

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Volume XII Number 9

Northwestern University
November/December 1979
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The Struggle For Zimbabwe



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An Explanation and an Apology

Dear Readers,

This is the last issue of Southern Africa for 1979. Because we are desperately short both of funds and of personnel we have been forced to combine the November and December issues. Subscribers will get an extra issue added onto their subscription period, so in the longer run no one will get fewer than the eleven issues covered by a subscription.

We apologize for dropping an issue just now. With tensions building around the Zimbabwe settlement negotiations, reports of a South African nuclear bomb test, renewed Rhodesian attacks against Mozambique, and US conservatives mustering their strength in support of apartheid and minority rule, this is no time to miss publication.

There is really never a good time, and we have reached a point where we must concentrate our meager resources on strengthening our subscription base or face the likelihood of not being able to bring you any future issues.

We will keep on running into periodic crises until we have 10,000 subscribers. That would give us a solid enough foundation to save us from the monthly nightmare of scrounging for money to cover printing and typesetting bills, and it would also allow us to pay staff salaries on a regular basis.

Ten-thousand—it doesn't seem unreasonable, but we are a long way from there now.

Not all our news is bad news. We have raised grants to cover the cost of a substantial promotional mailing, which we hope will bring us 1000 new readers very soon.

Our time in the next month will be spent working on that mailing.

We need your help too. You can play a big role in finding us new readers. If each of you brought us two new subscribers, or one library subscription, we could spend 1980 improving the magazine instead of struggling to survive.

We know from your letters that you think the magazine is important. Please help us keep it alive and growing.

The Staff

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- Top left: Botswana Refugee Camp credit: UNHCR/photo #7121
- Top right: Joshua Nkomo
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- Bottom right: demoralized Rhodesian soldier credit: Steve Galloway

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Special thanks for their assistance to: Africa News, Jim Cason, Ann Crane, Steve Galloway, Jennifer Link, Renee Gadsen, Josh Nessen, David Brooks

Typesetting by Liberation News Service
Cover and layout by The Letter Space

Subscriptions: Individual (domestic)/\$10.00; Institutional/\$18.00; Individual (foreign)/\$13.00; Institutional/\$21.00; Airmail: Africa, Asia, Europe/\$22.00; South and Central America/\$19.50

Southern Africa is available on microfilm through University Microfilm Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48206, and is listed in the Alternative Press Index.

Distributors: New York, NY: Triangle Exchange. Delhi Distributors: Washington DC: Liberation Information Distribution Co. Boston, MA: Carrier Pigeon, Third World Distributors. Chicago: Guild News Agency; Minneapolis, MN: Rainbow Distribution, St. Paul, MN: Isis News Distribution.

ISSN 0038-3775

Southern Africa is published monthly except for July-August, when bi-monthly, by the Southern Africa Committee, 17 West 17th Street, New York, NY 10011.

update

South Africa, Rhodesia Step Up Attacks

In a series of raids in September and October, Rhodesian and South African forces have hit targets of major economic significance in Mozambique, Zambia and Angola, scoring successes against a number of civilian targets. Some of the details:

•**Mozambique.** . . Beginning on September 5, Rhodesian aircraft and helicopter-borne troops, reportedly accompanied by South African Mirage jets, targeted the agricultural region of Mozambique's Limpopo Valley, which supplies foodstuffs to the capital, Maputo, produces most of the country's rice, and is a key component of plans for agricultural expansion. Damage to six bridges and other sites was officially estimated as at least \$37 million, and in several locations the attackers found no Mozambican military presence—as many as 90 civilians were killed in undefended villages such as Guija and Chibuto.

At the dam which controls the Limpopo irrigation scheme, however, Mozambican troops fought off the attacking aircraft, limiting the damage to the structure. One of the Bell 205-A helicopters acquired by Rhodesia last year was shot down. An attack later in the month (September 21) on the communications station at Mount Xiluvo was also repulsed, although the station suffered damage estimated at over \$2 million.

Attacks on military targets proved less successful, including one on a Mozambican camp at Mapai during the Limpopo Valley raids, and one at the end of September on a ZANU camp near Chimoio. Official Rhodesian sources were unusually uncommunicative on the latter raid, although three foreign journalists were flown in to examine bunkers on a fortified hill which had been captured, where they said 150 guerrillas had been dug in. Military officials in Salisbury also reported that the whole complex has covered some 25 square miles, was well-designed, and was defended strongly by a force of about 1,000, well-equipped with anti aircraft weaponry.

ZANU sources reported that the transit camp near the border was indeed heavily defended and that the attacking forces suffered heavy casualties, spending the last two days of the five-day raid trying unsuccessfully to evacuate all their dead and

wounded. ZANU also reported shooting down five helicopters, and retaliated the week following the raid with repeated shelling of the Rhodesian border town of Umtali.

In mid-October, the Mozambican government released a report recounting over 250 incidents this year of Rhodesian attacks on civilian targets in Mozambique, including the destruction of 13 bridges. Attacks on military targets were not included in the tabulation.

•**Zambia.** . . On October 11, Rhodesian forces blew up two Zambian bridges, one on the Tazara railway linking Zambia with the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam, and the other on the Great North Road, Zambia's trucking route to the same port. Repairs are expected to take a month.

The result is to make Zambia even more

dependent on transport through Rhodesia, since the Kazungula Ferry, which linked Zambia to Botswana (and South Africa) was destroyed in April, and remains vulnerable to Rhodesian attacks, while routes through Malawi and Angola are unable to absorb a large volume of trade. There have been negotiations with South Africa about a route through the Caprivi Strip at Katima Mulilo (also requiring a ferry), but in exchange, South Africa is demanding Zambian curbs on SWAPO guerrillas fighting for the independence of Namibia. Early in October, South African troops destroyed the power line supplying electricity to the towns of Sesheke, Senanga and Kalbo, across from the Caprivi Strip.

•**Angola.** . . On September 26, South African aircraft attacked the southern Angolan city of Lubango (formerly Sa da



Tempo

Bell 205-A helicopter shot down by Mozambican forces during Rhodesian attack.

Update

Bandeira), capital of Huila province, as well as Xangongo in Cunene province. In Lubango, the four Mirage jets in the attack succeeded in destroying the furniture factory Madeiras de Huila, killing 30 workers. At least 60 people died, 126 more were injured in the attacks, which involved not only jets but also helicopter gunships.

Meanwhile, the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO has reported that South Africa has reinforced its bomber and fighter-bomber squadrons at Grootfontein, Rundu and Katima Mulilo, in northern Namibia.

Angolan President Appointed

Ten days after the death of President Agostinho Neto, the MPLA central committee unanimously appointed 37-year old Jose Eduardo dos Santos as his successor. Dos Santos was elected to the party presidency, which, under Angola's constitution, automatically brings with it the office of head of state. He will retain office until the next party congress in 1980, when the leadership will again be put to the vote, this time at the entire congress.

Dos Santos joined the liberation movement in 1961 when he was only nineteen, having grown up in Luanda's suburban shanty towns. That was the year armed struggle broke out in Angola, and Dos Santos quickly rose in the MPLA ranks to become chief representative in Brazzaville, Congo. He spent six years in the Soviet Union, receiving training as a petroleum engineer.

After independence Dos Santos became the country's first foreign minister, then later vice premier. In 1977 he was appointed head of MPLA's Economic Development and Planning Secretariat, and a year ago he became Minister of Planning. He has thus been closely associated with the development of Angola's economic policy which has combined agreements with socialist countries and with multi-national corporations such as Gulf and Texaco in an attempt to maximize progress toward ultimate economic independence and socialist production.

In his brief inaugural address, Dos Santos reaffirmed Angola's policy of non-alignment, and he reasserted Angola's continued support for SWAPO, the Patriotic Front, and ANC of South Africa.

Carrington Constitution Could Lead to Coup Says Expert

The constitution being forced on the Patriotic Front by Britain's Lord Carrington is a recipe for discord, not a framework for reconciliation, according to Rhodesian constitutional expert Claire Palley, who is now professor of law at the University of Kent in England. Writing in the *Manchester Guardian* on October 21st, Palley warned that the Carrington constitution, if implemented, might well lead to a coup in Zimbabwe.

This is not a straightforward majority rule constitution, said Palley.

Parliament will be composed of a senate and house of assembly. The latter will have 100 members, 80 African and 20 white. "The electoral system is such," says Palley, "that all 20 white members will be Rhodesian Front (RF) members," and these 20 will in turn elect a quarter of the senate—10 senators. Thus any African party not enjoying RF support must win 51 of the 80 African assembly seats to have a governing majority. It needs 63.8 percent, almost a two-thirds majority of African seats.

Even more important than this disproportionate and racist allocation of reserved white seats for seven years is the veto power that the 20 white RF members, voting with other opposition parties, will be able to exercise on the working of government.

In Palley's view, it is likely that future elections will produce a house of assembly with 45 Patriotic Front members and 35 non-PF African members, leaving the 20 white RF members holding the balance of power. Thus, although it may have a democratically elected majority of the African seats, a future Zimbabwe government will be unable to govern effectively, without support from minority parties, either African or white.

Says Palley, "A majority party with an electoral mandate frustrated by this unbalanced constitution giving the whites a veto on daily government will feel entitled to attempt a coup."

In Palley's view, Patriotic Front objections to the Bill of Rights, and land and pension provisions have been presented too legalistically, thus obscuring vital economic and political problems.

"These problems unless soluble within the constitution will inevitably lead to a coup. African land hunger is Zimbabwe's most urgent problem. In January 1979 the Rhodesian Government admitted that there were 2.5 million too many Africans living in the tribal trust lands. About 75 percent of

European land is needed for 410,000 extra African plot holders.

"The resettlement program for Africans must be any new Zimbabwe government's first priority and requires massive expenditure which should have first call on public funds. Carrington's constitution, in contrast, entrenches as first priority the payment of compensation for land acquired and pensions. No Zimbabwe government could fund both the payment of compensation and land resettlement schemes. By imposing under the constitution this duty of compensation, without at the same time providing massive international financial grants both for compensation and resettlement, the British Government is forcing any post-independence Zimbabwe government into acting unconstitutionally.

"These provisions create more than a funding crisis," says Palley. "They also risk a balance of payments crisis. Property compensation, civil service pensions, commutation payments and private insurance pensions are remittable to non-residents without exchange control restrictions or tax deductions. If large numbers of civil servants emigrated, Zimbabwe would be internationally bankrupted."

Furthermore, the Carrington constitution imposes responsibility for Zimbabwe's public debt. This is acknowledged at 1.2 billion Rhodesian dollars apart from large secret loans. Expansion in public debt was undertaken to fund the war for the defense of white power and privilege. Ignoring future loans for land purchase, and pension payments about 130 million Rhodesian dollars per annum is required to repay only publicly acknowledged loans.

The constitution thus encourages funding and balance of payments crises to pay officials, farmers, industrialists, international corporations and city speculators who helped UDI.

Finally, Palley concludes, "the most dangerous constitutional provision concerns the defense forces. An independent military elite is to be beyond the control of the cabinet. This provision, making the armed forces operationally independent of any elected government, renders probable an eventual military coup and dictatorship."

UPDATE this month was jointly prepared by *Southern Africa* and *Africa News Service*, which publishes a weekly digest available to individuals for \$20.00. Address correspondence to *Africa News*, P.O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702.

update

Natal Bus Boycotts

Since early September, black workers in several areas of South Africa's Natal province have been boycotting bus transport to protest rate increases. The most violent protests have been in Port Shepstone, where roadblocks were set up with large rocks and burning tires. Police were sent in to clear the roads.

At the nearby Marburg Manufacturing Company more than 950 black workers held a sit-down strike when the company refused to consider wage hikes to cover the transport increases. More than 300 workers then stormed the factory, and police dispersed them with tear gas. Buses are still reported to be running empty.

In other KwaZulu areas, buses are reported to be running at only 40% of capacity. Even after the Ezakheni Transport Company rolled fares back to old levels on September 27 in face of a total boycott, workers have refused to ride the buses.

Because of South African government policies, black workers are forced to live long distances from their jobs. As a result, a high proportion of their pay goes to transportation costs.

Pretoria Queries Namibia Proposals

Despite the major concessions made to South Africa in the latest round of Namibia settlement proposals, the Pretoria government is still dragging its feet on acceptance.

The new proposals (see page 10) provide for a demilitarized zone along Namibia's northern border with Angola. The South African government responded mid-October with a list of some dozen wide-ranging questions to be answered before it made any commitment on the plans.

It asked for specific details of how the demilitarized zone will function and how the African front-line states will insure the cooperation of the Namibian independence movement, SWAPO.

Western negotiators insist that they have absolutely firm guarantees from the front-line group that SWAPO will not be allowed to establish guerrilla bases inside Namibia during the transition period—a major South African concern in earlier talks. Under the new plan SWAPO troops would

be confined to the Angolan side of the demilitarized zone, which will be policed with the help of United Nations troops.

What surprised and disturbed representatives of the five Western powers involved in the negotiations is that South Africa has given no indication that it views African concessions on the demilitarized zone as a positive step.

SWAPO, for its part, appears willing to go ahead with the plan despite its reservations about some of the proposals and its skepticism about Western and South African motives, largely out of a confidence that it can win any reasonably fair election.

Even Western negotiators are beginning to have doubts about South Africa's sincerity. One official commented that it is "unrealistic" of South Africa to search for "categorical assurances and outcomes." Another observed that Pretoria is looking for a "no risk" settlement that is simply "impossible." US officials described the Pretoria response as "inadequate" and "disappointing."

State Department Report: Castro No Puppet

"Castro the Soviet puppet" is a common theme in US foreign policy statements, and it has frequently dominated administration explanations of Washington's refusal to recognize the government of Angola.

Yet according to columnist Jack Anderson (*Washington Post*, October 12), for more than three years the State Department has had in its possession a secret report challenging that view.

Prepared by State's bureau of intelligence and research, the report, dated April 13, 1976, concludes that while Castro has aligned himself with many Soviet policies he "remains something of a maverick who still conceives of himself as a leader of the Third World."

Looking at over 12 years of Cuban involvement in Africa, the report finds that "the extent to which the Soviet Union can direct and/or restrict Cuban activities in Africa is a moot question. Soviet policy probably determines the outer boundaries of Cuban options, in the sense that Cuba would not undertake an initiative directly opposed by the Soviet Union, and any large-scale Cuban military operations require Soviet logistical and financial support."

According to Anderson, the report pictures Castro as a sort of gun-toting missionary. "In opposing Western 'economic imperialism,' the remaining vestiges of European colonialism, and white minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, Castro brings to his mission an almost messianic zeal," the report states, adding that Castro seems less concerned with the strict

Marxist orthodoxy of a movement he helps than with its potential or actual ability to oppose the forces of 'capitalist imperialism.'"

Pretoria to Move Blacks

Three-quarters of the black families living in Crossroads, the squatter settlement outside Cape Town, will soon be moved to the bantustans, contrary to government assurances earlier this year that they would be allowed to stay.

The planned move was recently confirmed by Dr. George Morrison, assistant to Minister of Cooperation and Development Piet Koornhof.

Many of the Crossroads people are technically "illegal" under South Africa's influx-control laws, as they do not have pass-law qualifications to live in Cape Town. Their fate caused an international outcry when the government threatened to bulldoze their homes, as it had already done in nearby settlements.

International attention probably helped produce Koornhof's suspension of the demolition sentence and his April visit to Crossroads itself. He made much of announcing a reprieve for Crossroads and was warmly welcomed in the camp. Only long-time observers of South African double-speak questioned the extent of the reprieve. Much of the local and international press reported that the people of Crossroads would be left in peace.

Dr. Morrison has now made it clear that only about one-quarter of the camp's 24,000 people will be resettled in an official black township. The other 18,000 will have to go—back to the bantustans.

Morrison said that the residence status of such people in the Cape peninsula was "totally and unacceptably" illegal, and that they were "scrounging" the jobs away from legitimate work-seekers.

Many of those now facing removal have already lost their jobs as a result of a recent five-fold jump of the fine paid by employers caught engaging blacks without "proper" pass qualifications.

PAC Chooses New Leader

South Africa's banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has named a new chairman, Vusumzi Make, and has expelled former leader P.K. Leballo. In an interview with the BBC, Make said Leballo's "tendency to take unilateral decisions" had led to his ouster as chairman earlier this year. Leballo has continued to act as if he were leader, in violation of the agreement reached at that time, Make said. Meanwhile, 18 persons accused of killing another PAC official, David Sibeko, have gone on trial in Tanzania.

Tough Going at London Talks



Mugabe and Nkomo at Lancaster House.

"Years ago, when the white man first came to our country," said Joshua Nkomo during the Rhodesian peace talks in London, "they took all the best land for themselves. They removed the African people to areas where there was no water, where the soil was poor, where life was hard. Now the dispossessed want their good land back. It's as simple as that."

And it is on that simple issue that the six-week old London talks appeared to founder in mid-October, with dire predictions of collapse coming from many quarters, especially from the British.

The land issue first emerged publicly in early October as a serious item of contention between the British and the Patriotic Front. In the fourth week of the conference, which began September 10, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, who is the conference chairman, concluded that there had been enough discussion of the proposals for a new Rhodesian constitution. It was time to see who was in and who was out. Carrington declared that the constitution proposed by the British government "is the only basis on which it is now possible to reach full agreement at this conference." He gave both parties, the

Patriotic Front and the delegation from Salisbury led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, five days to respond. And imperiously, Carrington made it clear he wanted the answers to be "yes" and "no," making it clear that a "no" would fore-close the no-sayers' participation in the conference, but not continued British negotiation with more "reasonable" elements.

The Land Question

Muzorewa quickly accepted the British proposals even before the October 8 deadline. When front co-leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo made their response known, they didn't reject the British draft outright, but they didn't accept it either. Instead, they again presented alternative proposals, including an important provision that would give a new Zimbabwe government the power "to acquire any property in the public interest." The problem of compensation for expropriated property was left unspecified.

In presenting their alternatives, the front's leaders said that Carrington could not "dictate" the terms of a future Zimbabwe government. "The thinking of the British is racism in its most blatant form," said

Mugabe. "They are trying to safeguard the position of their white settlers in our land."

Basically, the British position on land seizures is this: if land is to be redistributed—Carrington admits redistribution should take place—then white settlers must be compensated. The British also maintain that settlers should have the option of payment in a foreign currency, presumably pounds or dollars, so that settlers can choose to relocate in other countries if they choose not to stay in Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front opposes compensation by a new Zimbabwe government, and in the past, has opposed the establishment of a compensation fund by other nations. The front has criticized a focus that seeks massive compensation to a maximum 6000 white farmers who now hold 86 percent of all arable land rather than significant assistance to the several million African peasants, who having long been deprived of their land, will now shoulder primary responsibility for building Zimbabwe's agricultural economy.

Carrington was obviously annoyed at the front's move. "We cannot now reopen these matters to meet the views of the Patriotic

over

Front any further than we have gone to meet them already," Carrington said. "The provisions of the declarations of rights concerning land in our constitution strike a fair balance between the protection of private property and the legitimate desire of the government to spread land ownership more widely."

But the guerrillas were not satisfied, and for more than a week, they pressed on this point. White settlers, who comprise less than four percent of the population in Rhodesia, have rights to 50 percent of all land, actually control over 80 percent of good

Proposals and Counter-proposals

By late October, the British delegation to the London talks on Rhodesia had leaked its version of the transition plans to the press. Early in the conference, the Patriotic Front had tabled its proposals for the transition to independence. Needless to say, the two sides are very far apart.

The British want a very brief transition period, only three or four months, administered by a British governor, policed by British troops, leading up to new elections. Under the British scheme, Salisbury Prime Minister Bishop Abel Muzorewa would be removed from power, but the institutions of the Salisbury government would be left in place to continue the administration of the territory.

Most important of all, the Salisbury military forces would be left intact. The British plan does not call for the integration of the Rhodesia security forces with the Patriotic Front guerrilla army.

The Patriotic Front has proposed an eight-member governing council in which it would hold four seats. The governing council would establish commissions to control the military, police, and civil service during a six month transition period. The front wants UN peacekeeping troops—or as a second choice, a British Commonwealth force—to police the territory. The front, according to its officials in New York, will not accept British troops to police the transition.

farming land. The value of that land has been estimated at between \$750 million and \$2 billion. Until this point in the London talks, it had not clearly emerged who would have to pay compensation for expropriated land if the front agreed to the British terms.

Finally, the front's unwillingness to give a firm answer produced results. Carrington made his first tentative offer of British financial assistance. Britain "will be prepared," he said, "within the limits imposed by our financial resources, to help."

Still, details about Britain's capacity—or willingness—to underwrite land distribution were slow in coming, and the front continued to withhold its acceptance of the constitution. Carrington became more and more impatient, and after what was described as a "stormy" meeting on October 15 between Carrington and the front leaders, the British foreign secretary presented his strongest ultimatum: accept the British proposals or leave the talks. In the meantime, Carrington added, he would begin talks on the transitional arrangements for new elections with Bishop Muzorewa. At the same time, British officials leaked word that Whitehall had concluded there was no way a settlement could be reached with the front.

These dire predictions were curious, and appeared to some observers as a strong bit of wishful thinking. Some observers believe that the British all along have sought an internationally acceptable way to settle only with Muzorewa. The land issue might have been the opening the British were seeking and could have led to the predictions that a settlement with the front was impossible.

Front Diplomacy

But the front has, throughout the conference, mixed a clear willingness to compromise with its tough initial positions on many of the controversial issues embodied in the constitutional draft. In the first weeks of the conference, the front maintained stiff opposition to any number of reserved seats for whites in the future Zimbabwean legislature. But finally the front gave in, accepting British provisions for 20 white seats in the 100-member House of Assembly, one-third of the seats for whites in the Senate, and the entrenchment of these terms for seven years, amendable only by a unanimous vote in the House of Assembly. Even Carrington welcomed "the spirit of compromise" which the front had displayed.

US Strategy

By that time, Washington had made pronouncements very much on the same lines. The US position has been support for the British throughout the conference, and Carrington has stated that "the US government had given its support to the constitution which we have proposed." US officials, though, have refused to comment on Carrington's take-it-or-leave-it tactics.

So when newspaper accounts portrayed the talks as on the brink of collapse over the land issue, some observers familiar with the conference were skeptical. That skepticism was altogether warranted, for by October 16, the possibility of agreement had appeared. Carrington further elaborated a possible British role in compensating white settlers. "If an agricultural development bank or equivalent institutions were set up

to promote agricultural development, including land settlement schemes," Carrington said, "we would be prepared to contribute to the initial capital. We would then be ready to support the government of independent Zimbabwe to obtain international assistance for these purposes."

Donald McHenry, US ambassador to the UN, said in mid-October that US involvement in the settlement would depend on what the parties decide in London, but he added, "we will be of assistance."

Despite its low profile the US had not been idle. In October the State Department sent messages to the front-line states indicating that the US would be willing to provide them with funds, through the mechanism of a multi-donor program, once a satisfactory agreement had been achieved for Zimbabwe. The funds would be allocated for development projects in areas such as regional transportation and irrigation.

The message was clear—lean on the front to settle, we'll make it worth your while.

African Response

Carrington's tactics, on the other hand, have not received favorable reviews in Africa. The front-line presidents gathered in Dar es Salaam on October 17 to discuss the Rhodesia impasse and appeared ap-

Continued on page 18

Southern Africa in the Classroom

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Zimbabwe's Women: Throwing Off the Past

Jane Ngwenya has been a political activist for a long time. She began her political career in the 1950's and was a member of both the African National Congress (banned 1959) and its successor, the National Democratic Party (banned 1961). In December 1961, within 10 days of the NDP banning she helped form ZAPU to carry on the fight for an independent and free Zimbabwe. She was appointed to its central committee and she has served as the only woman to hold that position for the last 18 years.

Now in her late 40's, Ngwenya led the ZAPU women's delegation when the Patriotic Front gathered in London for the current peace talks. Southern Africa interviewed her there on the problems and possibilities for women in the Zimbabwe liberation struggle.

Women in African liberation struggles, it's been said, have two colonialisms to fight. One struggle is against the colonial power in Rhodesia, the other is the fight against exploitation by men. Has your struggle been doubly difficult?

It is true that the colonial phase in southern Africa has done quite a bit of damage to the women, just as it has damaged all our people. In the case of my parents, my mother was more affected because if my father went to work in town or on a farm



Jane Ngwenya

she remained at home. When the colonialists started destroying their fields and cattle and removing her from one place to another it was my mother who carried all this burden of seeing the destruction of her little bit of property

Yes, there are reactionary facets in our tradition, and this has played quite a part in suppressing us. But since the political struggle in our country, even before the armed struggle, women have started thinking and understanding their rights.

Before that it wasn't easy for a woman to get any education. She and her parents agreed that the boy in the family should be given education and he was treated like a little king even if they were very poor, he got his privileges, much more than the girls.

In the early days, were you able to get some education, or did that happen only after you joined the political movement?

I did get educated before I joined the political movement.

Was that unusual?

In my case, my father's being a teacher played a part. But I was not the only one. We were quite a good number of women in schools at that time, but that depended on how the parents could pay the fees. By then quite a number of parents were really awake, but of course at the time of my mother it was difficult. She was one of the very few who could read and write.

Would you say that now within the political movement women are accepted as equals.

Yes. In this it has been women themselves who have paved their own way. I have not seen the men seriously say, you join us in the struggle.

In my own case, I joined politics when I was a school teacher. But my husband was not happy at all, and this brought serious unhappiness in the family, to such an extent that we separated.

Was he political, or was the involvement your decision?

It was very much more my independent decision to be involved. My husband was a supporter, but he didn't like my taking a leading part, because that meant arrests. I was arrested for the first time in 1959 when the African National Congress, which had

swept the whole of the Central African Federation, was banned. My husband was not happy at all. At that time, it was a disgrace for a woman to be arrested. And even though I was arrested for political activity, because people couldn't distinguish between that and criminal activity, my husband felt disgraced.

You weren't able to convince him that you were right and that it wasn't a disgrace?

I tried. He sort of understood, but a husband and wife don't completely depend on their own thinking. The influence of relatives also plays a big part. His relatives sort of worked on his mind and said, "This is not the right woman. She's too forward. She's disgraceful." Because of the pressure from his family, he thought I was over-riding him.

He couldn't come to terms with my work. Either I would have had to surrender my own political beliefs completely and be a wife which I think he would have accepted very nicely, or as long as I continued to be arrested and continued to believe in what I was doing, he preferred to be on his own.

So at the same time that you were going through a major political crisis in your life, you were also undergoing a difficult personal experience?

It was a very hard time, but it became much harder for my mother because she sympathized with my marriage, sympathized with my small children—I was a mother of two then—and of course respected my husband, her son-in-law whom she didn't want to lose. In my society it is a disgrace for a woman to be a divorcee.

Did you have a falling out with your mother?

Well, no. She talked to me, she tried to convince me. I talked to her in a very nice way as my mother. We tried to talk to each other. Now she really understands, as well as my husband. He writes me letters. He still looks after our children. We are on good terms.

How long did you stay in prison on your first arrest?

It was in 1959, and I stayed only three weeks. It was detention. We were arrested without trial, but because I had a small baby—my little girl was five months old—I was soon released.

You've been arrested since?

Yes. I served jail sentences five times, and I was detained with others in Gwanagwazingwe and Wha Wha for nearly ten years. Eight and a half years were in one stretch. When I finally got out the last time in 1972, I left Zimbabwe because I needed medical treatment after I was tortured in prison.

Were there many women in Rhodesian prisons?

Oh yes, hundreds of us. Fewer in detention.

What propelled you into politics in the first place?

I don't know if I really know, but let me try and show you how I felt. From school I was not very happy when I saw we were learning separately from other children. I was not craving to be in the same school with white children but I wanted to know if we were having the same type of curriculum. Nobody could give me the answer.

When I finished school and took my teacher's course I started teaching. I happened to be one of those elected on the delegation of the African Teachers Association, and so I attended a conference.

I had thought that when you grow up to a mature age if things are wrong, you must say something. You must criticize constructively. But I found that the leader of the teachers' association could not accept any criticism. I was expected to speak nicely and be English-mannered, by being submissive.

I didn't want to lose my job so I went softly. I went back to school. I continued to go to church—as a person brought up in a Christian home—I got married in church. But I still was not very happy, because there was never a place for questions. When they were reading the Bible, you could not ask a question—you are not allowed and you are not understood.

When I attended a political meeting sometime before the formation of the African National Congress, I felt I had found the right thing that I wanted. These others spoke of the same things I had doubted in my mind for a long time.

When ZAPU was formed in 1961, the women's wing was established at the same time. I was appointed a member of the Central Committee then.

This has not been an easy task because it took me a long time to let the women know why I was there, and that work still continues.

You mean a lot of women don't understand your political activism?

Yes; according to our background and culture marriage is a profession. If a woman is married, she has nothing else to bother about. Unfortunately I even find

Continued on page 19

focus on SOUTHERN AFRICA from AFRICANA



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Refugees Swamp Botswana Camp

by Rebecca Reiss and Michael Fleshman

The situation facing Zimbabwean refugees has never been more serious. Thousands are fleeing to neighboring Mozambique and Zambia, where they lack adequate facilities and are the targets of brutal attacks by the Smith-Muzorewa regime. Additional thousands are seeking refuge in Botswana.

Refugee conditions for an estimated 20,000 Zimbabweans in Botswana have received little media attention for several reasons. Botswana has not thus far been regularly subject to vicious raids by Rhodesian security forces as have Mozambique and Zambia. Furthermore, until recently, Botswana housed only transit not permanent refugee camps. Refugees who had escaped Smith's forces were either sent on to Zambia via chartered airline or by ferry across the Zambezi River, which forms the border between Zambia and Botswana.

In the past year the situation has changed. In 1978, after coming under heavy British political pressure, a European charter airline cancelled its agreement to airlift the refugees to Zambia. Early this year the Rhodesians destroyed the Zambezi ferry and since then the relocation of Zimbabweans from Botswana to Zambia has been virtually halted. Even commercial air traffic between Zambia and Botswana was brought to a standstill this summer, when Air Botswana's only two pilots were arrested in Zambia and charged with spying for Rhodesia. Commercial flights have resumed, but do not provide a feasible way to transport thousands of refugees.

1000 a Month

As an estimated 600-1000 Zimbabweans are still coming across the border each month, the Botswana government and refugee relief organizations are being forced to convert the transit camps into permanent facilities. This conversion has been slow and difficult as a result of drastic shortages of food, shelter, and clothing.

Rebecca Reiss and Michael Fleshman are free-lance journalists. They have been active liberation support workers in California and have recently returned from a trip to Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.



UNHCR, no 7112

For a growing boy in Francistown, bread is a meagre meal.

The camps are desperately overcrowded. According to UN sources the Botswana refugee population, quoted conservatively at 20,000, has tripled since 1976, and more than 8000 refugees have already reached the camps this year.

Three Camps Open

The government of Botswana now operates three camps for Zimbabwean refugees, one near Francistown, one at Selibi-Pikwe, and one in Dukwe. Francistown camp was built in 1975 for a transient population of 250. It currently houses 5,000 men—men and women live in separate camps—in an area the size of two football fields.

The Francistown camp is so crowded that even sleeping must be done in shifts since there is no room for all its residents to lie down at the same time. Sanitation and housing facilities are grossly inadequate; most men have only a blanket to protect them from the frigid Francistown nights.

Living conditions at the Dukwe camp, which houses 10,000 people, are somewhat better. There the residents—mostly women and children—are benefiting from an experimental, self-help program which is funded by the Botswana Council of Refugees (BCR). The BCR, established by the Botswana government, is funded primarily by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), but also receives important assistance from the Red

Continued on page 20

Help Needed

As reported in the accompanying article, life for Zimbabwe's refugees is a continual crisis. In Mozambique and Zambia their camps are constantly bombarded by Rhodesian troops; in Botswana some people have to sleep in shifts because of a lack of space.

Ultimately, the solution to the problems in these camps lies in the successful liberation of Zimbabwe, so that the refugees can go home.

In the meantime, the immediate problems confronting people in the refugee camps are a place to sleep, and a way to survive in the next year.

Lutheran World Service, at the request of the Botswana Council on Refugees, is coordinating the work done by relief agencies in the three Botswana refugee centers. In addition, LWS is helping to provide vocational training for people in the refugee centers.

Lutheran World Service has budgeted more than a half million dollars for refugee work in Botswana. LWS is relying on help from concerned individuals and organizations to raise this budget. The need is urgent.

Send tax deductible contributions to the Lutheran World Ministries, 390 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010. Please specify Botswana Refugee Program.

Around Another Corner— Still No Settlement in Sight

In late September, the five Western nations negotiating a settlement in Namibia presented the United Nations with a redesigned plan for a peacekeeping force and UN-supervised elections for the territory.

The essential new feature of the plan, drafted by representatives of the US, Great Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada, is a demilitarized zone to be established for 30 miles on either side of Namibia's northern border with Angola and Zambia. The DMZ was originally proposed last summer by Angolan President Agostinho Neto before he died.

But in negotiations with South Africa, and among themselves, the Western five have modified the DMZ proposal to include five South African-held military enclaves, right up close to the border with Angola. This is a direct departure from the Namibia independence plan developed in 1978 and accepted last February by the UN, the Western five, and SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement. That plan permits South Africa to maintain only two bases inside Namibia before UN-supervised elections are held.

The DMZ plan was elaborated by the West to eliminate South Africa's objections to the original 1978 plan, and its terms were devised without consulting SWAPO or the front-line states. The proposals were presented to South Africa on October 1, and only some time after that did UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim make them officially available to SWAPO and the front-line African states. As of mid-October, there had been no official reaction from any of the concerned parties. "Once the reactions are received," said a UN spokesperson, "it will be possible to decide how best to proceed."

Playing Hard to Get

South Africa actually accepted the West's Namibia plan when it was first negotiated in April 1978, but after subsequent SWAPO acceptance of the plan, South Africa found new grounds for rejecting it, objecting to the plan's provisions for SWAPO bases inside Namibia and to its failure to provide for UN monitoring of SWAPO bases in neighboring Angola and Zambia.

The new plan eliminates SWAPO's internal bases, gives SWAPO guerrillas inside Namibia at the time of a ceasefire the option of being escorted out of the territory or of laying down their weapons and remaining inside Namibia as civilians.

The plan does not however call for UN monitoring of five SWAPO bases outside the territory, leaving this responsibility to front-line host governments. Angola has given an indication that it might accept some collaboration with a UN peacekeeping force. Despite obvious compromises made in the new proposal expressly for the benefit of South Africa, some observers believe Pretoria will seize on the external bases issue to continue opposition to the plan.

some African representatives at the UN express concern that the South African presence in the DMZ . . . could aid further infiltration by UNITA forces in southern Angola.

The number of troops in the UN peacekeeping force which will supervise the 1978 agreement's proposed elections and the transition to independence remains at 7500, although UN officials are known to favor increasing that number, because South Africa has used the long delay in the plan's implementation to significantly increase its military and police power in Namibia. While the military would be "confined to bases" and the force size restricted, the 1978 agreement mandates no such controls on the police.

Initial reaction to the plan has been

cautious on all sides. So far SWAPO has not given any official notification of its attitude, but some African representatives at the UN express concern that the South African presence in the DMZ, permitted by the plan for the first three months of a ceasefire in the territory, could aid further infiltration by UNITA forces into southern Angola.

South Africa may not respond until after the outcome of the current Rhodesian peace talks in London. But in early October Foreign Minister Roelof Botha gave some hint of South Africa's attitude when he told a public meeting that he foresaw difficulty in finding a solution if the West "did not return to the original proposals." That statement continued Pretoria's tradition of diplomacy by confusion. It is quite clear from documents available relating to discussions held between South African and Western military experts that Pretoria originally accepted and was planning for the handling of internal SWAPO bases. The line was switched later, as South Africa began to realize that because of SWAPO strength throughout the country implementation of the 1978 plan was likely to produce a truly independent Namibia. It was at this point that Pretoria reneged on its acceptance of the plan, by claiming that it was not the authentic "original" plan.

Western officials believe that the new proposals represent the best possible chance of reaching a compromise on Namibia. But Donald McHenry, US ambassador to the UN, hinted that obtaining South African cooperation will be a long and drawn out process. "I never expect anybody to reject anything outright," McHenry said at the UN. "If they did it would make life a lot easier."

Ironically, South Africa may have been given an incentive to reach agreement on the Namibia proposals by Cuban President Fidel Castro's recent visit to the UN. In an interview, Castro was reported to have stated that Cuban troops would begin their withdrawal from Angola as soon as a Namibia settlement was reached. This is the first time Castro has made the Cuban withdrawal from Angola contingent upon developments in Namibia, although his comments have not yet been confirmed.

M.S.□

An American in SWAPO

Most Americans who have heard of Namibia probably think of it as a dry and deserted part of the world, thousands of miles from American shores and American concerns. But for Tim Guile of Milwaukee, Namibia is a very real place. Tim Guile must have been a unique phenomenon in Namibia. For most of the past three years, Guile was employed by Consolidated Diamond Mines to teach literacy to Namibian workers. During most of that period, Guile was also a member of SWAPO.

Last spring, Guile was deported from Namibia by the South African administration. Before that, he lived in the Namibian coastal town of Oranjemund, the center of CDM's diamond mining operation in Namibia. In 1976, CDM, which is owned by South Africa's DeBeers mining consortium, hired Guile, who is in his late twenties and holds a bachelors degree from Marquette University and a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Chicago, to run an adult education program for CDM's workers. Guile trained Namibians as teachers, running a staff of fourteen.

In Oranjemund, Guile was provided housing in a white neighborhood, but he soon ran into trouble there because he viewed black people as equals. The rest of the whites in Oranjemund didn't, and that was the start of Tim Guile's political education.

"No matter what you would do to treat a black man as an equal," Guile said recently in New York, "there were always repercussions among the white community. The other whites ostracized us completely. People would say 'good morning' to us, but when my wife walked down the street with a black woman, she was referred to as a SWAPO bitch."

Because of his friendliness toward blacks and his isolation from other whites, most of Guile's social relationships were with black people. "I was seen to be on the black man's side," he says. "But the way I saw it, I wasn't so much for black or white as I am for a just society. It turned out, though, that most blacks were oppressed and were interested in a more equitable society, and most whites were on top and were less interested."

As a white man, Guile's membership in SWAPO may have been unusual, though it was not unheard of. But as an American, Guile's position was unique. SWAPO has managed for many years to maintain a sort of two-tiered existence—a legal political structure inside Namibia and a banned military structure that operates from neighboring Angola and Zambia. Guile joined the legal wing of SWAPO soon after he arrived in Oranjemund, but he wasn't

deported until last spring when he began to speak openly at political meetings.

In April there was a wildcat strike in the mines around Oranjemund. Insecticide had been discovered inside a sack of mealie meal—the barely nutritious staple that feeds most workers. At about the same time, Guile addressed a political meeting in Oranjemund for the first time. His topic was linguistics.

"One of the speakers before me got up and talked about the word 'kaffir,'" Guile explains. "Now, kaffir is a word in the southern African context which means more or less the same as 'nigger' in America. It's an insult.

"The speaker before me stood up and said, 'You know we don't like this word kaffir. Why do whites keep on referring to black people as kaffirs? Why can't they just stop this kind of thing?'

"I felt that, for a SWAPO meeting, this was playing things a little too low-keyed, so I approached the chairman of the meeting, who was a friend of mine and worked for me—he's now detained—and I asked him if I could say a few words. He said, 'fine,' and I got up.

"I said basically this. You know, it would be instructive for us to look at the origins, the etymology, of the word kaffir. The word actually derives from a word in Arabic, and there, it means infidel or non-believer. It's in fact inappropriate to use this word in referring to members of SWAPO, for instance, because SWAPO's program is to institute social justice in Namibia and to do away with the oppression that colonialism brings. It seems to me that social justice is a very Christian idea, and therefore you really can't use the word infidel or kaffir when referring to members of SWAPO, or even sympathizers of SWAPO, as a vast majority of Namibians are."

A smile comes over Guile's face as he remembers the incident. "But, I said, it's

possible that some people will still prefer to use this word kaffir. If they do, I said, they should not refer to members of SWAPO, but rather perhaps to others who are not interested in implementing social justice. It's even possible, I said, that you know some of these people. Perhaps they are even here."

The security people were busy recording his comments and not long after that Guile was deported.

But Guile's deportation was probably the result of a wider South African crackdown on SWAPO's internal organization. Early this year, following the internal elections in Namibia that led to the creation of a national assembly heavily weighted in favor of South African-backed political parties, the South African administration embarked on a territory-wide sweep against SWAPO members. Detention of SWAPO members had always been common, but this time, the South Africans meant to eliminate SWAPO's internal membership. "I was caught in the net," Guile concludes.

It has been almost a year since those internal elections, and South Africa is edging slowly toward establishing a form of unilateral independence. Guile believes that the whites of Namibia will strongly resist any real change in the territory, and he sees the appointment of Gerrit Viljoen, the new South African administrator-general of the territory, as an attempt to placate white demands. The previous administrator, Guile says, was seen as "somehow making too many concessions to the twentieth century."

Can South Africa pull off a successful internal settlement?

"I don't think there are too many people confused about South Africa's intentions," says Guile. "Personally I don't think it will work. I don't think this thing will enjoy the kind of credibility that Pretoria hopes will take root among the people.

"I just don't think it will happen." M.S.



Consolidated Diamond Mines, Namibia.

Black Unions Challenge Reform Talk

The announcement by South Africa's Minister of Manpower Utilization, Fanie Botha, touched off a noisy round of applause. On September 25, Botha informed a Johannesburg assembly that the government had decided to reverse its previous position and extend trade union rights to all blacks except those "from foreign countries which never formed part of South Africa." His cheering audience did not consist of black trade union activists.

In fact, Botha's announcement was greeted by applause from precisely the people who can now expect to face black trade unionists across the negotiating table. They had gathered as delegates to the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries. And their cheers highlighted once again the peculiarly South African array of responses to recent government reforms of labor legislation (see *Southern Africa*, June and July/August 1979).

So did the reaction from various of the country's major white union leaders.

Predictably, Arthur Grobbelaar, general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, which has been urging the need to control black unions through binding them into the existing white union structure, welcomed the new move. With blithe disregard for the phalanx of apartheid laws that control the lives, movement, right to go anywhere to take up a job, of black workers, Grobbelaar declared, "All intelligent and concerned South Africans will heartily welcome this realistic decision which makes South Africa's labor legislation as good as in any other country."

Equally predictably, Arrie Paulus, head of the right-wing white Mineworkers' Union, bluntly denounced Botha's decision as "further treason against the white worker of South Africa." Of course, Paulus is nothing if not blunt. Just two weeks earlier, the union chief had stirred up a furor and a lawsuit from Soweto leader Dr. Nthato Motlana by calling blacks "baboons." But Paulus's attack on the extension of black trade-union rights was echoed somewhat more diplomatically by other white union leaders. Wessel Bornman, secretary of the all-white Confederation of Labor, called trade union rights a "dangerous weapon" whose extension to blacks constituted a "vast risk."

Black Reaction

Considering these dire assessments from white unions that have long used their rights mainly as a weapon to protect white



privilege, it would be easy to assume that black union-activists must have been ecstatic about their new status. Easy but wrong. The reaction from leaders of existing black unions was decidedly mixed.

Unregistered black unions had previously emphasized the exclusion of migrant and contract workers as a major reason for rejecting the labor reforms that followed the Wiehahn report. But they had not limited their objections to that single obstacle and they did not leap at the chance to register once that obstacle was removed.

The first unregistered black union to issue a formal response to Botha's latest proposal was the Western Province General Workers' Union (WPGWU). The 10,000-member union flatly rejected registration and cited a long list of reasons for its stand.

The South African press highlighted an analysis of the union's response by Willy Bendix, a white professor of labor relations. Bendix concluded that there was "only one valid reason" for opposing registration—racially mixed unions are still prohibited unless granted a special exemption. But the WPGWU's list of objections boiled down to a single, very different, and much more fundamental basis for opposi-

Black workers, still under white eyes. tion—recognition and rejection of the entire strategy underlying the Wiehahn Commission's recommendations and the government's moves to implement them.

As several critics had pointed out when the Wiehahn Commission report was first released, registration of black unions would bring them under legal restrictions barring political activity and would impose other government controls on their activities. Behind it all, noted South Africa's *Financial Mail*, lay the desire "to build up and stabilize a black labor aristocracy," narrowing the limits of union activity to strictly trade union interests and creating new divisions within the black working class.

The WPGWU didn't take the bait. "The union will not register as long as externally imposed controls remain part and parcel of the registration package," the Johannesburg *Star* reported.

Corporate Joy

But that response didn't dampen the enthusiasm of corporate backers of the plan. For one thing, rumors abounded that "trade unions will not have a choice of non-registration for long."

"To ensure that trade union rights are
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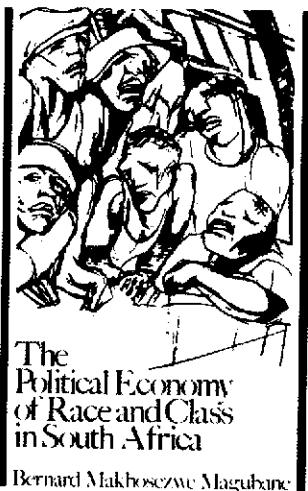
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The State Department is a *Southern Africa* subscriber. But have State Department officials been reading their copies in order to sort out their position on Africa? It would certainly seem so! A secret report of the department which saw light in October admitted that Fidel Castro—"something of a maverick"—was not acting under Soviet order when he sent Cuban troops to aid the liberation of Angola. While the report maintained that Castro was active with "an almost messianic zeal" they conceded that he was not displaying the zeal of a puppet energetically jiggled on a string. But the State Department must have been using back

issues: Our readers had already found that out in *Southern Africa* way back in 1975.

The magazine has been bringing you reliable news, analysis and exclusive reports for many years now. But our kind of journalism does not lend itself to huge corporate giants—we've been too busy exposing corporate involvement in South Africa, for instance. And so the magazine depends heavily on the support of its readers. As costs rise all around it is becoming increasingly more difficult to keep on publishing. Help ensure the future of *Southern Africa* by becoming a sustainer for \$30 or \$50 per year. And we will send you a gift.

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guest
commentary

The Fight



by Clayton Riley

Tate triumphant—but apartheid the real winner

Nations, of course, do not live by power alone, and South Africa's recent efforts to legitimize a history of human abuse attest clearly to needs expressed beyond the gun. Sports competition remains an international court of appeal for the most illegitimate regimes, a way of making amends to just about everyone but the victims of oppression, whose point of view cannot be permitted even the vaguest legitimacy.

Bob Arum, in active collusion (what else could it be called?) with the government of South Africa, sought new territory in the fight game in the same way—and for the very same reasons—that marketplaces open and expand as part of the capitalist design. Arum, indeed, has no politics outside the influence of profit, which makes him an ideal partner for a government without principles.

Business as business creates and implements its own regulations and controls. Thus a black American fighter, John Tate, or some such other, will always be available to answer bids from the entrepreneur. And for good reason. Tate, sadly, has no politics either, although his reasons for being both ill-informed and ill-advised are far more readily understandable.

Athletes who allow themselves to be, are often placed in cocoons of isolated indifference to all matters but the games they play. Tate, clearly, is such an individual. His thinking, evidently, is done for him, by Arum or anyone else representing the historical disease of skin privilege. Of course, millions of dollars are involved. Any boxing done between a black and white fighter brings out the deepest, and often the most unsavory, passions from American sports fans.

Bob Arum knows this: it is a basic canon in the trade. With Muhammad Ali retired, great fights will be a long time coming, so the gimmicks must now be vanked out of the promotion closet. With Arum leading the charge, South African boxers who have no world class credentials are being ranked as contenders, South African boxing officials are taking seats in judgment of those rankings, and a great time and lots of money will be had by all.

But this, of course, doesn't include the sufferers, the serfs in the diamond mine, the workers who are paid less because of their skin color, the servants, the near-slaves, the prisoners, the victims, the many dead of places like Sharpeville.

Arum says he is striking a blow against apartheid, which is absurd, because the agreement that allows Tate to fight against Gerri

Coetzee in an integrated arena is not legally binding and will not apply—except by a handshake or other fake promise—to any other sporting event.

The state known as South Africa has been in violation of the basic rights of human beings for all of its days. We are now being told by Arum and other fortune hunters that we should forget the past and let the South Africans waltz, without even a casual apology for the savage behavior they've loosed on the world. "Everybody talks," sings Peter Tosh, "about freedom, but none is talking 'bout justice." South Africa, the world is now told, is going to be forgiven, and not even mildly punished, for crimes committed with deliberation and malice aforethought, and for a primitive, willful effort to destroy life and hope and sanity. The same people who tell us that the PLO is composed of murderers will now welcome South Africa, with all the blood that stains that country's soil, into the family of man.

Forget the past. Arthur Ashe wants to build tennis courts in Soweto. Israelis want a nice, quiet place to vacation overseas. Americans want to know that there are still places in the world where they know how to keep niggers in their place. Bob Arum needs another Cadillac.

And America will sit back very comfortably and watch the whole rotten mess on the tube. While those who care can only hope for the tribunal that will put Bob Arum and everyone like him in a glass booth . . . to explain. While those who care will wait for that day, in Hanoi, perhaps, when the real charges that remain in the 20th century will be brought, and no smart-talking lawyers will be able to claim mitigating circumstances.

Which side of the dock people will be sitting on then depends on now. For Americans it means, very simply, that any product advertised in connection with this fight will be bought only at the risk of not paying attention to history and thus being forced to repeat it.

For those in Africa, in all corners of the continent, it means driving carpetbaggers from temples and oppressors from the faces of the earth. Whatever South Africa may become when it is Azania, it is not that now, and all people with life in them and common decency should shun that country as a place of plague and pestilence. Those imprisoned there—and anyone living there at peace with the regime ought to be considered imprisoned—should be helped to escape, eventually to return and make a human sector out of a dung pile, which is what South Africa, for all its wealth and all its willing, supportive allies, continues to be.

Words are not enough. Boycott. Make war. Destroy the enemy who can be nothing else. []

Clayton Riley is a black freelance writer whose articles have appeared in the Village Voice and New York Times. He also broadcasts regularly over WBAI in New York.

Space Research— Still Arming Apartheid

In January of this year, *Southern Africa* detailed an arms smuggling scheme involving the shipment of 155mm artillery shells to South Africa by the Space Research Corporation. At that time, it was reported that the company, based on a 10,000-acre site straddling the Vermont-Canada border and incorporated in both Canada and the US, had been involved in at least three major clandestine shipments to South Africa, two via Antigua in the Caribbean, and one via Spain. The illegal shipments, originally revealed in a press conference by Joshua Nkomo in a 1977 visit to Canada, were further documented through the efforts of the Antigua Workers Union, and by a well-researched TV documentary put together by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in coordination with the BBC. The documentary used port documents, shipping intelligence, eyewitness accounts by An-

tiguan dockworkers, and careful appraisals of government documents to substantiate its charges against Space Research.

Although an investigation by a Vermont grand jury has yet to come to a decision, further evidence of the scope of Space Research's smuggling to South Africa, and of the complicity of US government officials, has surfaced over the past nine months. The Canadian government is also investigating the company, but *Southern Africa* was unable to reach government officials to determine what stage that investigation has reached.

Providing Technology

Research by reporters Sam Hemingway and William Malone of the *Burlington Free Press* has demonstrated that Space Research's collaboration with South Africa went beyond selling an estimated 53,000 extended-range artillery shells. Space

Research also provided the technology and expertise necessary for South Africa to develop a new, extended-range 155mm howitzer. Through interviews with company employees, Hemingway and Malone determined that at least 12 Space Research employees had visited South Africa in the fall of 1977 to participate in testing exercises at Schmidt's Drift Range, a military base 60 miles west of Kimberley. Chief among the visitors was Steve Adams, who had served as project manager in the company's development of its special 155mm artillery shell, which has a range one-and-a-half times that of conventional shells. (Adams has since left Space Research. He is now working with Cementation Engineering, Ltd. of Johannesburg, one of two South African firms that received artillery testing equipment from Space Research.)

Other evidence of Space Research's role in the development of South Africa's 155mm howitzer came from the US patent office in Washington, which showed that the firm had obtained a patent from South Africa for its extended-range shell, a move which is generally too expensive to take unless actual exports are expected. In addition, the *Free Press* reporters obtained airline and other documents showing that, beginning in October 1976, Space Research sent more than a dozen shipments of artillery testing equipment from Mirabel airport in Montreal to South Africa. Company employees involved in the testing at Schmidt's Drift confirmed the use of various instruments for gauging velocity, pressure, and the interior ballistics of the gun at the test site.

Based on this evidence, Prime Minister Pieter Botha's assertion this April that South Africa had developed its own 155mm howitzer "in record time" without outside help is highly questionable.

Washington Complicity

There is also evidence to suggest US government complicity. Based on leaks from sources close to the Vermont grand jury investigation, a *Boston Globe* article in late August asserts that on at least three occasions in December 1977 and January 1978 U.S. Navy ships were used to ferry Space Research shells to Antigua, shells which were then transferred to another vessel and carried on to South Africa.

Even more damning evidence of US government laxity in enforcing the arms embargo (if not outright encouragement of violations) comes from the revelation, again from the *Burlington Free Press*, that the US Department of Defense circumvented its normal regulations to allow 50,000 155mm shell-forgings (shell casings which have yet to be armed with explosive material) to be produced for Space Research at a US Army arsenal in Scranton, Pennsylvania. The procedure used was based on an earlier re-

South African Parliamentarians on Tour

by Reed Kramer

Washington, DC—Twenty-three South African members of parliament on an unprecedented international tour ran up against some frank criticism here in mid-October. During three days in Washington they were told that many Americans abhor apartheid and that no US president could muster the political support to back white South Africans openly in a confrontation with the country's black majority.

But while the representatives were primarily here to listen, they also managed to convey their own message: South Africa is making a genuine effort to solve its problems.

"We are asking for time for this government to show it is willing to make changes," said Phillip Wyburgh, a member of the opposition and relatively liberal Progressive Reform Party. The plea for time was repeated over and over, as the group sat through sessions at the State Department, on Capitol Hill, and at various other settings throughout the city.

The administration's views were presented by policy planning director Anthony Lake, by two deputy assistant secretaries of state, Robert Keeley and Gerald Helman, and by Cyrus Vance's

press spokesman, Hodding Carter.

The strongest warnings the South Africans heard came from congressional liberals, including Africa subcommittee chairmen George McGovern and Stephen Solarz as well as the ad hoc monitoring group which was formed in 1977 to oppose closer US-South African ties. The South African group heard the other side as well in a meeting with House conservatives convened by representative Robert Bauman and Senator Jesse Helms's aides.

For Prime Minister P.W. Botha's government, which organized the parliamentarians' tour, the visit serves a two-fold purpose. By exposing the group to the views of national leaders in the three nations with which South Africa has the strongest ties—West Germany, Great Britain, and the US—government officials hope to gain domestic political support for the careful reform policies it is advocating.

The visit also forms part of the government's drive to win overseas support for these policies and convince public opinion in the West that they represent significant-enough progress to justify continued United Nations vetos of sanctions against South Africa. African critics maintain that such measures as accepting union rights for African workers or allowing mixed race sports events do not speak to the basic issues of equal rights and full majority rule. □

Reed Kramer is a member of the editorial staff of *Africa News*.

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quest from Retired Lt. Gen. Arthur Trudeau, a Space Research director and former head of Army research and development, under which Space Research was allowed to rent the Scranton facility to produce 15,000 shells for Israel. Although Defense Department procurement regulations permit the use of government facilities by a private contractor only when such use is provided "rent-free" to a company "certifying that it is acting on behalf of a foreign government," Space Research did not get rent-free use of the plant, did not register with the Justice Department as an agent of Israel, and did not contract to make the sale (which exceeded \$40,000) under the Foreign Military Sales Act.

These technical irregularities in favor of Space Research pale in comparison to the treatment of its next request: 50,000 shell-forgings from the Scranton arsenal, made on April 30, 1976, again allegedly for Israel. Department of Defense documents obtained by the *Burlington Free Press* reporters show that this request was confirmed by telephone within four days without even checking to see if the company had applied for a license from the State Department to export the shells to Israel. No such license exists for the shells, just as there is obviously no license for any of the estimated 53,000 155mm shells that Space Research shipped to South Africa.

The US government attitude to this appears to be one of calculated indifference. "The boredom in Washington was thundering. Much too loud," a US diplomat told the *International Herald Tribune* in August. The grand jury investigation has dragged on for close to a year, often meeting no more than once every three weeks. Despite evidence of government complicity, the Justice Department stated as recently as September that it has no plans to investigate the Pentagon's role in the shipments.

The artillery shells and howitzers provided to South Africa by Space Research are not only meant to be used by Pretoria's army in maintaining domestic control. South Africa also has used the material in attacks on neighboring states. Hardly a week has passed in the last year when Angola has not been attacked by bombing, artillery fire, or ground attack. In a recent trip to Angola, Prexy Nesbitt of the Africa Project of the Institute for Policy Studies saw shells that fit the description of those designed by Space Research. They had been fired on a SWAPO refugee camp inside Angola.

The arms smuggling case also raises questions about other possible collaboration between Space Research and South Africa. A computerized file card at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration shows that, as of 1973, Space Research was

New Mozambique Aid

Congress is allowing regular bilateral aid to Mozambique in fiscal year (FY) 1980 for the first time since Mozambique's independence. A small three million dollar grant is to be allocated for the purchase of American farm machinery, parts, and fertilizer, and for the construction of a farm machinery repair and maintenance shop.

In the last two years, Congress has put a blanket restriction on foreign aid to Mozambique and Angola. Each year the House of Representatives had voted to deny US aid given either bilaterally or through international institutions such as United Nations agencies and the African Development Bank. Because the international agencies would reject any contribution from donors who place restrictions on the end use of money, the Senate has always eliminated the prohibition on indirect aid, but the ban on direct aid had remained.

This year, however, both the House and Senate agreed to language prohibiting aid to Mozambique unless the President determines it is in the national interest. As immediate presidential waiver is expected. Similar language applied to Zambia and Tanzania in past years has not stopped aid to these countries.

Even though the ban-plus-presidential waiver provision has no real teeth, Senator Helms made sure it would be included in the bill, and took the occasion to smear the Mozambican government. In floor debate on October 9th Helms said, "... Mozambique stands today as the greatest threat to

the peace and stability of sub-Saharan Africa in the Dark Continent. . . It is not just that the Machel regime is incompetent to the point of criminal negligence, so much that Mozambique today is in a state of chaos economically, socially, and politically. The real nub of the question is that Machel is the prime support and host of the notorious Marxist terrorist leader, Robert Mugabe. . . [American voters] will be looking to see if they want to elect Senators who consistently vote against American traditions of loyalty and freedom."

No Senator contradicted Helms's argument, and the provisional ban was enacted by 58 to 39.

In spite of the ban on aid to Mozambique in the last two foreign aid bills, some US assistance has gone to Mozambique. In FY '77 the United States gave \$10 million to Mozambique in response to the United Nations' request for assistance when Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia, in support of UN sanctions. In FY '78 and '79, about \$26.6 million worth of corn, rice, soy, milk and oil was shipped under the PL 480 "Food for Peace" program.

This year's foreign aid bill will include between \$75 and \$85 million in aid for southern Africa. Zambia is the largest recipient, slated to receive from \$25 to \$30 million in commodity important financing. The Senate has sought to provide funds for refugees inside Muzorewa's Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and this year's bill again includes the ban on all bilateral aid Angola. C.R.□

listed as capable in the areas "homing devices, nuclear weapons, terminal ballistics, and terminal guidance systems." According to one Pentagon official contacted by telephone, Space Research's military contracts over the years include one in 1973

labeled "firepower nuclear munitions and radiacs." A written list from the Pentagon "confirming" the information provided by phone neglected to specify this particular contract, evidently classifying it under "other research and development." B.H.□



By 1990, Only Memories of Underdevelopment

Mozambique's president sets out the route to a socialist economy.

by Gloria Jacobs

The need for greater collectivization and for stronger economic ties with other countries, both socialist and capitalist, were the primary themes of a major policy speech in August by Mozambique's President Samora Machel to the council of ministers. The meeting—which brought together 160 party and state leaders and cadres—was devoted to analyzing and approving the 1979-80 central state plan, but at the urging of President Machel the delegates went beyond immediate issues to look at the longer-term parameters of the socialist development of the Mozambican economy.

The coming year is a critical one for the economy, which has already seen widespread recovery following a severe fall in production in the first two years after independence. But the cost of the war in Zimbabwe—and Mozambique's unflinching support of the liberation fighters—is taking its toll. The shipping and transportation losses accruing from the closure of the Mozambique-Rhodesia border almost equal the value of foreign exchange earned from exports, about \$300 million annually. Defense costs take up almost a quarter of

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the annual budget, and bombing by the Rhodesian army has resulted in serious loss of life as well as the destruction of cultivated land.

"These aggressions stimulate our revolutionary vigilance," Machel has said of the incursions, and as the new plan makes clear, Mozambique's future depends on that vigilance.

Overcoming Bureaucracy

In his speech to the delegates, Machel stressed the necessity for every citizen to participate in the struggle against underdevelopment. Production costs have to be lowered, he said, and this could be done through increased collectivization, less bureaucracy, and less procrastination. The Mozambican president emphasized the need for those with technical skills to assume the party's political line because "technical leadership" is "inseparable from political and administrative leadership."

Moving from internal to external economic concerns, President Machel called for the continued development of international economic relations, "our country's contribution to human progress." Stating that "the development of mutually advantageous economic and commercial

relations with neighboring countries, especially the front-line states, is a pivotal question in our work," Machel underlined his hope for coordinated joint economic market commissions in east, central, and southern Africa. He pointed to the coming summit meeting in Maputo, among Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe as one example of the way in which the ties of a common struggle against colonialism could be turned into economic ties.

Agriculture is the base for our development, industry its dynamizing factor and heavy industry its decisive factor.

Reaching Out

Such ties, he stressed, should not preclude relations with countries that do not have a shared political system.

"In our zone," he said, "there are countries with different social systems. As a socialist country, it is our responsibility to foster the defense of peace, peaceful co-existence, detente, and relations of good-neighborliness between countries with different and even opposite social systems. We are open to the development of economic

"The national economy is not only about the economic ministries and the enterprises. It's the task of everyone."

Nick Allen/LNS



and commercial relations with all countries, no matter what their social systems. We do not fear cooperation with private firms from other countries. We need technology. We need finance. We have resources, the labor capacity, organization and geographical location. Above all, we are aware of what we want and how we want it.

"We refuse to remain eternally suppliers of raw materials. We refuse to allow the old colonial relations to remain even under a new guise. We refuse to participate in the international division of labor in a subordinate position, paying more and more to buy finished products and selling our labor power for less and less. We refuse to sell the ore and be left with only the holes."

In order to implement the call for greater international economic trade, the 1979-80 plan calls for the strengthening of the Ministry of External Trade, the Bank of Mozambique, and external trading firms. Plans are also afoot for a chamber of commerce "so that we can promote commercial relations with all countries in a unified and dynamic way." Many of these plans will be implemented in the coming year in order to meet targets contained in the economic and social directives plan, which in turn paves the way for meeting the goals established in the medium-term plan for 1981-85.

Planning for 1990

The president's speech also looked to the future, envisioning an almost totally transformed society by 1990. "By then," he said, "we should have resolved and put behind us problems of food supply, clothing, footwear, unemployment, illiteracy, and endemic diseases which take a heavy toll of our people. In 1990, when we

We refuse to sell the ore and be left with the holes.

celebrate the 15th anniversary of our victory, we cannot still be regarded as a developing country, in the present meaning of the term. We have to be developing towards advanced socialism. We will not be a developing country in the sense of trying to break away from underdevelopment, misery, and hunger.

"We have said that agriculture is the base for our development, industry its dynamizing factor, and heavy industry its decisive factor."

To arrive at the expected state of development will require major changes in economic relations and in the social structure of the nation. Thus the president expressed the need for complete cooperativization of the family sector in the

coming decade, urbanization of the countryside and socialization and mechanization of agriculture. With these tasks completed, Mozambique's planners hope that agricultural production will increase by a factor of ten, that hydroelectric and irrigation projects will be completed and that chemical industries to produce fertilizer will be developed.

The president referred to plans for developing many other areas of the economy in the effort to diversify, even while continuing to concentrate on agriculture. Machel listed numerous economic possibilities such as the development of coal and hydro-carbon deposits in Niassa and Tete, the development of an iron industry, and of other metals such as tin, zinc, copper, and bauxite.

The economic planners have ranged far and wide in their vision of Mozambique's future, even calling for the development of electric motors for urban transport systems.

With socialism, children live.

"The coming decade will see the growth of new cities in our country," Machel told the ministry delegates. "The increasing cost of petroleum means we must plan on using electricity as the main source of energy for public transport in large cities.

"The plan must also consider the needs of education. More than 500,000 children will be born this year, which means at least 500 more schools and more than 10,000 new teachers within six years.

"Health, in which we have already made some gains, must become a reality of daily life for our people by 1990. We have already managed to reduce infant mortality to between 150 and 200 deaths per thousand, but still we must drastically reduce the death rate of our children. With socialism, children live."

Machel ended by sharing with delegates his belief that the united efforts of all Mozambicans could achieve the hoped-for future, despite the difficulties that have to be faced:

"A socialist society is built, historically, in the face of the aggressiveness of imperialism. To preserve peace we must be strong. For schools, hospitals, factories, and mines to be able to function, we must keep the enemy at a distance. But the defense and security forces can only grow as the national economy grows. They cannot be merely protectors of the national economy; they must be active in the growth of the economy. The tradition of the people's forces was and continues to be one of close unity between combat, production, and study. To sacrifice one of these elements is to pervert the character of the people's forces." □

London Talks

Continued from page 6

palled at Carrington's ultimatum to the front. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who has been portrayed erroneously in the Western press as the African leader most willing to press the guerrillas to settle at any cost, called the London crisis "artificial." Nyerere said that there was no way a new Zimbabwe government could compensate white settlers without taxing peasants. "Is it supposed to tax peasants to compensate settlers who took their land from them with guns?" Nyerere asked.

The secretary general of the British Commonwealth, Shidraht Ramphal, also sharply criticized Carrington's move, saying it "jeopardized" hopes for peace which "cannot be achieved with the exclusion of the Patriotic Front."

Rough Road Ahead

The handling of land, as embodied in the British draft proposals, is likely to be resolved. But the toughest issues are still to be negotiated. Once agreement on the constitution is reached, the talks will move on to discuss the transition to independence and new elections. The crucial question is control of the armed forces during this period, and it is this item that brought in mid-October more big guns to London. General Peter Walls, commander of the Rhodesian security forces, has already joined Bishop Muzorewa's delegation, and Roelof Botha, the South African foreign minister, arrived in London on October 16. The settlers want their army maintained intact to "supervise" the election and transition period. These are terms the front could not accept without endangering the chances of a free Zimbabwe.

That the situation in Rhodesia is still very unstable was highlighted by remarks by Botha that preceded his arrival in Great Britain. Botha had said in South Africa that Pretoria would consider "action to counter a takeover by forces of chaos and confusion" in Rhodesia. As the London talks approached discussion of who will control the guns, Bishop Muzorewa's deputy prime minister in Salisbury said that under certain circumstances "we would welcome" South African action. M.S. □

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Notes and Documents

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These little known documents, a good source of information on South Africa, are published throughout the year and cover a wide range of topics. They are available free of charge by writing to the above address, and will be found particularly useful as background material for research. Write to the Centre for a complete list of each year's publications. The following are a selection of the **Notes and Documents** of the past year and a half that we think may be of particular interest to our readers. Quote title and document number (1/78, 2/78 etc.) when ordering.

Foreign Investment and Collaboration

- Activities of transnational corporations in South Africa by Ann Seidman and Neva Makgetla. May 78 (1/78)
- Investment in *apartheid*—List of companies with investment and interests in South Africa. June 78 (14/78)
- What have South Africa's traditional suppliers of arms done to abide by the mandatory arms embargo against *apartheid* by Abdul S. Minty. Sept. 78 (26/78)
- United States arms transfers to South Africa in violation of the United Nations voluntary arms embargo: 1963-1977 by Sean Gervasi. Sept. 78 (27/78)
- Stop nuclear collaboration with *apartheid* South Africa by Wolff Geisler. Aug. 78 (28/78)
- South Africa's nuclear build-up and its implications by Ronald Walters. Oct. 78 (29/78)
- The militarization of South Africa: A threat to regional peace by Frank Barnaby. Sept. 78 (30/78)
- Secret Collaboration of the West with South Africa by Sean MacBride. Sept. 78 (32/78)
- Evading the embargo—How the United States arms South Africa and Rhodesia by Michael Klare and Eric Prokosch. Oct. 78 (34/78)
- Transnational Corporate Involvement in South Africa's Military Build-up by Ann Seidman and Neva Makgetla. Oct. 78 (35/78)
- South Africa's Military and Nuclear Build-up by Abdul Minty. Sept. 78 (41/79)
- Bank Loans to South Africa, 1972-1978. Apr. 79 (4/79)
- United States Trade with South Africa and the role of United States Banks by Craig Howard. July 79 (20/79)

Conditions in South Africa

- The legislative framework of collective bargaining in South Africa by Jonathan Bloch. May 78 (8/78)
- Political Prisoners and Banned Persons in *Apartheid* South Africa. Sept. 78 (39/78)
- Treatment of Political Prisoners and Detainees in South Africa. Apr. 79 (4/79)
- The Policies of *Apartheid* and their Impact on the Health Situation in South Africa. Apr. 79 (6/79)
- Public Health Problems in *Apartheid* South Africa. May 79 (8/79)
- *Apartheid*: A Threat to Public Health in South Africa. May 79 (10/79)
- The "Bethel 18" trial by David Sibeko. Oct. 78 (42/78)

Resistance

- Dr. DuBois, Pan Africanism and the liberation of southern Africa. March 78 (6/78)
- The Freedom Charter of South Africa. June 78 (14/78)
- Victory is certain: Struggle against racism and *apartheid* in South Africa by Mark Shope, ANC. Oct. 78 (46/78)
- Freedom, justice and dignity for all in South Africa: Statements and articles by Nelson Mandela. Special issues, July 78.
- OATUU Arusha Declaration for Action against *Apartheid* and Racism. May 79 (13/79)

Women

- Winnie Mandela, profile in courage and defiance. Feb. 78 (1/78)
- The effects of *apartheid* on the status of women in South Africa. May 78 (7/78)

General

- The politics of history in South Africa by Bernard Magubane. July 78 (11/78)
- Oil Sanctions against South Africa by Martin Bailey and Bernard Rivers. June 78 (12/78)
- The impact on South Africa of the Cut-Off of Iranian Oil. July 79 (16/79)

Ngwenya Interviewed

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this among the educated women whom I thought would quickly understand.

Of late, they definitely understand. Although they can't talk about women's rights as the European women do. We differ in our ways of approach. In America they talk about women's lib. We still want to be mothers, we are wives, we are workers, we still respect our womanhood.

We don't want to lose our culture. Some parts of our tradition we shall keep, and those reactionary ones of course we will not keep, those which we think are suppressive to the women.

We would like to think it's a natural thing that one must do, get a life partner, look after your own family nicely, bring up these children with love.

But our women became so submissive that they belonged to somebody and they could not do anything, even thinking. "My husband will think. I can't do this without him."

Has the political struggle changed that?

Very much so, and in the most recent struggle, the armed struggle, where we have young women and men fighting side by side in actual armed conflict, there is so much change. Men really understand and see the courage of the women.

M.S. □

Unions Challenge Reform

Continued from page 12

not abused all unions must subject themselves to control and surveillance," the *Star* explained.

In any case, supporters of the new government policy were at least as interested in how it played on Wall Street as in how it was received in Durban and Soweto. And they reported gleefully that the initial response from western business interests had been enthusiastic.

The *South African Digest*, published by the Pretoria regime itself, gave front-page treatment to a report from the director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, Errol Drummond. According to Drummond, "about \$720 million in capital flowed into South Africa within a week of the publication of the Wiehahn Commission report and the acceptance of certain of its recommendations by the government."

Drummond, who was himself a member of the Wiehahn Commission, attributed this flood of capital to "a revival of foreign confidence in the economic growth of South Africa." And he explained that "overseas interests expected this to stem from the political stability and industrial peace anticipated in the wake of new labor legislation."

Given the response of unregistered black unions, industrial peace may not be right around the corner. But the South African government and its corporate friends overseas aren't going to wait for it to arrive before using the promise of reforms to fend off critics of investment in the apartheid state. Within weeks of Botha's announcement, the corporate-backed apologist, South African Foundation, sponsored a US tour for Lucy Mvubelo. Mvubelo heads the National Union of Clothing Workers, one of the few black unions that had worked in cooperation with white unions even before the Wiehahn report. Mvubelo has frequently opposed international labor sanctions against South Africa, even traveling to Geneva to appeal for South Africa's readmission to the International Labor Organization. And she had been one of the first and few black trade union leaders to announce plans to register her union within days of Botha's policy statement.

In early October, the Foundation dispatched Mvubelo to speak at a seminar at Notre Dame University in place of the South African diplomat who had been scheduled to appear and defend his government's policies. "I'm opposed to economic pressures against South Africa since they would be detrimental to my people," she argued. "I can't consign my people to die of hunger."

When asked why pressures are favored

by so many prominent South African blacks—not only the leaders of the banned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, but also Bishop Desmond Tutu and other still operating legally in the country—she said they were "comfortable people," not workers who would suffer. "I'm here representing the black workers of South Africa," she declared.

But that claim was disputed by two other black South African union activists who were also recent visitors to the US. In fact, in a discussions with *Southern Africa*, the two branded Mvubelo as "the number two black enemy of the black people of South Africa" (after Kwazulu and Inkatha leader Gatscha Buthelezi).

Pointing out that "advocating disinvestment is a criminal offense that the South African government takes very seriously," one of them nevertheless called economic sanctions "possible the one way of effecting peaceful change."

As for the Wiehahn Commission and other government efforts to establish a "dialogue" with the black population, they started, "the mood amongst blacks is completely opposed to dialogue. At a recent conference (*Southern Africa*, October 1979), any resolution calling on the government to do something was overwhelmingly rejected. People don't want to call on the government; we just want to take what is ours." A.M. □

Refugees in Botswana

Continued from page 9

Cross, which provides a medical team at each camp, Lutheran World Services, and other local and international agencies.

The Dukwe projects, which include communal food cultivation, tailoring, baking, and carpentry are designed to help the refugees become economically self-sufficient. These skills will be useful when the refugees return home to rebuild a war-torn Zimbabwe. But even Dukwe's ambitious program is severely hampered by shortages of skilled teachers, tools, and raw materials.

Although local officials are understandably reluctant to discuss details it seems generally true that prior to 1976 Zimbabweans entering Botswana were often young, active or potentially active participants in the liberation struggle, in transit to Zambia. Since then the war has engulfed the general population and now a diverse mix of peasants, students, and urban dwellers is fleeing the crossfire, into Botswana. Many of today's refugees are skilled farmers and artisans, but they lack the tools and

materials with which to work. Those who came to join the liberation struggle are also frustrated because the Patriotic Front does not operate militarily from Botswana, and they are now trapped in the camps.

Shaking Morale

An official at the Botswana Council for Refugees in Francistown talked to us about the psychological difficulties facing the Zimbabweans. "Life is frustrating for the refugees," he said. "They wake up in the morning and just sit. They only eat one or two meals a day and just sit." Feelings of despondency and helplessness are common, and more effort is now being made to involve the refugees in meeting their own needs. This point was particularly emphasized to us by ZAPU representatives in Botswana.

For historical and geographic reasons many Zimbabwean refugees coming into Botswana have been adherents of the ZAPU wing of the Patriotic Front. ZAPU would like a stronger role in administering the refugee camps, which are run by the Botswana government and international relief agencies. This differs sharply from Zambia, where ZAPU plays a central part in administering the permanent camps, which have dormitories, schools, hospitals and agricultural projects.

A Sensitive Point

The issue of ZAPU's role in Botswana is a delicate one. In Francistown ZAPU representative Albert Ndlovu acknowledged that given Botswana's geographic location and economic dependence on South Africa and Rhodesia, "for Botswana to let us—ZAPU—operate militarily at this point would be suicide." And indeed it would be. Even the current situation creates serious tensions. Botswana imports most of its food and virtually all its manufactured goods from its white-ruled neighbors. Rhodesia Railways controls and operates Botswana's entire rail system and could easily paralyze the transport network.

The question of this economic dependence on the white minority regimes was the subject of a front-line "economic summit" held in Tanzania this summer. Botswana President Seretse Khama took the lead in a call for increased economic cooperation between independent African states. But Botswana is likely to remain economically dependent on its neighbors for years to come, which makes the outcome of the struggle for Zimbabwe particularly important for it. Meanwhile the burden of maintaining the growing Zimbabwean refugee population is becoming more serious every day. □

Tate Fight Protest

Chanting "NBC, You Can't Hide, We Know You're on Apartheid's Side," demonstrators gathered at NBC-TV's headquarters in New York City October 22 to protest the telecasting of the World Boxing Association's heavyweight championship being held in Pretoria, South Africa.

The New York action was part of an international effort to protest the match between white South African Gerrie Coetzee and black American John Tate. The fight, arranged by boxing promoter Bob Arum, was designed as a big money-maker for NBC and Arum. And according to the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sports in South Africa (ACCESS), the fight was a propaganda bonanza for apartheid.

Speaking before the fight, ACCESS chairperson Dr. John Dommissie said that the NBC telecast, seen by millions of viewers, distorted the true nature of the racist South African regime. "In South African sport, as in all areas of life, race dominates everything," said Dommissie. "In spite of some token integration at the international level, sports at the local or club level, where 99 percent of the Africans compete, is totally segregated. Now NBC will show a black American fighting a white South African in an integrated stadium, and those watching the fight will be thoroughly confused about the real situation in South Africa. The telecast is very dangerous in this sense and must be cancelled."

Earlier this year, South African government officials had said that the 90,000-seat Loftus Stadium in Pretoria where the fight was held would be fully integrated for the event, as would all future boxing matches. The South African minister of sport later denied making any promises to end all future apartheid in sports. As it turned out the stadium was only marginally integrated for the event and a *New York Times* reporter, describing the cheapest seats in the house, was forced to conclude that "in the higher reaches, about one face in 20 is black."

In South Africa, the fight was boycotted by people such as Percy Qoboza, editor of the *Post*, Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches. In addition, Ikhwezi Mphahlat Sane, a black choir from the East Rand refused to sing the Afrikaans national anthem at the fight, despite highly publicized claims that it would appear.

Although weeks of protest could not stop the fight or prevent its being telecast, the pressure did force NBC to broadcast a 15-minute pre-fight presentation on apar-



action news notes

theid and racism in South Africa.

It was a relatively mild condemnation of apartheid. But some vivid pictures of students killed while protesting in 1976, the admission by Arthur Ashe, who has played tennis in South Africa, that he would not go back because nothing was changing there, and the exposure by exiled editor Donald Woods of the fallacy of a free press, all helped bring the stark realities of black life in South Africa into the homes of millions of American viewers. As a result, the South African government, which had hoped the Tate-Coetzee fight would be a magnificent propaganda coup for apartheid, now considers the fight a horrendous failure.

Actions against NBC are continuing. In hearings before the fight, the Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid said that he would meet with the Soviet ambassador to the UN to request that the Soviet Union "review its contract" with NBC-TV for coverage of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, which governs sport on the continent, has also already announced that African athletes at the Olympics would not give interviews to NBC, and that NBC would not be granted rights to televise sports from other African countries.

For further information, contact STFC/ACCESS P.O. Box 518, New York, NY 10025, (212) 665-6812.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID ... The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid heard testimony on October 19 from representatives of student organizations based all over the world about student involvement in the battle against the racist South African regime. Commenting on the reasons for student involvement, Linda Miller of the British National Union of Students pointed out, "There are direct links between apartheid and universities." Universities have investments in companies operating in South Africa in order to reap the super profits made available by the exploitation of black workers.

Twenty-two student representatives, including some from the United Kingdom and Canada, told the UN committee what had been done, and was continuing to be

done, on campuses to bring about university divestiture of funds. Divestment, said several students, is a tactic seen not as an end in itself but as a means of educating students and attracting support for US corporate withdrawal and for the liberation movements.

Pat Baker of the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa spoke about the significant victory won in getting Dawson, the largest community college in Canada, to transfer \$25 million out of the Bank of Montreal. Most students had found that their universities were blocking the call for divestiture by using cloaking devices such as the Sullivan Principles to rationalize continued support for oppression in South Africa.

As the afternoon progressed, student enthusiasm and excitement mounted. Several speakers stressed the direct links between the struggle in the US and the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Adhimu Changa, of the New Jersey Coalition of Black Student Organizations at Princeton University, pointed to the parallels between the oppression of blacks in the US and in South Africa. "European colonial expansion ultimately gave rise to both the system of apartheid in South Africa and the system of slavery that brought our African ancestors to these shores," said Changa, while also pointing out that the same American banks which loan money to the South African regime are responsible for the deterioration of black inner-city neighborhoods through redlining practices.

Lisimba Tafirenyika, from the Afro-American Student Liberation Force of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, represented the majority of the students when he asked for:

- materials and speakers to be available for colleges, dealing with ways to help to end apartheid;
- mechanisms to allow material aid from the campuses to be sent to the freedom fighters in southern Africa;
- more conferences, regional and national, to garner support for the liberation movement.

Added Tafirenyika, "as students, we must continue to educate our campuses and communities that the blood that runs from the victims of apartheid stains not only the hands of the Bothas in Pretoria, but also those of the Jesses Helmses, the Hayakawas, and the Jimmy Carters in Washington, D.C. and of every university and college with investments in corporations that support South Africa."

Both students and UN anti-apartheid officials came out of the day-long meeting encouraged by the progress that has already been made. At a strategy meeting the next day, student representatives mapped out plans for a newsletter, greater coordination with the national bank campaign (COBLSA), and renewed emphasis on material-aid drives. A major theme of their discussion was the importance of internal political education to clarify goals and strategies in the face of sophisticated university administration responses to student demands. Frustration over "stonewalling" could be avoided, it was agreed, if the divestment struggle was understood to be only one aspect of liberation support work, and of the struggle to confront capitalism inside the United States.

The students adjourned their meeting to join a picket line protesting the Tate-Coetzee fight.

APARTHEID RUGBY TOUR—THE CIVILIZED VOLK BECOME BARBARIANS ... One would hardly expect such a slip by an image-conscious South African sporting body, yet in a burst of unconscious honesty the South African Rugby Federation recently organized an overseas tour by a team dubbed the Barbarians.

That's right, Barbarians.

In keeping with the latest style in apartheid sports, the team had a strict yet "equitable" race quota, consisting of eight whites, eight blacks, and eight coloreds. Even this civilized approach to barbarism proved an embarrassment to the South

over

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action news notes

African government, which may wish its Rugby Federation had waited until after the 1980 Olympics before embarking on any foreign forays. Both the French and Irish governments circumvented their own rugby associations, which arranged the tours, and repelled the barbaric horde because of the unchanging character of apartheid, which the Botha regime has tried so hard to mask.

In Britain the situation was less clear, and the team managed to make its October rounds, even winning some matches. The Rugby Committee of Four Unions adamantly refused to call off the eight-stop tour. The British government applied polite pressure to the Rugby Committee to stop the tour but refused to invoke the 1971 Immigration Act to cancel it unilaterally.

The African nations threatened to bar Britain from the 1980 Olympics if the tour was held, and the powerful British Trade Council and more than 50 British anti-apartheid groups vowed to disrupt the tour at every stop.

From the moment the Barbarians hit British shores until their departure, they were followed by demonstrators, although activists charged that the tour had been deliberately scheduled for student holidays, which cut down the number of apartheid's foes at the matches.

Since the tour, Britain has become a major target for opponents of apartheid sport. Moves are underway to bar Britain from the next Commonwealth Games, and the British government is under pressure to cancel a rugby tour of South Africa scheduled for next year. Unless the tour is called off, anti-apartheid forces plan a push to exclude Britain from the 1980 Olympics.

In Cambridge, Mass. a public referendum will be held during the November 6 election on the question, "Shall the City of Cambridge refrain from investing in banks or other institutions involved in supporting the Republic of South Africa?" A coalition of several local anti-apartheid groups is organizing around the issue.

And in Minneapolis, Minn. a local Ford dealer, Freeway Ford, advertised in August that it was giving away a free Krugerrand with each new car. The Southern Africa Solidarity Committee of Minneapolis organized pickets against the company until it agreed to stop the Krugerrand giveaway.

SUPPORT MOVEMENT GROWING . . .

The southern Africa liberation support movement is growing. September 12 marked the beginning of a new group at Kentucky's Berea College with a memorial service for Steve Biko. This small liberal arts college in Berea, Kentucky draws 80 percent of its student body from that state and the southern Appalachian area. At the Biko memorial 25 students signed up to join the anti-apartheid movement.

And in the Bay Area in California the recently formed Southern Africa Anti-Mercenary Coalition has been working with the local ZANU branch office to build material and political support for the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. The main focus of this group's recent work has been educational work about US government maneuvers to prop up the Smith-Muzorewa regime. The group has also been trying to expose the role of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine and the US Army and CIA in recruiting mercenaries for the Rhodesian Army. Three educational tools are available from the SAAMC (P.O. Box 14333, Station G, San Francisco, CA 94114): (1) a slide show on US involvement in Rhodesia and mercenary recruitment, (2) the script for a theater piece about the recruitment of mercenaries, and (3) a pamphlet, "Guns for Hire," which explains the mercenary recruitment apparatus.

LOCAL ACTIONS . . .

In Chicago ten civil rights, religious, and community groups recently announced the formation of a coalition to stop Illinois investments in South Africa. The bill prohibits the placing of state deposits with commercial banks that make loans to South Africa, or to firms for the purpose of expansion in South Africa. More than \$90 million are presently on deposit with major Chicago banks that now make loans.

In Binghamton, New York, the Committee on Southern Africa organized an October 2 rally protesting IBM's role in South Africa when chairman Frank T. Cary came to address the Binghamton Club.

Pointing out that IBM computers are used by both the South African military and interior departments to control black South Africans, more than 50 protestors called on IBM to withdraw from South Africa to "shorten the days of blood."

The Committee on Southern Africa is a coalition of students from SUNY-Binghamton and members of the Binghamton community.

The State University of New York at Binghamton itself has about \$9 million worth of investments in corporations involved in South Africa, and last year these

stocks were a major focus of actions. The committee plans to renew demands for total divestment of those stocks during this academic year.

BAY AREA MEETING PROPOSES ZIMBABWE CAMPAIGN . . .

In California's Bay area a multiracial group of 40 people, mostly community activists, met in mid-September to expand a support campaign for the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe. Representatives of the Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa and several West Coast groups developed plans for a campaign which they hope will succeed in coordinating the scattered efforts of various groups around the country vis-a-vis Zimbabwe to affect US government policy.

The Zimbabwe Campaign, the name that was tentatively agreed on by the representatives at the meeting (pending approval by their local groups), will run from November to April and will include the circulation of a slide-show on Zimbabwe and an educational brochure. If, during this time, the US government decides to lift its economic sanctions against Rhodesia and recognize the Muzorewa regime, the coalition intends to organize protest demonstrations and other actions.


The Zimbabwe conference was initiated and organized by the Southern Africa Organizing Committee (P.O. Box 11376, San Francisco, CA 94101; 415-824-2864). For more information, please contact the SAOC.

IN MOZAMBIQUE . . .

a group of 18 Americans, who are working primarily as medical and educational personnel, met in late September with Mozambique's President Samora Machel to condemn the Rhodesian aggressions against Mozambique and the US failure to prevent its nationals from serving as mercenaries in the Rhodesian army. The group also deplored the use of war materials made in the US, including Bell helicopters, to kill Mozambican civilians. The Americans donated \$2,000 in local and foreign currency to be used for national defense and for the reconstruction of the areas affected by the attacks.

President Machel thanked the American cooperantes and reiterated the distinction that Mozambique has always made between the American people and their government. He lauded those Americans who had opposed their government's involvement in Vietnam and those who had supported the liberation struggles of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. □

News Briefs

 **ZIMBABWE'S POTENTIAL** post-independence economy and the problems it will face were discussed at an Anti-Apartheid conference held in London, in September, in the shadow of the Lancaster House settlement talks.

Since the 1890's foreign investment has been the dominant factor in the Rhodesian economy, and until UDI foreign capital, 66 percent British, accounted for nearly two-thirds of all productive investments in the economy.

Despite sanctions, foreign investment in the Rhodesian economy has continued to grow, coming increasingly from South Africa and concentrating in the mining sector.

The blocking of foreign capital already in Rhodesia meant that dividends, interest, and profits could not be taken out of the country, except to South Africa. Foreign companies from other nations have also invested funds in Rhodesia by investing through subsidiaries in South Africa, thus evading sanctions.

These continued investments in Rhodesia have been highly profitable (even in 1964, profits, dividends, and interest were running at more than \$25 million per year). But it is likely that, if sanctions are lifted and foreign accounts unblocked much of the accrued profits might be repatriated to corporate home-countries, at least until Zimbabwe's future seems clearly determined.

An independent Zimbabwe would then need huge amounts of foreign exchange—and it has none accumulated. Were it to allow an outflow of capital, the new Zimbabwe would have to resort to loans from international lending agencies such as the International Monetary Fund. Such loans are often linked to acceptance of strict IMF prescriptions for the economy.


Any post-independence government is going to have to deal with a colonial economic system that has reserved almost all economic privilege for the white minority. Efforts will have to be made to distribute the land, property, and economic benefits more equitably. Such efforts will be seriously hampered if control over the economy is surrendered to international lending agencies which traditionally ask for huge tax-breaks and "incentives" for already existing industrial and productive forces—all white-controlled and operated in Zimbabwe.

The internal settlement and previous Western attempts to achieve a solution in Zimbabwe have all envisioned a continuation of the economic system that currently exists in Rhodesia. That solution would serve the interests of western capital, but not those of the vast majority of blacks in Zimbabwe.

One direct effect of the war has been severe economic decline. It is estimated that at present at least one black in five is unemployed. At the present population growth-rate, even to prevent unemployment from rising above the current level would require a sustained economic growth-rate of more than ten percent per year—and this would not deal with the million or more who are currently unemployed. Yet conventional Western-style economic solutions would focus on general welfare.

The present Western proposals for an independent Zimbabwe will not benefit the majority of black Zimbabweans. Rather the proposals will simply transfer control over to a black government, which will then be trapped into an economic structure that will hold Zimbabwe tightly under the control of Western countries and capital.

The conference participants concluded that any discussion of a liberated Zimbabwe must include a discussion of the type of economic structure that will exist after independence. If the needs of the majority of the people in Zimbabwe are to be met, a new economic structure, not bound by Western economic interests, will have to be developed.


 **TANZANIA IS IN SERIOUS** economic trouble as a result of a combination of factors including the rising price of oil and other imported goods, fluctuations in the international price paid for its exports such as coffee and sisal, contractions in agricultural productivity, and the recent war with Uganda.

Finance Minister Mtei has estimated the cost of the war at \$500 million. Most of that money had to be diverted from scheduled programs, and the balance of payments position, already in deficit by \$150 million for 1977-78, showed a \$215 million gap in 1978-79 and is expected to reach a deficit of \$350 million in the coming year.

Already a heavy aid recipient, receiving \$100 million annually from the World Bank and \$70 to \$80 million from Sweden, Tanzania in July issued a confidential appeal to nine donor-nations for help. The US, Britain, West Germany, Canada, Sweden, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, and Japan received requests for some \$375 million in additional long-term grants or loans.

So far, it is reported, the response has been limited. US assistance, currently running at some \$25 million a year, is likely to increase very little.

One very serious result of the economic crisis is a severe shortage of medicine. Supplies are so low, according to a Dutch government source at the UN, that the health of tens of thousands of people is threatened.

 **FOR BOTSWANA AND** Lesotho, unfortunate geography plus bad weather on the political, economic, and meteorological fronts has fostered continuing malnutrition and underdevelopment. Both countries are heavily dependent on their giant neighbor, South Africa. Locked into a customs union with Pretoria both nations get almost all consumer and industrial goods through South Africa. They also find much of their mining, farming, and new industrial activity controlled by South African capital and their economies shaped by South Africa's needs.

Compounding this underdevelopment, both countries suffer from erratic rainfall, which has hurt grain production. In recent times Botswana has had to import grain from South Africa in two out of three years.

In response to this situation, a UN agency, the World Food Program, is helping set up emergency food stocks in the two countries. This agency hopes to have a 6000-ton strategic grain-reserve stored in Botswana by the end of the year and a longer-term plan aims to stockpile 7000 tons in Lesotho. The agency will handle 75 percent of the \$2.3 million for the Botswana project and 30 percent of the \$7.6 million for Lesotho. Britain and member nations of OPEC have already funneled several million dollars into providing Lesotho with a flour mill, storage unit, and management staff.

Officials say the danger of prolonged drought or other natural disasters is the fundamental reason for the emergency stocks, but observers believe that regional strategy is also a major factor. The intensification of armed struggle throughout southern Africa—particularly in Zimbabwe and Namibia—has increased the danger of key railway-link disruptions and hence of the loss of South African grain supplies.

The food crisis in Botswana and Lesotho is part of the larger story of regional underdevelopment, so that its full resolution depends on the victories of the region's liberation struggles. In the interim, UN grain procurements will help lessen dependency on South Africa, and Botswana hopes to have a four-month emergency stock of 25,000 tons within the next few years. □

3 important new books

Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea Bissau

Stephanie Urdang

Just Published

The Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), which led the Guinean people in a successful guerrilla war to overthrow the Portuguese colonialists, did not view the armed struggle as an end in itself. Rather, it was one aspect of their goal, which was to establish a totally new society. Another aspect was the emancipation of women from their dual oppression by colonialism and by patriarchy. This book is an examination of the achievements of the PAIGC since 1974, based on a study of conditions before and after independence. Its conclusions emerge most strongly from interviews with leaders as well as with many of the women and men in the city and in the countryside. CL5112 \$15.00/£8.85 LC 79-2329. Photos. 288 pp.

The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa

**Bernard
Makhosezwe Magubane**

Just Published

In this important contribution to understanding the current crisis in South Africa, Magubane provides a detailed and historical analysis of the interrelationship between race and class, and of the social and economic forces that underlie their development. Within this framework, he discusses such topics as the displacement of the indigenous Africans, the migrant-labor system, and the development of "native reserves." He probes beneath the surface events to analyze the contradictions that have developed between different capitalist interests, as well as between sections of the white population, and concludes with a discussion of the growing opposition movement. CL4639 \$18.50/£10.75 LC 78-13917 Index 384 pp.

Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings

Amilcar Cabral

November

Amilcar Cabral launched the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) in 1956. By 1973, at the time of his assassination, his movement had effectively defeated the Portuguese colonialists. His revolutionary thought and action are fully demonstrated in the pages of this book, which contains his most important speeches and writings. As Basil Davidson puts it in his introduction, Cabral's ideas were the "keys that could unlock the seemingly impassable door to freedom," and the body of his work is gathered together here and made available for the first time in English.

The collection contains an introduction by Basil Davidson, and a biographical essay by Mario de Andrade. CL5104 \$15.00/£8.85 LC 79-2337 Index 320 pp.



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