlement on Namibia in exchange for the dropping of the African sanctions resolutions.

The Western bloc, with Ambassador Andrew Young in the role of up-front 'good guy,' adopted a new style of 'responsive diplomacy,' designed to persuade the African countries that the concerns, aims and intentions of the two groups were similar, with differences lying only in their operational approaches.

The tactic produced a seven-month lull in African pressure for action on South Africa. The resolutions were held in abeyance while the Western representatives, or 'Gang of Five,' as some dubbed them, entered into extremely protracted shuttle diplomacy with South Africa over Namibia.

Ultimately, events in South Africa destroyed the delicate equilibrium which had been established at the United Nations. The death of Steve Biko and the crackdown on all black opposition in South Africa galvanized the African states into renewed efforts to have sanctions imposed on South Africa. At the end of October, the Africa Group at the United Nations insisted that the Security Council take action on the four original resolutions. These resolutions called firstly for a determination that South Africa constituted a "threat to the peace" under Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter, and secondly for the imposition of a wide range of sanctions, including bans on the sale of arms and military equipment, and on nuclear cooperation, future investment, trade and loans.

That South Africa constitutes a 'threat to the peace' may not seem an earth-shaking discovery to long-time observers of the role that South Africa plays in opposing the African struggle for liberation, both domestically and outside its borders. But to so identify it is a crucial step, given the legal framework of the United Nations, within which sanctions can only be applied on a mandatory basis in situations which

involve acts of aggression and breaches of, or threats to, the peace.

The Western powers have consistently refused to support sanctions, with France, the U.S. and U.K. having vetoed arms embargo resolutions in 1975 and 1976. Caught in the contradiction between their intentions and their rhetoric, which has recently portrayed them as deeply concerned with African liberation, the U.S. and its allies were forced to respond positively to African pressure by shifting their opposition to sanctions. But they sought to shift as little as possible, attempting to mute the impact of any action that they actually agreed to.

They vetoed the African resolutions containing the 'threat to the peace' language, and also opposed in toto any form of economic sanctions (although the African proposals had themselves been quite moderate, referring only to cutting off future investment, loans and trade, without addressing the question of the massive foreign investment already involved in South Africa).

That action was followed by several days of intensive, behind-the-scenes negotiating, as Africans sought to achieve some change in the Western position.

The Western countries were prepared to accept a restricted version of the mandatory arms embargo—based on the language which defined the flow of arms to South Africa, rather than the nature of the regime and the situation in the country, as a threat to the peace. On that basis, Canada and West Germany submitted a compromise resolution which proposed the imposition of a six-month arms embargo, suggesting that the time period was intended to give South Africa a chance to reform. The resolution had other limitations, simply calling for a review, not an ending to past licenses, and only for restricting nuclear cooperation for the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons, while excluding the critical areas of uranium enrichment, etc.

In the final hours of bargaining the West dropped the six-months proviso, and the Africans accepted the limited language on the 'threat to the peace' and the nature of actual sanctions imposed. The resolution imposing a mandatory arms embargo was then passed unanimously.

The administration and the US press have interpreted this action as a great leap forward. Black South Africans, noting continued official US statements that "we are not trying to punish or threaten South Africa," will be less enthusiastic.

news briefs



IN SOUTH AFRICA Detective Sergeant Leonard Nkosi, a member of the SA Security Branch and a former ANC recruit who turned state witness at a major "terrorism" trial, was shot and killed in his home in a Durban ghetto by "unknown assailants." Nkosi described his recruitment and training during the trial, and Security sources said, after his death, that he had also "played a leading part in the recent smashing of a terror plot to invade South Africa."

Despite the failure of the Transkei to win recognition from any state in the world, South Africa is still pushing ahead with its bantustan policy. A second bantustan, BophuthaTswana, is scheduled to become "independent" on December 5. Both whites and blacks will then have to carry a form of passport to enter or leave the territory which will be composed of six land-locked pieces of semi-arid and grass land equalling about 24,500 square miles. Fewer than a third of ethnic Tswanas are included among its 900,000 population, with the rest being residents of "white" areas. About one-third of the population living in the bantustan is made up of members of other groups.

The annual per capita income in the bantustan is said to be \$267, compared with \$245 in Transkei, most income being earned outside the bantustan, by migratory work in the "white" areas. About 70% of Bophutha-Tswana's \$200 million purchasing power is also spent in South Africa.

Transkei has concluded a contract with Intermagnetics Corporation of America for the manufacture of magnetic tapes and cassettes. Intermagnetic, which accounts for about one-third of world tape sales, is expected to invest more than \$1 million in a factory to be built in Umtata, and has agreed to buy 70% of the plant's production.

Transkei has also signed an agreement with a French business consortium, Societe des Grands Travaux de Marseilles, for establishment of a harbor in an industrial zone on the coast.

A South African subsidiary of a British firm hit by a strike in the UK, supplied starter motors which permitted resumption of auto manufacturing at England's Leyland Motors. The strike involved 14 plants of the Lucas company, all of which had been out for six weeks in a pay dispute.

Following much talk of changes in racial policies with regard to sports, Minister of Sport Piet Koornhof has made it clear that the government has no intention of altering its apartheid attitudes. He told a meeting in Durban that it is not government policy that sports clubs should be mixed. He also said that a survey at the end of June showed that only 56 people had joined racially-mixed clubs, most of them cricket players, and that a number of those who had joined had subsequently returned to their old clubs.

Echoing Koornhof's remarks, Prof. Charles Nieuwoudt, chairman of a group which drafted a new constitution for the South African Amateur Athletics Association, said the new constitution would not lead to sports integration. His view was disputed by Prof. Hannes Botha, who resigned as SAAAU president mainly because of his opposition to any sports integration.

Dr. Alberto Marini, director of an Argentine military school, told a conference organized by the Department of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria that South Africa should prepare for a war in Angola within 10 years.

Marini explained, "Angola is the ideal place for the free world to develop a timeless, spaceless, full-scale war to put an end to communist rule in the region." He added that the best way to attain this goal would be to assist UNITA in every way possible.

The administrative offices of Maschinenfabrik Augsburg Nurnburg (MAN) in West Germany were

bombed on August 22 resulting in some \$50,000 in damages.

The attack was claimed by a group called Revolutionary Cells, who say that they have dedicated themselves to striking at links between South Africa and West Germany. The group charged that MAN supplies centrifuges and compressors for atomic plants in South Africa, aiding the development of nuclear weapons.

The German government denied that South Africa has gotten help from West Germany in developing nuclear weapons technology.

Dr. Wolf Geisler of the German Anti-Apartheid Movement in Bonn said that they had no links with the bombing but that accusations made by the Revolutionary Cells group concerning the company's South Africa trade were accurate.

Visiting Israel recently, Foreign Affairs Minister R. F. Botha met with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, and other top officials. He also met in Geneva with President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

A new steel finishing plant jointly operated by Iscor, controlled by the South African government, and Koor Industries, in which the Israel trade union federation Histadrut has large holdings, is to be operational by the end of the year. The move is perceived as a way of getting around certain import regulations of the European Economic Community.

Last year, South Africa was pressured into raising prices of steel sold to the EEC after a period during which it increased its sales by undercutting going rates. The new plant will enable semi-finished South African steel to be cut and finished in Israel; it appears that the production of the Israeli plant will come under an EEC ruling permitting Israeli steel to enter the EEC duty-free.




NAMIBIA'S whites-only National Party split in late September when Dirk Mudge, one of its vice-presidents, led about 75 delegates in a walk-out after he failed to win leadership of the party. Mudge, one of three primary white delegates to the Turnhalle Constitu-

tional Conference, represents elements in the white community who seek an internal settlement with moderate black leaders.

He followed his resignation by forming a new party, the Republican Party, and by announcing that he would seek to work in a coalition with the ten black ethnic groups to contest SWAPO in the forthcoming elections for a constitutional assembly.

Laws prohibiting sex and marriage across racial lines, and the much-hated pass laws, which restrict African freedom of movement, have been scrapped by the South African government in Namibia.

South Africa's strategy aims at strengthening the negotiating position of the white-led political forces inside the territory who are seeking a quick internal settlement which would exclude SWAPO.

 **US DOLLARS STILL GO TO SOUTH AFRICA . . .** In 1976 total US investment rose to \$1.67 billion, up from \$1.59 billion in 1975, according to Department of Commerce figures. Return on US invested capital rose to 12% from 8.8% the year prior. Prior to South Africa's recession, that figure had run 17-20% annually.

Johnson & Johnson recently invited representatives of US companies doing business in South Africa to attend a meeting to discuss "Maximizing the Performance of US-based Multinationals in South Africa in the Development of a Non-European Business Leadership Class in South Africa."

Johnson & Johnson submitted for consideration a proposal by Rutgers (N.J.) University's School of Business for the establishment of a training program. It also suggested that the program be headed by Constance Ntshona, a black South African businesswoman.

Harold Sims, vice president of corporate affairs of Johnson & Johnson, told the invited guests that the plan had been discussed at the company's New Jersey headquarters with several South Africans, including the chairman of the Soweto Council, a member of the Indian Council for South Africa,

and the director of Admissions of Cape Town University.


US Steel is looking for mining propositions in South Africa. Essex Minerals, a US Steel subsidiary, has been advertising for "promising mineral prospects," but so far reports that it hasn't had much success.

Armco Steel Corp. of Ohio has bought substantial mineral rights in the Western Transvaal for about \$575,000.

Delegates to the American Legion national convention in August unanimously approved a resolution urging improved American relations with the South African government.


Frank Manson, a Legion official, explained, "The racial problems in South Africa are theirs to resolve. We want to stop the spread of communism in Africa."


In Jackson, Miss., a group called the Citizens Council is circulating a petition addressed to President Carter which expresses support for the "courageous, anti-communist countries of Rhodesia and South Africa" and calls for an end to "interference" by the US in those countries' affairs.


 **RHODESIA'S** white population continues to decline rapidly. In August, 1,604 whites left the country while only 598 arrived. So far this year, 11,685 whites have left and 3,972 have arrived.

Police raided the houses of black families living in the whites-only suburb of Houghton Park only hours after the kick-off of a businessmen's campaign for better race relations. Theme of the campaign: "You don't have to suddenly love your neighbor—just understand him."

Many blacks, including Ndabaningi Sithole, have bought homes in lower-income Houghton Park in recent months as whites have fled the country. The Africans, who have paid top prices for their homes, now face eviction.

 **ZAMBIA** has accused Rhodesia of using napalm in an attack on the frontier town of Feira. Blackouts and curfews were imposed following the attack, in which three Zambian soldiers were killed.

 **ANGOLA'S MPLA** central committee has suspended the party's executive commissions in Luanda, Malange and Benguela provinces for their "passive and sometimes cooperative attitude toward plotters of the attempted May 27 coup d'etat."

 **GUINEA-BISSAU** President Luis Cabral recently made a week-long visit to Angola during which he pledged that his country will again send troops to assist Angola if Angola is attacked by imperialist forces.

Drawing a parallel between the attempted coup against the MPLA government and the assassination of Guinea-Bissau liberation leader Amilcar Cabral, he said that only with the creation of a new society and new people, free of colonialist attitudes, will Africa free itself.

Both Cabral and Angolan President Agostinho Neto defended the right of their countries to call on friendly socialist countries for assistance.

Neto said, "We feel the aid of socialist countries should continue so that we can defend our independence in relation to the imperialists who want again to dominate our countries."

 **ITALY** is seeking to strengthen its position in southern Africa. A recent visit to Angola and Mozambique by a high government official—the first of its kind—was accompanied by the signing of agreements on technical cooperation. Italy is the only member of the European Economic Community with a resident ambassador in Luanda.

Reflecting the new interest in southern Africa, an Italian group with connections to Fiat is setting up a joint trading company with Mozambique.

The official also had talks with Robert Mugabe, head of ZANU, to whom he reported he had "reconfirmed" Italy's support of majority rule in Zimbabwe.

update

Britain Launches Cease-Fire Talks

Britain's would-be resident commissioner for Rhodesia, Field Marshall Lord Carver, started a round of visits to southern African capitals early this month, in an effort to lay the groundwork for a cease-fire in the guerrilla war over Rhodesia. Accompanied by UN special representative Prem Chand, Carver visited Dar es Salaam and Salisbury for talks with the main adversaries in the conflict, the Patriotic Front and the Smith regime. He was also scheduled to meet officials in Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, and possibly Nigeria.

On his arrival in Salisbury, Carver was greeted by hostile demonstrations by both white and black Rhodesians, with supporters of the Smith government warning against a 'sell-out.'

Rhodesia Faces Financial Crisis

Faced with what Finance Minister David Smith described as its worst trade outlook since the unilateral break from Britain in 1965, the Rhodesian government last month devalued its currency, the Rhodesian dollar, 6% against most major currencies.

Official figures from Salisbury show an 8% decline in retail sales, leading the *Financial Mail* (South Africa) to predict a 6-7% fall in the national product this year. The Standard Bank of Rhodesia has warned the economic collapse lies ahead unless a settlement is soon reached.

US to Inspect South Africa Test Site

The US government wants to send an inspection team to examine South Africa's nuclear facilities, American and South African sources confirm.

The request, transmitted last month, is part of continued bilateral discussions on nuclear cooperation—

discussions that took on special urgency in August when intelligence reports indicated South African preparations to test a nuclear device in the Kalahari desert.

"We take a picture of the site every two hours," one high-ranking US diplomat says, "but we can't be sure whether it's a fruit factory or what until we see on the ground."

South Africa says it plans no nuclear tests, and Ambassador Donald Sole in Washington denies that the American request includes a visit to the Kalahari.

"I can see why they might want to read our message that way," commented one US official, "but why else would we want to get in there now if it wasn't to see the disputed site."

Soweto Schools Closed, Protests Continue

South Africa's Department of Bantu Education has run up against continued failure in its efforts to get the school system functioning normally in the black Johannesburg township of Soweto.

Some 13,000 primary school students boycotted crucial year-end exams early this month, and secondary school students showed no signs of breaking their longstanding boycott to take a similar series of standard tests.

The country's African teachers association, meanwhile, has called on the government to inaugurate free and compulsory education for blacks, and to give African education a budget equal to that for white schooling.

Protests against the Bantu education system continue around the country, with entire school systems closed down in the Ciskei and Venda homelands and disturbances in several black townships.

SWAPO Still Fighting In Namibia

Current diplomatic efforts to reach a Namibia settlement notwithstanding, the SWAPO independence movement is still carrying on a guerrilla campaign against South African forces in the disputed territory.

SWAPO and South African troops fought a major battle near the Angolan border early this month, with both sides claiming to have inflicted heavy losses on the other in a battle of several days.

South Africa said it killed some 61 SWAPO soldiers in the battle, while losing six of its own men. A SWAPO communique, however, said its forces suffered no losses, and managed to capture 30 US-made submachine guns while putting the South Africans to flight with heavy casualties.

SWAPO On Trial

A Namibian court last month overturned the convictions of six SWAPO members charged with assisting in the murder of a tribal chief last year. The court's decision resulted from evidence that the police had infiltrated defense attorneys' offices and reported their findings to the prosecution.

Two of the SWAPO members now freed had faced death sentences.

Still another SWAPO member, however, went on trial for murder in late October. Victor Nkandi faces a possible death penalty in his case, which has attracted protest demonstrations by supporters of the liberation movement.

Tanzanian Spy Linked to Rhodesia

Tanzanian Juma Thomas Zangira, who was recently sentenced to 20 years in prison for spying, said the man who paid him for information on liberation movements since 1971 was a British businessman.

Further investigation by the Tanzanian government, however, showed that the businessman is in fact a Rhodesian police detective who received Zangira's letters under a pseudonym through his mother in England. His 'business' inquiries included seeking the locations of guerrilla training camps, as well as addresses and phone numbers of liberation movement officials.

Leaflets Dropped On Soweto

Residents of Johannesburg's black Soweto township were surprised late last month to find messages from the government falling out of the sky. Leaflets dropped from airplanes informed Sowetans that utility rates were going up, and warned against any protest demonstrations.

A similar announcement last spring provoked widespread protests and authorities were forced to back off.

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Whites Only Elections Called

Prime Minister Vorster's surprise announcement in mid-September that he was calling a November 30 general election, 18 months earlier than necessary generated considerable and contradictory speculation as to his motives both in and outside South Africa.

Black reaction, the most simple and direct, was typified in the words of Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of the now-banned Committee of Ten in Soweto, who said, "White politics and white elections don't mean a damned thing to the African."

Some commentators saw the move as an attempt to rally (and re-enthuse) white voters in the face of growing black resistance, continuing economic stress and international pressures. Certainly Vorster's electioneering speeches played heavily on the emotions of white nationalism, racism and isolationism.

"If these things continue and do not stop," he told a cheering audience in Cape Town, "the time will arrive when South Africa will have no option—small as it is—but to say to the world: 'So far and no further. Do your damndest if you so wish.'"

His cabinet ministers began to talk in siege terms. "We will fight like cornered animals," Foreign Minister Pik Botha told an election rally.

Move Right?

Some observers saw this as an attempt by Vorster to consolidate his support and provide him with a base for moving swiftly to eliminate even the limited "whites only" parliamentary democracy which exists in South Africa at the moment.

In their view, the elections were the vehicle for white voters to give their mandate to proposals for a new governmental structure put forward in August.

Those proposals would create a State President (replacing the present prime minister) with sweeping executive powers. Some liberal opposition critics have charged that the new President would have dictatorial power.

Right Move?

Ironically others saw the constitutional proposals as an indication of some willingness on the part of Vorster "to move in the right direction."

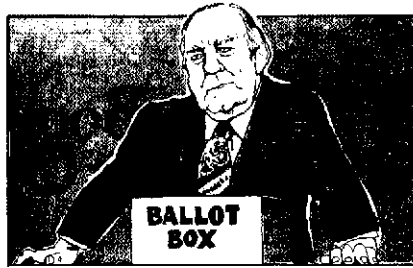
Because the proposals at least acknowledge the existence of Indians and Coloureds, such observers saw the elections as an attempt to curb Vorster's own right wing. The new constitutional proposals would establish

three parliaments: the white one and new separate parliaments for Coloureds and Indians.

The latter would have only narrow powers over their own communities' affairs. They would send members to a Cabinet Council, consisting of six white, three Coloured, and two Indian members.

Thus the whites would still exercise total control.

The new proposals make no reference at all to the African majority. The Bantustan structures are to remain—slated for token "independence," and Africans in urban areas are to remain voiceless and powerless.



Checks Eliminated

The State President would be chosen by an electoral college also weighted in favor of the whites. The State President would preside over the Cabinet Council and would have executive authority to control national affairs without the check of any parliamentary legislative body. However feeble these checks are in the existing white parliament, after 30 years of Nationalist rule, they have allowed the white opposition to criticize, debate and demand information as a part of the legislative process.

The constitutional proposals were swiftly rejected by the executive committee of the majority Coloured Labour Party, headed by Sonny Leon, which charged that the plan would entrench apartheid by preserving ethnic divisions. Leon called for a national convention of all South Africans as a step towards reconciliation.

In a not atypical quirk of South African political fate, Donald Woods, now banned editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*, was a strong proponent of the view that Vorster was holding the election early in order to undercut conservative dissidents in his own party, thus presumably allowing him the flexibility he needs to initiate certain changes. As Woods saw it in an article carried in *The Observer* on September 25:

The truth is that Mr. Vorster has a backlash problem which threatens to unite the right wing of his National Party with the far-right Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) in protest against such relaxations in the apartheid policy as the unofficial scrapping of segregation in several sports.

The main spokesman of the right-wing dissidents is the Deputy Minister for Bantu Affairs, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who steers a careful line between outright opposition to any softening of apartheid and any open breach of party discipline.

The latest example has been the new constitutional plan. It has been cautiously endorsed by all the National Party's provincial congresses, but Dr. Treurnicht has warned that the rural voters will not regard this as a sufficient mandate.

Mr. Vorster called the general election in order to gain such a mandate within Afrikaner ranks, to shatter the HNP at the polls and to tie Dr. Treurnicht down to open endorsement of the policy.

West Concurs

This is a view which dovetails with the view constantly expressed in official circles in Washington and London that the South African government is moving, and that therefore all policy should be predicated on maintaining contact which could encourage such movement.

The events of October 19, with the mass elimination of all black organizations in any way involved in opposition to the government and the widespread arrests of opposition leaders, should serve to expose the fallacy of such an argument.

Vorster is no more willing to make any real concessions involving a shift in power to the black population than is the most conservative member of his right wing.

Control Still Key

There are obviously debates and disagreements within the white ruling party (the Nationalists) and the white ruling class (which includes the so-called "liberal" English-speaking community) about the best techniques of control. But no one is for abandoning control, and the economic and political inheritance of the Afrikaners make it likely that under pressure, they will quickly abandon the velvet glove for a mailed fist. □

washington notes

Liberals Protest Biko's Death

The death of Black consciousness leader Steve Biko has created new concern about South Africa in liberal congressional ranks. But the reaction to Biko's murder also suggests the current limits of Congressional initiatives on southern Africa.

A group of relatively junior white liberal members of the House of Representatives initiated an Ad Hoc group to monitor cases of individual political prisoners in South Africa, starting with Peter Jones, the Publicity Secretary of the Black Peoples Convention, who was arrested with Biko. The group, led by Edward Markey (D-Mass.), Thomas Downey (D-N.Y.), and Andrew Maguire (D-N.J.), requested information about Jones' condition in a letter to South African Ambassador Sole, which was also signed by Parren Mitchell, Cardiss Collins and Yvonne Burke of the Black Caucus and by 18 other Representatives.

Many of the same member have also introduced a House Resolution (No. 364) urging President Carter to request the South African government to permit an "impartial or international" investigation into Biko's death, the condition of all political prisoners and the "entire question of the nature and application of South African laws relating to the detention of political prisoners." The language of the resolution was toned down from the original draft, which called for an international investigation.

Senator Clark has also adopted this more cautious position on the grounds that demanding an international inquiry would prejudice the chances of an internal judicial investigation. Clark's reaction to Biko's death was similar in tone to Mondale's message to Vorster in May: "It is not for us to dictate to anyone how to order their society; our responsibility is merely to point out the realities of the situation . . . and the implications those realities have for our foreign policy. . . . The restrictive security legislation which, whatever the immediate cause of death, contributed to the martyrdom of Steve Biko, is as good a place as any to start to avoid . . . catastrophe."

Congresswoman Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), a member of the Black Caucus and the Africa Subcommittee, was the only member of Congress to link the issue of Biko's death to fundamental questions about US policy: "For the sake of human rights, it is hard to see why our Government continues to maintain normal . . . relations with the South African regime. . . . The Administration should seriously reconsider the extent to which economic relations with South Africa should continue to be conducted as 'business as usual.'"

Several bills which seek to toughen US policy on economic and other links with South Africa have been

introduced in the House this year by Harlem Representative Charles Rangel. The Rangel bills would deny tax credits to US companies operating in South Africa; they propose measures to end all nuclear sales, broaden the arms embargo, and remove all US military personnel from South Africa. The proposed legislation would also ban the import of coal or uranium from South Africa. None of these measures will be voted on before Congress recesses. Their subsequent fate depends on strong leadership and public lobbying.

Black Lobby to Open

The Congressional Black Caucus plans to get a new lobbying office on Africa and the Caribbean off the ground in early 1978. The inception of the new group, called Trans-Africa, was publically marked by a welcoming reception during the special weekend of Caucus legislative and social activities organized in Washington on September 24-25. Special guests at the reception included House African Subcommittee Chairman Charles Diggs, Ambassador Ahoua from the Ivory Coast, Dick Gregory, Ossie Davis, film-maker Robert van Lierop, and the heads of the Urban League, NAACP and National Association of Negro Women.

Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher will chair the Board of Directors of the new organization, which hopes to raise a budget of \$100,000. Although staffing decisions and the programmatic emphases of the lobby have not yet been decided, the Director of the office may well be Randall Robinson. Robinson is currently Administrative Assistant to Congressman Diggs, was formerly active in the Boston-based Pan African Liberation Committee which took a major role in supporting the Angolan independence movement.

Herschelle Challenor, the consultant to Diggs' Africa Subcommittee, Dr. Ronald Walters from Howard University and the African Heritage Studies Association, and C. Payne Lucas of Africare have also had a major role in planning the new group.

Seeking Funds

The South African Information Service has sent a letter to every US senator and congressman intended to reduce pressure for majority rule.

According to *The Citizen*, a right-wing South African paper, the letter has received mixed reactions, some members of Congress reacting sympathetically, saying they were unaware of the realities of the situation while several black Congressmen responded critically.

The letter notes the number of military dictatorships and one-party states in Africa, and seeks to contrast them with the "democracies" of white-rule regimes!

Oppenheimer Visit

Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo-American, which produces 40% of South Africa's gold, was in the United States in October, talking with high level corporate and political policy makers. He met with Vice-President Mondale and addressed the prestigious Foreign Policy Association at a luncheon where he was introduced by Ambassador Andrew Young.

Oppenheimer was careful to define the acceptable limits of the change he thought the United States should advocate.

"It is one thing for a foreign country to press South Africa to rid itself of an unjust system of government based on racial discrimination; it is quite another thing to seek to impose a simplistic system based on majority rule and one-man-one-vote as the only resolution," he said.

More Talk About the Bomb

August was the month of the South Africa nuclear test-fire flap. At the beginning of the month Tass, the Soviet news agency, reported that Pretoria was secretly preparing to detonate an atomic explosion in the Kalahari desert. The test site, it was claimed, had been detected by a "spy in the sky" satellite photograph.

Three weeks later, after much behind the scenes consultation with European allies, and no doubt, the taking of some US photographs, President Carter issued a statement which said that he had received assurances that South Africa does not "intend to develop nuclear explosive devices for any purpose . . . now or in the future."

Everyone seemed happy to take the South Africans at their word.

Presumably it was all over now.

Or was it?

One month later, September 26, a Carter administration official admitted:

- that South Africa had not dismantled its nuclear test facility
- that South Africa could probably explode a bomb any time it wanted.

The official conceded that there is a difference of opinion among administration foreign policy experts concerning South Africa's intention. Some of Carter's advisers do not believe that Prime Minister Vorster's government would risk the additional world condemnation that would follow a nuclear explosion. Others apparently believe that Pretoria might test the device as "an ultimate gesture of defiance."

No one seems to have any doubt that South Africa has the bomb, and in an interview on ABC-TV's Issues and Answers on October 23, Mr. Vorster denied having given Carter a "promise" that South Africa would not develop a "nuclear bomb or nuclear weapons of any sort."

What happened to President Carter's assurances?

Nuclear Expert Is SA Ambassador in Washington

In April 1977 South Africa appointed Donald Sole as its new Ambassador to the US. Sole has a long history of playing an active role in aiding South Africa's nuclear program, and his appearance in Washington at this moment appears more than coincidental. Sole was SA's representative on the board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Commission between 1958 and 1962. In 1968 he was appointed SA Ambassador to West Germany. At that time South Africa was working hard to establish co-operative relations with West German experts dealing in nuclear know-how, and in particular with scientists working in the field of uranium enrichment. In 1975 the African National Congress published secret documents that indicated South Africa's uranium enrichment plant, capable of enriching uranium to the levels necessary for military use, was using a system very

similar to that developed by a West German professor. That professor began visiting South Africa in 1968!

Sole also arranged for Bonn's representative to the NATO military command, General Gunther Rall, to make a secret visit to South Africa in 1974. Rall visited military and nuclear installations, and was forced to resign when the ANC leaked information about his activities in 1975.

No Aid for Mozambique and Angola

In a letter addressed to Congressional leaders in early October President Carter promised to direct US representatives on international financial institutions to "oppose and vote against" all loans in the next year to Mozambique and Angola. The Carter proposal was offered as a "compromise" in response to a House of Representatives vote in June which contained language totally prohibiting the World Bank or other international financial institutions from using US money for aid to Angola or Mozambique. World Bank President Robert MacNamara had said that the bank would not be able to accept US contributions which carried with them such particular prohibitions.

When Carter visited the UN on October 4-5 he seemed concerned to demonstrate that Africa has now gained full stature on the American foreign policy agenda. Crammed into two days of speechmaking, bilateral discussions and diplomatic dinners was a Tuesday luncheon for Organization of African Unity (OAU) member states and an hour-long session with Mozambique President Samora Machel. (Only the Egyptian and Israeli Foreign Ministers spent more time with Carter.)

Carter made a strong appeal for friendship at the lunch. After greeting each invitee personally between courses, he told the group he is willing to "go more than halfway" to work on Africa's concerns.

According to *Africa News*, in the Machel/Carter discussion the Mozambique President underlined his country's commitment to the liberation of the rest of southern Africa. "When the body has a wound," said Machel, "all the flesh around suffers and has an interest in the cure."

The Carter letter, coming hard on the heels of that meeting, raises questions about the intentions of US policy in southern Africa. The administration seemed relatively comfortable conceding victory to the conservatives. Republican Bill Young of Florida, who designed the House amendments against aid to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Cuba and Uganda as well as to the two southern African countries told the *Washington Post* that Carter had even written him a personal letter thanking him for "calling attention to all these problems." Conservatives have thus succeeded in labelling particular countries as human rights violators ineligible for aid, without any hearing procedure or any documented evidence that violations of human rights are being committed.

Liberals on the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee have blamed the Administration's weak and inconsistent lobbying for the defeat. The Administration did not lobby in favor of aid for Angola and Mozambique, it simply asked that it be allowed to give aid if it decided that it wanted to do so — i.e. it was asking that its hands be left untied, but did not adopt a strong positive position.

Namibia

Nujoma: No Reason to Trust South Africa

Speaking before the United Nations General Assembly on October 18, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma presented a strong and uncompromising statement on the question of negotiated independence for Namibia.

Explicit in his address was SWAPO's skepticism about the potential for a negotiated settlement, which leave it no alternative but to escalate the armed struggle.

"In spite of the now well-publicized diplomatic move by the Five Western members of the United Nations Security Council, i.e. the United States of America, Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada, towards a negotiated settlement to the Namibian problem, the situation in Namibia has not changed for the better," he emphasized.

"When observed from a distance, this situation seems to be moving in the direction of a negotiated resolution of the conflict. However, upon a close examination, one discovers that Pretoria is not genuinely prepared to relinquish her oppressive and illegal occupation of our country."

Vorster Holds On

To back this up, he cited numerous examples of actions taken by the South African government to entrench its hold over the territory. These include the all-white referendum held on May 17 this year; the moves to turn Namibia into a confederation of eleven Bantustans which carry out the spirit of the Turnhalle Constitutional talks even though they have been officially ended by the South African government; the training of tribal armies; the annexation of Walvis Bay in August and the continued arrests, trials and heavy sentences—including a hanging—imposed by the South African government against SWAPO militants.

These acts served to confirm SWAPO's view that South Africa has no serious intention of letting go in Namibia, said Nujoma, and explained why SWAPO did not enter the negotiations with high hopes for the out-



Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO

come. However, operating on the principle that "negotiations are also a form of struggle," SWAPO had agreed to "take the risk of accepting their [the five Western powers'] offer to serve as a contact group between the South African regime and SWAPO."

At that time the organization expressed its doubts based on the long history of failed efforts in this regard. "We have been taken for a ride, not once but many times in the past," Nujoma said. "We told them too that as major trade partners to South Africa they are in a powerful position to oblige Pretoria to relinquish her illegal occupation," but this very fact means that the interests of SWAPO and of the "Five" were not the same. "We told them," he continued, "that they have, up until now, sided in our country with colonialism, racism and exploitation . . . conditions [which gave] birth to SWAPO."

According to Nujoma, SWAPO agrees to elections in the territory on condition that the South African armed forces are withdrawn and that all Namibian political prisoners are

released. He argued eloquently against the view, to which even some of SWAPO's friends subscribe, that the movement's refusal to go forward with elections is linked to its uncertainty about popular support inside Namibia.

"Consciously or unconsciously those who make such insinuations are in fact asking us to commit national suicide."

Inhibiting Free Elections

The South African army and police "constitute both a physical and psychological inhibition to prevent hundreds of thousands of the Namibian people from ever being able to express their genuine political positions. Many of these people would simply not believe that they would not be arrested, detained, tortured or expelled from their jobs the following morning if one day they choose to identify themselves with SWAPO activities.

It is hardly surprising that South Africa's refusal to withdraw its troops is seen by SWAPO as a major stumbling block in the path towards a negotiated independence. SWAPO would not accept the continued presence of South African troops in Namibia, but it was prepared to accept the presence of a United Nations peace-keeping force. Such a force should arrive in Namibia prior to the election campaign, and would serve to insure genuine popular participation in the election process.

Peace-keeping Force

The question of the peace-keeping force was taken up two days later when *Southern Africa* interviewed President Nujoma at his New York hotel. In a relaxed and cordial atmosphere, the bearded SWAPO leader explained why his liberation movement held a position different from that of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front on the potential role of a UN force. The Front was opposed to any intervention by a UN force in Zimbabwe. While colonialism exists in both countries, he said the situation in Namibia is slightly different because it is under UN trusteeship. "The United Nations still has a responsibility towards the Namibian

people. It is for this reason that we believe that a peaceful solution can only be found if the UN plays a positive role by effectively taking over the administration as well as effectively controlling the country as a whole with its peace-keeping force."

There are as yet no guidelines set by the United Nations for the composition of the peace-keeping force. According to a source in the United Nations this will ultimately be determined by the Security Council but probably only after much behind the scenes politicking and with the acceptance of SWAPO and South Africa. The source stressed that nothing more than very informal talks and speculations have begun around the subject because there seems so little chance that South Africa will accept this aspect of the proposals.

Building Bantustans

Nujoma underscored SWAPO's doubts about Pretoria's intentions in his interview with *Southern Africa*. "There is no doubt that the Vorster fascist regime is not sincere. It is trying to find ways and means of undoing SWAPO and putting SWAPO in a disadvantaged position."

He pointed out—both in his speech and in the interview—that the bantustanization of Namibia was going ahead, and is one of the most concrete ways in which South Africa is trying to entrench itself in the territory. "The racist regime of South Africa," he said

in the interview, "intends to impose a neo-colonial solution in Namibia through a declaration of 'tribal' mini-states which will be manipulated and controlled directly from Pretoria, and through which the multi-national corporations and other foreign companies will continue to exploit Namibian mineral wealth while the Namibians continue to suffer from hunger, disease and ignorance."

Nujoma reminded the General Assembly that "while the world was being told that Pretoria has agreed to scrap the Turnhalle plan for the bantustanization of Namibia, South Africa inaugurated the so-called Nama Legislative Council on July 19, 1977." Immediately thereafter South Africa proclaimed the establishment of the Damara Legislative Council on July 28 and plans are underway for the establishment of a Rehoboth Legislative Council.

The projected thirteen bantustans will each have their own 'tribal army,' trained to fight against SWAPO. Training is now "going on in full swing. . . . This building-up of tribal armies is also intended to set the stage for a civil war in Namibia, thereby providing a pretext for Pretoria to re-occupy Namibia even after independence."

While in New York, a SWAPO delegation held meetings with the Western powers. These meetings were to be followed by further consultations between the "Big Five" and Vorster.

Both at the private meetings and before the General Assembly, President Nujoma reiterated SWAPO's willingness to continue negotiations, but only on the organization's own terms. He also called on the General Assembly to censure South Africa on its continued attempts to entrench its hold on Namibia. Ultimately, he pointed out, it was the armed struggle that would be the decisive factor in gaining independence. "In the absence of genuine peaceful solutions," Nujoma stressed to *Southern Africa*, SWAPO of Namibia has no other alternative but to continue the armed liberation struggle as well as the political mass mobilization in opposition to the illegal occupation of the illegal Vorster regime."

"SWAPO guerrilla forces are operating physically in three regions: northwestern, northern and eastern, as well as expanding our military operations towards the central and southern regions," he told *Southern Africa*. "Also, we have successfully politicized the masses of the people throughout the country from east to west, north to south," and although South Africa has responded with increased repression, this has not weakened SWAPO. Fighting against the military strength of South Africa was difficult, the SWAPO President admitted, but "we have to redouble our efforts to make things difficult for the racist regime of South Africa to operate." □

Zimbabwe

United Front Faces Problems

Talks that took place in late September between Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda and Rhodesia's Ian Smith have apparently caused an open rift between the two leaders of the Patriotic Front. ZANU leader Robert Mugabe postponed a meeting he was due to hold with Joshua Nkomo, the leader of ZAPU, at which some aspects of the closer working unity of the two movements was to have been discussed.

An alternative date was set for two weeks later, but Joshua Nkomo did not attend. He was travelling in the United States and Canada at the time.

Mugabe explained his position at a press conference in Lusaka with Ian

Smith and on October 19. He condemned the holding of private talks with Ian Smith and said that he was not convinced that Nkomo had not been party to them [see *Southern Africa*, "Overview," October 1977].

The ZANU leader indicated that he had met with Kaunda to discuss the question, but was not happy with the result of the meeting. "We had frank talks," he told the press conference, "and we understood his explanations. We do not necessarily take what is told to us as the truth."

Observers in Africa have not placed Nkomo at the September 25 Smith-Kaunda meeting, but point out that although it seems likely that President

Kaunda did not alert anyone to the talks before they took place he did confer with Nkomo and the leaders of the front-line states immediately afterwards. Mugabe, it appears, learned about the talks only after they had become general knowledge.

Support For Nkomo Varies

The whole episode has served to strengthen a growing impression that a number of rather disparate forces are now coming together to push Joshua Nkomo's ascendancy as first head of an independent Zimbabwe. Such forces range from Lonrho businessman Tiny Rowland (said to have arranged the Smith-Kaunda meeting), to the front-



Robert Mugabe

line states, the Soviet Union, the US, Britain and maybe even a reluctant Ian Smith.

Despite his disquiet at these events, the ZANU leader stressed—both at the press conference and later in Dar es Salaam, that it is not ZANU's intention to break up the Patriotic Front.

Prior to these events, the New York representatives of ZAPU and ZANU had indicated to *Southern Africa* that progress was being made at a series of meetings held to work out a military merger, despite differences in the approach of each movement.

"We are not ripe for one party," Mugabe told the press conference in Lusaka, "but we can consolidate our alliance." He pointed out that in order to avoid an Angolan-type situation it was necessary to integrate the two armies, but said forming a single party was a physical impossibility.

In a similar vein, the ZANU representative in New York, Tirivafi Kangai, told *Southern Africa* early in October that the "basis for our unity is armed struggle not negotiations. So we are striving for a unified army and a unified command."

On the other hand, Callistus Ndlovu, ZAPU's New York representative explained in an interview with *Southern Africa* that political and military unity will have to come at the same time.

Whatever the tensions between the two movements, hopes for unity had

been fostered by the manner of their response to the newest Anglo-American settlement proposals. Their initial response was issued simultaneously from both headquarters in the name of the Patriotic Front, and in subsequent statements spokesmen from both groups indicated that they were speaking as representatives of the Front, and not their individual organizations. Both parties were thus united in rejecting many of the key points of the proposal, although indicating that they felt the proposal could provide a useful basis for negotiations.

Their principal objections centered on the role of the resident commissioner in the transition, the proposed UN peace-keeping force and the role of the Rhodesian police and army.

Machel Responds to Proposals

The cautious response of the front-line state leaders to these newest proposals was reiterated by Mozambique President Samora Machel, when he addressed the United Nations General Assembly on October 3. He emphasized that they contain serious limitations.

"On the one hand," he said, "the colonial power seeks, in the phase of transition towards independence, a concentration of powers the like of which it never had during the whole colonial period, and does not guarantee immediate participation of Zimbabweans in the exercise of power. On the other hand, the proposals maintain

intact the whole state apparatus of the illegal regime and clearly show excessive concern with the protection of the rights of the settlers . . ."

Finally he pointed out that the inclusion of rigid clauses in the agreement which will remain in force for eight years after independence, was anti-democratic and constituted "grave limitations to the full sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe."

Nevertheless, he pointed out that the September 24 meeting of the front-line heads of state had agreed that the proposals do provide a basis for negotiations.

Valid terms include the recognition of the principle of independence, the setting of a time-table for its occurrence and the principle of universal elections. Other important points include Britain's acceptance of responsibility for the process and the basing of the future army on the liberation forces.

Close observers of the liberation struggle have recently reported that the Patriotic Front is feeling considerable pressure from the front-line presidents to accept some elements of the Anglo-American plan.

In his mid-September statement from Lusaka, for instance, Nkomo said: "It is only fair of us to be categorical on the question of the Rhodesian armed forces. They must be dismantled *in toto*. This includes the police." But it was later reported that Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere favored the Front's acceptance of the Rhodesian police in the transition period, while insisting on the dismantling of the army. Sources close to the liberation movement suggest that this sort of pressure could be one reason why the Front responded to the proposals in a rather piecemeal fashion, stopping short of a total, blanket rejection of the plan.

A reliable source close to the movements indicated to *Southern Africa* that President Nyerere has been actively cultivating the political neutrality (vis-a-vis the Patriotic Front) of some 5,000 Zimbabwean troops trained in Tanzania.

Neutral Force?

"This so-called independent 'third force' could then be advanced as a neutral force to be used as the Zimbabwe army, as called for in the Anglo-American proposal, if the Front fails to resolve its differences," this source said. He also stated that the make-up of the third force was not really neutral

at all, but had been predominantly ZANU with some smaller percentage of ZAPU cadres.

Predictably, Smith continues to attack the Anglo-American proposals, though with varying levels of antagonism. He is at the same time still seeking to press for some kind of an "internal" settlement. The latest evidence of this was the return from exile of James Chikerema, a former president of ZAPU during Nkomo's years of imprisonment and subsequently a leader of the break-away Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe. Chikerema returned to Salisbury shortly after the disclosure of the newest Anglo-American settlement plans, claiming to support Smith's demands regarding a continuing role for the Rhodesian armed forces. He is now taking his place beside Bishop Abel Muzorewa as first vice-president of the Bishop's United African National Council, the group that is generally expected to be used in Smith's offering for a multi-racial government in his internal settlement. □



Mobil gas station in Salisbury

Closing the Oil Taps

Pressure to halt the flow of oil to Rhodesia continues to increase. In mid-October, the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa, of which all 35 Commonwealth nations are members, issued a statement recommending action to make oil sanctions effective.

The Committee agreed unanimously that guarantees should be sought from the South African government that oil imported into South Africa will not in any circumstances whatever be re-exported to Rhodesia. If South Africa was not prepared to provide such guarantees, then the Committee "stressed the need . . . for seeking from the Security Council a decision to impose in mandatory form an embargo on the supply of crude oil and petroleum products to South Africa itself."

The Committee also referred (with certain British reservations) to the need to extend the scope of existing sanctions legislation so that it covers not just the parent oil companies, but also their South African subsidiaries. (At present there is no law preventing the South African subsidiaries of

Mobil, Caltex and three other oil companies from supplying oil to Rhodesia.

These recommendations are of considerable significance. They resulted from initial proposals made by an eleven-nation Commonwealth working group, of which Britain was one member, which had been studying this specific problem for some time.

OAU Mission

In another recent development, a seven-nation OAU ministerial mission led by Siteke Mwale, Foreign Minister of Zambia, visited Ecuador and Venezuela to hold discussions aimed at cutting off the supply of oil to South Africa by OPEC members. Both South American governments reiterated their determination to ensure that oil they exported did not find its way to either South Africa or Rhodesia. At the end of November the OAU Mission will also visit Indonesia and all the Middle East OPEC members, in order to hold similar discussions. Without doubt the most crucial talks will be held in Iran, which provides the great majority of South Africa's oil. Over the past year there has been increasing

diplomatic pressure on Iran to cease supplying South Africa, or at least to require from South Africa that its oil does not get passed on to Rhodesia.

Sources at the United Nations suggest that if and when General Chand reports back to the Security Council that he has been unable to secure agreement to a ceasefire and to the other required terms of the Anglo-American settlement initiative, immediate steps will be taken to strengthen sanctions. In all probability some members will introduce a draft Security Council resolution extending oil sanctions against Rhodesia to cover South Africa as well, on the grounds that it is the support of South Africa which has enabled the Smith regime to survive. In such a situation, it could prove very difficult for Britain, France and the USA to veto the resolution. Oil companies from all three countries have been shown to have supplied Rhodesia with its requirements ever since UDI, via their South African subsidiaries. This is of considerable embarrassment to the governments in question, especially that of Britain, which owns a 51 per cent stake in BP, one of the guilty companies. □

Mozambique

Captured Spy Reveals Rhodesian Plan to Attack

Editor's Note: Armed forces of the white-supremacist Rhodesian government launched attacks on neighboring Mozambique in early October, in three northern, central and southern provinces. During the two years since Mozambique won its independence from Portuguese colonial rule, the revolutionary state has been raided more than 120 times by the Rhodesians, who have killed more than 1000 people. A major target of the attacks into Mozambican lands have been refugee villages where black Zimbabweans have fled from Rhodesian rule. We reprint below a report prepared by Liberation News Service, from material supplied by the Mozambique Information Agency.

MAPUTO, Mozambique [MIA/LNS] — Details of a plan for a major Rhodesian attack on Mozambique and for the assassination of Mozambique's leaders were revealed to journalists at a press conference here in the Mozambican capital on September 17. The plan was described by a spy who was captured while gathering information for the Rhodesian forces in connection with the attack.

According to Afonso Joane Cotoi, a Mozambican recruited by the Rhodesians while he was working in South Africa, the attack was planned for the very near future. Large quantities of war material, including aircraft and trucks, were already being concentrated near the border for a strike into Mozambique. A large number of troops, Rhodesian and mercenary, were being mustered for the offensive, Cotoi said, with one objective defined as the physical elimination of Mozambican leaders.

During the press conference, Cotoi spoke of his past, how he was recruited and trained, and how he was caught.

Recruitment in South Africa

Born 21 years ago in the southern province of Inhambane, Cotoi went to live in the capital city when it was one of the remaining strongholds of Portuguese colonial rule in 1972. But after one year of primary school, he drifted

Xiconhoca is an enemy agent.

He guides the invaders, collaborates in aggression, and in massacres of the people.



**GUIA DE INVASORES
ESCLAVOS NA AGRESSÃO
E NOS MASSACRES AO POVO**

Tempo

out of classes and into delinquency. Finally he went across the border to work in the South African mines. When miners at the coal pits where he was working went on strike a few months later, Cotoi stayed out of it and tipped off the police on the names of the strike leaders. His actions didn't go unnoticed. Within a few days, he was contacted by agents who had spotted him as a potential recruit against his own country. At that time, in November of 1974, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was consolidating its control of the country in the last stages of the war against Portuguese colonial rule, and the white supremacist rulers in South Africa and Rhodesia were preparing to step up operations across the border.

After being approached by a Portuguese-speaking South African, Cotoi and a friend were taken by car to the Rhodesian border, where officials aided their entry. A few days later, they finished their journey in a military training camp.

Rhodesian Training Camp

"Once we were there, they gave us food and a bed to sleep in, and told us we would start training the next day," Cotoi said. The training went on for the next eight months. "The soldiers who trained us were Rhodesians, Portuguese, South Africans and others who spoke various languages."

In the course of their training, Cotoi and others who had been recruited like him, were told about the so-called "Africa Livre" (Free Africa) group, organized to operate against progressive African countries, particularly in southern Africa.

"They told us that just as FRELIMO had kicked out the Portuguese colonialists with weapons, we would be able to kick out FRELIMO if we trained enough," Cotoi said. "They told us that for us to take power it was necessary to attack and kill the main leaders and cadres of FRELIMO. They told us that Jorge Jardim (a fascist businessman who lived in Mozambique until the colonialists' defeat) was going to lead

us in kicking out FRELIMO, and so we would be able to run Mozambique; we could get very rich, occupy the chairs of the ministers and directors, we could be the owners of the factories, the farms and everything else."

But after his training was over, Cotoi found that things didn't go exactly as planned. His first mission was a military action against Mapai, a small town in Mozambique. The swift response of the Mozambique armed forces prevented the helicopter carrying him and the other members of his unit from landing. Cotoi and others in the helicopter dropped incendiary bombs on villages they flew over, but they were

put to flight by Mozambican fire and returned to Rhoesia.

Espionage Mission

After this attack, Cotoi underwent intensive training for the espionage mission on which he was eventually captured."

"They told us we had to make the final reconnaissance and we had to send all possible information for the attack which was being prepared," Cotoi said. "Everything is ready, according to what they said. The assault units are ready, the weapons and the ammunition are all set. The planes, helicopters and trucks are pre-

pared. They were only short of some information which we had to send."

Cotoi was infiltrated into Mozambique at the beginning of September along with about 100 others. But the information he gathered in two weeks of roaming the roads and railways never got back to the Rhodesians. The night before a helicopter was to come and pick him up, he attracted the suspicions of some villagers and they reported his presence to a group of FRELIMO fighters. Cotoi was promptly arrested. And a few days later, he detailed his knowledge of the Rhodesian plot at the press conference. □

Zaire

West German Rocket Base Built

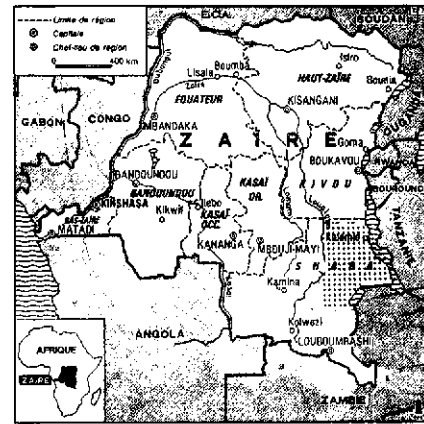
"Our economies," Zaire's President Mobutu Seso Seko said of the underdeveloped world while visiting Peking on December 16, 1975, "have been rendered secondary by the domination that the western countries have imposed on us, and are directly or indirectly touched by their economic failure.

"But Africa, the irreducible bastion of colonialism in the past, will be freed at an accelerated pace."

Ten days after these somber proclamations, Mobutu's government signed the first version of an extraordinary contract with a West German rocketry corporation, Orbital Transport — und Raketen — Aktiengesellschaft (OTRAG). "The state of Zaire accords to OTRAG," the most recent version of this agreement states, "the right of full use of territory" in Shaba (ex-Katanga) province—the south-eastern province of Zaire—half the size of Great Britain.

The OTRAG-Zaire agreement was first exposed in August by the Paris-based bimonthly *Afrique Asie*. OTRAG exercises virtually complete control over the area and "can conduct all kinds of activities . . . without bearing any responsibility for the damage to the environment." In exchange for its status as the Cape Canaveral of Africa, Zaire must also be ready to evacuate all people from the area not directly authorized by OTRAG.

Until revealed by *Afrique Asie*, the agreement had been secret, but



Afrique-Asie

spokespeople for OTRAG claimed that the agreement had been made publicly. Lutz T. Kayser, the company's president told *Aviation Week and Space Technology* in September that OTRAG would use the area as a launch site and testing range until the year 2000 for "reconnaissance . . . satellites and others too dangerous or politically sensitive for shuttle launch." Kayser said his firm had approached Brazil, Indonesia and other countries in search of a launching site near the equator. Mobutu, he said, had been the "fastest to react."

The area of Shaba now controlled by OTRAG borders on Lake Tanganyika and Zambia, some 150 miles from Angola's border with Zaire, and further east than the area involved in active

fighting following the uprising earlier this year. OTRAG fired its first rocket last May 17, according to *Aviation Week* and plans to launch an average of ten vehicles a year between 1981 and 1990.

Kayser also indicated, according to the French magazine *L'Express*, that the United States space agency, NASA, was well aware of OTRAG's plans for the African Canaveral. "They have no hostility towards us," he said. Added an associate, "In the 1990s, it is certainly possible that we would put structures in orbit for NASA too heavy for the space shuttle."

African Reaction

Reaction both from government leaders in Africa and from the European press was swift. Angolan president Agostinho Neto denounced the possible eventual transport of "atomic warheads." Obviously reflecting on last spring's uprising in Shaba province and the continued high level of tension between Zaire and Angola, Neto said that OTRAG's presence in Shaba was a danger to his country. "If there were serious problems, they wouldn't only use the Zairois infantry, they could use rockets instead."

Neto added that the presence of rockets in Shaba was a permanent threat to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The Soviet press agency TASS echoed the Angolan president's sentiments, and the French daily *Le Monde* charged that "this concession consti-

tutes an undeniable abandonment of a state's sovereignty at the profit of private interests."

There is some indication that South Africa is well aware of the OTRAG project and couldn't be more pleased. OTRAG could be ready within five years to sell their rockets to any client who wants to launch heavy satellites. Presumably rockets could also be used for military purposes. "South Africa is already interested," noted the rightist French weekly, *Valeurs Actuelles*, which is said to be well-informed on South African matters.

By 1975, West Germany had become South Africa's second largest

trading partner, after Great Britain. Interestingly, while German investments abroad were declining from 1976 to 1977, German investments in South Africa in the first third of 1977 had tripled over a comparable period the previous year.

It is generally thought, though not acknowledged publicly, that South Africa has nuclear weapons within its arsenals. Collaboration with OTRAG could give South Africa a launch capability it has not enjoyed previously.

From Paris, Congolese opposition leader Nathanael Mbumba, president of the Congolese National Liberation Front which claimed credit for leading the uprising against Mobutu in Shaba

earlier this year, commented that the discovery of the OTRAG agreement "had been possible thanks to the vigilance of Congolese compatriots and militants."

According to Mbumba, the establishment of the OTRAG site in Shaba constitutes the culmination of "South Africa's dream "to make concrete the surrounding of the progressive countries which directly support the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

"This time Mobutu has given *carte blanche* to the imperialists so that they can be prepared to act more directly and efficiently from Congolese territory." □

RESOURCES

Zimbabwe Information Group Bulletin: published by the London-based ZIG, five times a year. The October issue focuses in detail on the recent Anglo-American proposals. Subscriptions for the United States are \$6.00 (airmail) and \$3.00 (surface). Write to Zimbabwe Information Group, 1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1 4JL.

This Is The Time, an interview with two Namibian women. The booklet is published by Chicago Committee for African Liberation, 1476 W. Irving Park Road, Chicago, Ill. 60613. The two SWAPO militants describe conditions of women in rural and urban Namibia and the role they play in the liberation movement. Price: 75¢ plus 25¢ postage.

African Liberation Calendar, produced by Liberation Support Movement. 11 x 17. Cost \$2.95. Order from LSM Information Center, P.O. Box 2077, Oakland, CA 94604. Write to the same address for the 1978 LSM catalog which covers a variety of publications on southern Africa.

SWAPO Freedom Songs: One Namibia, One Nation, sung by SWAPO singers. Words and music came out of the struggle of the Namibian people. The record was released jointly by the SWAPO Information Office, London and Action Namibia, Holland. Obtainable through LSM, P.O. Box 2077,

Oakland, CA 94604. Cost: \$5 plus 50¢ handling.

Corporate Examiner: The September issue has a lengthy brief on "The American Economic Future in Southern Africa: An Analysis of an Agency for International Development Study on Zimbabwe and Namibia," written by Sean Gervasi. Copies of the brief may be obtained from the Corporate Information Center, Room 566, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10025. Price: 1-10 copies, 60¢ each.

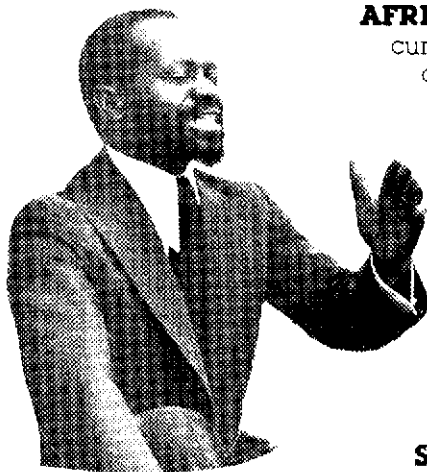
Zimbabwe: Notes and Reflections on the Rhodesian Question: The 50-page

document is published by the Center of African Studies, University of Eduardo Mondlane, C.P. 178, Maputo, Mozambique.

New Films . . . The UN has produced a film, *The White Laager*, which describes how the Nationalist government achieved power in South Africa in 1948 and went on to pass a series of laws to preserve and consolidate its power.

SWAPO has produced a film, *Namibia Armed*, which examines the task of political education and mobilization.

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action news notes

STEVE BIKO MOURNED . . . South Africans living in the New York area organized a memorial service in Harlem which was attended by about 150 people. Included were speeches by representatives of the liberation movements and readings by several poets.

The Pan African Students Organization in the Americas held a demonstration to protest Biko's death in front of the South African airlines office.

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York released a statement calling on the South African government to institute a judicial inquiry into Biko's death and urging all members of the legal profession "to make known to the responsible authorities in South Africa their sense of outrage and horror over (the) pattern of deaths in detention and especially the death of Mr. Biko."

CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN . . .

An ad hoc group led by Congressman Thomas Downey intends to work on individual cases of South African political prisoners. [See *Washington Notes*]

The Episcopal Churchmen for Southern Africa is urging people to ask their own Congressmen to support the group's inquiries.

BANK CAMPAIGN . . .

The United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers Union withdrew a \$4 million payroll account from Chase Manhattan Bank in mid-September, while the Sisters of Charity of New York withdrew all its accounts from Citibank. The Fur, Leather and Machinery Workers (FLM Joint Board) also has withdrawn all of its accounts from New York banks with South African connections.

In another major development, the United Automobile Workers and District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America, the largest Steelworkers local in the country, both voted to



Lewis Harmon

Survival, a play written and performed by four talented young actors who recently left Soweto. The play is set in a South African prison and in a very vital and moving way portrays what it means to grow up black under the oppressive apartheid system. It does so with humor, strengthened by fine acting, and good South African vocal music. We enthusiastically encourage our readers to go and see the play. It is presently being performed in New York at Astor Place Theater, 434 Lafayette Street.

withdraw all deposits in banks with South African connections.

The Committee to End Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA) now estimates that US bank loans to South Africa total about \$3 billion, or one-third higher than previously believed.

The number of organizations participating in the campaign has grown to close to 50. Among recent additions are several black organizations including the Black Theology Project.

More than 100,000 fliers describing the bank campaign have been distributed to date.

COBLSA is continuing to work out plans for a National Day of Withdrawal to be held sometime in late winter or early spring.

In Canada, the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa is organizing a campaign against four Canadian banks with South African loan connections.

For further information, contact COBLSA coordinators Prexy Nesbitt, ACOA, 305 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017, or Gene Jones, Clergy & Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007.

New Resource: The Senate Subcommittee on Africa headed by Sen. Dick Clark plans to release a comprehensive report on bank loans to South Africa in November. Write to the committee for copies.

NO MATCH FOR PROTESTORS . . .

The US Tennis Association has formally asked South Africa to withdraw from the Davis Cup. The change of attitude on the part of the US follows a series of protests at matches in which South Africans were permitted to play.

A USTA official has been quoted as saying of the South Africans, "We would like them to get out until the situation in South Africa becomes more palatable."

CAMPUS VICTORY . . . The trustees of the University of Massachusetts voted to sell immediately \$600,000 worth of stock in three mining companies with investments in South Africa and to proceed within 90 days to

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1978 Anti-Apartheid Poster calendar, containing 12 full-color posters selected from entries in a nationwide contest. \$4.00 each. Bulk rates available. Proceeds go to support project aiding victims of apartheid. Available from American Committee on Africa, 305 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. (Groups of posters from the competition may be reserved for exhibit by contacting Ray Gould, ACOA director of special projects. Participating groups must pay transportation costs—about \$25 for 10 to 20 posters—and are asked to make a contribution, determined on ability to pay, to help defray expenses.)

T-shirts featuring a map of Africa and the *Southern Africa* magazine logo. \$5 each. Colors: brown on white. Small, medium and large. Available from *Southern Africa* magazine, 156 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010.

sell stock in other companies with South African investments. The action follows a similar decision last spring by nearby Hampshire College. Both decisions followed lengthy student protests.

FILM PROCEEDS PRESENTED . . .

Robert Van Lierop, head of the Mozambique Film Project, presented a check for \$42,188 to Mozambique President Samora Machel on October 3. The check represented the proceeds from showings of a documentary film made by Van Lierop entitled "O Povo Organizado" which examines life in independent Mozambique.

Earlier this year, the group sent an additional \$5,000 to Maputo officials. All the funds are to be used for medical facilities.

SOUNDS FISHY . . . About 200 demonstrators protesting Del Monte's activities in South Africa and Namibia as well as other corporate actions picketed the company's annual meet-

ing in San Francisco on September 27. Del Monte president Richard Landis ducked the issue of why the company opposed a stockholder resolution demanding information on the company's African operation, maintaining only that the company's wages "are as good as or better than" any other canning company in South Africa.

Del Monte sells sardines obtained off the Namibian coast and processed by a South African firm, despite a UN act that made it illegal to use any material resource from Namibia without the permission of the UN Council for Namibia.

ASSISTING REFUGEES . . . The Southern Africa Support Committee in California has been collecting clothes and medical supplies for Zimbabwian refugees. Local 13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has contributed a van for the items. The shipment was to leave sometime in November.

UNION SOLIDARITY . . . The ILWU passed a resolution at its national convention supporting self-determination in southern Africa and urging its membership to begin exploring ways to stop handling all South African and Rhodesian goods.

A FEW QUESTIONS . . . California Sen. John Dunlap has asked for an investigation of public money being invested in US corporations doing business in South Africa. Dunlap mentioned particularly the University of California retirement fund; one-fifth of the money in this fund is estimated to have been invested in firms with South African connections.

IN CHICAGO . . . Ruth Mompoti, a leader in the Federation of South African Women and Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation, spoke at the founding convention of a new US organization, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, September 23-25. Ms. Mompoti was greeted with a standing ovation when she called on the 500 delegates to support South Africa's women in their battle against apar-

theid through support of the international boycott and political and material support to the ANC.

Ruth Mompoti was a leader in the 1956 demonstrations by African women in Pretoria. She had to flee the country in 1962 and was separated from her children for 12 years. Also at the meeting were international delegations from Vietnam, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Palestine, Puerto Rico, Canada and the Soviet Union.

CANADIANS WORK FOR PRISONERS' RELEASE . . .

The Southern Africa Action Coalition in Vancouver is running a campaign to free the Pretoria Twelve, who have been charged under the Terrorism Act. The group has been holding demonstrations in front of stores selling South African wines and marked Namibia Day with a protest at Vancouver's Hudson's Bay Store. That company has heavy involvement in the Namibian fur trade.

BRITISH ACTIONS . . .

The annual Trades Union Congress called for an end to economic relations between Britain and white regimes in Southern Africa. The Anti-Apartheid Movement protested against a decision by the British government to admit into the country a person holding a Transkei passport. The Movement said the move would give de facto recognition to the bantustan government.

The Movement also wrote to Foreign Secretary David Owen asking for assurances that no South African military personnel will receive training in Britain. The Movement had obtained a letter showing that a South African officer was completing training at the Royal Naval Engineering College.

BRIEFS . . .

The California Bay Area Namibia Action Group held an educational meeting to mark Namibia Day which included a talk by a SWAPO member currently studying in the US. . . . Tirivafi Kangai, ZANU deputy representative to the UN, made a series of speeches in North Carolina October 17-19 which were arranged by the Zimbabwe Liberation Day Coalition. Another group, the Committee for Medical Aid to Southern Africa, raised medical supplies to be presented to Mr. Kangai.

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- You'll learn of massacres in Rhodesia perpetrated on the part of the "terrorists."

But will you learn that the terrorists are not the freedom fighters but Smith's Selous Scouts who are committing these acts in the hope of destroying the guerrilla's image among the people? and will you hear that these acts have had the reverse affect? The people of Zimbabwe are not fooled and mass support for the liberation war increases daily.

- You'll learn independence for Namibia is imminent, thanks to the efforts of the five western members of the Security Council and they go from

SWAPO to Vorster and back again, presenting plans for a 'peaceful' settlement.

But will these sources tell you that the "Big Five" is motivated by their desire to have continued access to the vast mineral wealth of Namibia and that Vorster, far from considering independence, has entrenched his hold on the occupied territory even more since the talks began?

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