

January/February 1983

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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Volume XVI Number 1



ARTISTS

Stop Entertaining Apartheid

Letters

Dear Friends:

I wish to make a few comments on your December 1982 issue in connection with American entertainers visiting South Africa.

I am a white South African who has witnessed acts of inhumanity and degradation against the Black people on a collective scale and individually in places of employment and on the streets of Johannesburg. These acts of inhumanity are not only committed by adults against adults, but by children against children. White against Black. Do I have to tell you that 99 7/8 percent of the white population in South Africa supports the practices of apartheid fully and completely?!/This is a truth!

A minority of Americans, Black and white, have a [little] knowledge of the truth of South Africa—the rest have no conception at all. I know this from experience. That minority keeps working from a political platform only—it is time to tell the truth from the humanity platform. The Black people in South Africa go through a living hell every minute of every day. American entertainers do not know the basic truths of this hell, what daily life is like. All they are told is about the political battle that is going on . . . the effect not the cause.

To be effective in the fight for freedom of South Africa, people are going to have to be told "like it is." [Even] Black Americans do not know how tragic life is there. They have no idea there was such an evil as "pass law." If a Black employee is sick and off work, the employer will tell that person, "you have no right to be sick, this is strictly a right for white people only." I can go on page upon page.

Let us get our message across loud and clear and give POWER to FREEDOM.

Sincerely,
Moyra Alpert

Gentle Persons,

May I particularly commend your coverage on Winnie Mandela, of whom I am always hunting word, and hope that you will continue to cover the work and struggle of the women of South Africa in greater detail. In the land of Afreketé,

Audre Lorde

KuSasa is an independent, non-profit yearly journal seeking to publish poems, book reviews and political essays on South Africa by South Africans. This is the annual's first publication. Once printed, *KuSasa* will be the only journal of its kind. There is no other journal in the United States dedicated solely to the topic of South Africa. Another unique and central feature of *KuSasa* is that it is open to all South Africans.

All manuscripts for *KuSasa* must be typed, double-spaced (footnoted if necessary), with a title and short description of the author(s). The deadline for the acceptance of manuscripts is March 1, 1983.

A limited number of manuscripts

written in Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Seswana and French will be printed. Authors should bear in mind *KuSasa* can translate articles from Zulu, Setswana, Sotho, French, and Xhosa to English.

KuSasa will cost two dollars per copy. The two dollar price will not cover all expenses, including postage and printing. Therefore, advance orders are welcomed and financial contributions needed. Don't hesitate. Let *KuSasa* hear from you today! All manuscripts and/or financial contributions should be sent to:

Corbin Seavers, *KuSasa* Editor
c/o *KuSasa*
Boone Square Apartments,
Apartment #8
Berea, Kentucky 40403
U.S.A.

Dear Readers,

1982 was an eventful year for the liberation struggle in southern Africa and for *Southern Africa* magazine. With your support, we were able to resume production in September and finished the old year in strong style.

And with the new year and this January/February double issue, we've made some changes to improve the quality and appearance of the magazine. Among other things, this issue is a good bit thicker than the last, and over the coming year every issue will contain more news about the African liberation movement. We have also increased the size of our type for easier reading, and hope to use more photos, maps and illustrations with our stories, featuring original art by some exciting and dedicated new artists.

Sadly, our finances force us to drop our glossy cover, but the savings allow us to use better quality paper throughout, and add a color to our cover. We hope you like the changes.

Thank you for your continuing solidarity with *Southern Africa*. Your support ensures that the magazine will continue to serve the cause of freedom.

A Luta Coimua,
The Southern Africa Committee

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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update

Bennett Boosts Boycott, Millie Makes Amends

After anti-apartheid pickets virtually shut down a Christmas day concert in New York and a December 26 appearance in Newark, New Jersey, singer Millie Jackson has pledged never to return to South Africa. Jackson, who defended her 1981 tour of South Africa by declaring that "All I want is the money," has been a prominent target for the burgeoning movement to boycott artists who break the international ban on cultural contacts with the apartheid state.

The campaign to isolate South Africa culturally received an added boost in early January when Tony Bennett quietly announced that he had turned down a lucrative offer to perform in a South African bantustan, Bophuthatswana, for political and moral reasons. Bennett has long been associated with the civil rights movement in the United States.

Apartheid: Bad For Business

Representatives of 68 countries argued against the recent IMF loan to South Africa saying that South Africa failed to meet the multinational lending body's economic criteria. According to a draft of the minutes, opposition to the November 3 loan was led by the executive director from Saudi Arabia, who was joined by six other directors representing 67 other Third World countries.

A summary of the secret minutes, released by the Washington-based Center for International Policy, also notes that the 1982 loan was "likely to be the first of a series" to the regime, and that South Africa

would "approach the Fund again." Several directors argued, according to the minutes, that South Africa didn't need the loan because funds were available on private capital markets.

The United States, Canada, and Western European countries were the only nations to support South Africa's request for the loan, while other nations that did not directly oppose the loan simply abstained from the voting procedure. The loan was approved over the objections of a majority of members because under the IMF's system of voting weighted according to contributions, the Western countries prevailed with 52 percent of the vote.

Africans Blast Constructive Engagement

The focus was on improving US relations with Africa, but this year's annual conference of the New York-based African American Institute, held in the Zimbabwe capital city of Harare in mid-January, was anything but cordial. Some 200 prominent US and African government, business, and political figures attended the meeting, where speaker after speaker castigated Washington's "constructive engagement" alliance with South Africa and its failure to deliver on a settlement in Namibia.

Opening the conference, Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe blasted the US concept of "linkage" between the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola and Namibian independence, calling it "blackmail" and accusing the United States of having "obviously introduced a stumbling block" in the negotiations. Just a few feet away sat the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr. Chester Crocker, the architect of constructive engagement and linkage. Mugabe also blamed the US for encouraging South Africa's bloody raids against its neighbors. "That Pretoria is more daring and ag-

gressive than before cannot be doubted," he said.

The angriest words came from Sam Nujoma, head of the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO. Nujoma accused the United States of deliberately prolonging the suffering of the Namibian people by aiding the South African occupation. Pointing a finger at Crocker, Nujoma said, "You are promoting racial hatred in Africa." □

Out of Work

Dirk Mudge, the white rancher at the head of the South African-sponsored Namibian interim government, resigned January 18 in a symbolic protest over South African policies in the disputed southwest African territory. Mudge is the chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition of Namibian tribal parties the South Africans created and financed for the discredited 1978 internal elections as a political counter to the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO.

Joining Mudge on the political bread line are the other members of the all-DTA Council of Ministers, the nominal executive body for the internal government, who also resigned. Mudge alleges that he resigned because South African policies favored the territory's white minority and blocked DTA efforts to build popular support.

But his resignation comes only weeks before the new South African-appointed Administrator General, Neil Barnard, was scheduled to dissolve the hapless interim government anyway. By all accounts, the DTA failed to become a viable alternative to SWAPO among the Namibian people, who viewed Mudge and the tribal parties as stooges of the apartheid government. Most observers, including the South African military, say popular support for SWAPO has dramatically increased in the four years of Mudge's nominal rule. The outgoing Administrator General, Danie Hough, disbanded the government shortly after Mudge's resignation. □

Building the Cultural Boycott



Jazz bassist Reggie Workman spoke at the "Unity in Action" meeting in Harlem. OAU Ambassador Oumarou Youssoufou, ANC Representative Mfanafuthi Makatini, Black Music Association Representative Sikhulu Shange and SWAPO's Hinyangerwa Asheeke look on.

Jazz artist Chick Corea has got the blues. Claiming special status as an "artist and a communicator," Corea performed his musical magic in apartheid South Africa last year in violation of repeated United Nations and African calls for a boycott of the white minority regime. But back home, the anti-apartheid movement did a little communicating of its own—picketing Corea in Albany, New York, and at one of Greenwich Village's most famous jazz clubs, the Village Vanguard.

The two pickets, following closely on the heels of similar protests against the O'Jays, Ray Charles, the Temptations, and Lou Donaldson and Candi Staton this past fall, are an indication that entertainers tempted to perform in the white supremacist country must now seriously weigh the political and financial consequences of accepting such

a gig. It also suggests that the anti-apartheid movement in the United States may stand on the threshold of its most visible campaign in years.

To date, the effort to enforce the cultural boycott has been spearheaded by two Black community organizations based in New York. These are the Unity in Action Network, founded by the Harlem-based Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the African Jazz Artists Society and Studios (AJASS), and the Coalition to End Cultural Collaboration With South Africa, formed in response to a call from the National Black United Front (NBUF) for a Black reply to artists—particularly Black artists—who violate the international cultural embargo.

As part of its continuing coverage of the cultural boycott, *Southern*

Africa spoke with NBUF International Affairs Chairman Adeyemi Bandele and PLC co-Chairman Elombe Brath about the tactics and strategy behind the growing boycott campaign. What emerged from those discussions was a picture of a sophisticated and multi-dimensional organizing effort intended both to stop the steady stream of American stars flying to South Africa, and to educate a whole range of previously unaffected constituencies about apartheid, including young people and the stars themselves.

Reaching the Stars

The most difficult part of the campaign has been reaching the performers in order to raise the issue. Entertainers' lifestyles do not lend themselves to study sessions, or even meetings with anti-apartheid activists. Musicians, in particular

the Black jazz artists the South Africans have made enormous efforts to recruit, are almost constantly on the road, making the rounds of the night club, concert hall, and college circuits which provide a living and showcase their music. And a great many artists have pleaded ignorance of conditions in South Africa, and of calls for a boycott. It is an argument Elombe Brath is prepared to accept.

"There's no excuse for being uninformed in 1982," Brath observed. "But we give them the benefit of the doubt. We want to work with these people. We're not trying to intimidate anybody, we're trying to make them see the light." NBUF's Bandle also stressed the importance of working with musicians to broaden their understanding of the struggle in South Africa, and how the artists are used by the regime to break through its international isolation. "They're going after the cream of the crop," he said. "The pinnacle of the political cultural community."

But Bandle warned that claims of ignorance would only go so far, and that word of the boycott was out on the musicians' grapevine. "I don't think they're that ignorant," he concluded. Bandle pointed out that many musicians and their managers dodged or ignored efforts by anti-apartheid organizers to set up meetings.

"Some people have really become obnoxious in their response to people who try to give them some information," Brath said. "And while some people didn't know (about apartheid) before they went, others did... Stephanie Mills, Millie Jackson, Ray Charles. Those people have been talked to over and over again. These people are hard targets."

Money Talks

Despite the difficulties, the Unity in Action Network has established an Artists Relations Committee to work with musicians. And two meetings NBUF held last October with artists, promoters and DJs will, Bandle said, be followed up with conferences on the East and West coasts early in 1983 aimed at

musicians, record companies, and radio broadcasters.

In the meantime, the emphasis will be on building a wider network of organizations active in the boycott, and to pull out more people for pickets. Activists involved with the cultural boycott see picketing as a vital form of political and economic pressure, and more importantly, as an educational tool for artists, club owners, and music fans. "We have a lot of other things to do besides picket musicians," Brath explained. "And we're not trying to run anybody into the grave, but it's really very important."

"We think this can be a very good organizing tool, a process of raising people's consciousness about the situation in South Africa—to try to inform these musicians and the general public. We think this is very important, particularly in the case of

the youth, and most particularly in the case of Black youth, who often don't have a consciousness around South Africa. They worship these stars, know all about them, how much money they make, how many clothes they have, everything. When they come to a concert they see their particular star is being boycotted. About what? About South Africa. What's wrong with South Africa? And so they start to see."

"We want South Africa to become a household word," Bandle agrees. "Whether it be the preacher on the block or the young people listening to the boogie music, it's not something that comes unfamiliar to them, they can relate to it. If we do that, we will have accomplished a lot."

Ironically, the sheer number of entertainers involved has posed tac-

Coming Attractions

On December 10 the South African *Cape Times* reported that an American disco group, *Odyssey*, would perform in South Africa on January 26 and 27 in violation of the international ban on cultural contacts with the apartheid state. The paper also reported that **Martha Reeves and the Vandellas** would appear with *Odyssey*.

According to the press account, **Harold Melvin and the Blue Notes**, **The Drifters**, **The Stylistics**, **The ShiLites**, **The Three Degrees**, and **Edwin Starr** are also scheduled to perform in South Africa in 1983. A South African promoter, Peter Braham, told the *Times* reporter he is arranging concerts for three other US groups, **The Commodores**, **The Temptations**, and **Hot Chocolate**, as well. "We definitely have them sewn up," he said. He claimed to be negotiating for a possible tour by **Barry White**.

Braham also suggested that visiting stars may not be as ignorant of conditions in South Africa as many of them claim: "Most stars and management asked about freedom to come and go on private transport and other manifestations of petty apartheid. They asked what kinds of changes had taken place in the last few years."

tical difficulties for campaign organizers. In major cities, particularly in Chicago and New York, an effort to picket everybody on the boycott list could become a full time profession.

The Chick Corea picket at the Village Vanguard is a case in point. Lou Donaldson, another jazz musician on the list was also playing that weekend. "We chose Chick," Bandle explained, "because of where he was—at the Vanguard, which is a club. This is the first demonstration we've had at a club and we feel the clubs are particularly vulnerable because there's no advance ticket sales. Their profits are made primarily off people who come in the door, not based on door sales, but on what they get in the joint—what they drink and such.

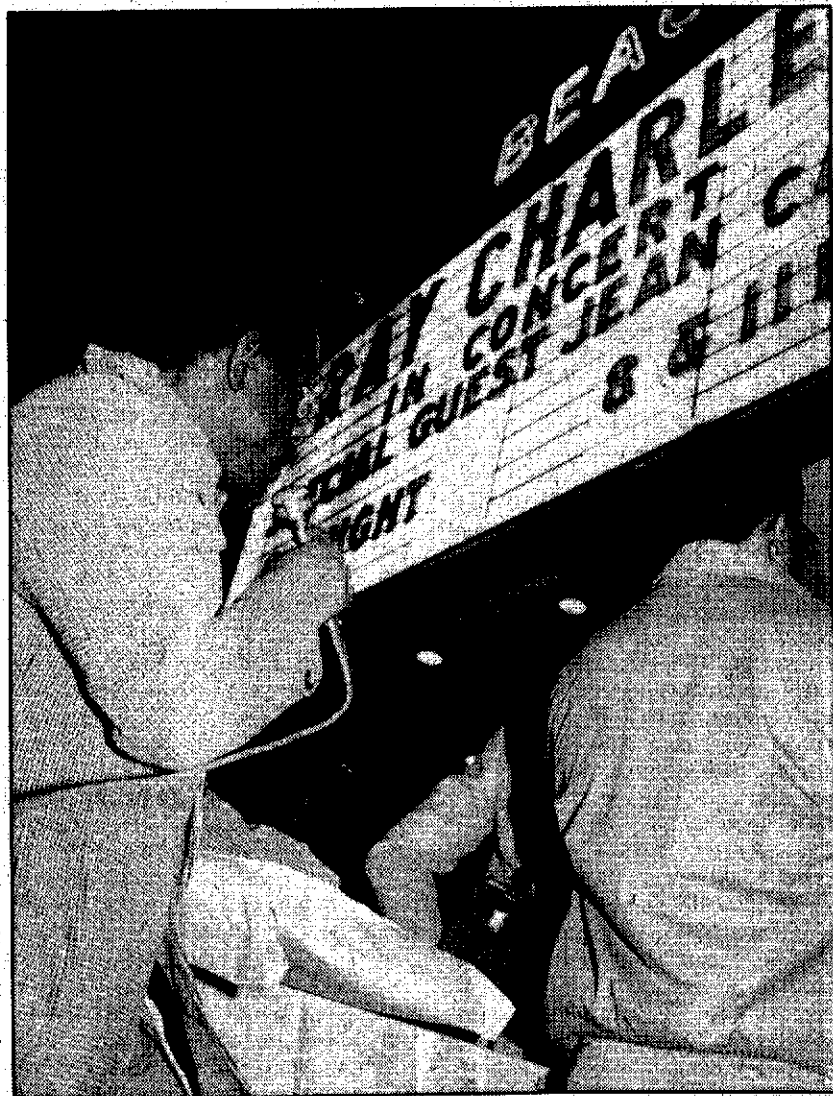
"The boycott has a much more devastating effect on the clubs and the club circuits. The owners of the clubs book these people so they can say, 'Hey, I'm not going to touch this person,' whereas the concert halls normally rent to a promoter who brings in an act and has advance sales. So it's more difficult to mount an offensive against the halls." Bandle also pointed to the earlier Albany picket of Corea as the clinching factor citing the necessity of maintaining constant pressure on individual performers.

When reached for a comment, Max Gordon, owner of the Village Vanguard responded sympathetically: South Africa, he said, should be boycotted. Gordon said he asked Corea to meet the protesters, but that Corea refused. "Chick was in a dither," Gordon reflected. "He didn't really face what I said to him."

Although Gordon denied that the picket had hurt business, he volunteered that an artist's appearance in South Africa would be a factor, if not a bar, in his booking procedures. "I would think twice, no, I would think three times, before hiring somebody who'd been to South Africa."

Anger Too

Fortunately for Max Gordon and conscientious music lovers, the list of musicians who have refused to



Elombe Brath leading a demonstration against Ray Charles at the Beacon Theater in New York.

dance to Pretoria's tune, or, having gone, have taken the necessary steps to get off the list—issue an apology, and explanation, and promise not to go back—is long, and growing. These people, Bandle said, are "shining lights," and plans are underway to honor, among others, Roberta Flack (who reportedly turned down \$2 million from South African promoters), Phyllis Hyman, Gladys Knight (who refused to honor a contract to appear after meetings with boycott activists), and the reggae group Third World, who told the South Africans they would appear only in a "liber-

ated" South Africa.

But the principled stands of many artists, and the action of James Moody to take himself off the list has only highlighted the refusal of others to do so as well.

Towards the holdouts, there is a growing sense of frustration and anger. "Those people who are betraying us have to be brought to account for what they've done," said Bandle. Speaking of the significance the Black community attaches to its artists respecting the boycott, he elaborated. "This is an issue that is tantamount to treason.

"When Frank Sinatra goes, that's Reagan's buddy, so Black people in South Africa are not as shocked, as hurt when he comes. But when the O'Jays come, somebody well known, it's like a treasonous thing. African people in this country have a responsibility to put these folks under heavy manners and to say to them, 'What you did was thoroughly wrong, and you have to pay the price for that.'"

About Ray Charles, Brath commented bitterly, "He can sing the blues about everything else, he ought to be able to say what's happening in South Africa. He should look within himself. We're very much fans of Ray Charles, but he should be man enough to recognize that he's done something which is not only a disservice to his people but to himself."

Ray Charles and Stephanie Mills, who visited South Africa after promising anti-apartheid activists that she was canceling the gig, are among the artists Brath thinks should be the focus for the growing campaign.

For the Future

In an article on the cultural boycott published last fall, Michael Beaubien pointed out that calls for economic, diplomatic and cultural isolation of the white minority regime have long been a feature of anti-apartheid activities. But with the exception of the 1981 campaign to halt the South African Springboks rugby team tour of the US in 1981, sports and cultural contacts have taken a back seat to economic and political links between South Africa and the United States. And despite the rapid growth of the cultural boycott effort, and the enormous publicity it has generated, particularly within the Black community, other anti-apartheid groups have been slow to take up the cultural boycott as a major organizing focus. They argue that the anti-apartheid movement should continue to focus on US economic and military links with the apartheid regime and on South African aggression in the region and

repression at home.

But in general the US anti-apartheid movement has failed to develop issues and campaigns accessible to a broad spectrum of constituencies and amenable to direct action—again with the possible exception of the Springboks campaign. Cultural boycott organizers think their campaign has just that potential. "We're going to make (the cultural boycott) a major issue for the anti-apartheid movement," Bandle says. "We feel that it has a mass appeal that could involve more people that could then enhance the other work people are doing around divestment and whatever."

So far, the overwhelming majority of the organizing around the cultural boycott has taken place within the Black community, and not surprisingly, Chick Corea aside, most of their work has focused on Black artists. But the lack of similar efforts among the progressive whites has meant, ironically, that Liza Minnelli, Dolly Parton and Janis Ian, all of whom are prominent white entertainers who have broken the cultural embargo, avoid the bad publicity now affecting their Black colleagues. "It's instrumental that *all* artists refuse to go," Brath noted pointedly. "Everybody has the responsibility to do what's right—and we don't want the white stars off the hook."

Another problem has centered around the United Nations, where two agencies, the Special Committee Against Apartheid, and its functional arm, the Center Against Apartheid, coordinate international actions to support the elimination of apartheid. The cultural boycott campaign is desperately in need of an official register of artists who have gone to South Africa, and an internationally recognized set of criteria for what actions are necessary for artists to be taken off the list.

Elombe Brath would also like to see the UN take a larger role in promoting artists who refuse South African offers. "For one artist to hear 'get out of town—I ain't gonna buy your records no more and I ain't gonna dig you no more cause you're

a conspirator in the repression of our people' while somebody else is being feted at the UN as somebody who is for the cause of progress could be very important," he observed.

The Unity in Action Network is considering creating a Paul Robeson award for artists who refuse to entertain apartheid, and there has been discussion of a UN-sponsored concert in an independent southern African country sometime next year for the same purpose.

"Everybody has the responsibility to do what's right—and we don't want the white stars off the hook."

In the meantime, the pressure on artists who break the embargo continues to mount. Last fall, the largest and most popular Black-owned soul, disco, and jazz radio station in New York, WBLS, announced it had "withdrawn its enthusiasm" from boycott-busting musicians. Strong resolutions condemning performers who violate the cultural embargo were passed at the recent Black Music Association meeting, and similar actions in other trade organizations is expected. Campaign organizers in this country are also working to establish boycott campaigns in Europe, the other key market for American music. Student organizers have also gotten involved, demanding that student recreational funds—an important source of money for most musicians—be denied to the boycott-busters. The student senate at City College of New York, with the largest student activities budget of any US college system, unanimously passed such a resolution last month.

"We're not talking about morality," Bandle concluded, "We're not saying 'Oh please don't go, please don't go.' We're saying 'if you go you got to pay the price.' That's all. Money talks." **M.F. □**

Education In Zimbabwe: New Directions



Children at school in Rhodesia. Before independence the white minority government in Zimbabwe provided little or no education for the Black population.

Joanmarie Kalter

The winter sun beats down on the corrugated metal roof of St. Vin-

Joanmarie Kalter is a freelance journalist based in New York. She visited Zimbabwe in 1982 under a Pulitzer Traveling Fellowship with Oxfam America.

cent's School in Ruwa. Still, it is not enough to warm the classrooms inside, where as many as six children huddle around a single book, sneezing and coughing. Although the school is already overcrowded, there are still children waiting to be admitted. And so the impoverished families in this rural community some fifteen miles southeast of the Zimbabwe capital have taxed themselves to raise money for the school,

and even the children carry the bricks, molded and baked from the red earth of Ruwa, that will form the walls of a new addition.

"I've never seen people so eager about education," says Paul Gray, a teacher of Afro-American history who recently visited Zimbabwe. "Their materials are so limited, yet there wasn't a single discipline problem. After being denied education for so long, they see it now as

the one opportunity to improve their lives."

With a grant of \$60,000 from the US Department of Education, eighteen teachers from the Detroit area spent six weeks last summer in Zimbabwe. They found the Mugabe government seriously tackling one of the major promises of the revolution: universal education. Only one out of every three Black children was in school before independence, but today that figure has doubled.

Yet the visiting teachers also noted that the colonial style of teaching, with its emphasis on rote learning and its traditional European curri-

"The days of excellence in Latin grammar as the sign of an educated person are gone."

culum, has changed little. And, although the government's goal is to equalize educational opportunities for Blacks and whites, dramatic disparities still remain.

The Colonial Legacy

The challenge facing the Mugabe government when it came to power two and a half years ago was immense. Whites in Rhodesia enjoyed an educational system that ranked with the best in the industrialized world. For them, education was compulsory and, until 1964, entirely free. In 1978 the government spent \$777.50 a year on every white student—it spent only \$76.90 on each Black. Africans in the urban townships could pay to attend the relatively well-equipped but segregated government schools—the bet-

ter to keep them off the city streets. But the rural majority was relegated to makeshift mission schools staffed by largely untrained teachers, which the students paid the government to attend.

The Rhodesians made no pretense of providing equal education, says Gray; Blacks were not to compete with whites for top-level jobs, but rather to provide a ready pool of manual and menial labor. A system of early examinations, given only to Blacks, prevented all but a few from continuing into secondary school. While virtually all Rhodesian whites reached form 4 (the equivalent of eleventh grade), only 4.5 percent of Blacks did. An even wider educational chasm was created during the liberation war. Many African children left the country to become guerrillas and much of the rural population was herded into "protected villages," far from existing schools. As Gray points out, at independence the new government inherited an astoundingly diverse school population, with ex-combatants and returning refugees among them.

The most striking changes since then have been quantitative. "It's like an explosion," says Delores Preston-Cooper, a school supervisor in Detroit. "Everywhere you look, the schools are bursting at the seams." Educational expenditures soared 54 percent in the first year of independence, while the budget as a whole grew 16 percent. Since then, education has accounted for a steady 15 percent of the total, and remains the largest single government expenditure. Primary education is virtually free, and enrollments have more than doubled, from 820,000 primary pupils in 1979 to 2.2 million today.

In an effort to avoid the mistakes of other African countries, where children finish seven years of primary education only to find no places in secondary school—and are still too young to be employed—Zimbabwe has concentrated on expanding its high school system. The Detroit teachers report that tuition has been slashed, and the early winnowing of students through exams has

stopped. Since independence, they found the number of secondary pupils has more than tripled, from 66,000 to 216,000. Where only 20 percent of Black seventh-grade graduates went on to secondary school before independence, that number has now swelled to 80 percent.

Self-Reliance—and Frustration

Educational expansion has been greatest in the rural areas, where the population, especially African laborers on white farms, had been most underserved, and has been coordinated with other aspects of rural development. "To prevent a stream of educated people into the cities you have to have jobs for them in the rural areas," says Mary Lee Wiley, outreach coordinator for the African studies center at Michigan State University, and organizer of the tour. New schools are clustered in the "rural growth points" which are to serve as centers of small industry and commerce. And much of the building has been organized by local political networks. In fact, the Mugabe government has left the construction of primary schools entirely to local communities, who levy taxes and help with the work. For secondary schools, the government may provide the cost of roofing materials, doors and window frames—materials not naturally available—leaving the labor, bricks, carpentry and other costs to the locals.

All this results in a wide range of quality, according to the teachers from Detroit. They noted that students may be housed in a new brick building, or merely sit on flat stones in the shade of a tree. In the poorer areas, such as drought-stricken Matabeleland, the relative lack of resources breeds resentment, and adds to the political tensions already building in that part of the country. Reuben Mjimba, a district councilor, kicks his foot in the dust of Mzinyathini, 35 miles east of Bulawayo, and waves his arm at the barren, almost lunar landscape around him. "We taxed each man in the village \$5 to start the secondary school, then another \$5," he says.

"Now we have run out of funds. Our people are unemployed and don't have any more money. The government is shouting all the time that in five years everyone should be in school. But our arms are tied."

As enrollment grows, so grows Zimbabwe's need for teachers. Where there were 20,000 teachers at independence, there are now 60,000. But according to Wiley, that leaves the schools still almost 10,000 teachers short. The need is critical in the remote rural areas, where a teacher has to live without electricity in a thatched hut that may leak in the rainy season, miles from a water source, and even further from a newspaper.

It is most severe in rural secondary schools. At independence, about 65 percent of rural teachers were underqualified; it was possible, in fact, to teach fifth grade with a fourth-grade education.

Lessons From the War

What most impressed the teachers from Detroit was ZINTEC—the Zimbabwe Integrated National Teacher Education Course—which allows teaching students to teach while they train, and improves the credentials of those already in place. Originally developed to provide teachers for the refugee camps during the national liberation struggle, a trainee spends sixteen weeks of study at one of four ZINTEC centers around the country, three and half years of supervised teaching at a rural school, then returns to the center for a final sixteen weeks of review and testing. Three thousand teachers are now enrolled, paying no tuition but promising to remain in the rural areas for another few years. According to Wiley, the ministry hopes in this way to solve the teacher shortage and eventually bring all its teachers up to a standard "O level" (about eleventh grade).

A term the Detroit teachers heard often was "education with production"—Zimbabwe's attempt to tailor its schooling to the practical needs of its citizens. Academic education produces white-collar workers who spurn physical labor yet whose

skills are of little use to a developing country. So to become the farmers, foresters and skilled workers their country needs most, students experiment with crops, soil and fertilizer varieties, raise animals, and learn metal work and carpentry. As Dr. Dzingai Mutumbuka, formerly ZANU's secretary of education and now the country's education minister, has said, "The days of excellence in Latin grammar as the sign of an educated person are gone."

The concept has found its most radical application among children repatriated from the refugee camps, now students at the eight pilot schools of the ZIMFEP program (Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production). At the Rusununguko (Freedom) School,

visited by the teachers from Detroit, these children live and study on the grounds of a 2,700-acre formerly white-owned farm. Their day consists of four hours of academics followed by four hours of building and farming. The 1,200 students grow much of their own food and have constructed most of their own dorms and classes. The less traditional members of the educational ministry would like to see such a school provide the model for education throughout Zimbabwe.

In some strikingly visible ways, colonial traditions in the urban schools have already been broken. "Within two years of independence, the all-white schools [called 'A' schools] were totally desegregated," says Wiley. The whites tried to circumvent school integration



Children in Harare, Zimbabwe. Education is a high priority for the new nation.

shortly before independence by buying (at absurdly low prices) some schools in their residential areas and denying Blacks admission. Today these schools hold twice as many students as before, fully half of them bused in from the Black townships or drawn from the newly integrated suburbs.

Rhodes Deposed

Still, many of the changes in Zimbabwe's schools are only skin deep. Government funding, based partly on formulas set in the past, continues to flow more richly to these A schools than to either the all-Black urban "B" schools or the all-Black rural ones. Manual work, compulsory at the B and rural schools, is not yet so at the A's. "The government is being very cautious about what it is forcing the A schools to do," says Karen Todorov, an administrator of bilingual education in Detroit. "They are trying not to antagonize the whites. But meanwhile, there are very different standards for the As and the Bs." Even in the rural schools, other than increased enrollments, many observers agree with the impression of James Jennings, a supervisor of art education in Detroit that: "Basically, education there is much like it's always been."

Consider, they say, the curriculum. History books for lower grades have been rewritten, toppling the notorious British colonialist Cecil Rhodes from his exalted perch, and exploring instead the roles of African liberation leaders. But secondary education remains tethered to a set of British exams, the O and A levels, which are composed—and even graded—thousands of miles away in Cambridge. "The kids were studying the diaries of Samuel Pepys and reading about the fire of London," says Todorov. "That doesn't even make sense for white Zimbabweans, let alone Black Zimbabweans. But this is going to be on their exams. There's no time for Shona poets, and European history *must* be covered."

Some say this British curriculum is all Zimbabwe's teachers know; they themselves are ignorant of African literature and history and

funds are too tight to restrain them. A major concern of the government, given the limited number of places at the University of Zimbabwe, is that students' work be recognized by colleges overseas. But to some, it betrays more of an academic bias than the government would care to admit. "The British system is for status," concludes Todorov. "Zimbabweans want to show that they can be that good too. The past is their reference point."

Some of the American teachers were surprised at the rigidity of the teaching methods as well. "The teacher would say something and all the children would say it back," says Jennings. "There was not much questioning. You didn't hear 'why?'"

The government frequently proclaims its intention to enlarge the stunted educational opportunities for females, reflected in the fact that girls make up equal numbers of primary students, 40 percent of secondary students, and only 22 percent of university students. But as several of the Detroit teachers noted, in Zimbabwe as elsewhere, sexism, indirectly, is taught in class. There, women teachers are no longer dismissed when pregnant—but students are. And while "education with production" means building for boys, for girls it means sewing and scrubbing.

Nor do Zimbabwe's schools receive high marks in labor relations. With wages pegged to a teacher's degree, whites were commonly awarded five times as much as Blacks—a complaint that sparked a strike in October 1981. The government, however, fiercely denounced the protesting teachers for their lack of revolutionary sacrifice, and speedily crushed the walkout.

Pragmatism or Privilege?

Some observers chalk up these contradictions to pragmatism. "You can't change everything in two years," says Wiley. "Just getting more kids in school and changing the curriculum to the extent they have is a great achievement." Others, however, believe the government could go further in dis-

mantling apartheid and equalizing education. One knowledgeable observer in New York suggested that, "The Black middle class wants the better schools for their kids."

Having experienced court-ordered integration in Detroit in the mid-70s, the American teachers found many of Zimbabwe's problems familiar. "There, no one wants to work in the rural areas, but here no one wanted to go to the inner cities," notes Jennings. For their part, the Zimbabweans were relieved to hear their problems weren't unique. "Some [white teachers] called it impossible to teach Shona-speaking students," says Todorov. "We told them we have 57 bilingual programs in Detroit," with instruction in three Yugoslavian languages alone. "It's certainly not impossible."

Recent reports of the World Bank and UNESCO have sternly warned Zimbabwe against continuing its present rate of educational expenditure. Rather than cut back, however, planners in the education ministry are seeking ways to cut per capita spending while keeping attendance levels high, such as enlarging classes.

With a college education about a hundred times more costly for the government to provide than a primary education, and with the need for college graduates limited, many observers believe that Zimbabwe's traditionally prestigious urban schools will turn out a small class of white-collar workers, while the rural schools provide basic literacy and a smattering of manual skills. Until there is money and technical staff, "education with production" will fall far short of true vocational training.

Yet if education in Zimbabwe still sticks close to the colonial mold, at least the government's commitment to its expansion appears unshakable. No one has forgotten that access to education was one of the rallying cries of the revolution. "It's still Mugabe's policy to put every kid through secondary school," says Valerie Leach, a social statistician. "From everything I've seen, he's not backing off that promise at all." □

Massacre At Maseru



African National Congress

Victims of the South African raid.

Early on the morning of December 9, South African troops invaded Lesotho's capital city of Maseru and murdered 42 people in their homes. Lesotho police reported that thirty South African exiles were killed in the raid along with twelve Lesotho citizens, including five women and two children.

The Lesotho raid came less than a day after Pretoria had reaffirmed its belief that attacks on frontline states were justified by South Africa's "responsibility" for maintaining stability in southern Africa. This is a belief that Pretoria now claims is endorsed in Washington.

Certainly, if the increasing tempo of these raids is any measure, South Africa has not felt any sustained pressure from the Reagan administration to halt attacks on

frontline states. In the last two years Pretoria's troops have formed a virtual army of occupation in southern Angola, raided Mozambique on numerous occasions, assassinated members of the African National Congress in almost all the frontline states, and committed countless other overt attacks against neighboring countries. Most recently, just before the Lesotho raid, the Mozambican government reported a "massive concentration of troops and military equipment" on the Mozambican frontier and the Angolan government has reported an increase in South African attacks in southern Angola.

The South African forces that hit Lesotho apparently had detailed information and a clear plan laying out which residences to attack.

They struck simultaneously in five separate neighborhoods. According to a report in the *New York Times* the day of the massacre, the 2000-member Lesotho armed forces could offer little or no resistance during the attack.

In one building six separate apartments were hit and one exile who jumped from his window to escape, broke his leg and was shot to death in the street. A small cinder-block house just outside Maseru had two of its three rooms completely blasted away, while in the third lay the bodies of eight men killed in the raid. One South African exile named Mathebatha Sexwale fired several shots at the South African troops before escaping out the back of his house with his wife, but for

the most part reports from Lesotho indicate that few of the victims, surprised in their sleep, were able to offer much resistance.

General Constand Viljoen, the head of the South African armed forces, asserted that the attack had been provoked by intelligence information indicating "a number of trained terrorists" had entered Lesotho with orders to assassinate the leaders of Transkei and Ciskei, two black bantustans in South Africa which the apartheid regime has unsuccessfully attempted to present to the world as viable independent states for Black South Africans.

Vincent Makhele, the secretary of the governing Basuto National Party, adamantly rejected these charges by saying "These people were refugees. We don't allow terrorists."

The Lesotho government later again confirmed that all the victims were refugees and noted that all the refugees were registered with the United Nations and with the Lesotho government.

The African National Congress for its part charged that the Lesotho raid "marks a new high point in this regime's campaign of terror against the peoples of southern Africa." While the ANC did not deny that members of the organization were killed in the raid, it argued that "The utterly false claims put out by the racist General Constand Viljoen

that the residences of our people in the suburbs of Maseru were military headquarters will not save the apartheid regime from the consequences of this coldblooded massacre."

International Response

The United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution condemning the raid as a violation of Lesotho's sovereignty a week after the attack. But the Security Council vote passed only after the United States successfully lobbied to have the word "unprovoked" deleted from the resolution, arguing that it was "a one-sided judgement of the attack."

This US stance was in keeping with the Reagan administration's general policy of conciliation towards South Africa. While the State Department issued a general statement condemning the raid on the day of attack, it refused to reveal the details of its exchanges with South Africa over the invasion, and said the raid had to be seen "in the context" of escalating violence in the region.

Monroe Doctrine

The South African government for its part was not nearly as reticent in expressing its view of the latest phase of American-South African relations. A state radio commentary, broadcast the morning before the raid, described a "joint commitment" with the Reagan administration to "a Monroe Doctrine for the region" which accepted South Africa's "special responsibility" for maintaining stability in southern Africa. The broadcast compared South Africa's role to that of the United States in "maintaining stability" in Central America.

Perhaps coincidentally, the timing of the Lesotho raid served to underscore Pretoria's belief in its "special responsibility," as well as its commitment to the use of might wherever necessary to achieve its goals. The invasion came the same day that the United Nations General Assembly was holding its annual debate on sanctions against South Africa and also on the same day that the US House of Representa-

tives was holding hearings on Pretoria's destabilization efforts in southern Africa. The raid also came only 24 hours after South Africa held a round of secret talks on Namibia with Angolan officials in Cape Verde.

The South Africans are no doubt worried by the growing strength of the ANC within South Africa. ANC actions now occur throughout the country, from northern Natal in the east to Cape Town in the west [see related article]. And Pretoria is clearly intent on limiting any form of frontline state support for the liberation struggle, even when such support consists only of providing housing for refugees.

While the frontline states reaffirmed their support for the struggle inside South Africa, the recent raid does serve as a painful reminder that as long as the apartheid regime survives, all these states are potentially vulnerable to attack.

That South Africa's neighbors are aware of their vulnerability was graphically illustrated just one week after the Lesotho massacre when Swaziland rounded up over 25 ANC members in a pre-dawn crackdown on South African refugees. The Swazi government has long been a strong supporter of the ANC and denied any connection between the Lesotho raid and the detentions. Journalists on the scene, however, immediately linked the crackdown to government fears of a Lesotho-type action.

The ANC for its part, has pledged that "This massacre will surely fail in its intentions of stopping the struggle in South Africa, of terrorizing us into submission, and of compelling Lesotho and other states in the region to abandon their principled position of opposition to the apartheid system. The supreme sacrifice paid by the peoples of southern Africa today will spur the African National Congress to redouble its offensive for the destruction of the apartheid regime."

Nine days later, four bombs went off at the site of the Koeberg nuclear power plant construction site in the western Cape in an action which the ANC cited as "a tribute to our fallen comrades." W.H. □

THE QUESTION OF "ZAIRE"/CONGO

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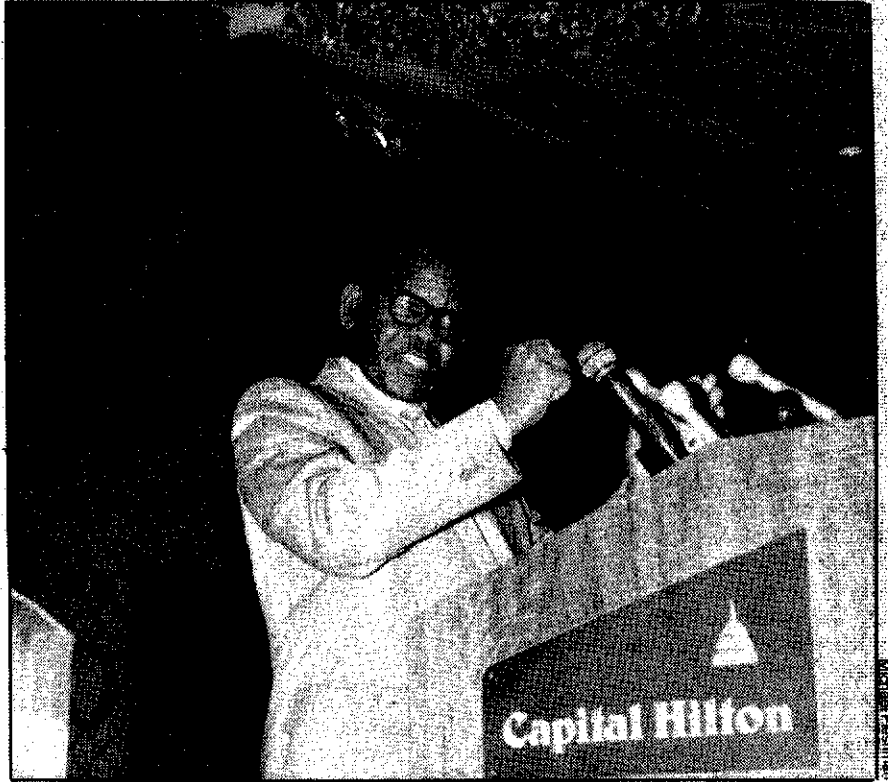
ANC President Speaks:

—An Interview with Oliver Tambo

Oliver Tambo is an incredibly busy man. As president of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the oldest African liberation movement on the continent, he has guided the organization through the difficult transition from above-ground mass political organization to an underground armed national liberation movement headquartered in Lusaka Zambia. Over the years he has logged countless millions of miles in pursuit of the liberation of his country, managing the growth of the ANC and its armed wing *Umkhonto We Sizwe* into the formidable political and military force it is today, building and consolidating international support for the struggle, and staying abreast of important developments inside the country and around the world.

He's not easy to get hold of. In late November Tambo came to the United States to address the United National General Assembly during its fall debate on apartheid. The veteran freedom fighter also addressed the African Studies Association meeting in early November and met with a number of American political figures—including US Senator and sometimes Presidential candidate Ted Kennedy. *Southern Africa* caught up to Tambo literally on his way to the airport for the OAU conference. And in an exclusive interview he castigated the Reagan administration's creeping "constructive engagement" alliance with the apartheid regime, dismissed the white government's "reforms" as illusory, and talked about the role of the US solidarity movement.

Recent talk of reform in South Africa, the ANC President explained, has to be seen in the context of the growing pressure on apartheid from within the country. "The movement for the overthrow of apartheid has grown very powerful and the regime has failed to sup-



Oliver Tambo makes a point during his address to the African Studies Association meeting in Washington, D.C.

press the liberation struggle," he said. "The regime can see that things are going to get worse rather than better, so they are forced to attempt to retreat. And that is why they are tampering with the constitution and playing around with racist laws of long standing. It is under pressure."

The apartheid government recently introduced proposals designed to give the "colored" and Indian populations a subordinate role in a much revised cabinet, while retaining white control over the political system. These proposals, said Tambo, have to be seen "as attempts on the part of the regime to weaken the forces for change, to plant divisions among the ranks of the oppressed and to try and win over to the racist circles a

section of the oppressed people." The Black people of South Africa, including so-called Africans, Indians and "coloreds," will have nothing to do with these measures," said Tambo.

Despite the overwhelming rejection of South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha's alleged constitutional reforms by "colored" and Indian political leaders, Chester Crocker, architect of the Reagan administration's constructive engagement policy, has used the proposals as evidence that his policy is working. "Crocker will learn soon enough," says Tambo, "that it is the power of the people that is going to compel change," not any policy of constructive engagement.

This pressure for change in South Africa, Tambo elaborated, has to be

seen as part of a process of change that has been taking place throughout Africa for the last 25 years during which every African country except South Africa and Namibia has regained independence. "Nothing will stop this process," he said.

The ANC president was quick to point out, however, that while pressure for freedom was building on the African continent such pressure has not been forthcoming from recent American administrations. "The United States policy of so-called 'constructive engagement' has nothing to do with" any pressures the apartheid regime is facing, he said, referring to the American policy of not criticizing apartheid but instead of offering Pretoria such "carrots" as loosened restrictions on exports of military related technology. "Constructive engagement is a term to cover US intervention in southern Africa on the side of racism," Tambo said.

US policy, Tambo noted, "has only had the result of halting progress in the negotiations for the independence of Namibia. Yet we are told that in order to secure progress South Africa must be hugged and embraced as an ally." Constructive engagement has not produced the independence of Namibia, he said, "it has resulted in the killing of many more Namibian people who but for the intervention of the US would possibly be independent today."

The ANC also sees Washington's hand encouraging South Africa in its aggression against the frontline states. "The destabilization of various countries has the endorsement and support of the Reagan administration. The invasion of Angola, the whole state of war that prevails in southern Africa in which the South African regime is the aggressor, all this is part of a coordinated plan between the South African regime and the Reagan administration. We have no doubt about that," he said.

While Tambo in particular has worked hard to gain international trade union support for workers in South Africa, the ANC president was also critical of some Western



trade unions that provide financial assistance to workers only on condition that workers confine themselves to purely labor questions. Aid that comes on the condition that workers detach themselves from anything political, he said, "is playing a hostile role, not just a negative role, a role calculated to keep our people in a state of semi-slavery, victims of ruthless exploitation... the conditions of the workers, no matter how organized they are, will never improve unless the workers themselves are making the laws that govern their conditions of work."

Workers Struggle

Pointing to the 1981 revisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act which provide for registration of Black trade unions, Tambo noted that before the act was passed workers simply worked outside the government's legal structure. Although strike actions were illegal, Black workers did strike and were very effective. "The act was passed in order to control the power of

Black workers, to bring them under the control of the law," he said. "This law is passed giving them the right to strike, but then other provisions of the law, especially affecting registered trade unions, effectively take away the right to strike. Before the workers would improve even their working conditions by going on strike illegally in their thousands and the regime could do nothing about it. Now, because of this law Tambo pointed out, "it's going to take, in some cases, eighteen months to go on strike over a dispute. So that is killing strike action. The purpose of legislation is to keep you weak and you can only defeat it by fighting politically and using your labor to achieve political power."

The ANC sees this working class struggle against economic exploitation and for political power as of paramount importance. "In the South African context," said Tambo, "the working class struggle must become part of the struggle for national liberation. The same worker who is politically oppressed is also

economically exploited."

"In South Africa," he explained, "the African people are virtually all a wage earning population, part of the proletariat and thus it becomes basic that working people, precisely because they can organize as workers, as a working class, engage in effective political struggle."

The ANC president went on to note that it is these workers who also form the basis of the armed struggle. "We don't have much of a peasantry in South Africa," explained Tambo, "because of the policy of migrant labor which brings peasants into town and sends them back into the countryside. And so the proletariat spills over into the countryside. The liberation struggle has been conducted not by peasants, in the normal sense of the term, but by members of the proletariat who happen to be in the countryside because of the way the system works in South Africa."

In fact, conditions for armed struggle in South Africa are not easy, Tambo noted. "We don't have forests in our country, we don't have

inaccessible mountains, we don't have jungles, we don't even have countries which have the capacity to provide us with rear bases, as has happened with virtually every other liberation movement." In spite of these conditions, and despite years of brutal repression and torture, Tambo noted that the ANC has maintained the support of the people. The recent upsurge in ANC attacks, he said, "is just a small beginning, a modest beginning."

Enemy Casualties

At this point in the struggle the ANC strategy, according to Tambo, has been to attack symbols of the regime and of foreign support for apartheid. For instance, late last year guerrillas attacked a Mobil Oil refinery in northern Natal, and police stations and military bases have frequently been targets of ANC actions [see related article in this issue].

But, says Tambo, the ANC at this time deliberately avoids actions which involve civilian casualties. "We are not fighting civilians, but of course if they start fighting us we will fight them." More common are attacks such as the one in 1981 against South African military headquarters at Voortrekkerhoogte just outside of Pretoria. Although the government suppressed all reports about that attack, "it is known that there were many casualties," he said. "We have not been quite as selective as might appear from reports, at least in terms of enemy military personnel."

For their part, the South Africans have no qualms about attacking refugees and civilians not directly involved in military actions. Pretoria's troops invaded Lesotho late last year and killed over 40 refugees working there, even though by all independent accounts none of those killed were involved in military actions against apartheid. ANC officials in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Swaziland have also fallen to assassins' bullets and bombs.

Internationally the movement's priority is the call for sanctions against South Africa. "This year has been the international year of

sanctions, the year for international mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. So efforts are being made all the time to get sanctions enforced against South Africa." Although American vetoes of sanctions resolutions at the United Nations have prevented Security Council resolutions to that effect, Tambo points out that this does not prevent the rest of the member states of the United Nations from enforcing sanctions individually and collectively.

The ANC president also sees a tremendous potential in the solidarity movement within the US. The priority for action by Americans, says Tambo, "is to get the United States to pull out of this out of this so-called constructive engagement and dissolve its alliance with the South African racists."

The ANC president also sees a need for groups to enforce the cultural boycott against South Africa. "I think those [who go to South Africa] must be opposed and denounced all the time." At the same time Tambo emphasized that the priority must be to work to mobilize people to oppose US policy that should be of immediate and constant concern. "All collaborators," he said, "from the administration downwards should be confronted."

All Americans have a role in the fight against apartheid, but the ANC president sees a special affinity between Black Americans and Black South Africans. "There has always been a sense of solidarity across the Atlantic," Tambo said. "The struggles here have influenced the struggle in South Africa, and I would think vice-versa. The struggles in the African continent have encouraged Afro-Americans people to insist on their civil rights and I suppose that it is natural it should be so. I would say that with the Reagan administration entering into an alliance with our enemies, who are racists, we certainly expect in South Africa that the solidarity between our people and the Black people in the United States is going to be stronger still. We cannot believe that these policies accord with the will of the people." □



From Harlem

new york city winter poem

hattie gossett

i wonder why it is that harlem snow lasts longer than midtown snow?
its all the same snow isn't it?
or is it?

I really wonder cuz i have noticed when it snows real bad over
the weekend that by monday most of the snow is still on the
ground right where it fell in harlem

and if the temperature drops down real low and the snow freezes over
and becomes a thick coating of glossy glassy ice the ice doesnt
go away by monday either

but its different in midtown

when you shiver off the subway from harlem on your way to work in
midtown on monday morning wearing all your layers of thermal
underwear tights sweater pants and your boots jackets scarves
coats hats and gloves suddenly you are like the country clod at
the fancy dress ball in the midst of all these people gliding
about with no hats gloves or boots with their fur coats hanging
open or no coats at all some of them and lots of the girls are
wearing opentoed slingback hiheels and the boys are often
wearing soft shiny loafers

and theres hardly any snow or ice on the ground except for a few
isolated patches piled along the gutters and curbs so neatly
as to appear more like a plastic visual effect which can be
ordered from a supply house listed in the yellow pages under
visuals comma winter wonderland

and by wednesday in midtown its hard to remember that there was a big
snow storm that previous weekend cuz the visible evidence is
all gone

why do you think it is that harlem snow lasts longer than midtown
snow?

is it all the same snow?

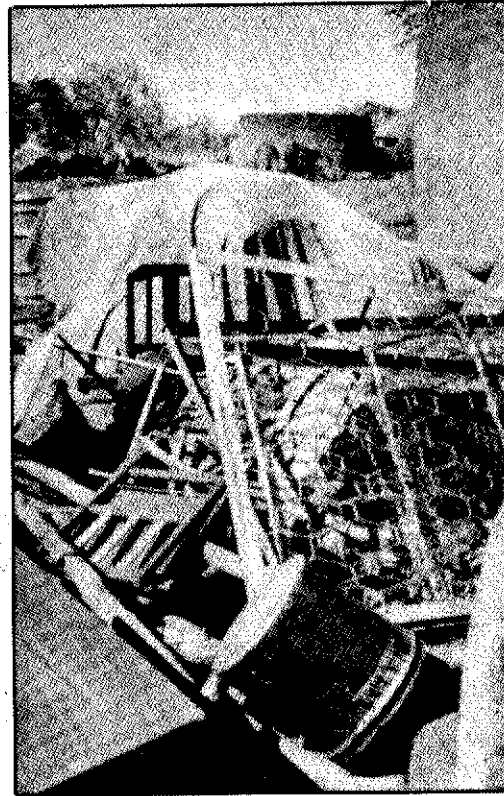
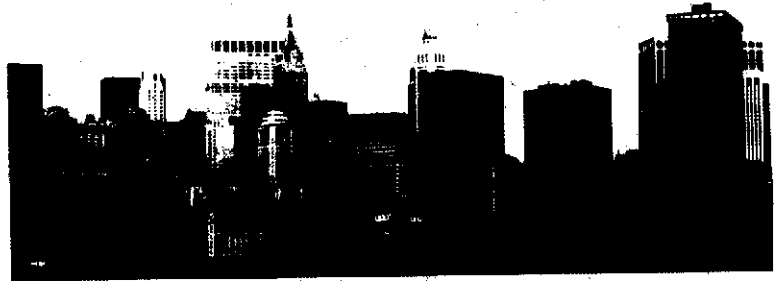
does harlem get a more durable variety of snow thats been carefully
bred in special test tubes and guaranteed to last all winter
or double your money back?

it couldnt be that the city govt places more importance on keeping
the midtown streets clear than it does on keeping harlems
streets clear?

oh no!

it couldnt be that midtown merchants associations exert
pressures on city govt in the form of more than generous
campaign contributions so their areas are kept clean?

of course not!



A woman about to be forcibly resettled waits to be placed on the most barren land. This woman refused to move.

Hattie Gossett's work herstory: playground instructor waitress newspaper reporter civil rights activist proofreader assistant magazine editor junior high school teacher's aid cleaning person program developer and grant writer welfare recipient college professor woman's right activist

to South Africa



Peter Maguire

up. By law, Black people in South Africa are forced to live in townships. Her house was razed to the ground.

it couldn't be that the merchants and the city govt are telling those of us that live in the harlems of the city that they dont care if our neighborhoods stayed snowed under and iced over all winter we still better get to work on time?

no no no its nothing like that you are always looking at the negative side of things!

see what it is is that harlem sidewalks have a built in freezing system that automatically switches on at the first sign of a snowflake

and this sidewalk freezing system is connected to the freezing system hidden in the walls of most harlem bldgs and both freezing systems are programmed to do away with all heat and hot water once the temperature outside falls below 40 degrees farenheit

so when old people and babies and young adults freeze to death in their beds in the various harlems its not because their landlords are failing to provide heat while continuing to collect rents thereby being liable for prosecution for fraud and for murder by criminal neglect

now there you go again of course not!

see it has a lot to do with those theories about not coddling us poor and/or colored folks

about not coddling us and not making things too easy for us so that we wont be denied the joys of pulling ourselves up by our bootstraps

see if we had clear sidewalks and streets and heat and hot water during winter we might get carried away and start thinking we somebody and then next thing you know we would want solar powered air conditioning in the summer and an end to patriarchy and capitalism and racism and we would have a 3 day workweek and guaranteed lifetime income and respect for the earth and an end to wars and we would have technology motivated by human need and not greed and we would have free education and healthcare and enough sumptuous food and fabulous housing for everybody and individual nonoppressive differences would be respected and nobody would be any better than anybody else

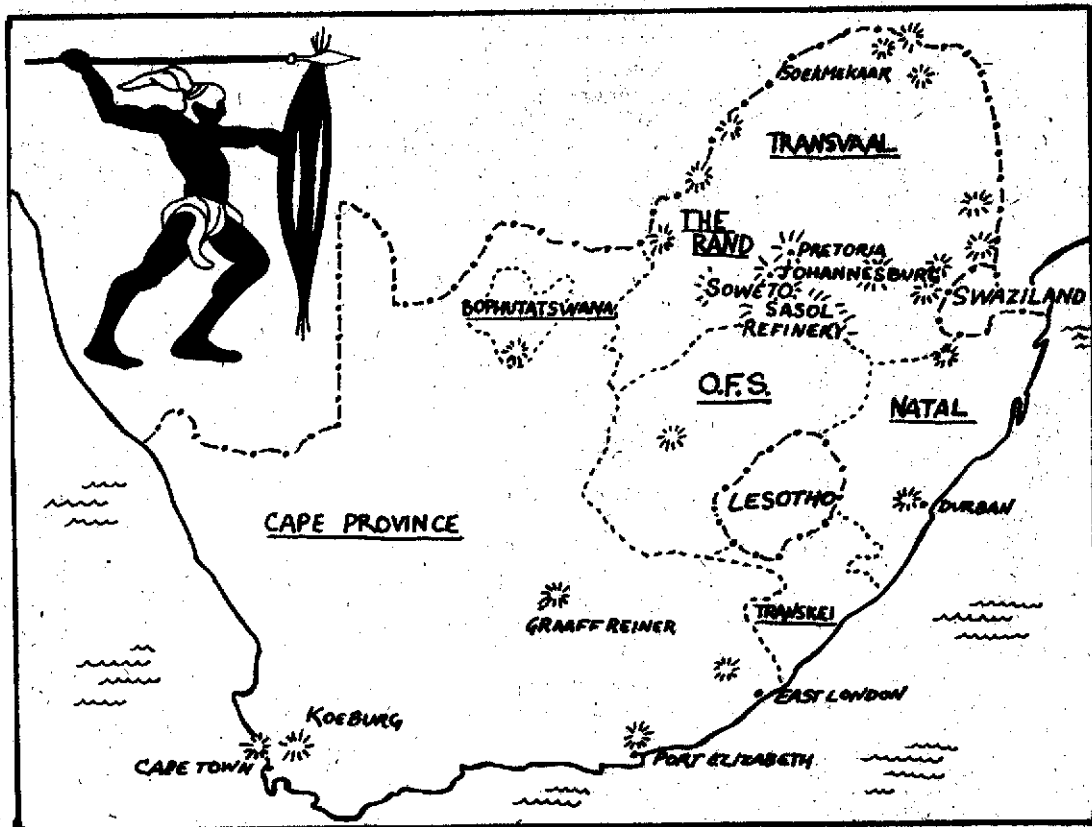
and then bootstraps could go back to being just bootstraps

and then i could write more stuff about the sun and trees and peace and flowers instead of nearly always writing about things like the differences between harlem snow and midtown snow and people freezing to death while other people are gliding about in open fur coats and slingback hiheels and soft shiny loafers

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Attacks Mark Growing ANC Strength



ANC guerrilla strikes in South Africa. Significantly, most recent Umkhonto We Sizwe attacks have come against economic and military targets in the urban areas.

James Khatami

On December 15 explosions ripped through a power station in South Africa's northern Transvaal, causing extensive damage to two transformers and disrupting power supplies in the area. Three days later and 900 miles away, African National Congress guerrillas struck again, this time setting off a series

James Khatami is a freelance journalist who lives in New York. He has been a supporter of African liberation struggles for many years.

of four explosions inside South Africa's heavily guarded Koeberg nuclear power station in the western Cape. An ANC statement following the blast at Koeberg said it was intended as a tribute to their "fallen heroes and imprisoned comrades."

The attacks, carried out only days after the South African invasion of Lesotho, were a clear indication of the growing ability of the ANC to operate throughout South Africa—an ability confirmed in recent months by three reports from widely divergent sources. A secret Cen-

tral Intelligence Agency report released to the press in mid-November notes that the ANC is growing in strength both politically and militarily. The CIA's conclusions are echoed by the results of two recent studies of ANC actions in the white Republic, both of which conclude that ANC actions are occurring with increasing frequency and effectiveness.

The detailed CIA report, which was leaked to the Washington-based lobbying organization Trans-Africa, concludes that military raids and acts of sabotage organized

by the ANC are growing in number and impact. The report also confirms that the so-called "moderate" Black leadership in South Africa is losing popularity, while support for both the ANC and the armed liberation struggle is growing among South Africa's Black majority.

TransAfrica also released a second document which states that in response to the ANC's increasingly successful sabotage campaign, the South African government is deliberately suppressing reports of incidents of sabotage in order to protect white morale. The second document is a page from the April 15, 1982 National Intelligence Daily, a secret daily summary of intelligence information distributed by the CIA to senior government officials in Washington and military commanders overseas.

TransAfrica received the papers from sources in Washington and made them available to *Africa News* contributing editor Charlie Cobb who, after confirming the authenticity of the report, wrote a front page story for *Africa News*' November 8 issue. Correspondents for the *Washington Post* and the South African *Rand Daily Mail* were also given access to the documents.

The CIA report on the ANC starts with the founding of the group in 1912 and chronicles the history of the ANC through its low point in the sixties—when many of its leaders were imprisoned—to the organization's resurgence after the massacres of protesting South African students in Soweto in 1976.

From 1980 to 1981, the ANC stepped up its sabotage campaign; the number of major incidents for which the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, was responsible rose from ten to forty, the study reports. "On several occasions, bombs exploded simultaneously in different parts of the country, indicating improved efficiency and coordination of the group's operation."

At the same time, according to the CIA study, repressive security measures by South Africa's white authorities and the militarization of South African society "have discredited moderate Black leaders

who oppose the ANC... Although the ANC apparently does not yet have an extensive underground political network inside South Africa," the report adds, "it is rapidly gaining influence among Blacks, particularly in labor unions and student movements."

The growing effectiveness of the ANC's sabotage campaign and its impact on South African life was underlined in a recent article in the South African *Financial Mail* that proclaimed "insurgency in South Africa appears to be becoming a way of life."

The *Financial Mail* reported the bombing of a Mobil Oil Corporation fuel storage tank at Mkuze in northern Natal Province in early November and noted it was the fourth known sabotage of an oil depot in 1982, and the ninth time since 1980 that oil targets have been hit. The aim of the attacks on oil installations, the *Mail* adds, is to underline South Africa's dependence on oil imports and to mobilize support for sanctions against South Africa. Overall, according to the *Financial Mail*'s conservative estimate, there were 21 major incidents of sabotage in 1982.

A more detailed overview of the ANC's military operations was recently prepared for the African Studies Association (ASA) conference in Washington by Professor Tom Lodge, a South African academic. Entitled "The African National Congress in South Africa, 1976-1982; Guerrilla War and Armed Propaganda," Lodge's essay breaks down the ANC's military campaign into eight separate categories. These include: sabotage of railway communications (33 incidents); attacks on industrial installations (25 incidents); assassinations and attacks on individuals (35 incidents); fighting between police or army units and insurgents (19 incidents); bombs in city centers and public buildings (15 incidents); attacks on administrative buildings (14 incidents), police stations (13 incidents) and military targets (3 incidents).

"To judge by its effects," Lodge observes, "the campaign does not

appear to have been intended to inflict heavy loss of life." Aside from one attack on a police station in the white working class suburb of Booyens near Johannesburg, Lodge points out, there have been no attacks on white residential areas. "The ANC itself views the armed struggle as still being at an embryonic stage," he adds, "with most of the guerrillas' actions up to now being intended to create political support rather than to seriously injure the South African state apparatus and economy."

Casualty figures, according to Lodge's estimate, include thirteen policemen, 3 people whom the ANC would have regarded as collaborators, and 12 accidental civilian deaths. In addition, says Lodge, the ANC itself has lost 42 men, including the 12 noncombatants killed in Matola outside Maputo in January 1981, as well as the victims of assassinations by South African security agents. Lodge's figures do not include the ANC members and supporters killed in the recent South African assault on Lesotho (see related article in this issue).

Lodge also noted a shift in the pattern of ANC attacks, with guerrilla units active inside the country for increasing periods of time. "In his recent trial Thelle Mogoerane was found to have entered South Africa in April 1979 and between then and his capture early this year [1982] to have been involved in three attacks on police stations as well as the limpet mining of Capital Park power station," Lodge said. While pointing out that Mogoerane did leave the country several times, Lodge also notes that during the three-year period, "he and his comrades worked from an internal base which they had established on a river island near Hammanskraal."

The CIA also reports a shift in ANC activities, saying: "The ANC is now attempting to establish a permanent presence in South Africa... Much of this effort appears concentrated in the Black homelands, which, because of their overcrowding and poverty and their less efficient security police, may eventually become staging areas for

a rurally-based insurgency."

With South Africa's white rulers refusing to dismantle the country's apartheid system, both the CIA report and Lodge's paper predict an escalation of ANC military operations. Blacks, the CIA report said, are coming to believe that whites will not surrender exclusive political power until "their lives, property, and security are threatened."

Meanwhile, Pretoria is likely to intensify its efforts to destabilize neighboring Black-ruled nations, as well as striking at ANC members and South African exiles in those countries. South Africa is already deeply involved in supporting anti-government guerrilla movements in Angola and Mozambique. In addition, South African security forces

have been involved in the assassination of ANC members in Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique.

Pressure from South Africa apparently resulted in a crackdown by the government of Swaziland on ANC members living there, when, only days after the South African raid of Lesotho, Swazi police arrested nearly one hundred ANC cadre. "What we see is the beginning of a Lebanon type of aggression," says Johnstone Makatani, the ANC observer at the United Nations. "The next thing they hope to do is to pressure Lesotho to kick out the ANC as was done to the PLO in Lebanon." But both Lesotho and Swaziland are exceptionally vulnerable to South African intimidat-

tion because of their geographic position, and ANC leaders predict that Pretoria will have much less luck pressuring other southern African countries that support the ANC.

The ever-escalating pattern of South African repression and aggression could be increasingly dangerous for US businesses in South Africa, warns the CIA. "US businessmen and diplomats could be personally threatened, particularly if Blacks believe—as many already do—that the United States tacitly supports the policy of the South African government."

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Koeberg Blast: Guerrillas Hit South African Nuke

South Africa's Koeberg nuclear power plant is among the most heavily guarded civil installations in the world. Visitors must pass through three security fences to enter the plant, but are never allowed near the reactor or adjacent buildings. Armed guards and dogs patrol the perimeters.

But Koeberg is more than just a high security power station in a land facing insurrection: It stands as a symbol of the white minority regime's industrial, economic, and military strength. And, built by the French, fueled with Swiss uranium supplied by American companies, and staffed by technicians trained in American nuclear installations at the Argonne National Laboratory in Illinois, Koeberg is also the concrete expression of Western support for the apartheid system.

So it was all the more spectacular when the first bomb ripped through the facility the afternoon of Saturday, December 18. Five hours later a second blast rocked the reactor site, followed by two other blasts shortly thereafter.

In Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, officials of the African National Congress confirmed that guerrillas of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, had struck the as yet uncompleted reactor "in salute to our fallen heroes," a reference to the 42 South African and Lesotho citizens slain during the bloody South African invasion of the mountain kingdom's capital city, Maseru, December 9. The final Koeberg blast occurred just before dawn on December 19, the day the ANC buried its dead in Maseru.

Koeberg was originally scheduled to commence operations last year, but difficulties in obtaining fuel rods have pushed the opening to 1984. An official from Escom, South

Africa's state energy corporation, said that no nuclear material was stored on site at the time of the attack and that damage was limited to equipment storage facilities. But a spokesman for Framatome, the French firm which built the reactor, claimed there was nuclear fuel "on the site." The South Africans have refused to comment on reports that the attack would further delay the opening of South Africa's first nuclear reactor. Immediately following the attack the area was cordoned off and the government mounted a massive, but so far fruitless, search for the saboteurs. The bombs apparently did not release any radiation from the plant.

But what about next time? It is a

question very much on the minds of the residents of Cape Town, South Africa's second largest city that lies directly downwind from the Koeberg site.

Cape Town citizens were already jittery about the neighboring nuke after a 1982 study predicted hundreds of thousands of deaths from a Three Mile Island-style accident at Koeberg. But the prospect of a military strike on the reactor *after* it goes on line is even more unsettling. ANC bombs shattered more than brick at Koeberg.

By dawn on December 19, South African dreams of a "white Christmas" had become a vision of a nuclear nightmare for the new year—a year of struggle against apartheid. **M.F.**

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Draft Resister Jailed

In early October, Billy Paddock was convicted by a court martial of refusing to serve in the South African military. In the following interview, conducted shortly before his trial, the 31-year-old former theology student and literacy worker explains his refusal to fulfill the two years of active service required of all white South African men. For his refusal to serve, Paddock is now serving a one-year sentence in jail, at the conclusion of which he will be discharged "with ignominy" from the South African Defence Forces.

by Jim Consedine

A pacifist stance is a common form of conscientious objection generally accepted by the authorities in most Western countries. How is your position different?

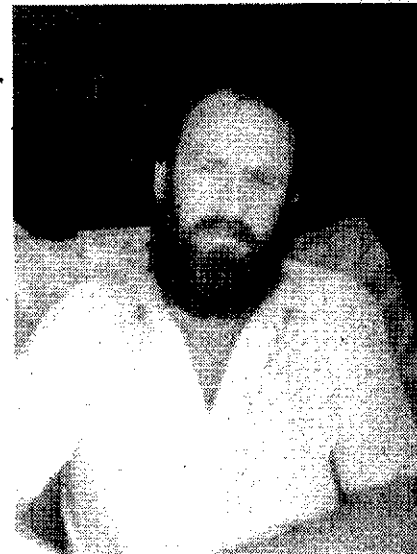
I believe a universal pacifist stance is impossible because we are all involved in various forms of violence in many different aspects of our lives. Violence is not just a physical encounter between two or more people. It is built into structure. It concerns the way we deal with our environment. The mere fact of paying taxes is a form of supporting violence because they go to

the police, the army, and to the government in South Africa which have created and continue to maintain a law system built on institutional violence.

My attitude to violence is that I abhor violence, but I accept that people come into conflict situations which cause violence. Within South Africa at this point, I believe violent revolution is inevitable. While I personally, at this stage, cannot take up arms, I nevertheless support the overall goal of freedom that the liberation movements are striving for. And I respect the choice of those who have had to make the agonizing choice of taking up arms.

For myself, because the whole system is unjust and oppressive, I refuse to do national service which is there to protect and uphold the status quo.

So you cannot accept a universal pacifist position and you also cannot in conscience serve in the South African Defense Force (SADF).



Billy Paddock

Correct. I cannot serve in the SADF because then I would be taking sides with the oppressors, and Christ calls us to take the side of the poor and oppressed. I also believe that because the undeclared war that South Africa has been waging for the past few years against SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa is unjustified, I cannot take up arms against them. As a Christian therefore it is not permissible for me to join the army.

What do you think of South Africa's claim that their forces are merely fighting the extension of communism in southern Africa and that the ANC and SWAPO are committing terrorism?

That is Government propaganda. Churchill wasn't labelled a communist in World War II when he fought alongside of and received help from the Soviet Union. ANC and SWAPO were initially refused help from Western nations, and only then did they turn to the Eastern

Father Jim Consedine is a Roman Catholic priest and prison chaplain who lives in Christchurch, New Zealand. Father Consedine interviewed Billy Paddock in late August 1982.

bloc countries for help. It is under the guise of this communist bogey that South Africa is destabilizing the bordering southern African countries of Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe, and forcing them to become economically dependent on South Africa.

What sort of support have you received for your stand from your family and your Church?

I have received very little support from either my family or the official Church. The support from the Church has mainly been that they would pray for me, and in doing so they are accepting that it is up to the individual's conscience whether to fight or not fight in the SADF. But from the true Church, which is the believing and acting people of God, I have received a great deal of moral and material support.

It would seem to the casual observer to be a lot easier for you simply to leave the country. Why don't you leave?

I love South Africa. I love its people. I believe I can contribute more to South Africa from within the country than from outside. I believe the struggle for liberation must be waged though from both fronts—from within and from outside the country. I respect those who choose to go into exile to carry on the struggle there. I feel that my best contribution can come from within, and I do not believe the solution for me is to leave the country.

How are you feeling with the prospect of jail looming larger every day?

Nervous, apprehensive, quite afraid.

But you still plan to go through with it?

Yes, I will definitely go through with it. I have no other option. The fact that it is inevitable that I will be found guilty is an example of the kind of laws which govern this country, which make no provision for a person's conscience. The irony of it is that they ask you to swear

the oath and accept God's word as binding on your conscience and then punish someone for doing just that. They acknowledge the supremacy of God, both in the Constitution of the country and the court of law, and yet my whole court case is about my right to observe the supremacy of

God and God's law.

• But believe me, I am at peace with myself and the position I have taken.

In Pretoria, October 4, 1982, Billy Paddock received 12 months imprisonment.

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South Africa Searches For An Internal Settlement

Give the Reagan Administration an A for persistence in its Namibia policy. And an F for effectiveness.

Two years after proclaiming that "constructive engagement" would bring South Africa around to accepting Namibian independence, the US has succeeded only in providing a facade of diplomatic activity behind which South Africa has been protected from more decisive international penalties for its continued occupation of Namibia and its bald defiance of UN resolutions. As the US initiative has languished during the final months of 1982, a new flurry of diplomatic activity has muffled the resounding failure of a policy that had boldly promised Namibian independence in 1982.

Vice President George Bush jetted around the continent for a week in November, bravely speaking up for US policy, linking the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola with independence for Namibia. The policy was repudiated by all of Bush's hosts, including such staunch allies as President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, and was unanimously condemned by 31 African heads of state who met in Tripoli, Libya in late November. But State Department Africa chief Chester Crocker insisted the policy was still making progress and reported that he had recently visited Moscow to discuss it with Soviet officials. Further signs of life for the US policies of "constructive engagement" and "linkage" were suggested with reports of South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Washington and of high level talks between Angola and South Africa in the Cape Verde Islands.

Conspicuously absent from all these reports, however, were the people most directly concerned with

the future of Namibia, the Namibians themselves. As far as they are concerned, SWAPO representative Hinyangerwa Ashike told *Southern Africa*, "There are no negotiations taking place and there have been none for several months since both Washington and Pretoria decided to campaign on the issue of 'linkage.'" Ashike pointed out that the concept of linkage had been flatly rejected by SWAPO, by the frontline states, by the African heads of state meeting in Tripoli, and finally, in mid-December, by the UN General Assembly.

The SWAPO representative also pointed out that the illusion of diplomatic progress has diverted attention from ominous developments inside Namibia. "The situation on the ground remains critical," he explained. "South Africa continues to structure its puppet institutions with the aim of trying to circumvent UN resolution 435 (which calls for a cease-fire, elections and independence in Namibia)."

New Internal Structure Proposed

South African efforts to provide a legitimate cover for their illegal occupation of Namibia took a new turn in late November when Prime Minister P. W. Botha visited the territory. Just two months earlier, Botha had touched off a storm of controversy by declaring that the internal structures imposed by South Africa in 1978 needed a major overhaul.

"It has become necessary," Botha announced, "for the National Assembly to become more representative and also that a more effective executive body has to be created." The statement signaled Pretoria's recognition that a government

headed by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and its leader Dirk Mudge, a rich white farmer, could not be sold internationally as a legitimate alternative to SWAPO. Exactly what Botha had in mind to replace the DTA was not specified. But later discussions indicated Pretoria hoped to install a new interim government headed by five "ethnic" representatives.

The DTA was having none of it. Mudge frothed about South African meddling in Namibian affairs and proclaimed with a straight face that the DTA would struggle as a "liberation movement" against any new interim government. He also scurried off to Western Europe and the US to lobby for support among prominent conservatives in California and Texas.

By the time Botha arrived in Namibia in November he had apparently realized that unilaterally dismissing a government described only a few years ago as a breakthrough for democracy could prove a public relations disaster. The US also reportedly signaled its dismay at the prospects of such a move by South Africa while optimistic assessments of the international negotiations were still flowing out of Washington.

At the conclusion of his visit to the Namibian capital, Botha announced that the term of the present administration would be extended until the end of February. He also announced the appointment of a new Administrator General, Dr. Willie van Niekerk, a prominent member of the Broederbond, the all-male Afrikaner secret society to which most South African leaders belong.

By setting a February deadline, South Africa has effectively handed the US an ultimatum—deliver a

deal by then or we'll strike out on our own! There are various conflicting theories of what South Africa might do if no international settlement is reached. It has been suggested that they might try to stage some sort of elections (of course excluding SWAPO, which virtually all observers consider the certain winner in any fair elections). Or it might simply dissolve the existing structures and return full authority to the new Administrator General.

In either case, the US diplomatic initiative would be in even deeper trouble. Already France and Canada, two of Washington's partners in the Western "Contact Group," have voiced their opposition to the "linkage" approach. If they chose to withdraw from the process, "constructive engagement" would be exposed as little more than a way of helping South Africa stall for time. As southern Africa specialist

Gerald Bender pointed out in a November column in *The New York Times*, "astute South African diplomats have reduced Washington's role to that of a well-trained seal."

In the unlikely event that the US does manage to reach an agreement with Angola on Cuban withdrawal, the trained seal act will hardly be over. In recent months, South Africa has reiterated its determination to retain control of Walvis Bay, Namibia's only port, regardless of what happens to the rest of the territory. In fact, Pretoria announced plans in late November to begin construction of a new military base in the port city in 1984. And South African officials have indicated that the Reagan administration is prepared to back them on this position. SWAPO, on the other hand, is not about to accept permanent South African control of Namibia's only port facilities.

Already Namibian newspapers are busy speculating what US policy will emerge next. In a front page commentary, the conservative *Windhoek Advertiser* predicted: "The US will stand firm on the Cuban-linkage issue and will attempt to shift attention away from Namibia to the need for economic upliftment in Africa . . . All in all then, this suggests that UN Security Council Resolution 435 is now almost definitely history. Which, frankly, is not really news to us."

Nor, should that prove to be the case, would it be news to SWAPO. "In the event the contact group fails," Ashike said, "we will be left with no other alternative than to go back to the UN. And meanwhile, in the face of no progress in the negotiations and continued brutality by South Africa, the people of Namibia will continue their armed liberation struggle." A.M.□

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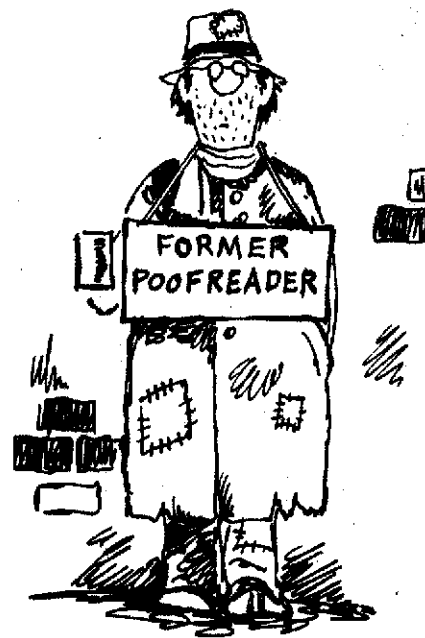
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Houston Flies the Friendly Skies...Of Apartheid

With a little help from their friends in Washington, and over the strong objections of local residents, a South African Airways 747 touched down at Houston's Intercontinental Airport on December 9 to begin regular weekly air service between South Africa and the nation's sun belt. The Houston route represents a major expansion for the state-run airline, which was previously limited to flights into New York. Under terms of the two-year extension granted by the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), one of South African Airways' five weekly New York flights will now land at Pan American World Airways Terminal B in Houston instead.

The April 1 South African request received strong backing from the State Department and Texas Senators John Tower and Lloyd Benson. In a letter to the CAB, transportation official Matthew Scoccoza advised the board that "The Department of State finds that there are no foreign policy impediments" to the South African application.

But that view isn't shared by the community-based Southern Africa Task Force, or by House Repre-

sentative Mickey Leland, the only Black Texan in Congress. Leland, who represents Houston's predominantly Black inner city, termed the South African request "a slap in the face" of the nation's Black community, and vowed to lead a fight in the House to block the route application. Meanwhile, the task force, operating out of Leland's office, began to build local opposition among church, student, and community organizations.

Yet on August 21, three of the CAB's five members voted to approve the South African route, and the board later upheld their decision after a formal challenge from Leland, who argued that there were "compelling moral, legal, and foreign policy considerations that would have compelled the board to reverse its order" granting the apartheid airline landing rights in Houston.

On December 5, over a hundred task force protesters marched from the South African Airways office downtown to the South African consulate to protest the CAB decision. The demonstrators also called for a boycott of Pan Am in

retaliation for leasing its facilities to the apartheid airline.

The task force followed up that demonstration with a picket line to greet the inaugural flight on the ninth at Intercontinental airport, and a vigil in front of Pan Am's ticket office.

Although the protesters failed to block the South African route extension, a South African Airways representative, Al Fields, told *Houston Post* reporter Janet Elliot that as a result of the difficulties encountered in winning the Houston route, the airline is planning no additional US expansion. And Beneya Nyamu, an organizer for the task force, told *Southern Africa* that the community would expand its anti-apartheid work to include the shutdown of Houston's South Africa consulate and city investments in corporations operating in South Africa, as well as South African Airways. As one opponent of the route extension, Dallas resident Gene Lantz, noted in an acerbic letter to the CAB, Texas needed no ties to South Africa. "Don't we have enough racists here now?," he asked.

Divestment Victories Ring In New Year

The Massachusetts State legislature celebrated the new year by handing outgoing Governor Edward King one final defeat. Overturning his veto, it passed a comprehensive divestment bill requiring the state pension fund to sell stocks and bonds in companies doing business in South Africa. And in late December, Michigan Governor William Milliken signed legislation requiring that state's public education institutions to sell all their investments in corporations operating in South Africa.

In the past few years state and local governments have increasingly become the focus for divestment efforts by new and broad-based coalitions opposed to apartheid; with state governments in Connecticut and Nebraska as well as Massachusetts and Michigan passing bills requiring some form of divestment. City governments across the country, including Philadelphia, Cambridge, Berkeley, and Grand Rapids have also adopted divestment resolutions. The American Committee on Africa (ACOA) estimates that

state and municipal legislation passed in 1982 will force the withdrawal of up to \$300 million in public funds from companies doing business in South Africa.

The Massachusetts law, which ACOA Executive Director Jennifer Davis termed a "model" for other divestment legislation, was the result of a campaign spearheaded by Mass. Divest, a coalition of local organizations, which included churches, labor unions, and student and community groups. Among the legislators active in the campaign

Washington Lobby Marks Anniversary

were State Representative Mel King and State Senator Jack Backman, who sponsored the legislation. The state legislature originally approved the divestment legislation in late 1982, but Governor King vetoed the measure. The bill became law when the legislature easily mustered the necessary two-thirds majority to override the veto.

The South African government and a number of major corporations with investments in South Africa worked hard to oppose the legislation. Ford Motor Company, with more than \$210 million invested in South Africa, sent a lobbyist to Massachusetts in an attempt to scuttle the bill.

Ford also sent a lobbyist to Lansing, Michigan in a drive to persuade legislators there not to pass divestment legislation. Legislators in Michigan received letters, phone calls, and even visits from South African government lobbyists as part of Pretoria's effort to stop the divestment legislation.

Many colleges, church groups, labor organizations and other bodies have turned to divestment legislation in recent years as continued US corporate involvement in South Africa has been shown to bring about little change. No less an authority than the South African Reserve Bank affirmed this trend in December, when the government institution reported that, partially as a result of political pressure, "many institutions have begun to give preference to short and medium term investments, rather than those of a more permanent nature." Dr. Ernie van der Merwe, head of the Reserve Bank's balance of payments section, said that increasing political pressure on foreign companies to limit their investments in South Africa had contributed to a change in investment patterns.

According to ACOA, divestment bills are scheduled to be introduced in Minnesota, Kansas, California, Oregon, Michigan, and Texas in the coming year, as well as the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. □



Washington Office on Africa Executive Director Jean Sindab shakes hands with ANC President Oliver Tambo.

On November 6, 1982, the Washington Office on Africa marked its tenth year of struggle with an event at the Capital Hilton hotel in Washington, D.C. The veteran church and labor-sponsored lobby was founded at the height of the Nixon administration's so-called "tar baby option" policy of support for the white minority regimes, and the Washington Office has figured prominently in major anti-apartheid and liberation support campaigns aimed at Capitol Hill ever since—the drive to end the importation of Rhodesian chrome and end covert US intervention in Angola among them.

SWAPO United Nations Observer Theo Ben-Gurirab and former WOA head Ted Lockwood were among the featured speakers at the Hilton fundraiser, with cultural performances by several local dance and musical groups, including the legendary *a capella* singing group, Sweet Honey In the Rock.

Speaking to supporters at the November fete, held in conjunction with the African Studies Association annual convention then underway at the Hilton, WOA Executive Director Jean Sindab pointed out

that Nixon's "tar baby" policy had been reincarnated as "constructive engagement" under the Reagan administration, and called for a new drive to sever links between the United States and South Africa. Nixon and his successors hadn't stopped the liberation of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, she declared, and a strong anti-apartheid movement could help speed the liberation of Namibia and South Africa now.

As part of that effort, the Washington Office also announced that a campaign to halt US nuclear collaboration with the apartheid regime would begin in early December. The beginning of the anti-nuclear campaign was timed to coincide with hearings on US ties to South Africa, and with a bill to end all US nuclear collaboration with South Africa introduced by New York Congressman Charles Rangel. "Nuclear weapons in the hands of the apartheid regime are a dangerous threat to the African continent and the entire world," Sindab said, and she accused the Reagan administration of dramatically expanding US nuclear exports to the white minority government. □

Namibia Conference Exposes Corporate Links

In late November over fifty researchers and activists from twelve nations sat down to discuss ways to fight corporate support for South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia. The conference then did something quite unusual—it took action. Delegations of conference participants flew to Atlanta, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Boston, Montreal and Ottawa to speak with local civic leaders and activist groups, urging them to act in support of liberation for Namibia.

The conference and follow-up tour, organized by the American Committee on Africa with support from the United Nations Council for Namibia, included academics, researchers, representatives from SWAPO, and delegates from European, American, Canadian, and Japanese solidarity organizations.

"I think nothing has done more damage to the credibility of the free world than the utterly cynical behavior of the United States and the Western NATO powers in regard to Namibia," said former UN Commissioner for Namibia and Nobel laureate Sean MacBride in opening the conference. Following the opening statements, which also included a plea for an end to Western economic collaboration with the apartheid regime from SWAPO's UN Observer, Theo Ben-Guirirab, conference participants sat down for two days of extensive discussion on Western economic collaboration with South Africa in Namibia and what to do about it.

Speakers from Europe detailed their work with trade unions to stop the importation of Namibian uranium, and activists from Holland performed a play exposing the Dutch government's support for South Africa. Later, a speaker from the Namibia Association for Norway explained how the tiny town of Elvrum, with a population of only 16,000, had raised over one million

dollars worth of material aid for SWAPO. Closer to home, Pat Kyle from Dayton, Ohio, explained how her group collected women's underwear to send to SWAPO; and ACOA research director Gail Hovey gave a detailed report on US actions to stop economic links with Namibia.

The conference concluded by approving declarations calling for the political and economic isolation of South Africa and for actions aimed at forcing corporations to cease all activities in Namibia. Participants placed a special emphasis on stepped-up material aid for SWAPO and urged greater exchange of information between groups working in support of Namibian liberation.

But the closing speeches in Washington were just the beginning for many of the delegates. One group of conference participants flew off immediately for a three-day visit to Atlanta, while others set out for speaking engagements in different cities.

In Atlanta the delegation was the guest of mayor Andrew Young, former US Ambassador to the United Nations under the Carter adminis-

tration. The group met with local legislators, church leaders, business people and, of course, the mayor. According to Dumisani Kumalo, ACOA representative at the Atlanta events, a special reception for activists was the highlight of the Atlanta trip. "The trade union people were very actively asking everyone else to join and support divestment," he said.

Other groups of conference participants flew off to San Francisco, Boston, Ontario and Minneapolis, where they participated in a fast-paced schedule of public meetings, radio and television shows, private receptions, legislative sessions and other actions.

In Minneapolis the focus of the visit was on legislative and church actions. The entire group met with the Minneapolis city council, including mayor Donald Fraser. SWAPO representative Hinyangerwa Asheeke appeared on the local television station and spoke with reporters. Dag Hareide of the Namibia Association of Norway, accompanied by Hovey, met with local labor leaders who pledged continued support for local divestment legislation and discussed ways in which unions could more actively support the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

"The emphasis was on making SWAPO the focus of actions around Namibia," said ACOA Executive Director Jennifer Davis in summing up the conference. "We were trying to make people more aware of what the struggle is about as well as what they can do about it."

The people that conference participants spoke to in Minneapolis seemed to have already picked up the action theme. "As a result of the visit," said Davis, "the St. Paul and Minneapolis City Councils and the Minnesota state legislature will all be discussing divestment legislation in 1983."

Namibia's Stolen Wealth North American Investment and South African Occupation by Gail Hovey Foreword by Sean MacBride

This new Africa Fund study examines the role of North American corporations in the extraction of Namibia's wealth and the part they play in supporting South Africa's war against the Namibia people. Price is \$2.50 per copy plus 15 percent postage and handling.

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