

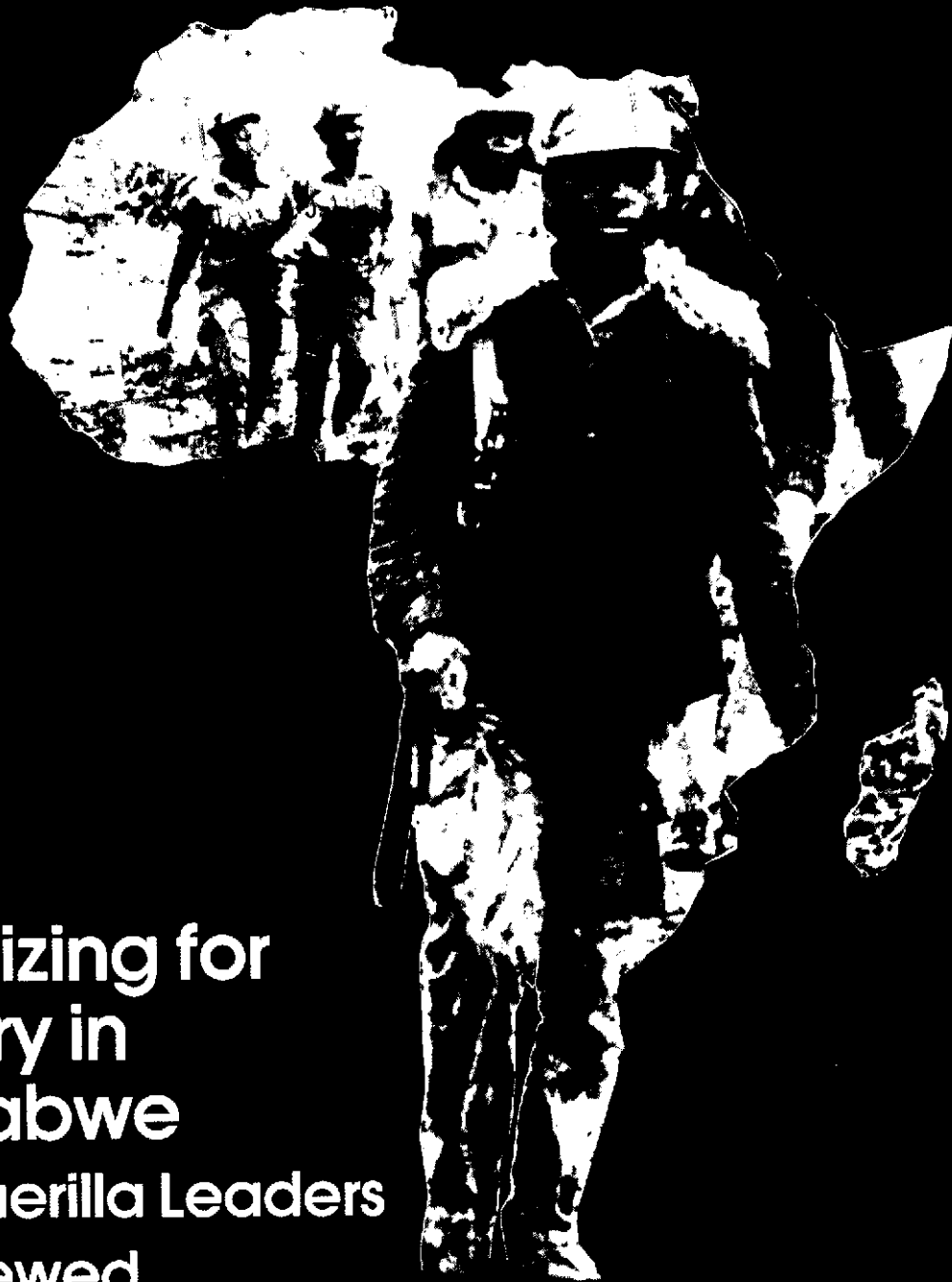
VOLUME XII NUMBER 1

# SOUTHERN AFRICA

\$1

JANUARY 1979

**Exclusive Document:  
How South Africa's  
Intimidation Rigged  
Namibian Election**



**Mobilizing for  
Victory in  
Zimbabwe  
Top Guerilla Leaders  
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# Become a Sustainer to Southern Africa Magazine

## SPECIAL OFFER—

If you become a **Southern Africa** sustainer, we will send you this beautiful book of poetry and photography from South Africa.

Zindzi Mandela is the 16-year old daughter of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned president of the banned African National Congress of South Africa, and of Winnie Mandela, sentenced to silence as a "nonperson" under South Africa's apartheid laws. Zindzi Mandela is also a poet. Her warm and poignant poems speak powerfully for her, her parents, and all black South Africans.

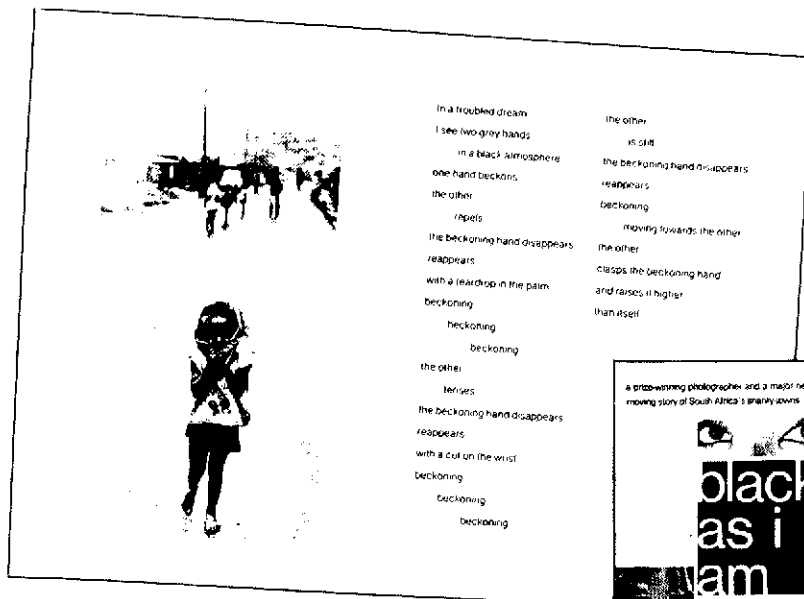
Peter Magubane, a prize-winning black South African photographer who has spent more than two years inside apartheid's jails, has been documenting life in South Africa's black townships and homelands for more than two decades.

Now they have collaborated on **Black As I Am**, a 120-page, large-format paperback book. Because it is published by a small press in California, however, it is not easy to find.

We will send you **Black As I Am** free, if you become a sustainer of **Southern Africa** magazine.

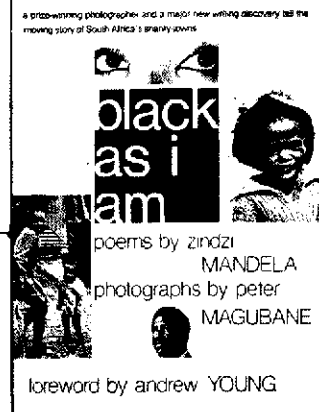
**Southern Africa** has been providing consistent, reliable, comprehensive coverage of political and economic developments in the area each month since 1965. With events changing almost daily, it is vitally important to subscribe to and support **Southern Africa**.

Here's just one reason why. US investment in South Africa has always been controversial. Now its becoming a very hot issue on campuses and in communities all over the country. Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young have taken the public position that US corporations are good for South Africans, white and black alike.



In a troubled dream  
I see two grey hands  
in a black atmosphere  
one hand beckons  
the other  
repels  
the beckoning hand disappears  
reappears  
with a leadrop in the palm  
beckoning  
beckoning  
beckoning  
beckoning  
the other  
terries  
the beckoning hand disappears  
reappears  
with a cut on the wrist  
beckoning  
beckoning  
beckoning

the other  
is still  
the beckoning hand disappears  
reappears  
beckoning  
moving towards the other  
the other  
clasps the beckoning hand  
and raises it higher  
than itself



But while Andrew Young argued last year in Johannesburg for "change through the marketplace," the then-U.S. Ambassador to South Africa was cabling home just what Young denied: *that South African blacks wanted the US out.*

Who reported it? **Southern Africa** published the full text of the cable in its April 1978 issue. One activist from Campuses United Against Apartheid at the University of California at Berkeley wrote that the cable would be "very helpful in organizing. We will give it wide circulation on the campus . . . Your magazine helps build the movement."

There's a lot more. These are just some of the special features **Southern Africa** has published in 1977 and 1978:

- *Africa: The French Connection*, by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban.
- *South Africa: Looking for Oil Independence*, and *Prospects for Sanctions*.
- *Britain's Stake in Apartheid*, by Richard Leonard.
- *American Publisher Peddles South Africa*, by Steve Weissman.
- *Carter in Africa—The Shape of Things to Come*, by Edgar Lockwood.
- *Zimbabwe: Expelled Nun Reports People Support Guerrillas*.
- *Destroying World Poverty: President Nyerere Speaks*.

Plus book reviews, resource materials, and regular news analysis of events in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, at the United Nations, and in Washington.

If you are one of our regular readers, you know all about us. But there are many who don't know about **Southern**

**Africa** and who don't know where to turn for reliable coverage of these events.

We need your help to reach them. But we can't on the income from our present subscriptions alone.

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# SOUTHERN AFRICA

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JANUARY 1979

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Not in return  
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 Evans, J. J.

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*Front cover: Zanu militants*

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## Another 'Agreement' on Namibia's Elections

South Africa announced in late December that it had agreed again to allow the UN to hold supervised elections in Namibia and to implement the plan for Namibian independence that the UN had accepted last summer. "We are prepared to have another election here," declared South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha, referring to the South African-run elections held in the territory early last December. "We have advised the elected representatives that they should accept it," he added, referring to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

Press accounts described Carter administration Africa experts as elated at the South African decision. Richard Moose, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, called the negotiations on Namibia "the most successful US undertaking in Africa this year."

South Africa's decision was communicated to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in a letter made public after Christmas. In it the South Africans said they would permit the UN to hold elections, but they reiterated their position expressed in meetings with the Western five in Pretoria, that consultations—a euphemism for renegotiations—would have to be held on key terms of the plan.

At the same time, the DTA-dominated "constituent assembly" in Namibia also expressed its agreement with the South African position. The assembly asked for but did not demand as a precondition that the UN withdraw its support for SWAPO.

## Guinea-Bissau Arrests Rebels

Authorities in Guinea-Bissau have announced the capture in late November of a group of armed dissidents led by Malam Sanha, a former official of the ruling party, the PAIGC, and comprised mainly of former African commandos in the Portuguese colonial army.

A group calling itself the People's Anti-Colonialist Union of Guinea-Bissau, meanwhile, says it was responsible for a late November incident outside the capital, Bissau.



Rev. Jesse Jackson

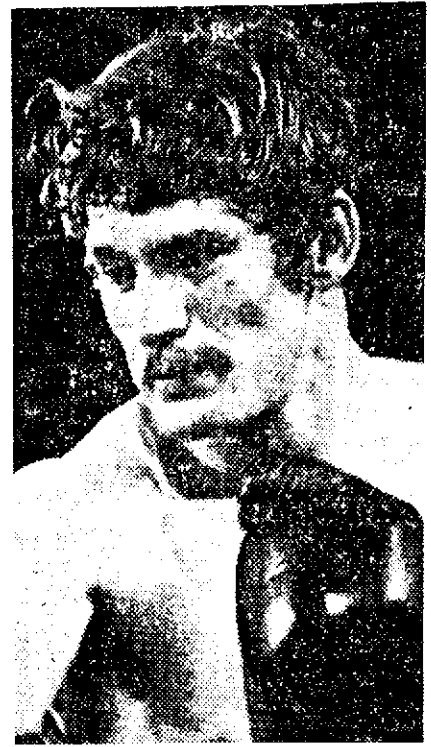
## South African "Great White Hope" to Fight in US

A number of anti-apartheid and black human rights groups have been mobilizing to defeat a planned US boxing match involving a white South African heavyweight. Kallie Knoetze is scheduled to fight January 13 in Miami in a bout to be televised nationally by CBS.

Madison Square Garden is promoting the American debut of the ex-policeman. "Knoetze represents the very worst in the South African racial condition, a white cop who shoots black kids," said the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, one of the organizers of the bout's protesters. Knoetze, who shot a youth in both legs, was never charged in the incident. He later resigned from the police force after being convicted of intimidating two witnesses who were going to testify against one of his police colleagues.

If the fight is not called off, Jackson has promised massive demonstrations at the Miami site and in New York at Madison Square Garden and CBS headquarters. A Garden official admitted that the fight could be cancelled if CBS Sports, which is paying an estimated \$100,000, pulled out.

Other anti-apartheid groups, including the American Committee on Africa and the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sports & Society, appealed unsuccessfully to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance to deny Knoetze a visa. The NAACP, which went on record in



Kallie Knoetze

1978 as opposing all American ties to South Africa, is also expected to take a role in the fight protest.

Two major black boxing figures have come out against the planned bout. World Boxing Council heavyweight champ Larry Holmes has courageously said that he would never fight a South African. "I don't care if they strip me of my title," he said. Promoter Don King is also said to oppose the bout and recently issued a statement saying "I have absolutely no part in this promotion."

However, as of press time, Sonny Werblin, Madison Square Garden head, has said that the fight is on. "If he wanted it off, it'd be off," said John Condon, a Garden vice-president. "But you must remember that we're in the business of making fights. We're not in the political end of the world."

## Crossroads Reprieve?

South Africa's newly appointed Minister for Black Affairs, Pieter Koornhof, has announced indefinite postponement of plans to demolish the Crossroads squatter camp outside Cape Town—an issue that has raised an international outcry against the government's racial policies. Persuasion—not force—would be used, Koornhof said, to relocate the inhabitants. But with typical South African double-talk, Koornhof also indicated that only people "legally" in the Cape could be included in resettlement plans. Influx control and the theory of bantustan nationhood make most Africans illegal residents in the Cape.

## Angola Reshuffle

Seven top governmental posts, including that of the prime minister and his deputy, have been eliminated in a recent restructuring of the Angolan government.

Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento and his deputy, Carlos Rocha Dilolwa, have both been removed, not only from their now non-existent posts, but also from the political bureau of the ruling MPLA Workers' Party.

In a speech following the restructuring, President Agostinho Neto explained that the government has been slowed by having too many officials and that the reorganization would permit the president direct contact with the ministers without intermediary. Neto also called for continued moves toward national unity and vigilance against divisive activities.

Perhaps the government's major preoccupation at present is the threat of UNITA guerrilla attacks on the re-opened Benguela Railway. Neighboring Zambia and Zaire both have trial cargo runs scheduled for the line, and Angola, which says it has the countryside under control, must guarantee safe passage for the trains. UNITA, however, claims as late as November that it has repeatedly sabotaged the line.

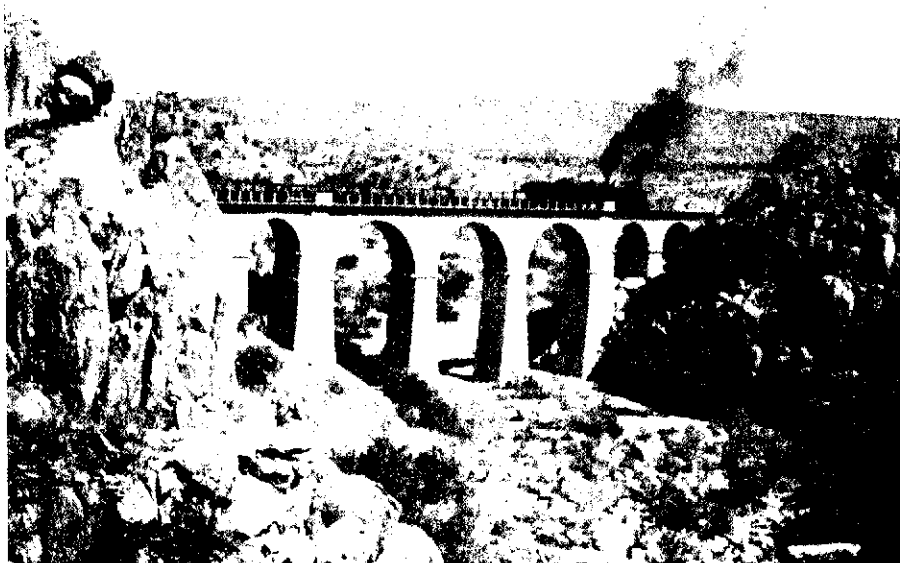
## Salisbury Raid a Blow to White Rhodesia

The December 11 attack by nationalist guerrillas on an oil depot near the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury cost the government more than a month's supply of petroleum in what white leader Ian Smith called its "greatest setback" since the beginning of the guerrilla war almost ten years ago (page 21).

The attack not only sapped the treasury—to the tune of \$18 million—but damaged white morale as well.

Confidence in the Rhodesian military's ability to contain the guerrilla threat is also likely to suffer from a forthcoming series of articles by a senior Rhodesian journalist who spent several months touring guerrilla-held areas of the country after ostensibly being abducted by members of ZANU.

The journalist, Justin Nyoka, surfaced in December to tell his story, after disappearing from his farm near Salisbury in late August. A reporter for the BBC, French national radio, and several British and South African newspapers, Nyoka says he traveled widely in the Rhodesian countryside with his guerrilla escorts and learned that some nationalist strongholds have not been penetrated by Rhodesian troops for almost two years.



Benguela Bridge is still under attack

Several UNITA members, meanwhile, have been found guilty by an Angolan court of setting off a bomb in the central market of Huambo, a one-time UNITA stronghold.



Kenneth Kaunda

## Kaunda Gets Zambia Vote

Some 78 percent of those who voted gave Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda a clear vote of confidence in the December 12 election, confounding predictions that he might barely get a required 51 percent.

Kaunda ran unopposed, as presidential contenders Simon Kapwepwe and Harry Nkumbula, after losing a court appeal, were barred from the race by the ruling United National Independence Party.

The voter turnout of 70 percent was far better than the 1973 election when only 40 percent voted, and this time only a handful of Cabinet ministers lost their seats in Parliament, compared to 11 ousted in 1973.

## South Africa Extends Scandal Probe

The commission of inquiry probing the affairs of South Africa's scandal-ridden Information Department (page 13) has been given a six-month extension in light of new evidence which has been uncovered during its present investigation. Two special investigators will be sent to unnamed overseas countries to try to track down money paid out by the department.

Officers from the commercial branch of the South African police are also expected to be called in to help deal with certain aspects of the scandal, which has disturbed the government and may result in prosecution of several former top officials of the now disbanded department.

The report of the commission, headed by Judge Rudolph Erasmus, was released in December prior to a special session of Parliament called specifically to discuss the scandal. Although the report absolves former Prime Minister John Vorster and his successor, P.W. Botha, from any blame, it is harshly critical of Dr. Connie Mulder, former minister of information. It brands him as incompetent and negligent in the running of his department and particularly questions the use of \$56 million to finance a pro-government, English-language newspaper, *The Citizen*.

**UPDATE** is written by Africa News Service, which also publishes a weekly digest available to individuals for \$20 per year. Address correspondence to P.O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702.

# Moving Ahead To Freedom

**The war for a free Zimbabwe is almost won; in important interviews two key liberation leaders explain why.**

*After more than ten years of bitter guerrilla war against apparently overwhelming odds, ZANU and ZAPU, now allied in the Patriotic Front, are emerging as victors in the struggle for Zimbabwe. Their success has surprised not only Ian Smith, who had believed that white minority rule would last "a thousand years," but also the ruling echelons in Washington and London, which are now scrambling to prevent the Front from actually taking power.*

*In Maputo in September, Sister Janice McLaughlin spoke to two of the men playing vital roles in building this victory. Josiah Magama Tongogara, ZANU Defense Secretary, is directly in charge of organizing the movement's fighting forces and designing its very successful military strategy. Yet above all, he stressed the importance of winning the support of Zimbabwe's people. "The masses are the backbone of the struggle," he told Sister McLaughlin. "Without the masses you cannot succeed."*

*Carrying this theme further, Dzingai Mutumbuka, ZANU's Secretary for Education and Culture explained the importance of freeing the minds of Zimbabweans from the shackles of colonial ideas. A transformed educational system, he said, will develop ideas that "serve the interests of the masses." He stressed also the need to plan for peace, warning that "it is possible to win a military victory and be unprepared to take over."*

*It is this focus on building a new society, rooted in the interests of the masses, that provides the Zimbabwe liberation movement with its strength. And it is also this element which has generated so much hostility in Western capitals.*

*Sister Janice McLaughlin was deported from Rhodesia in September 1977 after helping prepare a report issued by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, which detailed the Smith regime's policy of torture and harassment of the Zimbabwe people. Now living in the US, she visited Mozambique in September.*

## **Tongogara: Mobilization Necessary for Victory**

**Can you explain the links between the rural people and ZANLA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army] forces?**

The fundamental task in armed struggle is to mobilize the masses to back you up. Without the masses you cannot succeed. They are the backbone of the struggle. The first thing we did when ZANU was formed in 1963 was to begin to mobilize the masses.

There are three phases of mobilization. The first phase is to get the people to accept the armed struggle, to eradicate their fears

and to surmount their difficulties. The second phase is to make people understand the party policy—what you are fighting for. This is the stage where the masses participate physically. You arm them if you are able. If not, there is a lot they can do to complement the struggle. We get food from the people, clothes and information.

We are presently in the third phase of mobilization—that of creating political power, of involving the people in party

*continued on page 5*

## **Dzingai: Education For Decolonization**

**What is the work of the Department of Education and Culture?**

We are responsible for the education of all our children in Mozambique as well as the school children in the liberated areas inside Zimbabwe. There are more than 20,000 students here [in Mozambique] and not less than 300,000 in the liberated areas.

Sometimes I joke that I should be called

*continued on page 6*

organizations. We are setting up our own structures in the liberated areas in Zimbabwe. This is the phase of consolidation. It's decisive. We can't succeed without the cooperation of the masses.

All of our cadres have both political and military training and all are involved in mobilizing the masses.

**The Western media accuse ZANLA forces of intimidating the people and of being undisciplined. How is the behavior of ZANLA guerrillas controlled?**

The ZANLA disciplinary code guides us in all our operations. You're a party watchdog in the field. You must mix with the masses, be polite with them and not ill-treat them. You mustn't take anything by force. You must pay for what you get. You must not take liberties with women. These are only some of our rules. If you don't observe them you are liable to punishment. We're very strict.

We're a force fighting to liberate the people, with the interests of the people at heart. If we mistreat them we can't succeed. We can't determine when the war will end. So to sustain the support of the people we must observe these regulations.

**Have your forces, as some have accused, committed atrocities and killed missionaries?**

This is a horrifying thing. We've got our military court and we've been guarding against this all along.

The missionaries help us. They give us medicine and clothes. Why should we kill them?

We have learned that some of our greatest supporters are white. Many of the white farmers have contributed more to the armed struggle than some Africans. Smith even wondered why we hadn't attacked certain farms in the northeast. The white man who warned me where the enemy was appeared more comradely to me than my African brother who would report me to the enemy.

So it grew up in our minds that we are not fighting a racial war. We began to study who is our friend and who is our enemy. The number one enemy is the one who points a gun at us, regardless of color. We are fighting to abolish racism, to make all people equal. Skin color doesn't matter. If you are born in Zimbabwe you will share equally.

These massacres are carried out by Smith and the Selous Scouts to discredit us and to turn the whites against us. It's not only the missionaries who are murdered like this. Many teachers who support the armed struggle are killed and their deaths blamed on us. Troops in ZANLA uniforms come to the concentration camps and murder people.



Mugabe and Tongogara arriving at military camp

**There are often reports of fighting between the ZANU and ZAPU forces inside Zimbabwe. Are these accurate?**

There is no basis for fighting between us. This type of thing comes from Smith. He would like to put a wedge between us, would like us to split. It's the old tactic of divide and rule.

**In the West you personally are often pictured as being more radical than the political leadership in ZANU, as being a hard-line Marxist, and it has been suggested that this will lead to splits in ZANU. Can you comment?**

Maybe what they're saying is that Tongo is one of the consistent freedom fighters. I've been in this since the beginning. Probably because I had my military training in a socialist country (China, to be precise), they say I'm a Communist. Because we're happy to go to China, they say we're Chinese.

The imperialists never felt there would be armed struggle that would reach this stage in southern Africa. They know we have principles to have reached this stage, so they say it's Communism. I don't know what they mean by Communism. We have one pot, we eat together. Tongo doesn't have his own pot. If they want to interpret this as Communism, O.K.

I've stood firm in opposing Smith and will stand firm. I'm not an easy, compro-

mising chap.

They try to create divisions in ZANU that don't exist. I get my orders from Mugabe. I execute the orders from him.

**You are a pioneer in the armed struggle. How did you get involved and how did your thinking develop?**

I came to the struggle as a young boy. I was a member of the youth movement. I began my political involvement on a part-time basis and went for training in 1964.

I was influenced by the environment in which I grew up. I was born in a poor family. I would listen to my parents talk about poverty being imposed on them by a system run by a group of people who had invaded our country and taken our land. This kept growing in my mind and I decided that if I had power I would hit this system and knock it down. When I started reading revolutionary books, I discovered it was possible to fight a group of oppressors and turn things around.

My name means, "We just stay even if there are difficulties." My grandfather got that name when the colonizers passed through our land and he refused to move. He told them, "We'll stay even if you have to kill us." So that's the name I was given. I'm proud of this. So my name, my upbringing, have all helped to form my personal convictions. □

continued from page 4

the Secretary for Professional Begging because I spend much of my time begging for the materials we need. Smith keeps attacking our schools and destroying everything we have. I went to the United States Embassy in Maputo and only asked for 10,000 exercise books. They told me to come back. When I went back they told me that Congress said no.

### **What are the goals of the new educational system you are developing in the struggle?**

We want to destroy the colonial system that produced a colonial mentality. A culture has sprung up under the existing so-called education system that says the black man is inferior and knows nothing and the white man is superior and knows everything.

The method and content of colonial education are geared to produce a servile mentality. They are designed to enslave, not to develop the creative genius inherent in all people. The teacher presides like a medieval king over his servants, his vassals. They're imbeciles who know nothing, and he's a genius who knows everything.

Besides creating a colonial mentality, this system also creates a stratified society. A few Africans are allowed to enter this Western world through the kindness of their white educators.

In a colonial society whites cannot be poor or unemployed because this would destroy the myth of white superiority. The myth says that mental work is better and for whites, and manual work is dirty and for Africans. In this system students are punished for misbehavior by being given manual labor.

This has distorted our values and created a false concept of manual work.

### **What progress have you made in establishing this new system of education?**

We are still at the experimental stage. It would be wrong to give the impression that we have solved the problem. No, we recognize the problem. We know where we are, where we're going and the obstacles on the way. We have only started down the road, but we are fortunate to know from praxis the road to take.

We live under extremely difficult conditions in the camps and this is helping us. We live in the shadow of death and this bond unites us. It unites teachers and pupils and does away with stratified relations.

We see training as a triangle with physical education, study, and production as the three components. Study includes Shona, Ndebele and English because we want all people in Zimbabwe to be able to communicate together. Other subjects are math, geography, history, agricultural science, metalwork, carpentry and current affairs. We emphasize manual work and we



Like It Is/WABC-TV

### **These young refugees are among the thousands of children who need ZANU's education program**

would like to produce all our own food, but because of the raids we have to continually move our schools. We teach that all wealth comes from human labor and that to build a hut, for instance, is as important as to write an essay.

We want to transform totally the educational system in Zimbabwe. The first thing we will do is close all the prestigious institutions. We will reopen them on a firmer basis, in the interests of the masses.

### **How is culture being utilized in the struggle to build a new society?**

A new culture is springing up in the revolution. We are forced to adjust our ideas to new circumstances. For instance, it is important to note the role of women in the struggle. Formerly men were considered more important than women. Women were merely tools. But when you struggle together with women and see them sacrifice you can no longer hold these views. Some of our greatest heroes are women.

Colonialism brings about the destruction of a people's culture. In the process of acculturation, people are told that everything about their culture is ugly or bad. The communal aspects are played down, discouraged.

Colonialism encouraged individualism and the cult of personality. It fostered the concept of private ownership. The beautiful thing about our circumstances now is that none of us own anything. All is party pro-

perty for the good of everyone. We want to transfer this concept to an independent Zimbabwe where all things will belong to the whole people.

Culture is not static. We can't go back to the past but we want to promote the good aspects of our culture that were destroyed. Our songs are changing in the revolution. We don't sing about the weather and love anymore but about the heroes of the revolution, the assistance of the masses, the attacks of the enemy.

### **What kind of political education do young people receive?**

Our youth are highly politically motivated, but we try not to overfeed them with complex socialist things. It's not good just to theorize. They listen to Mugabe's speeches and ask questions about the struggle and the new society we are creating. The children eat together, play together and do everything communally, and the new values are expressed in their poems and essays.

### **How do you choose students for higher education?**

Together with the Department for Manpower Planning we have made a survey of our manpower needs. It is possible to win a military victory and be unprepared to take over, so we have made plans to educate our cadres in various fields. For instance, we have three pilots who we sent out in 1975

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# Extreme Coercion As Namibia Votes

*Namibia's churches—Lutheran, Catholic, Anglican, Congregational and African Methodist, and Episcopal—have wholeheartedly supported the UN Security Council plan to bring Namibia to independence. When the South African government announced in September its plans to hold its own elections in Namibia, disappointment and concern within the ranks of the churches was widespread.*

*As a result, 30 church representatives from six denominations addressed a joint letter of protest in early October to South Africa's Prime Minister Pieter Botha, in which the clergymen concluded that the internal elections would inevitably lead to escalated hostilities.*

*The church letter also took notice of the reports at the time of*

*numerous irregularities in the registration process. "This process has caused widespread fear and loss of confidence in your government's intentions," the clergymen stated. "As the registration has not been fair and free the elections cannot be fair and free."*

*Obviously the church letter infuriated many within South African ruling circles. Among those who sought to challenge the truth of the letter's accusations was the prime minister himself. "In case there has been any irregularity in connection with the registration of voters," Botha challenged, "anyone who has any evidence is free to bring it to the attention of the Administrator General." Botha added that at that time no such evidence had been forthcoming.*

*But the churches took up the challenge. One Anglican, Justin Ellis, began traveling throughout Namibia, compiling from church sources substantial evidence of registration irregularities.*

*Ellis's findings were published by the Christian Centre in Namibia on November 29, the same day Ellis, a white South African, was expelled from Namibia.*

*As is apparent from the large portions of the Ellis report we are publishing below, the level of coercion during the "electoral process" in Namibia was extremely high—so high, in fact, that the report concludes, "It can be said that the number of votes cast for any particular party must be considered a false indicator of public opinion in Namibia."*

*Practices and intimidation experienced during the registration of voters and during the pre-election period in Owambo and Kavango.*

1. Over the whole area people said they registered because of fear. When asked for particulars, one of the main reasons given for the fear was past experience with identity cards, DTA membership cards and the 1975 Owambo election:

1.1 A few years ago identity cards were issued. Many people did not want to have homeland identity cards, and pressure and intimidation were used to force people to apply for the cards. These must be carried at all times (in addition to the tribal tax receipts) on the body. Otherwise difficulties are experienced if the person is caught by the police or army.

1.2 DTA membership cards were issued in April-June 1978, just before the registration of voters started. Almost all people

received such cards. Word was spread that everybody must be in possession of this card in addition to the identity card and tax receipt.

Very soon it was evident that these cards were really compulsory. Example: On 4/24/1978 at Onamgolo in eastern Ondonga, a group of white and black soldiers went from house to house asking for the "papers." Namindo Kauluma, 42, showed soldiers his identity card and tax receipt. The soldiers then asked for his "Turnhalle" card. As he did not have it, the whites ordered a black soldier to beat him and tell him to get the Turnhalle card. The same happened to Jonas Kaufipa, 60, Johannes Kashiukile, and Petrus Shimhulu. All the people in this area then went to Oshigambo to fetch their DTA cards. Similar reports were received from other districts. Some reports even said soldiers and Owambo Home Guard members tore up the identity

cards and said the DTA card was sufficient.

Word was spread that persons without the DTA card would not receive medical treatment. DTA teams then went to hospitals or stood outside hospitals and issued cards to those coming for treatment. This was done at several places. As an example can be mentioned Onandjokwe Hospital where the DTA team first came onto the hospital premises, and when told to leave, stayed just outside the gate, during the last week of April and first week of May.

Intimidation also occurred in more public places, e.g. through the loudspeakers of a white Toyota Hi-Ace bus in passenger transport service between Oshakati and Onandjokwe, owned by a DTA organizer.

1.3 Intimidation was widely experienced during the 1975 Owambo elections, e.g. in Uukwauludhi the chief told his people that they would lose their plowing rights and shop licenses if they did not vote. The labor

**DTA organizer Nghihulifwa. . .told them that those who had not registered would be told to leave the country.**

**All the above information has been checked with various sources. Most people are afraid of giving their names as they fear they will get into trouble.**

bureau did not give labor contracts to people who did not have their identity cards marked after voting.

People now said that they registered only in order to safeguard themselves from similar difficulties, not because they wanted to. This was verified in many districts.

2. When the registration started, it was claimed to be in accordance with the Western proposals. This was said publicly over the radio. Many people said they registered in the belief that they would thus be able to vote in UN-controlled elections which were part of the proposals, but that they were soon disappointed when they heard Minister Ndjoba and others claim that the high registration figures were seen as evidence of the trust people had in the government and in the DTA.

3. Throughout the registration period Radio Owambo and Radio Kavango told people to register. DTA meetings were extensively covered and DTA speakers quoted daily. The speeches contained hidden and sometimes even direct threats: "Steps will be taken against those who do not vote"; "there is no place in this country for you if you do not register and vote." Several homeland ministers used these words, for example Thomas Akwenya Shikongo on Radio Owambo on 10/8/1978 at about 1400 hours.

4. Homeland ministers told chiefs and headmen that they must see to it that all people register—this was also done with regard to the DTA membership registration. All over there is evidence that people were told by their headmen to register.

Some headmen only told their people in a general manner that they should register. Some added "in order to avoid trouble." Some added "or steps might be taken against you." Some headmen went from house to house.

5. DTA leaders and organizers have on many occasions told people to register and also threatened them. Examples:

5.1 DTA organizer Nghihulifwa came upon a group of women attending a religious meeting at Okambebe in Uukwanyama and told them that those who had not registered would be told to leave the country.

5.2 Minister Thomas Shikongo of Ongandjera, on 7/7/1978 at a funeral in Oluteyi, said in his speech, "Now is the time to register. Register yourself, register, register! Something will happen to you if you do not register."

5.3 Minister, chief Josia Taapopi Shikongo of Uukwaluudhi, who already in 1975 was known for intimidatory tactics, has been threatening his people to the extent that they really fear for their lives and claim they do not dare to speak about the election if there are two or more people present. Teachers and nurses have been told that those who do not vote are for

SWAPO, will be punished, will lose their jobs, and will have to look for work with SWAPO. "When you vote, vote for DTA."

6. The Defense Force and Police combat units have been checking whether people have registered or not. In the beginning of the registration period, it was said that the registration cards should be left at home until the elections, but people soon realized that they must carry these cards as well, in addition to the other "human rights documents": the identity card, the tax receipt and the DTA card. Some examples:

6.1 At a road blockade on 10/11/1978 on the bridge between the black and the white townships at Oshakati, people on foot and in cars were asked for their registration cards as well and told to register soon if they had not done so yet.

6.2 At Okakulyu near Ondangwa a teacher was also asked for his registration card at a road blockade, and as he did not have such a card, was told to get one soon.

6.3 On 11/14/1978, between 9 and 11 a.m., immediately south of Engela, soldiers traveling with four armored cars asked travelers, shopowners and shoppers for their registration cards. One man from a nearby house was forced at gunpoint to fetch his card from his home.

6.4 Also on 11/14/1978, at a road blockade between Omafo and Odibo, travelers were requested to produce their registration cards. A priest and a teacher who did not have such cards were taken to a captain by a Lieutenant Visagie, who released them when he heard the radio had told people to keep their cards safely in their home.

6.5 In the Ondobe area, at Iilyateko ya Shapopi and Odjofima, people were rounded up during the first half of November and asked for registration cards by police and Owambo Home Guard units. Some people were beaten up, and one man was taken to the Oshigambo camp, because he could not produce this card, according to witnesses.

7. Army units have been distributing information material for the election, and in this connection also have threatened people. Example:

At Ongwediva church center, on 10/25/1978 at 3 p.m. army Unimog R 9117 stopped at the gate and distributed pamphlets, and a black soldier explained to the people who gathered there that those who had not registered and who did not vote would among other things not get petrol anymore, would not get medical treatment except perhaps at "Finnish" hospitals, but as the Finns would soon have to leave also, those services would later cease.

8. The army is supposed to be impartial with regard to party politics. However, in the Kavango, soldiers have been seen by many people greeting with the DTA sign. At Nkurenkuru an army Land Rover R

43024 was driving around for several weeks in October and November 1978 with a DTA sticker under the front windscreen.

9. Representatives of DTA and Aktur [an ultraconservative white group] have requested to see the registration cards of people. On Sunday, 11/19/1978, an Aktur organizer came to Mbeyo, 60 km south of Rundu, and went from house to house requesting to see the DTA cards and registration cards of all the people in the village, then . . . issued Aktur membership cards and handed all the other cards back to the people.

10. At Onawa in the Ombalantu area, old people gathered on 7/4/1978 to receive their old age pensions. The officials paying the pensions came there together with a registration team and an army escort. People then first had to register and then received their pensions. According to the local pastor, one person was turned away by the pension officials as he had declined to register.

11. Oshakati Post Office employees were on 9/18/1978 shown a cable stating that all post office employees must register. On that very day all employees of that post office went in turns to register.

12. Several children under the age of 18 have registered. One girl of 16, daughter of an ELOC pastor, said the registration team came to the school, and pupils who looked big enough were told to register.

13. At Okahao Hospital nurses were surprised when people coming for medical treatment produced their registration cards. The patients were in turn very surprised when they heard that the cards need not be produced, as they had previously heard that they would not get medical treatment if they had not registered.

14. Refugees from Angola have registered in great numbers in the Kavango area. The names of registered refugees will not be mentioned for fear of incriminating people who acted out of fear, feeling that they had no choice. If a judicial commission is appointed to look into this matter, these names will be produced.

In the beginning, the registration officials asked people where they were born and how long they had stayed in the country, but soon all people were registered without discrimination. The Kavango population has almost doubled since 1975. All people who earlier stayed on the northern bank of the border river are now on the southern side. Some of these were born on the SWA/Namibia side, some had been working here. It was also very common for people in the border areas to pay tax on both sides of the border. However, there are also refugees from central Angola now on the SWA/Namibia side.

14.1 All people in Kavango have registered, with few exceptions.

14.2 Information received in various

villages shows that among those who have registered there are many who were not born in Namibia, or who have not stayed here for the required four years (refugees started coming in 1976). Many of the people who have registered have names like Domingue, Antonio, de Moura, Mario, Jao, Fancinico, Armando, Diniz, etc.

14.3 Some refugees apparently gave wrong information, but in most cases people said they were never asked. An example: on 7/27/1978 the registration team came to Rupara Hospital. The staff and all patients there were registered without discrimination. Among the patients there were several who according to law should not have been entitled to register, but nobody asked them.

14.4 On the basis of information received from various villages, and on the basis of population figure estimates before 1975 and in 1978, it can be estimated that more than one-third of all the people who registered in Kavango came from Angola. Even if some of them were born here and some have been working here, it is estimated that at least one-quarter of all people who have registered in that area were not, according to law, entitled to do so. This is confirmed by the high registration participation in the Kavango, which was already at an early stage of the registration process much in excess of the estimates, which were also set quite high.

14.5 In Owambo, some refugees did also register, including three men who came as late as in August 1978. However, in Owambo it seems the authorities turned away most of the refugees from the registration centers, and headmen in many villages told the refugees that they may not register.

15. Transport was arranged, e.g. in the Ongandjera area, for people to register. Trucks just drove up to shops and people who had not registered were told to climb onto the trucks and proceed to registration.

16. Enclosed are photocopies of two letters, anonymous, distributed to pastors in Owambo.

One of the letters, "Aasita nopolotika" (Pastors and politics), states:

"The registration by many people shows that the people of SWA/Namibia want to choose their own people.

"You pastors who oppose the election and want to forbid it, where will you stay once the election is behind and freedom is there?"

It should be noted that these letters are written on a particularly expensive typewriter.

Note: All the above information has been checked with various sources. Pastors, church leaders and secretaries do have the names of many witnesses, and can still report about more incidents. Most people are afraid of giving their names as they fear they will get into trouble. □

Over the whole area people said they registered because of fear.

The soldiers then asked for his "Turnhalle" card. As he did not have it, the whites ordered a black soldier to beat him. . .

# The Words of a Mercenary



Allied Artists

**Mercenary Hoare: I am a pan Africanist**

Just prior to the American premier of the British-South African film, "The Wild Geese," mercenary Michael Hoare spoke with various members of the press, including Southern Africa's Malik Stan Reaves. Hoare had served as technical adviser to the film.

In the early 60's, "Mad Mike" became one of the most notorious white mercenaries to have served in Africa. During the 1964 Congo crisis, his mercenary forces served as a major pillar of support for Katanga secessionist Moise Tshombe, who opposed both indigenous and UN forces. A rabid anti-communist, he considered Tshombe's Katanga "a model multi-racial society."

Later during 1964-65, Hoare's mercenary forces, reportedly largely South Africans, spearheaded the suppression of the "Simba Rebellion" that had swept across the Con-

go, threatening the Western-dominated Mobutu-Tshombe government. "It was obvious that the Americans were paying large portions of our wages," Hoare said later. During those campaigns, his men killed more than 10,000 Africans, according to veteran UN correspondent Winston Berry, who covered the Congo crisis.

Hoare was also implicated in gun-running to Biafran secessionists, and he admits to having offered to raise a mercenary force for the Biafrans as well. "I wanted more money for the men," Hoare has said, "and the rebels said they didn't have it." He also mobilized 500 mercenaries to assist Mobutu during the first Shaba uprising in 1977. That force wasn't used either, he says.

Daniel Gearhardt, the CIA-paid, American mercenary who was executed for crimes he had committed during the 1975

Angolan war, was reportedly tied to Hoare's organization, the Wild Geese Club. Hoare, however, denies any involvement.

During the interview, excerpts of which appear below, "Mad Mike" revealed himself as more than just a marauding bandit. ("I get a lot of offers to overthrow governments," he recently told one reporter.) His cagey analysis of the military and political situation in South Africa reeks of imperialist apologia yet reflects a keen awareness of the limitations of white minority rule.

**While the movie "The Wild Geese," draws inspiration from your experiences, it is interesting that it does not mention the Wild Geese Club, which I understand has been in existence for some time. Can you tell me about that?**

Well, what happened is that I called one of my units [in the Congo] the Wild Geese, and I gave them a badge. That was just to give us an identity. Then later we formed a club in Johannesburg for the men to get together and talk about old times. We called that the Wild Geese Club.

Basically it is a social club but obviously it would have other uses. If we knew that all the men were going to gather there every Friday, and we put out the word that possibly there was a role for them, they would all be there, and that would provide an opportunity to see who was available. It could have that role as well.

**In your assessment, why is the war going so badly in Rhodesia?**

Well, I wouldn't agree that it is going badly. Certainly the war has stepped up. There can be no arguing about that. Their basic problem is a lack of manpower.

**Well, do you think that a massive mercenary infusion would make a difference?**

No, no, definitely not. We're not dealing with a Congo-type situation there. Having had experience in Malaya, I feel there is no winner [in this type of insurgency]. To hold down one insurgent requires 20 men. The very nature of guerrilla operations is such that you can never have sufficient men. That's looking at it from the terrorist side.

*continued on page 28*

# More Arms Smuggling to South Africa Exposed



A Vermont grand jury is currently investigating charges that Space Research Corporation, a US-Canadian munitions company, has been violating the arms embargo by smuggling military supplies to South Africa. Various other law enforcement agencies in at least three countries, Britain, Canada, and the US, are also now engaged in examining the company's activities, which apparently involved shipping special cannon shells from its plant on the Canadian-US border to St. John, New Brunswick in Canada, and then on via the Caribbean to South Africa.

Based in an area that stretches from North Troy, Vermont, to Highwater, Quebec, the 10,000-acre Space Research site actually straddles the border with Canada, and the company is incorporated in both countries. It was in Canada that the first hints of the company's illegal activities surfaced.

In 1977, Patriotic Front leader Joshua Nkomo, while on a visit to Canada, alleged that more than 900 tons of arms were being shipped from New Brunswick via Antigua in the Caribbean to South Africa for final delivery to Rhodesia. Reporters who in-

vestigated the charge found that Space Research was implicated, but William Friend, the company's vice president at that time, denied any wrong doing on the company's part. He claimed that Space Research was only shipping empty shells to its testing sites in Antigua and Barbados, and that it was pure coincidence that the shells were transported on South African shipping lines.

Despite these denials the Canadian government ordered an investigation, and a team from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police arrived in Antigua. When the Mounties returned, they said they had been unable to uncover any evidence of the charges, and the case was apparently closed.

## Hunt Continued

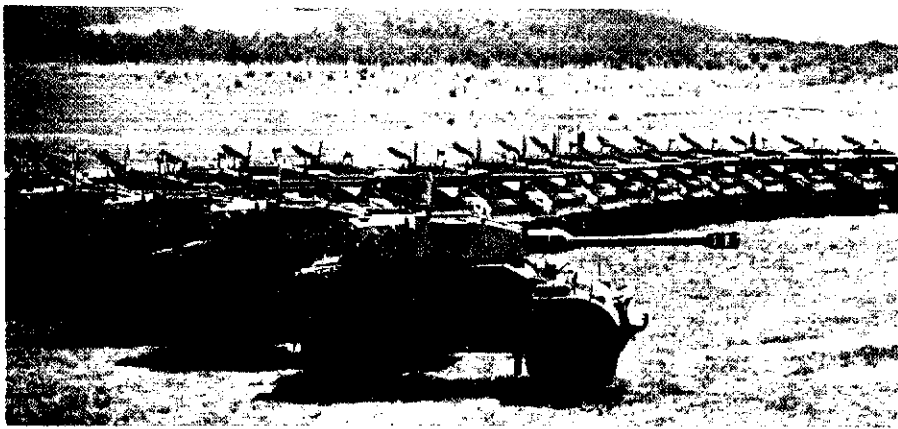
Fortunately, not everyone gave up so easily. In Antigua the Antigua Workers' Union continued to protest the shipments. It also began seeking contacts with outside groups such as the Urban League, which received a letter in March 1978 detailing the illicit trade and asking for support to terminate the violations.

In Canada staff of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation set out to track down more carefully the allegations. Their investigations took them to many places, including Antigua, Washington, southern Africa, Belgium and Spain. They worked for months, carefully checking out each new lead, and as the task grew too unwieldy for them to manage alone, they eventually began collaborating with a team from the British Broadcasting Corporation.

The results, a powerful and carefully documented indictment of Space Research Corporation, were broadcast to television audiences in Canada, Britain, and the US in November.

The investigation had unearthed an elaborate arms-smuggling scheme, by means of which Space Research Corporation was supplying South Africa with munitions, including extended-range cannon shells, manufactured in its North Troy, Vermont plant. Interviews with port and shipping officials and the close scrutiny of shipping documents had enabled the investigating team to trace several of the shipments in great detail.

In several cases Space Research shipped



**South Africa's already mighty army is being further strengthened by Space Research Canon Shells**

equipment through its nearest Canadian port, St. John, New Brunswick, down to Antigua. Supposedly this was material to be tested at the company's test range on the island

But in fact the equipment did not stay in Antigua. In one documented incident, cases containing artillery shells and other equipment were loaded onto the SS Tugelaland, which then sailed for South Africa.

On another journey, the Tugelaland, which is owned by Safmarine, a major South African shipping line, picked up 32 containers for Space Research in New Brunswick, but only offloaded 12 containers in Antigua; 10,000 shells which were on board went on to South Africa. And in another case 21,000 shells made their way from Canada to Spain, and then on to South Africa, aboard a Dutch freighter.

The shells Space Research produces are designed for the 155 mm cannon, the most widely used big gun in the world and a strategic weapon in the South African arsenal. The guns were reportedly used in attacks on Namibian refugee camps in Angola and Zambia and in South Africa's 1975 invasion of Angola. While some sources believe that the South Africans may be producing the gun, most agree that they do not make the shells for it.

John Stockwell pointed out in his book, *In Search of Enemies*, that in 1975 the South Africans asked the US to supply ammunition for their 155 mm howitzers. Space Research makes the best 155 mm shells in the world; they have a range of 40 miles, 30-50 percent greater than others currently in use.

#### **Renewed Government Interest**

One result of the TV cameras' energetic pursuit of the arms smugglers has been a burst of official interest in the company's activities. In addition to the Justice Department lawyers who are presenting evidence against Space Research before the Vermont grand jury, US Customs officials are con-

sidering possible violations of customs codes and State Department regulations besides sanctions violations. There is talk of possible Congressional hearings, and after screening one of the documentaries on the subject, UN sanctions committees have urged a full investigation into Space Research.

Despite its consistent denials of arms smuggling or any wrong doing, Space Research may have been dealt its most damaging blow from within. A local Vermont paper, the *Rutland Herald*, reported in early December that an unidentified official of the firm "is prepared to testify" that the firm shipped thousands of artillery shells via Montreal to South Africa in June 1976, and purposely mislabeled them as "machine parts."

This testimony would mark the first breach in Space Research's wall of silence on the arms smuggling charges. Officials have always maintained, heretofore, that their shipments and operations have been solely related to the testing of high altitude projectiles for satellite-launching research.

The firm's head, Dr. Gerald Bull, originally based the company's work in Canada and the Caribbean on a theory that large, long-range artillery guns could be adapted to launch missiles and satellites into orbit. While at McGill University in Montreal, Bull headed a project called HARP (high altitude research project) designed to give Canada an inexpensive space program. It was financed by McGill, the Canadian government, and the US military.

When funds ran out in 1968, Bull set up Space Research, Inc. As of 1975, the year the call went out from South Africa for 155 mm shells, Bull had over 250 employees, according to *Business Week*, and expected revenues of \$12-25 million, largely in US Defense Department contracts.

#### **Military Ties**

From its inception, Space Research has

been tied closely to the US military and intelligence communities through its board of directors. One director, Gen. Arthur B. Trudeau, is listed in *Who's Who in the CIA*, and is a former head of Army intelligence. Trudeau also headed Army Research and Development until 1962, just before Army R&D began funding Bull's HARP.

Another director, Gen. Barksdale Hamlett, is president of Norwich University, the oldest military college in the US. Through other board members, the firm is interlocked with Ittek, a company that provided the surveillance equipment for Francis Gary Power's U-2 spy flights in the 1950s. Ittek apparently has a long history of CIA involvement.

Bull was considered a brilliant young scientist, having conceived and run the HARP project when he was only 34. His improvements on the 155 mm ammunition have considerable value for the armies of South Africa and Rhodesia because they make it possible to amplify the power of older weaponry by simply extending its range.

In addition to the new, longer-range shells, two other new types of shells are now available for the 155 mm cannon. "Smart bombs" or copperheads are laser-directed missiles of extremely high accuracy, which were widely used in Vietnam. In addition, 155 mm shells can now be equipped with nuclear warheads.

While Bull was still at McGill, he set up a testing site for HARP on Barbados. After incorporating Space Research, the site remained in Bull's hands, and he added a new range on Antigua after Barbados achieved its independence.

The Antiguan workers have consistently opposed Space Research arms shipments and have helped release a mass of information, mainly through the Caribbean press, which has detailed the shipments and charged collusion on the part of the Antiguan colonial government. The union also alleges that the Antiguan government had given permission to Space Research "to store, test and tranship arms from Antigua to Rhodesia via South Africa."

According to the union, Antiguan officials allowed South Africans to come to the island and to test the arms prior to shipping. Popular discontent, which sought an end to the shipments, was reportedly met with harsh government treatment: meetings were banned and individual activists were arrested.

The union responded with a boycott of Space Research shipments, but, according to the union, the government countered by ordering the police and military to offload the goods.

Pressure built up, however, over the year

*continued on page 29*

## Dirty Linen Gets Washed in Public



Rhodiegate investigators, headed by Judge R. Erasmus (right)

It has taken more than six months for enough evidence to leak out so that the pieces in South Africa's Department of Information scandal began to fit together. A three-judge commission headed by Judge Rudolph Erasmus and hand-picked by Prime Minister Pieter Botha needed exactly one month of secret sessions to dispose of the evidence and issue clean bills of moral health for both Botha and former Prime Minister John Vorster.

Right on schedule, as South Africa's all-white parliament prepared to convene in a virtually unprecedented special session to discuss the scandal, the commission announced in early December that Botha's "hands are clean in every respect and his integrity remains unblemished for his great task as Prime Minister." This gave the cue for parliament to ring down the curtain on the scandal and for Botha to step up a counterattack against the nation's opposition press.

As Botha railed against "gossip mongering" and vowed to push through a law that

sources, nervous critics of the regime began to warn that the end result of months of exposes might be a hamstrung press reduced to parroting the official government line. A curiously fitting end, those with a taste for irony might add. For that is precisely what the now-abolished Department of Information was created to produce in the first place.

### The Paper Chase

The government's efforts to find mouthpieces to sell its apartheid policies at home and abroad lie at the heart of the entire scandal. It was to that end that former Minister of Information Connie Mulder installed a man named Eschel Rhodie as head of the Department of Information in 1972 and provided him with at least \$73 million in secret funds over a five-year period.

Where did all that money go? By far the largest sum went directly into a campaign to bring to heel the South African English-

speaking press, which is now feeling the heat from Botha. First, the Department of Information put up nearly \$20 million for an attempt to buy liberal editorial policy. When that didn't work, the department started its own English-language daily, with nearly \$15 million in government funds, with an editorial "charter" pledging support for "the fact of pluralism in South Africa," and with fertilizer magnate Louis Luyt as front man.

That did work. Two years later, *The Citizen* is still losing money hand-over-fist (to the tune of \$460,000 a month). But it also boasts a white readership equal to that of the *Rand Daily Mail* and has been widely credited with helping to build the National Party's landslide victory in last year's elections by winning over many English-speaking voters.

Certainly the government seems satisfied with the content of the paper. Thousands of free copies are distributed regularly to the armed forces, including 2,000 "donated" each week to "boys on the border" who are

fighting against SWAPO.

Johannesburg wasn't the only place where the South African government was prepared to invest heavily in journalism. According to information by the *Rand Daily Mail*, the Department of Information also shelled out an \$11.5 million loan to right-wing American publisher John McGoff to help him buy the *Washington Star* (*Southern Africa*, Jan.-Feb. 1978). Although the deal never went through, McGoff held onto the money for several years, finally repaying it with interest only last January.

And even as the South African government was setting up the stage props for its recent "election" in Namibia, the former editors of two formerly anti-government newspapers charged that Department of Information funds had helped buy papers earlier this year for German publisher Dieter Lauenstein. Lauenstein denied that the government had bankrolled his purchase. He insisted that it was merely coincidence that he hired a former *Citizen* reporter to replace one of the fired editors. But one thing was clear—the two papers reversed their editorial stance and swung around to support the pro-government Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in the months preceding the elections in Namibia.

#### Funding Foundations

The newspaper business was by no means the only object of the Department of Information's attentions. Money was also used to establish the ostensibly private South African Freedom Foundation and pay its director's salary. The foundation spends its money to bring influential Western political and business figures on tours of South Africa. Other government funds to set up a supposedly private public-relations firm, Thor Communications, and to place pro-South African advertisements in newspapers around the world. Where the rest of it went may never be known in detail. Botha's judicial commission said 137 other projects could not be described on grounds of national security.

Yet it was none of these efforts to buy public support for apartheid which landed the department in hot water. The glare of media attention first settled on the Department of Information because of stories about extravagant entertainment and trips, including one excursion in which Rhodie jetted from New York to the West Coast of the U.S. to "evaluate" the services of a typist.

Soon investigators realized that the secret slush fund used to pay for jaunts to California and staff weekends in the Seychelles Islands was just the petty cash account on a massive secret budget. It was only then that the whole scheme began to unravel. And it was only then that what the press began referring to as "Rhodiegate" became a major battleground for the struggle be-

tween the government and its press critics, between the apartheid regime and its liberal white opposition, and finally between factions within the ruling National Party itself.

#### Truth and Consequences

Already the scandal has cost both Rhodie and the former head of South Africa's secret police their jobs. More than that, it has brought down Rhodie's boss, former Minister of Information Connie Mulder. Only a year ago, Mulder was considered a shoo-in to succeed John Vorster as prime minister one day. Two months ago, Mulder lost out by a mere 20 votes when the National Party caucus elected someone to replace Vorster after the former Prime Minister stepped down.

Now, Mulder has been forced to resign not only from his cabinet post but from leadership of the National Party's dominant Transvaal section.

But Mulder didn't go quietly. Before he stepped down, he used the front page of *The Citizen* to warn that he had no intention of being hung out to twist slowly, slowly in the wind (a la John Mitchell). The paper declared that Rhodie and Mulder could both play the role of Samson "and pull down the pillars of government if necessary."

The biblical metaphor fitted the style of a man always meticulously titled "Dr. Mulder" in the South African press on the basis of a doctoral thesis detailing the influence of the Bible on the Afrikaner character.

The threat gained further weight when Mulder used his still considerable power in the Transvaal section of the National Party to help install ultra-conservative Andries Treurnicht as his successor at the head of the party's dominant bloc.

#### Botha Implicated

Prime Minister Botha appears anxious to head off a widening split in the ranks of the National Party. And well he might. For there are strong indications that he might himself be one of the "pillars of government" Mulder is in a position to topple. Even the judicial commission that appointed him as "clean hands Piet" was forced to concede that Botha had been less than forthcoming when he insisted that no money from the Defense Ministry, which he headed for 12 years, had found its way into the Department of Information's accounts. The commission exonerated him by saying that it "went against the grain" to have to tell anything less than the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The commission, though, avoided saying that Botha flat-out lied, but newspapers have reported that most of the money used to start up *The Citizen* actually came out of the Defense Ministry's own secret funds.

Newspaper accounts further suggest that former Prime Minister John Vorster could

also be a rather shaky pillar himself. While Vorster has insisted that he knew nothing about the government money behind *The Citizen*, Louis Luyt claims that he was picked as the paper's first publisher by none other than Vorster. And reporters have included Vorster's name along with those of Mulder and Hendrik van den Bergh, former head of the Bureau of State Security, on the list of top government leaders who "evaluated" various Department of Information projects.

#### International repercussions

The impact of the scandal could eventually be felt well beyond National Party circles. The most dramatic connection and the one that makes government officials most nervous is the suggested link between the Department of Information affair, large-scale currency smuggling, and two as-yet unsolved murders.

Despite all the talk about "smoking guns," the Watergate scandal was distinctly short on corpses. But the South African police have a couple on their hands—those of South Africa's former ambassador to the International Monetary Fund, Robert Smit, and his wife. Reports have suggested that Smit was just about to blow the whistle on a massive currency smuggling operation, perhaps involving high officials, when he wound up dead. Several months after that theory surfaced, police have floated a bizarre counter-theory. They have suggested that members of Germany's Red Army Faction killed Smit on contract. At the same time, they have not ruled out the possibility of a link to the current scandal.

If those charges prove true, they could seriously damage South Africa's credit rating on the international loan market. Foreign capital is essential to the nation's economic growth, and government officials have worked desperately hard to reopen the loan and investment flow, which had dwindled to a trickle immediately after the Soweto uprising in 1976.

The importance of foreign funds to the survival of apartheid was underlined by the Department of Information's major foreign operations. And the pivotal role of the United States is highlighted by the Department of Information's substantial American connections.

From the time that Rhodie was appointed as head of the Department, he moved quickly to transform the once-stodgy ministry into a dynamic lobbying machine abroad. And he made the United States his prime target.

Rhodie immediately boosted the number of foreign representatives by a third, linked the Pretoria headquarters with overseas offices by direct telex lines, and instituted training courses for all information officials.

The campaign's first big coup in the US was Mulder's two-week visit in January



# You Can't Tell the Players Without. . .

## A Who's Who of Rhodiegate

Rhodiegate, Muldergate, Informationgate. Whatever they choose to call it, the temptation to compare South Africa's Department of Information scandal to Watergate has proven virtually irresistible to reporters both in South Africa and the United States. And the similarities are indeed striking in many respects—above all perhaps, in the use of the press as a weapon in struggles within the ruling elite.

The similarities even extend to the roles played by many of the characters in the two scandals. For instance, the Department of Information scandal features:

- Playing the role of G. Gordon Liddy, **Eschel Moster Rhodie**. Former Secretary of Information who directed and initiated many secret projects. Frequently referred to in the press as "swashbuckling" etc. Frequently quoted in the press saying, "No comment." Frequently credited in the press as the inventor of various schemes going collectively under the name of "Rhodiegate."

- Playing the part of John Dean, **Retief van Rooyen**. A Pretoria lawyer and former director of a Department of Information front organization, Thor Communications. Later spilled detailed information about the scandal to Judge Anton Mostert while maintaining contritely, "I personally want nothing to do with this whole thing."

- Playing the part of Archibald Cox, **Judge Anton Mostert**. Appointed as a one-man commission to investigate exchange control irregularities, he refused to obey instructions from the prime minister to keep his findings secret. Promptly became the victim of a Tuesday night massacre in which Prime Minister Pieter Botha fired him from the investigation in the middle of the night and seized all evidence he had collected.

- Playing the role of Richard Kleindeinst, **Hendrik van den Bergh**. As head of the Bureau for State Security, served as an evaluator of Department of Information projects . . . and was later charged with investigating them. Reportedly promised to plod through project-by-project and "drag the whole thing out until such time as it was dead."

- Playing the role of John Mitchell, **Connie Mulder**. Trusted second in command of Prime Minister John Vorster, he was the cabinet minister directly responsible for the



Department of Information. When the scandal broke, was cut adrift, finally fingered as the prime culprit in a judicial report.

- In the role of Bebe Rebozo, **Louis Luyt**. A businessman selected by Vorster to front for the government in ownership of a newspaper, he subsequently sold half of the company that owned his jet airplane to another government-front organization for use on many secret missions. Showed understanding of a rudimentary class analysis by telling Eschel Rhodie, "I don't work for people like you, I hire people like you." Stated to Mostert Commission that he is still holding millions in government money.

Other key figures include:

- **Jan van Zyl Alberts**. Managing director of *The Citizen* and publisher of *To The Point* magazine. Long-time associate of top government officials, dating back to his internment as a Nazi sympathizer during World War II. (Other interns included former Prime Minister John Vorster and former BOSS head Hendrik van den Bergh.) Director of McGoff publishing enterprises in the US and partner of John McGoff in publishing in South Africa and Bophuthatswana. Also co-owner of a farm with McGoff, Mulder, Eschel Rhodie and his two brothers.

- **John McGoff**. Right-wing American publisher and good friend of Mulder, Rhodie and van Zyl Alberts. Allegedly tried to purchase the *Washington Star* with South African government money.

The only role still up for grabs is the big one, the one that earns a lifetime vacation in San Clemente. And that one may have to be shared, by:

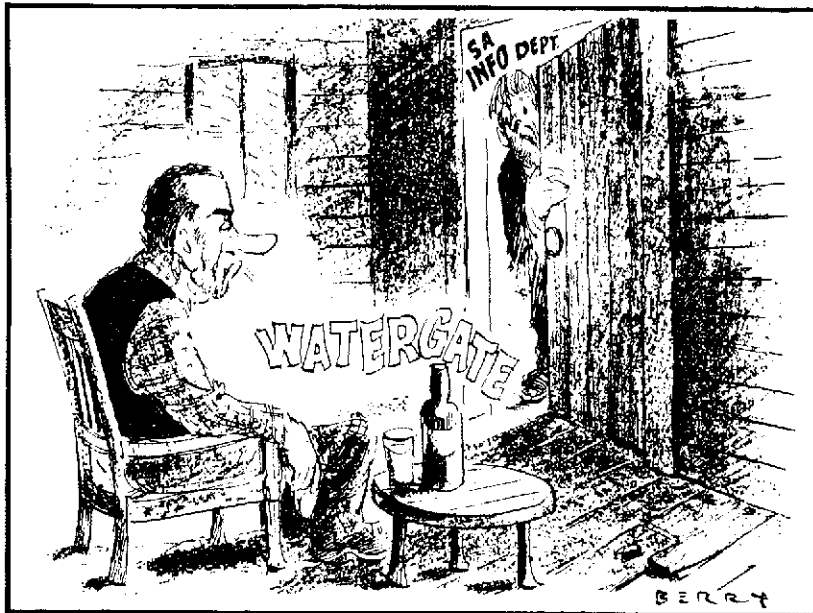
- **John Vorster**. Former prime minister, developed health problems just before the scandal broke wide-open and was kicked upstairs to serve as president.

- **Pieter W. Botha**. Now serving as Vorster's successor as prime minister. Fired Judge Anton Mostert from investigation. Secret funds from his Ministry of Defense allegedly were used to start *The Citizen*. After denying any knowledge of this, launched an attack on the press, warning that "if the law is not strong enough for the press I will change the law."

Tune in later to see who wins the starring role. □

Seven of the characters (from top to bottom): General Van Den Bergh, Connie Mulder, Louis Luyt, Anton Mostert, John McGoff, Eschel Rhodie, Prime Minister Piet Botha

# The US End of the Scandal



Mind if I join you?

South Africa's Rhodiagate scandal has rocked that country for months. But American reporters have virtually ignored the involvement of American politicians in secret projects financed by the South African Department of Information.

In late November, the Nationalist government admitted that the Department of Information had advanced money to the Foreign Affairs Association and the South African Freedom Foundation to fund visits to South Africa by foreign politicians. The Foreign Affairs Association was set up in the spring of 1975, after the department of Information discovered that the US Constitution forbids members of Congress from accepting trips paid by foreign governments.

When nine members of the House of Representatives visited South Africa under the auspices of the Foreign Affairs Association in 1975, the Information Department denied any link with the visits. Some State Department officials at the time admitted that the Information Department was probably behind the trips, but they said there was no firm proof available.

Now Pretoria admits that the Foreign Affairs Association received a 70 percent government subsidy. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who has assumed command of the functions of the defunct Information Department, closed down the association in late November.

The South African Freedom Foundation, which still operates in South Africa, funded a trip to South Africa last summer for Meldrim Thompson while he was governor of New Hampshire.

Investigation and action by either the house Ethics Committee of the Department of Justice is a possibility. Current House members involved in these trips include: William Whitehurst (Va.), Phil Crane (Ill.), Robert Wilson and Clair Burgener (Calif.), Richard Ichord (Mo.), and Harold Runnels (N.M.).

The illegally financed trips may be only the tip of the iceberg of secret South African government activity in the US. Government and press inquiries in South Africa have disclosed only a few of 138 secret projects. A special committee recommended to Prime Minister Botha in

December that 56 of these projects be continued. The government commission headed by Judge Erasmus decided at the same time to send two special prosecutors to unnamed foreign countries to uncover money dispensed by the Department of Information.

Meanwhile, the South African government is expanding its open activities in the United States. South African payments to deKieffer & Associates, Washington lobbyists, and Sydney Baron & Co., a New York public relations firm, more than doubled in the first half of 1978. They totaled \$236,245 and \$450,000 respectively. Sydney Baron now operates on South Africa's behalf in Chicago as well as New York through Arlene Shattil, its project coordinator there. The South African government will also soon open its seventh US consulate in Houston.

Six-month reports filed with the Justice Department by Baron and deKieffer reveal little about how these huge amounts of money are being spent. But wooing American businessmen, who will in turn serve as lobbyists for South Africa, is one part of the public relations role. The only specific project cited by both firms during the first half of 1978 was a \$41,400 seminar for 250 "business and financial leaders" held in Houston last spring.

These firms carry out another important function in making and nurturing contacts with influential Americans for South African government officials and supporters. Sydney Baron's company, for example, arranged a luncheon and reception for Finance Minister Heunis with businessmen, religious leaders and the financial press, and set up a meeting between Dr. Christiaan Barnard and AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Baron also said it opposed the Tsongas Amendment which would have ended all Export-Import Bank financing for South Africa, but gave no details as to his methods.

The contract with deKieffer & Associates was taken over by the Bureau of National and International Communications of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs in July, when the Department of Information was closed down. □

Johannesberg Star

1974, when he managed to see a number of highly placed Americans, including then-Vice President Gerald Ford and leaders of both parties in Congress.

Three months later, Mulder's department hired a Washington, D.C. law firm with solid Republican connections to press its case on Capitol Hill. Through 1977, the firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill and Edwards banked \$270,000 for its efforts and was

reimbursed more than \$100,000 for entertainment and publication expenses.

South Africa boosted its American campaign further in March 1976, hiring a New York public relations firm known for its Democratic Party ties. Sydney S. Baron and Company has already pocketed \$1.2 million for its efforts and will receive \$200,000 more before its current contract expires at the end of March.

All of these expenditures are dwarfed by the amount the Department was willing to put up to help John McGoff buy the *Washington Star* as an outlet for pro-South African "objective" journalism. That transaction highlights both the ties South Africa has fostered with right-wing publishing circles in the U.S. and the importance it attaches to wooing an American public, which may be considered particular-

ly susceptible to white supremacist dogma.

Although the deal for the *Star* was never consummated, McGoff already owns more than 70 small and medium-sized newspaper across the country. He had admitted trying to buy the *Rand Daily Mail* and was an early candidate for the role later taken by Louis Luyt as the front for government funding of *The Citizen*. Even without those two aborted enterprises, he has numerous connections in South Africa, including a partnership with the present publisher of *The Citizen* in printing enterprises in Pretoria and Bophuthatswana, and a farm shared with Connie Mulder.

McGoff insists that he sized up *The Citizen* as a financial loser and steered clear of it, but two other Americans have been listed as participants in the paper's ownership. One of them, David Witts, a former member of the Texas state legislature, heads the Dallas firm of Witts, Vanberg and Wilson. The other is Beurt SerVaas, chairman of the Indianapolis-based Curtis Publishing Company and co-author with his wife Cory of a collection of articles entitled, "South Africa: Nothing But the Truth." Those articles first appeared in the Curtis Publishing-owned and Cory SerVaas-edited *Saturday Evening Post*. They were promptly reprinted and distributed in the US by the South African Information Service.

### Meaning Within Meaning

Discerning any pattern or probable outcome to the scandal though the blizzard of details is difficult. It helps to remember that the scandal has developed in a system where political and economic power have co-existed as uniquely distinct yet symbiotic blocs since the National Party took over the government following World War II. The intensity of conflict between those blocs has now reached unprecedented proportions. This can be seen in the government's drive through *The Citizen* to wean English-speaking whites away from their traditional domination by a business elite, enmeshed through mining and manufacturing interests, with multinational corporations. And it can be seen even more clearly in the counterattack via exposure of the scandal in the opposition press. But the complexity of white social and political alignments is reflected in the unprecedented division within Afrikaner ranks which has seen segments of the National Party and the Afrikaner press take up the cry.

It is uncertain whether the furor will lead to any realignment in power relations within the white community. With Prime Minister Botha now trying to orchestrate a "backlash" and clamp down on his opponents, a retrenchment of the previous truce under even more stringent govern-

ment control remains a distinct possibility. Already Botha has lashed out at the independence of the judiciary by firing the first judge appointed to investigate exchange-control violations and by seizing all evidence he had collected.

Regardless of the outcome, however, the eruption of the conflict into the open indicates the increased urgency that those in power attach to government strategy as black resistance mounts.

As June Goodwin reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* in November, "The scandal...is temporarily overshadowing the concern over neighboring Namibia where South Africa is fighting a low-key guerrilla war.

"But in the midst of the scandal came a reminder of the guerrilla war: Police reported clashes with guerrillas in South Africa itself.

"One policeman was injured October 30 and on November 1 police were still trying to track down three armed guerrillas who they say most likely came over the border from neighboring Botswana.

"Minister of Police James Kruger said on television that a trained unit of 'terrorists' was poised to enter South Africa. He said he had predicted infiltration in October and November." □

## Guerrilla Activity Heating Up in Northern South Africa

(Editor's Note: All quotes from the South African press except where indicated.)

In the wake of the continuing liberation of vast stretches of land in Rhodesia, the neighboring northern Transvaal region of South Africa seems to be witnessing increased guerrilla activity.

It is, admittedly, extremely difficult to gauge exactly how large this threat is. The reported incidents range from two direct clashes with security forces to at least six unexplained murders of whites in lonely outlying areas. In addition, caches have been found of weapons, always reported as Russian-made arms, along with numerous claimed "sightings" of armed blacks.

Some of the reports reflect panic brought on by racism. One man, for example, who lost two fingers in a struggle with an armed attacker, is reported to "believe the attacker intended to bayonet Mr. Kleinhaus and then possibly rape Mrs. Kleinhaus,

before bayonetting her as well." Some of the reported violence may be an off-shoot of the war and chaos across the border in Rhodesia.

But, the logic of the liberation struggles in southern Africa for the last two decades has shown that the liberation of territory in each country has helped provide bases and other conditions for the advancement of the struggle in still-unliberated neighboring countries.

The South African security police have regularly denied that those involved are guerrillas—except, of course, for those, who attack security forces. Police denials have, in some cases, been self-contradictory and slightly strange:

"Police yesterday rejected a newspaper report suggesting that a terrorist gang held up a truck driver with machine guns 10 miles from Pretoria on Monday morning, and said it was a gang of stock thieves that were being hunted. . . Brig. Nothnagel

confirmed that police had set up road blocks and conducted an intensive search after initial reports that a bakery truck was held up by black men armed with machine guns. . .

"He described the report about the holding up of the truck as false and said, 'The whole incident is a matter of stock theft and we are now looking for four stock thieves. I can say no more at this stage.' "

One farmer quipped, "We have no terrorists here. Across the river there are terrorists, but when they cross the river they are merely robbers. Or that is what the police and military tell us."

Who are the guerrillas? Press and police reports point to the ANC and PAC. The largest group caught has been 23 PAC guerrillas, out of a group of 28. Announcing their capture, Justice Minister Kruger "said there were indications that 78 recruits of the PAC were being trained in China, but as far as he knew, the PAC was falling into

decline."

The only person publicly tried as a result of these recent incidents said he was ANC-trained in Angola and had travelled to South Africa via Botswana. And though he is not the most trustworthy source, Brigadier Coetzee, then deputy-head, now head of security police, commented in the South African *Star* that "attempts by the banned Pan Africanist Congress at organized terrorism, however, had little or no success. The ANC was another matter; it had a far more sophisticated organizational structure and it was from its ranks that most of the terrorists active in South Africa in recent times had come."

ANC representative to the UN, Mfanafuti Makatini, told *Africa News* recently, "Insofar as armed struggle is concerned, this has taken the form in the past few months of the liquidation of informers [as well as] a series of confrontations between the armed wing of the ANC and South

African forces, which have been confirmed by the enemy."

"However, we have not reached the stage," Makatini added, "where we can refer to our armed struggle as on the offensive. The confrontations so far have been cases where our units were intercepted by the enemy and fought back."

The South Africans get serious when they hunt for guerrillas; they use roadblocks, helicopters, and "light spotter aircraft." The results are given in one summary:

"After the killing of five innocent bystanders, three terrorists have been shot dead by police, while three people are still missing despite extensive ground and air searches. . . ."

#### Strategic Hamlets Next?

Several other anti-guerrilla measures are being considered. Some 66,000 Africans in the northern Transvaal presently face immediate "resettlement" out of the area.

Eventually, almost four million blacks are to be resettled in order to create a "white corridor" for security forces.

In addition, roads are being paved "in view of the Defense Force's presence in the area." Isolated farms are to be linked by MARNET, the Military Area Radio Network, whose "primary function will be to serve as a command and control communication network for all commando units."

But as the *Rand Daily Mail* editorial pointed out in early November:

"Infiltration along the northern border was expected and local farmers are no doubt right when they say 'the police have the situation well in hand.' But there is something familiar about their nonchalance and the talk of sleeping out-of-doors and fearing only the mosquitoes. Wasn't that what they were saying in Rhodesia not so long ago?" □

## UNITED STATES

# Community Wants \$ from Weapons Company for Apartheid Victims

by Mike Martin

Among the crimes committed by United States corporations against the people of southern Africa, a few have attracted public attention because they involved violations of formal legal statutes. Gaining prominence recently as one of the more conspicuous of these formal crimes is the Olin Corporation's weapons trade with South Africa, which has now had the unintended consequence of heightening the New Haven community's solidarity with the victims of Olin's actions in South Africa.

In June of this year, Olin was permitted to enter a plea of no contest in Federal District Court after it had been discovered and charged with violating the government-imposed arms embargo on South Africa. The no-contest plea enabled Olin to avoid having any evidence presented in court. The judge, who appeared not unsympathetic to Olin, fined the company \$45,000—one-tenth the possible penalty. The Connecticut-based corporation also agreed to donate \$500,000 to create a Community Betterment Fund of Greater New Haven as a form of reparation. This penance money was to be administered by an independent board of local leaders, and the fund's charter mandated that the money be spent to promote the "general welfare of the

Greater New Haven area."

Cash-strapped social service organizations, such as FISH of Greater New Haven, a group which provides such services as visits to invalids and disabled people confined to their homes, applied for grants from the fund. Some not-so-impoverished institutions, including the Yale Medical School, also lined up for money.

Recently some of these organizations—FISH among them—have withdrawn their grant applications. The moral pressure exerted by the Community Renewal and Action Council (CRAC) has persuaded these would-be grant applicants that Olin's money should go to victims of apartheid rather than to the New Haven community.

CRAC, an *ad hoc* coalition of New Haven community groups ranging from the Downtown Cooperative Ministry to black and Jewish ethnic organizations, has based its strategy until now on a moderate moral appeal. "Ours is a suffering of conscience," Reverend Joseph Whalen, a founding member of CRAC, told *Southern Africa*. "We feel that the money should be spent to alleviate the suffering of the victims of Olin's actions."

This appeal, says James Jones, another leading CRAC member, has already per-

suaded three groups to withdraw applications, and he is convinced that the momentum of the CRAC campaign will shortly convince others to join them.

Nor has this group of social service institutions been the only segment of the New Haven community to respond to CRAC's argument. New Haven's Board of Aldermen, in a vote in mid-November, urged that the money be used to aid black South Africans. New Haven's Mayor Frank Logue has made similar suggestions to the Betterment Fund trustees.

Despite this evidence of mounting community sentiment, the trustees have refused to meet with members of CRAC. Trustees express fears, according to CRAC members, that the terms of the charter will be violated by allocating the funds so as to help victims of apartheid rather than members of the New Haven community.

By the time the board finally makes up its mind in January on grant applications, it will have witnessed an object lesson in the growing solidarity of the American people with the anti-apartheid movement in southern Africa. Perhaps it will have no choice but to reset the priorities for the fund. Says Jones, "It's difficult to improve the community with money that the community doesn't want." □

## CONGRESSIONAL CHANGES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Liberals in Congress who are interested in southern Africa are entering the 96th session in disarray. The November election resulted in the reshuffling of members on key Senate and House committees, and the indictment of House Africa subcommittee Chairman Charles Diggs.

The most important change in the Congressional scene was the unexpected defeat of Iowa Senator Dick Clark, who had chaired the Foreign Relations Africa subcommittee for four years. Clark took the lead in opposing CIA involvement in Angola during the 1975-76 war. Although he had assumed a more cautious stance in the year leading up to the election, he did release a report on investments and bank loans to South Africa which provided useful information for divestment campaigns.

The Clark-Roger Jepsen campaign was formed largely by the abortion and gun control issues around which the organized right-wing rallied. On Africa policy, Jepsen accused Clark of furthering the aims of communism in southern Africa, and told reporters that *apartheid* might not be all bad.

Democrats on the Foreign Relations Committee will decide in late January who will take over leadership of the Africa subcommittee. George McGovern appears to be the most likely candidate. He became actively interested in Africa policy in May when he criticized the Carter administration's phobia about Cubans in the Shaba conflict in Zaire. At the end of 1978 McGovern spent three weeks traveling in southern Africa after attending a meeting for African and American politicians sponsored by the African-American Institute. In Luanda he indicated that he hoped to assume the position—as the most senior Democratic candidate, he is likely to get his wish.

Freshman Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, who served with the Peace Corp in Ethiopia and led the House fight

last year to cut Export-Import Bank financing to South Africa, hopes to get one of the three Democratic slots that are open on the Foreign Relations Committee and to remain active on Africa policy. On the opposite pole, Jesse Helms is likely to fill one of the Republican seats on the full Committee and the Africa subcommittee.

In the House, Charles Diggs, the senior member of the Congressional Black Caucus, still holds the chairmanship of the Africa subcommittee. Diggs has appealed a guilty verdict for having spent more than \$60,000 of government money to pay personal debts. The House Democratic Caucus considered a new rule at its December organizing meeting which would have required indicted House members to give up subcommittee chairmanships. In the end, the Democrats decided to leave the issue up to individual committees.

Although no one is saying for sure, it appears likely that Diggs will lose the Africa subcommittee position. The chairmanship

## CONGRESS APPROPRIATES REFUGEE AID FOR RHODESIA

In late November AID sent \$1 million to the International Committee of the Red Cross for aid to refugees *inside* Rhodesia. AID was "robbing Peter to pay Paul," according to one official who deals with refugee programs. An amendment to the foreign aid appropriations bill introduced by Jesse Helms earmarked up to \$5 million for use inside Rhodesia out of a total southern Africa refugee program of \$14 million.

The Rhodesian refugee program has created a scuffle in Congress. Helms, who is a staunch backer of the internal settlement, wants all \$5 million to go inside Rhodesia; House liberals are arguing that the \$5 million figure was a ceiling, and that more of the money should be spent for refugees who have fled Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia.

The controversy is an embarrassing one for the Carter administration. AID is spending money inside Rhodesia to fill a void

will then go either to Cardiss Collins, a Black Caucus member from Chicago, or to liberal New York Congressman Stephen Solarz.

Diggs has established a reputation for a willingness to challenge the administration on its Africa policy. His hearings on violations of the arms embargo served as one example of his capacity to ask government officials some hard questions.

Observers feel Solarz may take a softer line; on the issue of US investment in South Africa, he countenances a continued US corporate presence, and calls instead for the establishment of fair employment practices.

Congresswoman Collins is on the record as opposing the continued operation of all US corporations in South Africa.

Because of the transition in Congressional leadership on Africa, there will probably be few liberal initiatives early in 1979. The first battle is expected to be a defensive one—over a renewed conservative attack on sanctions against Rhodesia. □

created by the internal settlement government. The Rhodesian executive council has ordered approximately 200,000 people to be released from "protected villages" without shelter, food or seeds to plant.

Meanwhile, AID is *not* sending any support to the refugee camps in Mozambique, where the largest number of Zimbabwean refugees have fled. Last year AID informed Congress of its intention to send aid to the camps in Mozambique through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The Foreign Assistance Appropriations subcommittee objected that such aid would violate a Congressional prohibition on bilateral aid to Mozambique. Although this was a legally questionable argument, AID backed down on the proposal.

While hundreds of refugees are still fleeing from Rhodesia every week, AID is now planning how to cut back its overall southern Africa refugee programs, on which the agency had intended to spend the full \$14 million appropriated by Congress, in order to comply with the Helms amendment. □

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Rhodesian soldiers flee oil drum explosions

# As Salisbury's Fuel Goes Up in Flames, Its Stock Is Dropping Fast

One of the several aims of the heavy Rhodesian raids against ZANU and ZAPU camps in Mozambique and Zambia late last year was to cripple the Patriotic Front's annual rainy-season offensive against the Salisbury regime. The rainy season got under way in November as expected, and it was immediately clear that the Patriotic Front's heavy losses were not enough to set back its November-to-March military operations.

These next months have traditionally seen the heaviest fighting of the year. If this season is an exception, it is so only because the war promises to be even more intense than it has been in the past, moving right in-

to the heartland of Ian Smith's last areas of control—the major cities.

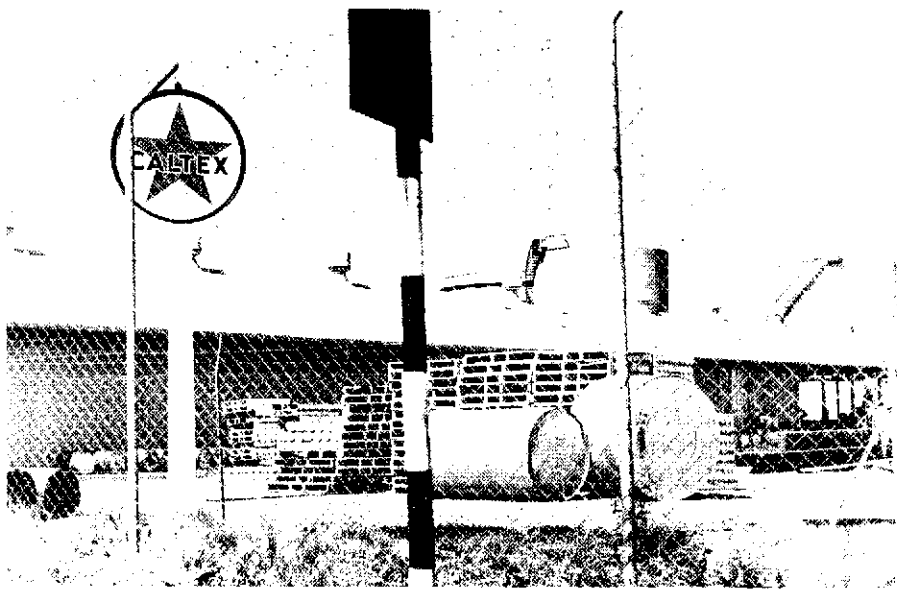
Recent visitors to ZANU and ZAPU camps have verified that the toll was heavy in the two-pronged, airborne attack mounted by Rhodesian security forces late in October. The total dead in ZAPU's installations in Zambia, for instance, is said to be more than 1000; ZAPU also seems to have suffered heavy equipment losses although a visitor claims, "This is not certain."

But whatever the number of casualties or the amount of materiel lost, both ZANU and ZAPU appear to have recovered sufficiently to take military advantage of the

season's heavy rains. It is now more or less acknowledged on all sides that Mozambique-based ZANU has gained control over large areas of the country. One clear indication of this, of course, was Salisbury's declaration of martial law late last year.

But a recent visitor says that Tanzanian and Mozambican officials now believe that "ZANU has control over a very large part of Zimbabwe." David Martin, the London *Observer* correspondent, is said to be the source for this view.

"ZANU claims to have 80 percent of the country as its 'operational area,' this visitor says. "However, this does not yet mean



Before the blaze: Caltex portion of fuel depot

that there are truly liberated areas in more than a restricted number of places. However, I was assured that alternative health systems and education were now becoming a reality."

For ZAPU, the situation is different. It has entered the war with a strategy designed fundamentally at gaining military footholds near Rhodesia's principal cities and industrial areas. The most spectacular example of this occurred in mid-December when ZAPU guerrilla rockets ignited the minority regimes's main fuel depot outside Salisbury. With international attention continuing to focus on Rhodesia's oil supplies and other forms of sanctions violations (see box), it was an auspicious target. Prime Minister Ian D. Smith called the incident "one of our biggest setbacks since the terrorist war began." According to Bernard Rivers, co-author of a U.N. study of Rhodesia's covert oil lifelines, the guerrilla action is likely to have destroyed roughly a month's worth of Rhodesia's fuel supplies.

Some British sources, emphasizing the remaining differences between ZANU and ZAPU, postulate that the latter's military strategy is designed to win quick control of Rhodesia's urban areas in the event the Smith regime collapses. This, it is argued, would give ZAPU a strong advantage in opposing ZANU in a civil war after minority rule has ended.

Other observers, however, point out that many ZAPU cadres received their military training in the Soviet Union, and that their strategy in the field today simply "reflects a basic component of Soviet military method," as one source close to the military situation says. "The Soviets do not understand guerrilla warfare—certainly not the way ZANU is fighting it. ZAPU can hardly be expected to take the same approach [as ZANU] in the field."

Also to be considered are the closer relationships now being forged between ZANU leader Robert Mugabe and the Soviet Union and its allies—Angola, Cuba, Vietnam, and Ethiopia have been the most visible thus far. Moscow has traditionally supported ZAPU to the exclusion of ZANU, but this pattern may now be changing. Mozambique, whose FRELIMO leadership has long-standing relations with the Soviet Union, has given ZANU vital and consistent support and is likely to be urging Moscow to take a more even-handed approach to the Zimbabwe movements.

#### Civil War Threat

As the minority regime nears collapse, there is much talk these days of the potential for such civil war. However, the principal danger does not seem to stem from the unresolved issues that keep the Front alliance from becoming a truly unified organization. (A recent visitor to the area reports there are still virtually no nationalist units under joint command.) Regardless of the slow development of unity in the Front, observers note that both ZANU and ZAPU apparently recognize that their own best political and military interests do not lie in their opposition to one another.

Rather, the danger of a black civil war in a Rhodesia without Smith comes principally from Smith's three black partners in the currently ruling executive council. According to a number of press accounts, all three—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau—are now engaged in building "private armies," a striking comment on the degree of disunity (and opportunism) among the Africans participating in Smith's "transitional government." Muzorewa and Sithole are estimated by a *New York Times* reporter to have approx-

imately 700 troops each, trained in Uganda and Libya. Chirau is said to have a force of "bodyguards" numbering 50 to 100. There have been widespread reports of "terror and extortion" by these groups, which operate in various parts of the countryside. Although their leaders claim the troops are defecting guerrillas, observers indicate that most are recruited from the vast unemployed among Salisbury's black population.

The groups are most important now, perhaps, as a sign of the political collapse of the Smith's interim administration in which unity has never been a strong point. And Chief Chirau, who participated in the Smith government even before signing the March 3 settlement accord, conceded in mid-November that there is no alternative but to negotiate with the Patriotic Front—a tacit admission of Salisbury's inability to end the war.

Indeed, journalists commonly report an odd kind of "desperate fun" being had among Salisbury's whites these days. Shops are reported full of Western-made consumer goods, as they have been since unilateral independence was declared in 1965 and sanctions were imposed shortly thereafter. And the tiny white minority—dwindling quickly with large-scale emigration—still goes through its somewhat formal, old-fashioned social rituals. "We used to be upset if someone was killed," one Salisbury white said recently. "Now we see its 49 in one day and wonder why it wasn't 54, which it was yesterday."

#### All-Party Probes

In spite of such signs—or perhaps because of them—British and American officials are now trying once again to revive their concept of an all-party conference. This latest diplomatic initiative is apparently being led by British Foreign Secretary David Owen, who appointed Cledwyn Hughes, a Labor MP, late in November as chief negotiator. Hughes was reported to be working closely with Stephen Low, U.S. ambassador to Zambia.

It may ultimately prove to be part of the grand strategy—such has been the nature of Western diplomatic tactics—but Zambia and Nigeria, key cogs in the Western policy wheel in the very recent past, have apparently opted out of the all-party effort. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, whose government has proven a weak link in the front-line states supporting the Patriotic Front, reasoned that the guerrilla war has not weakened Salisbury enough to make international pressure effective. The Nigerian head of state, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, said that the Anglo-American effort was dead, in his view, initiative having passed mainly to the Soviets because of Moscow's support of the Front.

*continued on page 29*



# More US Sanctions-Busting Revealed



Helicopters play a vital role in Rhodesia's oppressive war: Now Bell is supplying Hueys to help out

While the fire ignited by Patriotic Front rockets in Salisbury's fuel depot raged for almost two days, so did the controversy over how the oil got there in the first place. Rhodesia has no oil deposits of its own, nor does South Africa, through which all of Rhodesia's imports flow. Yet for more than a decade of economic sanctions against the Ian Smith regime, Rhodesia has never lacked the necessary oil and fuel to keep its economy, and its military, well-lubricated.

The publication of the Bingham report in Britain earlier this fall revealed just how the British government has permitted British oil companies to violate sanctions. But the American oil connection has been more elusive.

Mobil Oil has been the prime target of government and especially freelance investigation, which has begun to yield some results.

Most significant so far is a little-noticed memo in the Bingham report which documents a meeting in July 1974, between the managing directors of Shell South Africa and Mobil South Africa, and the South African Commerce Secretary. Taking place only three months after the coup in Portugal, the meeting set in motion plans for an alternative route for supplying Rhodesia with oil in the event that a newly-independent Mozambique should close its border with Rhodesia. (Until that time, Rhodesia was receiving oil from the Western companies through an intermediary, Freight Services Ltd., which operated in Mozambique.)

## Oil Swap

The deal that was suggested was a swap: the South African oil company, SASOL, would send as much oil to Rhodesia as it needed, and Mobil and other oil companies would replace all that SASOL had passed along.

Mobil does not deny that this meeting took place, but it says it has no record of what transpired. "We've never been able to find in our files any report of such a meeting," Mobil Vice-President George

Birrell told *Africa News* in December. "Normally there would be no reason why he [William de la Harpe, head of Mobil South Africa] would write us a report of a meeting where he might have had to discuss internal matters in South Africa." Birrell added that Mobil had never obtained a complete explanation for the meeting, and later in the interview he suggested that Beck's presence at the "swap" meeting may just have been as a "by-stander."

"Are you suggesting," asked *Africa News's* Reed Kramer, "that Shell and BP may have tried to implicate other companies in what they did to spread their own guilt?"

"That's right," answered Birrell. "That's exactly right."

But the noose of incriminating evidence is slowly tightening around Mobil's neck, and as a result a debate within the State Department is developing over whether the US should authorize a study of sanctions violations comparable to the Bingham report. UN Ambassador Andrew Young favors such a move, while Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Richard Moose opposes it. Moose has said that the Bingham report does not offer "any new basis for reopening the investigation," but the Treasury Department apparently disagrees. It decided in December to initiate its second inquiry into possible US oil company sanctions violations.

## Pilots and Aircraft

There have been recent reports of sanctions violations in other areas as well: a pilot-training program by United Airlines and the discovery of a dozen or so US-designed Huey helicopters in the arsenal of Salisbury's security forces. Hueys were used extensively as short-range troop carriers during the Vietnam war.

The United Airlines case was settled December 12, when the US carrier was penalized a total of \$50,000 for conducting a pilot-training course in Denver for Air Rhodesia personnel. The course was conducted as a business transaction between

United and a subsidiary of Air Rhodesia. United pleaded "no contest" to the charge, and was fined \$10,000.

The airline also paid an additional \$40,000 in order to keep equipment used in the program. Sanctions law stipulates that any equipment used in a sanctions-busting action is to be seized by the federal government.

A day later it was reported in *The Washington Post* that visitors to Rhodesia had spotted 11 Bell 205A helicopters on the runway at Salisbury's international airport. Both the State and Commerce departments announced investigations into the matter, but officials claimed that an initial search for an intermediary country turned up no violators of international arms embargoes. The possible conduits: South Africa, Iran, and Israel.

The helicopters may have been produced in Italy under license and then sold to Rhodesia. One Bell model, the Agusta 205A, is thought to have been among the aircraft spotted and is also built in Italy.

The account appearing in the *Post* also noted that 25 Italian-made Hueys were sold to South Africa in 1974-75.

Helicopters have become an important part of Rhodesia's day-to-day counter-insurgency efforts against the Patriotic Front. They are also used in staging cross-border raids into Mozambique and Zambia against camps of ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas. They were present, for instance, during the massive raids against ZAPU installations in Zambia late last year.

Whatever their origin, the Hueys made famous in Vietnam have apparently been modified after their arrival in Rhodesia. Observers note that the 205As have been fortified with extra armor plating, while the side doors have been changed to accommodate machine guns—modifications that may have been imported by Vietnam vets. The Hueys allow Rhodesian airborne "fire forces" to expand fourfold the number of troops per mission. □



Frontline Presidents in Dares Salaam recently. (L to R) Kenneth Kaunda, Agostinho Neto, Julius Nyerere, Seretse Khama. Noticeably absent is Mozambique

Daily New Tanzania

## Difficult Times Test Front-Line Unity

Two recent Zambian actions—the sponsoring of a secret Smith-Nkomo meeting and the subsequent opening of the Zambian border with Rhodesia—have severely strained the cohesion of the body of African presidents known as the front-line group.

From its inception, the political alliance of the heads of state of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana was based on a shaky foundation. Despite common agreement on some major issues, such as the desire to end colonial and white-minority rule in southern Africa, there are profound economic and political differences in the structures and goals of the group's members. These differences inevitably affect the way in which each of the states relates to the ongoing liberation struggles in southern Africa.

Indeed, the front-line association grew out of an attempt by the Organization of African Unity to curb Zambian collaboration with South Africa's detente strategy in

late 1974 and early 1975. The exchanges between President Kaunda and Prime Minister Vorster led to the convening of an extraordinary OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Dar es Salaam in April 1975 to deal with the crisis. At this meeting, the presidents of Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana were deputized to act on behalf of the OAU in future dealings with the white-minority regimes of southern Africa and the non-African powers interested in the region.

### Visible Role

President Nyerere of Tanzania assumed the chairmanship of the group, and many OAU members hoped that he would be able to restrain Kaunda from initiating further independent actions in southern Africa. When Angola and Mozambique became independent, the presidents of these countries joined the alliance.

Increasingly, the front-line states assumed a visible and important diplomatic and political role in southern Africa. In effect they acted sometimes as junior power brokers, mediating between the west and the liberation movements over Namibia and

Rhodesia, while at the same time helping to maintain the political positions of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO.

The front-line states derived their influence from a curious chemistry. Zambia, and to some extent Tanzania, represent forms of political stability and moderation acceptable to the western powers, while Mozambique and Angola represent the natural conclusion of guerrilla warfare in southern Africa. Despite caution in relationships with Angola and Mozambique, the more farsighted of western policy makers recognized the value of their influence over SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, and saw their aid as important for the achievement of negotiated transitions to independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

### Roots of Disunity

The front-line group is not made up of homogeneous equals. Thus it has had problems rooted both in the differing economic realities of each country and in the differing political outlooks of the presidents involved. Nyerere, a moderate socialist, took on the task of maintaining unity in a group

*This article was compiled by Witney Schneidman and includes reporting by Tony Avirgan in Dar es Salaam.*

The United Nations has made it clear that the internal elections held in Namibia from December 4-8 will not be recognized by its members. Yet there were still some in the West who hailed the results. Although recognizing the sticky nature of the situation, especially for American business, *Business Week* hastily welcomed Namibia as "the world's newest nation."

Many in the West remained confused by what took place in the South African-occupied territory. One was President Jimmy Carter, who said in two press conferences in mid-December that South Africa had accepted the United Nations plan for Namibia, and that it was awaiting

word from SWAPO on whether the liberation organization would participate.

Of course the situation is just the opposite, as one official transcript of Carter's press conference made clear. In a footnote, the transcript read, "In fact SWAPO accepts the relevant UN resolutions on Namibia. The President's intention was to call for their continued support. The US is waiting for South Africa to indicate in definitive terms its acceptance of the proposal." South Africa's Foreign Minister Pik Botha must have done his job well when he met with Carter in late November.

Nonetheless, the situation in Namibia is deadly serious. South Africa pulled off the

internal elections mostly without a hitch—there were a few small explosions in the territory—and Namibia's "constituent assembly," dominated by South Africa's favorite, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, has already met. Now it's up to South Africa to "use its good offices" to persuade the assembly to seek international recognition by cooperating with the UN.

The UN sits and waits. An answer is expected from Namibia by the end of 1978.

**Results Not Surprising**

When the South Africans announced the results of the polling on December 15, the DTA had received 82 percent of the votes,

# Sometimes They Do Not Serve Who Only Sit and Wait



Whatever the rigged election results, SWAPO still has the support of the people

UN/Sonderling



with the ultra-right-wing Aktur, its closest opponent, gaining slightly more than 10 percent. The DTA was awarded 41 of the 50 seats in the assembly.

Without the presence of UN troops, SWAPO, of course, was boycotting the election. There had been some suggestion from SWAPO quarters, and elsewhere, of urging Namibians to spoil their ballots, but the South Africans say only about 1.5 percent were handed in blank or partially destroyed. South Africa says only about 8 percent of the more than 400,000 registered voters abstained.

The South African army did all it could to make sure abstentions were as few as possible. Besides the evidence of widespread intimidation and coercion during the registration process before the election (see page 7), South Africa appears to have developed a unique tool for getting the vote out. It's called the mobile polling booth. Mounted on a military vehicle, the booth is accompanied by armed South African soldiers. By law it has the right to enter land or other property at any time of day or night, to ascertain if individuals want to vote.

Justin Ellis, the Anglican church activist who was responsible for compiling registration irregularities and who was expelled from Namibia six days before the internal balloting began, says few Namibians would be willing to abstain from voting at the mobile booth while they were staring down the barrel of a gun.

And to insure that SWAPO leaders still remaining inside Namibia would not disrupt their elections. South African officials arrested Daniel Tjongarero, SWAPO's vice president, and five others on December 3. They were held under the Terrorism Act, which allows indefinite detention without trial.

### United Nations Inaction

With the backing of the five Western members of the Security Council, the United Nations had declared any internal elections in Namibia null and void. But despite a flurry of activity in New York and Washington in late November, the UN could do nothing to force South Africa to call them off.

In early November, the Security Council, threatening South Africa with economic sanctions if it did not cooperate, did call on the apartheid regime to cancel the vote. It had given South Africa until November 25 to respond.

By the deadline, South Africa's Foreign Secretary had been engaged in talks with Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. Two days later Foreign Minister Pik Botha arrived in New York. But despite hours and hours of discussions—and hastily convened meetings between Botha and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance—the UN and the West could not or would not wring any concessions from South Africa.

Although the substance of the Waldheim-Botha talks has not been made public, many observers now believe that, after Botha made it clear that South Africa would proceed with its own elections, the talks centered around how to bring the UN into Namibia for a second round sometime next year.

This is a reversal of the view held by many observers after South Africa announced its withdrawal from the UN plan in September. At that time it was thought that South Africa would simply ignore the UN and opt for an internal settlement. Still, others had argued that South Africa would not take the internal elections seriously; they were holding them just to "save face."

But since then, the view has developed

that South Africa will do more than simply "try to persuade" those elected in Namibia to cooperate with the UN. Many observers now believe that Prime Minister Botha told Waldheim even before the internal balloting began that South Africa would permit UN-supervised elections. For South Africa, December's vote was a way of consolidating and strengthening the DTA as a political force in Namibia.

### DTA Protected

Everyone, including the South Africans, acknowledges that had the UN-supervised elections taken place in 1978 as originally scheduled, SWAPO would have won. The DTA was in no shape to mount a significant campaign against SWAPO.

Now, many observers feel, the situation is completely different. December's results will go far to project the DTA as an important and powerful political force. South Africa may feel that with this development, it can afford to allow the UN to supervise, and SWAPO to take part in another round of elections next year.

What will the UN do? By rights, it could convene the Security Council now and impose economic sanctions on South Africa for not having canceled the elections. But most observers agree that this has never been a possibility.

Throughout, it has been the position of the US and the other Western members of the "gang of five" that despite the internal elections, the UN should supervise another round next year. SWAPO and its supporters have always faced a triple veto in the Security Council on the sanctions issue. But recently some countries within the non-aligned group and even among the African nations have given indications that the fragile unity over this issue may be breaking up.

Without unity among the nonaligned and African nations, most observers believe a resolution on sanctions will never reach the Security Council table. If that should be the case, the UN essentially has no choice but to swallow hard, accept reality, and plan for the next round of elections.

Many observers believe that this outcome was already being planned when Botha met with Waldheim. Those same observers say no one should be surprised when South Africa agrees to the plan, but makes more demands about modifying its terms. Such demands will focus on the number of UN troops—South Africa still wants it reduced substantially from 7500.

South Africa also wants an agreement from the West and the UN that once the date for the elections is set, it cannot be changed. South Africa wants this stipulation so that in the event of "acts of hostility," South Africa could decide to maintain its troops in Namibia and not force a postponement of the election date. □

that includes the Marxist presidents of Mozambique and Angola, Samora Machel and Agostinho Neto; Sir Seretse Khama, the capitalist president of Botswana; and Kenneth Kaunda, who propagates his own ill-defined concept of "humanism."

Considering the difficulties, the accomplishments of the front-line states have been fairly impressive. These successes include the achievement of a limited degree of unity within the Patriotic Front, the eventual use of the "Anglo-American plan" as a possible basis for the liberation of Zimbabwe as opposed to an automatic transition to neocolonial domination as originally intended, the contribution to an internationally acceptable plan for Namibian independence, and the guidance given to the Patriotic Front and SWAPO in dealing with diplomatic matters unfamiliar to them.

On the other hand, political observers have questioned the concept of a group of presidents of independent states overseeing, and to a certain extent directing, liberation struggles in other countries. Critics have pointed out that no African presidents acted on behalf of FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola, or the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. Others think it important that the liberation movements have the final word on matters in which they are most involved.

#### Pressure on Movements

Tanzanian officials have admitted privately that the front-line group should not be necessary, but have argued that the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and Namibia face different situations and have reached different levels of historical development than the movements that fought for the independence of Africa's former Portuguese colonies. "We wouldn't have to be involved in any of this if only there was an equivalent of FRELIMO fighting in Rhodesia," one high-ranking Tanzanian official commented. Presumably, the Tanzanian was referring to the extremely high level of political development and military discipline evident in FRELIMO—achievements that few liberation movements anywhere in the world could boast.

The movements have, from time to time, clearly been subjected to pressures from the front-line states to negotiate. This has occurred in situations that reflect the interests of the state involved rather than the long-term interests of the liberation movement or the people it represents. Botswana, whose economy is almost wholly dependent on its relations with its white neighbors, is the most evident and consistent example of this situation. It was the first to support the Washington-sponsored settlement in Namibia, and it has shown some inclination

to support the "interim" government in Salisbury, although it has not done so openly.

Overall, however, the front-line group has played a progressive role in the southern African liberation struggle as evidenced by recent efforts to split it apart.

Such efforts became particularly evident in the latter half of 1978, as the Western nations escalated their attempts to achieve negotiated settlements in Zimbabwe and Namibia in the face of mounting guerrilla victories in the field. Attempts were made to divide the support given by the front-line states to the liberation movements. Offers of economic assistance for hard-pressed economies were coupled with suggestions about greater pressure on the movements to negotiate. At least some of these efforts met with some success.

#### Development Problems

Zambia has always been a vulnerable member of the front-line group, due primarily to its precarious economic situation. According to one economist, Zambia's basic problem lies in its "desperately bad agricultural performance and the inability to divert the mineral wealth into real rural development." This has been compounded by Zambia's transport problems, which include the closing of the Benguela railroad, the inefficiency of the TAZARA railroad, the long distance to Mozambican and South African ports, and the strains of housing the ZAPU army, which is larger than the Zambian armed forces. Zambia's chronically weak economic performance has undercut Kaunda's political strength, and made him more susceptible to personal and ethnic rivalries and Western pressures. Western bankers who advised Kaunda that rescue operations for his embattled economy would only follow on actions such as the opening of the border were thus not shown the door, but carefully heeded.

Kaunda's support of the secret Nkomo-Smith meetings, in which Nkomo was offered the head position in a transitional government, was an independent effort to secure a hasty peace, which he desperately needs, at the expense of front-line cohesion and the larger aims of the liberation struggle. His October 6th reopening of the border with Rhodesia was a further attempt to solve internal problems, whatever the regional cost.

While Kaunda was putting distance between himself and the other states, especially Tanzania and Mozambique, Nigeria moved in, at the apparent urging of Britain and the US, to play a role as an "auxiliary" front-line member, and involved itself in the secret talks. The secret meeting led to an exchange of recriminations between the front-line leaders—especially between Machel and Nyerere on one hand and Kaunda on the other—and also heightened

suspicious between the Patriotic Front co-leaders themselves. By late October interstate relations had deteriorated so badly that Machel did not attend the Dar es Salaam front-line meeting convened to discuss the problems. Even though the other presidents came to Tanzania, there proved to be so little common ground that no formal meeting was convened.

In the midst of the front-line disagreements, Kaunda met privately in Kano, Nigeria, with British Prime Minister James Callaghan, ostensibly to talk about Britain's failed oil sanctions. But Britain followed the meeting by giving Zambia \$16 million worth of military aid, including Tiger Cat missiles, anti-aircraft equipment and personnel training, as well as financial assistance. Zambia responded by sending a series of envoys to the front-line capitals in a futile effort to convene an all-party conference by the end of October.

#### A Loss of Unity

It is impossible to assess the nature of the secret deals and confidential promises between the actors in southern Africa. What is apparent is that where there was once a measure of unity there is now distrust. Tanzania and Mozambique have reiterated their support for the guerrilla war while at the same time condemning Zambia's unilateral actions.

Currently, Zambia is feeling more comfortable in the company of oil-rich Nigeria and Britain than its front-line allies. This signifies a limited success for Anglo-American strategists, who seem to have decided that Nyerere is too stubborn on matters of principle to be of use to them. The two Western states appear to have been promoting Nigeria to take a more active role in southern Africa in hopes of cutting Nyerere out of the action. Any fear that this might increase the strains on the two factions that form the Patriotic Front, and thus increase the possibility of a civil war, seems secondary to the Western desire to secure an internationally acceptable negotiated solution in Rhodesia that will preserve its economic interests.

It is too early to write off the front-line alliance as a victim of Western maneuvers. It was to be expected that there would be efforts to weaken liberation support by splitting the group. On the other hand, it is clearly in the interests of the states committed to building socialism to see Namibia, Zimbabwe and ultimately South Africa liberated in the fullest sense of that word. Even more conservative states find it difficult to maintain overtly friendly relations with racism and colonialism.

Thus it is likely that the alliance will continue to operate. It is also likely that its clarity of purpose and strength of action will continue to be weakened by the basic contradictions on which it rests. □

That's to their advantage.

**How do you assess the actions of mercenary Bob Denard, who most recently used a mercenary force to take over the Comoro Islands. Do you think this kind of thing will continue to happen?**

Ya, I'm afraid that that kind of thing will continue because you have tremendous interests who will make them happen. I know Denard, and I have known him for years. He is nothing more or less than a tool of the French government. And the French are extremely active in Africa, desperate to increase their influence. An example is the French Foreign Legion episode in Shaba II, which militarily was all wrong.

**Why do you say that?**

Well, at the moment, when the Shaba rebels had taken Kolwezi, they behaved in an exemplary fashion. They had not killed anybody. They were at that moment trying to overthrow Mobutu and would have succeeded if they had gone on for much longer. Of that I am absolutely convinced.

But now the French, who were desperately anxious to show Africa that they were powerful, decided to drop the foreign legion on Kolwezi.

**Getting back to South Africa. . . is it still your home?**

I have lived there on and off for 25 years. **Can you discount increasing guerrilla activity there?**

No. Looking at the situation through the eyes of a military man, I would say there will inevitably be an escalation of terrorist activity. Particularly, this escalation will take place once the Rhodesian situation has been settled and Namibia has been settled. The [white] border will then have contracted.

I see the whole of that escalating in the next few years. Yet it must be within the capabilities of politicians to make an accommodation with all parties. We assumed they are all intelligent people and they are not going to commit suicide.

Let me hasten to assure you about my own views on South African politics. I am a pan africanist. I am not a South African who. . .

**What do you mean?**

I mean that I view things from the viewpoint of a man who has fought communism in central Africa. I don't take a narrow view from the toe of Africa looking up. I don't necessarily take a white view. I take an overall view of Africa.

The basis premise of Afrikaner supremacy is baloney and apartheid is totally indefensible. But at the same time that's not to say that I totally disagree with the way the South Africans are trying to solve their problems. Their solution, as I see it, is the formation of homelands, and I am quite enthusiastic about the possibility of that



**"The very nature of guerilla operations is that you can never have sufficient men"**

working, if you can make the homelands viable.

I am a great believer in the full stomach for the African, not the stomach full of lead. I say that what is required is the uplifting of the average African. He has got to have job opportunities. This is what we should be addressing ourselves to.

**If none of this works, how do you see a guerrilla war in South Africa?**

In my view the South African defense force as such is completely unassailable in terms of military opposition.

**In conventional warfare?**

Yes, and in dealing with the guerrilla. But the problem does not rest there at all. In all forms of warfare, if you are going to succeed, it is absolutely essential to have the population with you.

South Africa is a vast country with the distance between Johannesburg and the border, for instance, something like 750 miles. Unless the indigenous population is with you, your lines of communication are going to be threatened.

To forestall that day, we have got to improve the lot of the average African and raise a new middle class that has something to lose.

**But what if none of that works? Particularly if an internal rebellion were coupled with outside pressure, such as sanctions or the loss of Iranian oil, wouldn't that change everything?**

Completely, and that is ultimately what is going to happen, isn't it? Because there are going to be outside pressure. They've already begun, haven't they? Not noticeably, but there is the push for disinvestment. It is an indication of how the United States is thinking. If you get a concerted effort on the part of the United Nations, the politicians are going to have to listen, ultimately.

**If war broke out in South Africa—in your home—where would you be?**

Not with the establishment. Possibly in another country.

**Would you go to Rhodesia if they asked you?**

Not now. My heart wouldn't be in it.

**If a black government based on the internal settlement continued to face guerrilla war, would you go?**

Yes, because that would be consistent with my sentiment which is anti-communism. □

continued from page 6

and who graduated this year.

When we select people for specialized fields we have certain criteria—academic ability as well as ideological awareness. It would be an irony to educate people who were going to thwart social transformation. Some are reluctant to go and we have to explain that there are different aspects of struggle. If we don't train our own people, the British and Americans will use their agents to subvert our revolution.

We are planning to establish the Zimbabwe Institute to train middle-level skilled people to run the country. There will be various components but the most important will be the integration of manual and intellectual work.

The model of development has to be clearly defined. We think it will be agriculturally based. If we are self-sufficient in food production the basis is firm. If you can feed your people you can move ahead. The struggle for life is a struggle for production.

**What are some of your problems?**

We have problems because of our circumstances. We don't have classrooms, chalk, blackboards, pencils, paper or books.

We have no problem of motivation. Our problem is logistical. We don't have a budget, but our will and determination to succeed are unchallengable. □

Based on past events, however, Nigeria is to be watched closely for its role in any diplomatic maneuvering to come out of Owen's latest moves.

In fact, the only expressions of support for such a conference thus far have come from members of the Salisbury government. "I still look forward to an all-party conference," Chirau said shortly before the British government announced its renewed effort. It is still unclear if any other members of Salisbury's four-man executive council would support the move.

What Britain and the US are apparently pushing is an amended version of the original Anglo-American plan known as Option B. Most of Option B's 12 stipulations are the same as those of Option A, its predecessor.

Where the new proposals depart most significantly is in the matter of elections and independence. Under the old plan, a British commissioner would oversee the territory prior to elections, and independence from Britain would be granted only after elections and "the introduction of the independence constitution."

Option B, however, calls for a "transitional constitution" that would be enacted prior to either elections or independence.

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through the work of international investigations combined with continuing internal discontent. This opposition has apparently moved the government.

In early November, a government statement admitted that there "seemed to be evidence" that arms were exported illegally to South Africa from the Caribbean island. Antigua's Prime Minister later added that if Space Research had been smuggling, it would have to leave the island, and the government has now launched an investigation of its own, amid recent reports that the Antiguan workers have threatened a Caribbean-wide boycott of Antiguan goods. Reportedly, the government of Barbados has expressed similar views concerning the Space Research facility on its territory.

Most sources agree that smuggling of this size could not have succeeded without significant governmental collusion, not only in Antigua but also in the US and Canada. Now that the CBC-BBC spotlight has been focussed on Space Research, governments are beginning to take action. In mid-December, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police staged raids on Space Research facilities at three locations: in Montreal, at the plant itself, and at Gerald Bull's house.

"The transitional constitution would provide for a Constitutional Commission, Human Rights Commission, and Electoral Commission, which would report to the Council," this plan states. "The Council would be charged with holding at an agreed time an election and introducing an agreed independence constitution."

This reversal of priorities—independence first, then elections—would fit nicely with Salisbury's latest retreat from its previous promises. Citing "mechanical difficulties," Salisbury announced in mid-November that elections on a new constitution would be put off until April 20; they were previously scheduled for December 31 of last year. The new timetable called for a whites-only referendum on a new constitution in mid-December, nominations for the new legislature on March 23, and elections a month later.

### Preserving White Power

Shortly after that announcement, which had been widely expected because the guerrilla war would have made year-end elections nearly impossible, Smith's administra-

tion made public further plans for the preservation of white-minority power in the new government-to-be. Until 1984, each political party is to be represented in the government according to the number of seats it has in the legislature. The white minority already has a guaranteed 28 seats in the 100-member legislature. This means that white representation in the Cabinet will be sufficient to maintain minority control of the government. Supporting the measure, the current administration's 20 black and white ministers stated, "The need for a period of political stability is appreciated by the ministers. . . ."

At least one member of the current government dissented from this view, however. "It can only strengthen the external forces of the Patriotic Front," Ahern Palley, a white member of the current parliament, said of the latest constitutional plan. "To pretend that such policies can lead to a peaceful solution in Rhodesia is ludicrous." Palley then resigned as an advisor to Bishop Muzorewa—who, of course, fully supported the representation measure. □

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# News Briefs



**SOUTH AFRICA'S WHITE POPULATION** is also fleeing. As whites continue to flee Rhodesia at record levels, South Africa is also faced with a white exodus.

In the first nine months of 1978, according to the Department of Statistics, the country lost twice the number of engineers, doctors and accountants that it gained. A total of 1,075 persons in those categories left the country, while only 508 came in.

The "brain drain" figures hit particularly hard because the apartheid labor policies severely restrict the amount of available skilled labor by excluding blacks from such positions.

Population figures for every month since February (except September) show a net population outflow, recording a 30% drop for immigration figures for the first nine months of 1978. September saw a record outflow of whites from Rhodesia, and at least 365 of those migrated south in September, deciding to make a home away from home in South Africa.

In another sham designed to confuse its opponents, South Africa recently appointed the first black chaplain of the South African armed forces. The minister, the Reverend Lekhooa Swart Booysen, is from the Orange Free State and has served in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk [the conservative, Afrikaner-dominated Reformed Church] since 1972.

Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey of California recently told a South African audience, "We Americans start with a basic sympathy for South Africa. We have a great respect for South Africa's achievements."

While on a four-day fact-finding tour that he expects several more American politicians to make, McCloskey added, "We will probably be required to vote on an increasing number of issues involving South Africa in the next year, and there has been a sudden recognition that very few of the 435 of us in the Congress know anything about Africa, particularly southern Africa.

The Republican congressman told the Pretoria Press Club that student unrest was largely responsible for focusing attention

on South Africa and apartheid. "It is our experience that the view of student movements becomes the view of the majority in three to five years," he said.

McCloskey said that as many as 50 US congressmen would visit the country in the next year and suggested that southern Africa would be the scene of the world's next major conflict.

Senegal's President Leopold Senghor is interested in going to South Africa and has put feelers out to South African politicians, according to sources in France.

Western-backed Senghor apparently wants to assume a role in the widening conflicts in southern Africa, sources add.

Not long ago, Senghor was one of the spearheads of the abortive attempt at "dialogue" between the Vorster administration and black Africa. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda also encouraged that effort, which was roundly condemned by the majority of members in the Organization of African Unity.

Senghor recently met with South African opposition leaders in Dakar and said that he would accept an invitation from Prime Minister Botha if he issued one.

Nearly 60% of black South Africans out of work are under age 30, according to reports from the South African Department of Statistics. A further 20% are between 30 and 39.

Some 554,000 Africans were officially unemployed as of April 1978; many sources including the South African *Financial Mail* consider the figure too low and estimate the real figure at closer to 2 million.

South African naval officers in plain clothes attended the French exhibition of naval weapons at Le Bourget airport outside Paris in October. The officers were given "observer status" at the exhibition, where the latest developments in French military technology were on display.

**NAMIBIA'S SOUTH AFRICAN-backed Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)** is to have funds raised for it by seven West German organizations. An appeal for funds, ostensibly for "cultural and educational purposes" aims to raise \$115,000 from participating organizations.

In a masterpiece of unconscious irony, the appeal, put together in Germany, reads, "Everyone who is opposed to foreign influence in this area and who really wants the

Namibian people to have the right of self-determination and to aspire to a peaceful and free evolution, is called on to help support moderate democratic forces in that country."



**A RHODESIAN CARGO AIRLINE** operating out of Gabon has apparently been instrumental in maintaining Rhodesian trade despite international sanctions. Established in 1969, one year after UN sanctions were imposed, Affretair has used the flag of black-ruled Gabon to gain access to major African, European, and Middle Eastern markets.

Currently known as Air Gabon Cargo, the cargo airline is a subsidiary of Air Trans-Africa, a Rhodesian line based in Salisbury. The airline's general manager, Captain Jack Malloch, is also listed as managing director of Air Trans-Africa.

"There are all kinds of rumors about this airline," an Amsterdam airport official told *The Wall Street Journal*. "There are rumors that they carry weapons, of course, but it is impossible to control. Once they take off from one airport, records can be destroyed. Or they can be changed, and new records will state the plane came from an airport where it never landed."

Affretair pilots were recently discovered in a United Airlines training program in Denver (page 23).

Capt. Malloch was honored by the Rhodesian government this past Nov. 11, the 13th anniversary of UDI. Not surprisingly, press coverage contained no explanation of why Malloch was being awarded or who his boss was.

A pistol-packing American missionary, hostile to Patriotic Front guerrillas, has decided to quit the country after being shot and wounded by guerrillas. The Reverend James H. Dearmore of Dallas was shot while driving on his huge, 15,000-acre farm in the eastern region. Dearmore, 58, who calls the guerrillas "terrorist thugs" and lives in a fortress-like home, said after the late November ambush that he and his wife, Georgia Mae, would be moving on.



**A ZAMBIAN COURT RECENTLY** sentenced a white farmer to five years in jail for hoarding arms brought in by Rhodesian soldiers for use against ZAPU guerrillas. Other possible offenses, including treason, are still to be considered against Ian Sutherland, who was sentenced in November.

*continued on page 32*



## action news notes

**INTERNATIONAL DAY AGAINST BANKING.** . . December 1 marked the first international day of action against banking with South Africa as hundreds of demonstrators in the US, Europe, and the Caribbean participated in the day's actions. Supported by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the day focused on protesting continuing loans to South Africa, which have amounted to more than \$400 million since July 1977.

In New York, Manufacturer's Hanover continued to be the main target of the Bank Campaign because it has made more than \$900 million in apartheid loans over the last five years. While other NY banks supporting South Africa were also picketed, Manufacturer's chairman Gabriel Hauge was termed "Racist of the Year" by the NY Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa.

Hauge was singled out "not because of his personal prejudices," read a COBLSA flyer, but because "beneficiaries of these loans include African Explosives and Chemical Industries, which runs two munitions factories for South Africa, and South African Marine, which has used its ships to carry artillery shells from Canada to South Africa in violation of the UN arms embargo."

Demonstrators also turned out in West Germany, which recently floated South Africa its largest new loan—\$250 million—in recent years. Switzerland, France, and Britain, all major conduits for apartheid loans, were also hit by protest actions, as were Ireland and Holland.

In the Caribbean the National Workers Union targeted Barclays for protest while Caribbean Christian Action for Development reportedly withdrew its funds from Barclays Bank.

**BANK OF AMERICA HIT HARD BY CALIFORNIA ACTIVISTS.** . . California activists staged the largest anti-apartheid banking demonstration in their history on November 17. Almost 2,000 people at some 400 branches of Bank of America distributed more than 200,000 leaflets to bank customers, urging them to boycott the bank until it ceases making loans to South Africa.

The massive actions were the result of a broad coalition of hundreds of students from 24 schools across the state with community, and labor and church groups. The San Francisco-based organization, Stop Banking on Apartheid (SBOA), coordi-



Betsy Luebben Protesting Bank of America

inated the days events.

Hundreds of customers were reportedly so shocked by the B of A-South African connection, amounting to loans of \$200 million or about 10 percent of all US loans to South Africa, that they withdrew their funds on the spot.

Obviously threatened by the actions, B of A distributed tens of thousands of brochures defending their lending policies.

SBOA chose to focus on B of A not only because it is a major lender but because, as the world's largest retail bank, it is reportedly particularly vulnerable to consumer pressure.

### Groups! Activists! Students!

Keep *Southern Africa* up-to-date! We want to make the Action News and Notes section as informative and current as possible. But it is difficult for us to keep track of all the actions and campaigns that are taking place across the country.

We need your help, please send us details about the anti-apartheid activities happening in your community. We will include them on this page.

Send photographs too, if possible. Deadline for stories is the 5th of each month.

**HARTFORD HEARINGS.** . . The city of Hartford, Conn. is reported to be considering divestment of city employee pension funds, some \$76 million, currently placed in apartheid-related investments. A public hearing in October heard pro-divestment statements from City Workers Against Apartheid, the National Alliance of Black Social Workers, AFSCME, and the International Association of Machinists.

**BRITISH DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT SCORES.** . . The divestment movement in Britain has forced three schools to sell apartheid-related investments. The Anti-Apartheid Movement announced recently that Aberdeen University and London University's Birkbeck College had divested from Barclays Bank and Consolidated Gold Fields respectively. Leeds University sold shares in 20 companies with South African links.

A national student-divestment conference took place at the University of Warwick November 25 to coordinate activity and plan new initiatives. Several student unions are raising funds for ambulances for the liberation movements.

**EVEREADY HIT BY INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT.** . . An international boycott against the British-based Eveready Electrical Company was launched in mid-November after the company's South African affiliate sacked 230 women workers who were striking at a battery factory in Port Elizabeth.

The boycott was called by the workers' *continued on page 32*



**MORE DIRTY BIRDS—  
AFTER "WILD GEESE"  
THE "GAME OF VULTURES"**

As the war for Zimbabwe heats up, the battle for the shoot-'em-up in Africa cinema audience rattles on.

The November-released "Wild Geese" continues to draw fire in the final days of its U.S. run. Several "Wild Geese" pickets in New York turned away about 80 percent of a Friday evening Broadway crowd waiting to see the film recently. "Once we told them that this was just another 'Tarzan in Africa' flick, people responded," said Craig Howard, one of the local activists at the scene.

The small size of the 200 blacks and whites in line reflected the waning interest of the public in this particular kind of racist trash. One picketer noted regrettably, "Most of those who went in were teenagers, the kids," who are drawn by the action and are potentially more susceptible to the propaganda.

But that's not all, folks. Following on the trailers of "Wild Geese" comes "Game for Vultures"—an even worse mixture of racism, sadism, white chauvinism and lies.

Like "Wild Geese," the new film is

*continued from page 30*

Sutherland was also found in possession of a large quantity of arms said to have been smuggled into Zambia from Johannesburg.

**ZAIRE IS TO BE THE RECIPIENT** of more Western aid. Some \$600 million is coming from 10 donor countries and three international bodies.

The money is being provided in the form of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) geared to help cover Zaire's anticipated deficits this year. These funds, which include grants and concessional loans, are a part of the "economic stabilization program" for Zaire worked out by the major Western powers earlier this year.

Participants include the US, Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Iran, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Community.

British-financed and is currently being shot in South Africa. It stars "Wild Geese" lead Richard Harris and black American actor Richard Roundtree as what advance publicity says is a "fanatical guerrilla leader." Said Roundtree in defense of his taking the role, "I am not a political person."

"Vultures" departs sharply from its predecessor by directly attacking the Patriotic Front-led war in Rhodesia. The film exploits the white Rhodesian fabrication that black guerrillas have been massacring missionaries. A central part of the film involves an attack in which guerrillas massacre white missionaries and their children.

Also like "Wild Geese," the film is written by a Rhodesian white. Says racist screenwriter Phillip Baird, "People will relate to those killings, I know. That I can't help. This film is a political thriller. It may well be controversial because it's so topical."

Commenting on the massacre scene, producer Hazel Adair said, "There are no punches being pulled here. This scene is horribly true-to-life. We left it in because it's the sort of thing that is happening now."

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement calls "Games for Vultures" the "nastiest piece of political propaganda to come out of the British film industry in a long time."

*continued from page 31*

union, the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers of South Africa. It has received the support of trade unionists in the United States, France, Belgium, and Canada. Workers at the company's British headquarters were being urged to organize demonstrations of solidarity.

The black strikers (legally defined as "coloreds") were demanding recognition for their union and improvements in salaries and working conditions. As with most other multinationals in South Africa, the firm pays most of its workers wages which are below the poverty line, according to union spokespeople.

Errata: The December 1978 issue mistakenly referred to a student protest demanding a change in the name of the new Kennedy School of Government, which we said was to be named after Charles Engelhard. The protest was, in fact, aimed at preventing the naming of the new School's library, not the entire institution.



Available from The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038.

*Computers in South Africa: A Survey of US Companies* by Richard Leonard. 15 pp. Published: December 1978. \$1.00. Bulk rates available.

"Computers are used by the South African military, for nuclear development, in internal security, for the administration of apartheid and by private and state owned corporations."

—from *Computers in South Africa*

This pamphlet examines the use of US computers in South Africa, and provides individual profiles of 11 US computer companies including IBM, Control Data and NCR.

*US Military Involvement in Southern Africa*, edited by the Western Massachusetts Association of Concerned African Scholars. South End Press, 276 pp. \$5.00.

*Economic Crisis in South Africa: The Workers Burden*, published by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). 22 pp. \$1.00.

Contains two memoranda from SACTU in May and June 1977. The first was submitted to the ILO and deals with deepening crisis in South Africa and the manner in which workers in South Africa are affected. The second is a memorandum submitted to employers in South Africa in May 1977.

*Workers' Struggle for Freedom*, published by SACTU 1977, 22 pp. \$1.00.

Contains extracts from the SACTU constitution adopted in 1955, the Freedom Charter, Our Fighting Demands, Trade Unions Under Repression, and International Action Against Apartheid.

**Cable Reprints Available**

The confidential cable sent by US Ambassador to South Africa, William Bowdler, to the State Department which reveals black hostility to US investment in South Africa and which *Southern Africa* published in April is being made available as a reprint. To obtain one or bulk copies, write to *Southern Africa*, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 707, New York, NY 10010.

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