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SOUTHERN AFRICA

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One Party
In Zimbabwe?

Isolate South Africa Break the Corporate Links



The Gospel According to CBS

As the Reagan administration's red-baiting of the peace movement has amply demonstrated, the ghost of Joseph McCarthy still stalks American politics. And when dense-thinking fails to win over public opinion there's always guilt by association, innuendo and distortion to fall back on. Witness CBS television, which in its January 23 edition of "60 Minutes" launched a slanderous attack on the National Council of Churches, portraying it as a fundraising and propaganda tool of international communism.

Among the NCC activities singled out as evidence of these charges were those aimed at the elimination of racism, colonialism, and apartheid in southern Africa through the money it gives, via the World Council of Churches, to the Geneva-based Program to Combat Racism. The PCR has consistently supported the liberation struggles of the people of southern Africa over the years, and has backed up its moral support with humanitarian aid to the liberation movements. The NCC supports the liberation movements out of a profoundly Christian commitment to justice and equality. But in doing so it has earned the enmity of racist regimes in the region and their far-right political and religious allies in the US—such as the Institute for Religion and Democracy which was featured on the program.

"60 Minutes" has a long history of giving aid and comfort to white minority regimes in southern Africa, including, as many well remember, atrociously racist and distorted coverage of the Zimbabwean liberation strug-

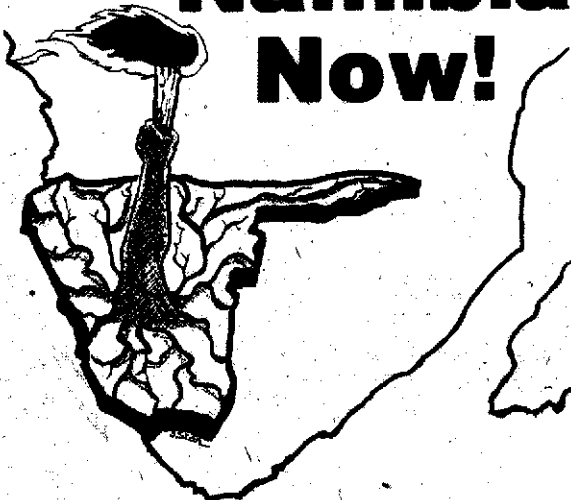
gle. And now, although they can't find the time to give an accurate account of the struggles in South Africa and Namibia, they can spare forty minutes to smear the NCC.

Without attributing their sources, CBS used old Rhodesian Information Department lies to slander the liberation movements as bloody terrorists. They somehow failed to mention that these same movements have since transformed Rhodesia into an independent and nonracial Zimbabwe. Most disturbing was the program's portrayal of people's struggles around the world against oppression, racism and poverty as the work of Havana and Moscow rather than indigenous movements for self-determination and justice.

Within the United States, a small body of right wing ideologues is gaining increased publicity for this type of red-baiting campaign. *Southern Africa* proudly supports the freedom fighters in southern Africa and all over the world who are struggling to regain control over their lives and end injustice. And we are confident that the NCC's commitment to human dignity will remain unshaken in the face of ideologically-motivated attacks in the press.

The only response to this type of campaign is for all supporters of the struggles of the oppressed—be it southern African or Central America—to stand united in the face of such attacks, and expose the motives of those in the media who stoop to making them.

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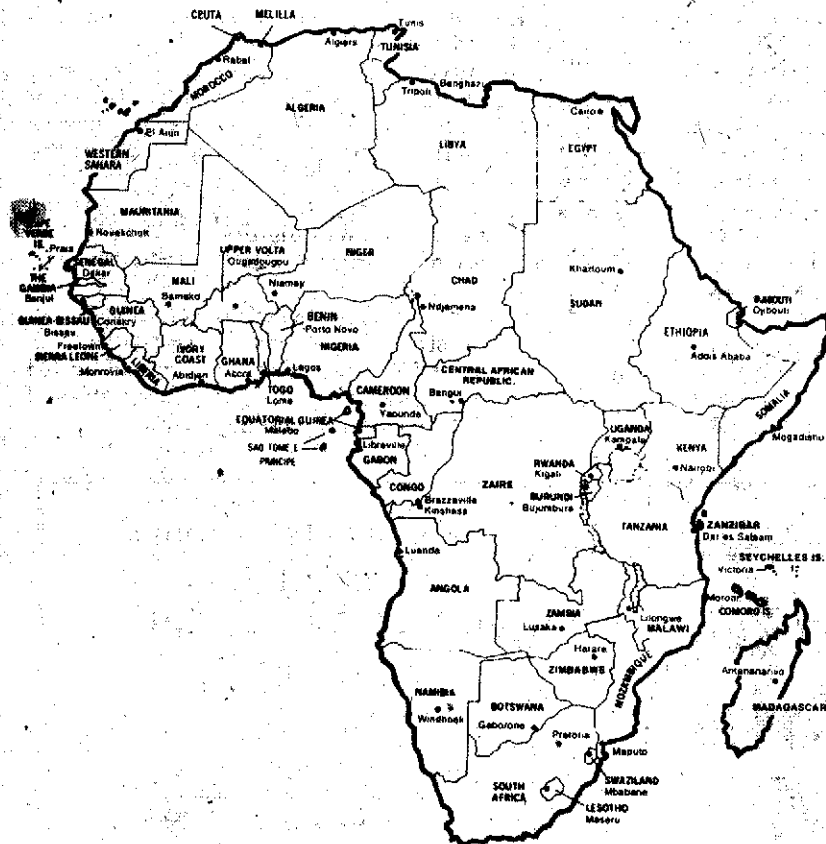
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Crucial Trial in Zimbabwe

The long-awaited trial of former ZAPU guerrilla leaders Dumiso Dabengwa and Lookout Masuku began February 7 against a background of widening unrest in the western province of Matabeleland, a ZAPU stronghold. The two are charged with overseeing the stockpiling of arms on ZAPU-owned farms and at guerrilla assembly points in preparation for a rebellion to overthrow the Mugabe government and replace it with a regime headed by ZAPU President Joshua Nkomo.

In this politically-charged trial, the state has also alleged that Dabengwa sent a letter seeking support from the Soviet KGB for the rebellion. "Mugabe has turned out to be actually more reactionary and pro-Western than Muzorewa...his policies will undermine the national interests of Zimbabwe and her people," the letter allegedly says.

State prosecutor Ahmed Ebrahim has also implicated Nkomo directly in the plot to conceal arms, asserting the party leader met with Dabengwa and co-defendant Nicholas Nkomo immediately following the outbreak of ZANU-ZAPU fighting outside Bulawayo in February 1981, and indicated his acquiescence.

In recent weeks the Western press has given widespread publicity to ZAPU charges that government forces (including the new North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade) are conducting a brutal sweep through western Zimbabwe, causing an untold number of deaths in their pursuit of "dissidents."

South Africa, Angola Meet

In February, the South African and Western press reported that Angola and South Africa had put into effect a *de facto* ceasefire along the Angolan border.

The proposed agreement, reportedly discussed at a meeting between the Angolans and South Africans last December in Cape Verde, calls for a withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola to a line 185 miles from the Namibian border. South African troops, which have been occupying southern Angola for the last two years, would be required to return to Namibia. But at a February 11 press conference in London, Angolan Foreign Minister Paolo Jorge denied that any agreement had been reached with either Pretoria or Washington.

He went on to say there would first have to be a ceasefire between Pretoria and SWAPO, and a substantial withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia before Angola would discuss the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

A second round of discussions between Angola and South Africa in late February broke down after only a day of talks. The Angolans were reportedly angered by South Africa's refusal to send a cabinet-level negotiating team.

South African optimism at the prospects for a ceasefire was further shattered when a large contingent of SWAPO guerrillas staged a series of daring operations in northern Namibia just before the Cape Verde talks were scheduled to begin.

Uranium Spill Sparks Protests

On February 20 a ship carrying South African uranium docked at the port of Covington, near Baltimore. The ship, the *South African Constantia*, reported to the Coast Guard that some uranium yellowcake stored in its hull had spilled in

transit and there was a danger the uranium leaking into Baltimore harbor.

After a brief inspection, the Coast Guard inspector issued a statement saying the spill wasn't dangerous and assured local residents there was no danger of radiation poisoning. But the publicity did alert anti-apartheid protesters.

"As soon as we saw the name of the ship we called on supportive organizations to stage a demonstration at the dock," local ANC representative Mamkekolo Mahlanga Ngcobo told *Southern Africa*.

With only a few hours notice, local organizers managed to call together a demonstration that drew over sixty people. Representatives from the local National Black Independent Political Party, the American Friends Service Committee, the local Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and a wide range of other groups came in support of the protest. But the *Constantia* had already unloaded most of the uranium and left the next day.

Baltimore organizers are planning to continue efforts to halt the flow of South African uranium through the port. "We are trying to get together to see that uranium isn't imported through the Baltimore area," said Mahlanga-Ngcobo. Anti-apartheid groups are working with local legislators to have Baltimore ban imports of South African uranium.

Stop The Apartheid Bomb

The Washington Office has released a new publication about the US-South Africa nuclear alliance. The pamphlet, *Stop The Apartheid Bomb!* is available for 15¢ plus postage. An action packet for organizers is also available for \$1.50 from:

The Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Ave. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-7561

Towards a One-Party State

by Lee Cokorinos

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe announced last August that the ruling ZANU (PF) party, as it is officially known, would contest the 1985 elections on a one-party state platform. "We will openly tell the people," he said, "that if you elect us we are going to establish a one-party state. We will not have a one-party state during the life of this parliament, but one would want to see it established during the next term of parlia-

Lee Cokorinos is currently completing a doctoral thesis on the political economy of Zimbabwe at Columbia University. He visited Zimbabwe from mid 1981 to early 1982 as a research associate at the University of Zimbabwe Department of Economics.

ment." While other issues have temporarily obscured it, the repercussions of such a move may do more to shape Zimbabwe's future than any factor, other than South African attempts at destabilization.

Mugabe's commitment to one-party rule is longstanding and was a source of controversy well before independence. In arguing the case for an early change, Mugabe has stressed that the country cannot afford the divisiveness of a multiparty system at a time when it faces not only the enormous tasks of reconstruction and development but also active South African hostility. But two other factors may have also prompted the move toward a one-party state: domestic opposition to ZANU's handling of relations with other political parties and the pace and scope of the government's reform efforts.

In choosing to raise the issue two

and a half years before elections are due, Mugabe has made good on his promise not to act without nationwide discussion. He seems confident he will achieve the popular consensus he has set as a condition of the move. Two themes will dominate the debate—the desirability of establishing a one party state, and how it will be implemented.

Constitutional Questions

The present multiparty system is based on two mutually reinforcing elements; the Lancaster House constitution, established under the 1979 British-administered plan for independence, and ZANU's policy of "reconciliation." In recent months, elements of the constitution have come under fire as being ill-suited to Zimbabwean realities and inconsistent with both the original objectives of the liberation struggle and with ZANU's professed socialist



ZAPU supporters at a political rally before independence elections in 1980. Tensions between ZAPU and ZANU have risen since ZANU leader Robert Mugabe expelled ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo from the government.

program. These objections center on three issues—land, the multiparty system, and the twenty parliamentary seats reserved for the white minority. Of the three, the land redistribution issue has so far been the touchiest, but with relations between ZANU and its two main opposition parties (Joshua Nkomo's PF ZAPU party and the Republican Front, the all-white party of ex-Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith) at a post-independence low, increasing attention has also focused on other clauses.



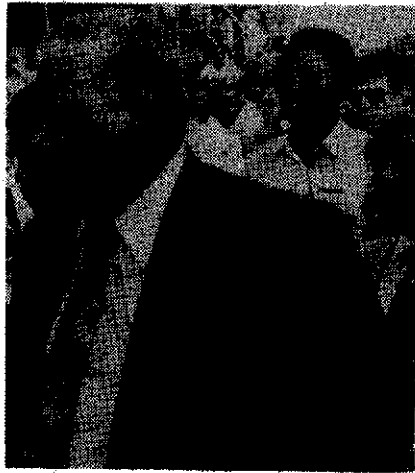
Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. The legacy of white minority rule poses many problems for an independent Zimbabwe.

Mugabe apparently believes this to be possible. "The Prime Minister has repeatedly stated that a one-party state can and should be brought about democratically," said legal and parliamentary affairs minister Eddison Zvobgo. "By this he means that ZANU should organize hard so that at the next or subsequent elections, only its candidates are elected."

Despite such reassurances, the opposition parties have repeatedly expressed doubts regarding Mugabe's commitment to constitutional procedure. "If they want to bring about a one-party state by force," ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo has said, "we will be there to face and challenge them."

Deteriorating Relations

While some members of ZAPU,



ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo. Under attack.

the Republican Front, and Muzorewa's UANC party have shifted their allegiance to ZANU, most of their members remain strongly opposed to any changes in the party system.

Mugabe has nonetheless pursued a strategy of splitting the opposition parties to pave the way for their elimination. In the case of ZAPU this has taken the form of playing upon differences which emerged in the party over how to respond to the sacking of four ZAPU ministers last year after police discovered massive arms caches on party properties. Some senior leaders, including Nkomo, Vice President Josiah Chinamano and ex-minister Clement Muchachi argued that ZAPU should leave the government as a party, while others maintained that individual members should be free to choose.

Members of the Republican Front have also been divided in their responses to Mugabe's policies. Last year the parliamentary RF split wide open, with nine of its MPs deserting to sit as independents. Other leading whites, such as ex-Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, have come out strongly in favor of one-party rule. "A one-party state could well be our best form of government," Todd has said, "for it would bring together the mass of our people who have similar political aspirations but who might divide on grounds of tribe and personalities."

But die-hard RF elements such as former Prime Minister Smith have adamantly opposed one-party rule, ignoring or choosing to forget the seventeen years of one-party, white-minority rule that ended only in 1980. In a recent interview with the *Washington Times*, (which caused an uproar in Zimbabwe and led to Smith having his passport and some personal effects seized) he said: "I disagree with one man one vote. I think it's madness. I think it's the end of democracy. If there's a one-party state then you know that's the end of freedom."



Robert Mugabe. One-Party rule?

Some whites have taken very direct steps to put Smith's sentiments into practice. In one celebrated case, a Bulawayo dentist, Frank Bertrand, was found guilty of plotting to recruit former members of ZIPRA, ZAPU's guerilla army, to destroy bridges, railway lines, and military installations with the objective of setting up the separate state of Matabeleland, the name used for the western part of the country. His appeal against a ten-year sentence was dismissed.

But such incidents may be less a product of opposition to a one-party state than of the reactionary political objectives of those who have been unable to adjust to majority rule. Not all opponents of one-party rule can be so characterized, however.

Since the beginning of the cease-fire in January 1980, and especially

following the Mugabe government's purge of Nkomo last year, thousands of ex-ZIPRA guerrillas, some of whom had been in integrated national army units with ex-Rhodesian army troops and former guerrillas loyal to ZANU, returned to the bush to wage a low-level but intensifying campaign against the government, particularly in the areas of traditional ZAPU strength in and near Matabeleland.

In response, the army has conducted a classical counterinsurgency operation. A specially selected task force, commanded by an ex-Selous Scout and comprised of Black and white elements of the former Rhodesian army has been based in western Matabeleland with orders to "clean up" the area. The task force has allegedly been responsible for brutalities and abuses against attitudes on both sides, and an increase in incidents filmed by a British television crew.

In late January, Nkomo charged the force was responsible for the massacre of dozens of villagers, including a senior ZAPU official in Matabeleland. He further accused the government of failing to respond to his request to halt the massacre while it was in progress.

The growing unrest has recreated the atmosphere of insecurity which prevailed during the national liberation struggle, and has hampered the operations of white commercial farmers in the area. It has also disrupted relief efforts and other government activities in drought-stricken Matabeleland. The cumulative effect has been a hardening of attitudes on both sides, an increase of tensions between the government and the rural population. The "dissidents," many of whom are skilled and experienced at political mobilization and agitation, have sought to exploit this situation.

Although Western journalists have sought to portray these problems as expressions of tribalism, the political ideology and motivation of the guerrillas is far from clear. It is clear that ZIPRA grievances had been building for some time. Following the outbreak of open fighting between ex-ZIPRA and ex-ZANLA

guerrillas in Bulawayo in February 1981, many ex-ZIPRA soldiers became fearful about the intentions of the government, coupled in some cases with a sense of abandonment or betrayal by elements of the ZAPU political leadership, which was either unwilling or unable to prevent the use of the nearly all-white air force to put down the fighting.

"Many demobilized ex-ZIPRA guerrillas expressed disillusionment with the terms at Lancaster House and were cynical about the commitment of the leadership of either ZAPU or ZANU to socialist transformation."

These feelings were compounded by what some saw as the premature ban on the private possession of "arms of war" in August 1981 when the amnesty on turning in arms ended. At the time of last February's purge of Nkomo *et al.*, former ZIPRA supreme commander Dumiso Dabengwa cited intense feelings of insecurity among ZIPRA units being integrated into the national army as the reason for the stashing of arms, and charged that ZANLA had been doing the same.

Many demobilized ex-ZIPRA guerrillas I interviewed last year expressed disillusionment with the terms of settlement at Lancaster House and were cynical about the commitment of the leadership of either ZAPU or ZANU to socialist transformation. "They only care about setting themselves up in big houses in the white suburbs," one said. "They've just changed the names of the TTL's (Tribal Trust Lands) to Communal Areas, but we still can't get the good land."

The government, in its turn, has charged that it is the "dissidents" themselves who are impeding rural development programs and making the peasants' lives miserable, and that atrocity reports are exaggerated.

As the unrest in Matabeleland has intensified, the army has come under increasing internal pressure. On October 12, ZIPRA leaders Dumiso Dabengwa, Lookout Masuku, and five others were indicted for treason under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. Three former ZIPRA senior officials Swazini Ndlovu, Kelly Mhlaba (camp commandant at Harare's King George VI barracks) and Dryden Nyoka, were detained. These moves have eroded the solidity of integrated units, and the trials of the ZAPU officials arrested in October are expected to further fuel such tensions. Though Mhlaba and Nyoka were released, the number of detainees has mounted in recent months, numbering at least 425 by late 1982, according to government figures, and many more according to some observers in Zimbabwe.

Although accurate information is difficult to obtain, several national army battalions are known to have disintegrated during the February sectarian fighting, and Dr. Sidney Sekeramayi, minister of state for defense, has confirmed that some disaffected ex-ZIPRA guerrillas are operating as units in the Gwaai Forest area in western Matabeleland. Other unconfirmed reports claim that clashes have taken place between the army and dissident ZIPRA and ZANLA units near Karoi in Urungwe, an area in north-central Zimbabwe. Adding to the tension was the October announcement by Sekeramayi that "suspect soldiers" harboring party loyalties would be weeded out of the army. The statement followed by one day the execution of two "dissidents" convicted of murder, the first hangings since independence.

Since the breakup of the ZANU-ZAPU coalition, the growing violence has further embittered relations between Mugabe and Nkomo, and has drawn considerable

attention from the Western press.

The unrest has also fueled differences within the two parties over the best course to follow in the crisis. Some militants in the ruling party have been pressing Mugabe to crack down even harder on the opposition by banning ZAPU outright and jailing Nkomo. Within ZAPU, longstanding rank-and-file criticism of Nkomo and other moderates has increased as many ex-ZIPRA guerrillas and party members feel more and more alienated from what they see as an ineffective and compromised leadership. Following the July kidnapping of six foreign tourists, the "dissident" group holding them denounced Nkomo as a "sellout," and concentrated its political demands on the release of military leaders Dabengwa and Masuku.

For his part, Nkomo has denied any connection whatsoever with the insurgents, who have ignored his repeated calls for them to lay down their arms. Instead he has concentrated on reopening a dialogue with Mugabe over interparty relations, and on seeking the release of several dozen prominent ZAPU members in detention, including Vote Moyo, member of parliament and ZAPU national organizing secretary.

South Africa's destabilization efforts against Zimbabwe were clearly exposed in late August when three white South African soldiers, later identified as former members of the Rhodesian army, were killed by Zimbabwean security forces during a raid from a training camp just inside the South African border (*Southern Africa*, October 1982).

Mugabe has charged Nkomo with conspiring with the South Africans in his alleged coup plot, and has sought to link the "dissidents" with ex-Muzorewa "auxiliaries" currently training in South Africa. But he has also characterized the situation as having two sets of contradictions—a local contradiction with parties that lost the 1980 elections and an external contradiction arising from South Africa's use of white and Black agents for subversive activities.

Beyond general assertions that "dissidents" are linked with South Africa, the government has yet to produce definitive proof to support this claim. White ex-MP Wally Stuttaford, charged with plotting a coup with Nkomo supporters, was recently acquitted after three key witnesses retracted their testimony in court—one alleging it had been extracted "under wallops."

Transforming ZANU

Whatever the outcome of conflicts with South Africa and its political opposition, the ZANU leadership has placed the transformation of its own party high on the agenda. For any effective implementation of one-party rule, the structure inherited from the liberation struggle will have to be revamped to cope with increasingly technical responsibilities in local administration, planning and economic development, and be brought into closer political alignment with the leadership.

"The ZANU leadership has placed transformation of its own party high on the agenda."

Whether the party's ideology will begin to move in the direction of the more orthodox Marxism-Leninism of, for example, FRELIMO or MPLA remains to be seen. If it should decide to do so, however, it will have to confront numerous complex issues concerning the class structure of Zimbabwe's overwhelmingly rural society.

The touchiest of these problems is the issue of land redistribution and resettlement. Over 1.2 million people were displaced during the war and an additional 1.5 million live in the vicinity of white-owned commercial farms. Together they account for some 40 percent of the population. Any efforts to implement a socialist development program in the countryside would

necessarily involve acquiring land from the big commercial farms, which would run up against constitutional restrictions (see "Growing Pains for Land," *Southern Africa*, September/October 1981).

Although debate on the land extends beyond the boundaries of ZANU's political structure, within the party an active and somewhat heated debate has gone on over the pace of reforms and access to the white farming areas. Party officials have sometimes to bear the brunt of dissatisfaction among land-hungry peasants, those who earn the major portion of their incomes in the towns but want a piece of land to grow. "During the war," one official told me, "to mobilize the people, we pointed to a piece of land and said 'when we win that will be yours.' But then after independence some of these people started moving onto the land without going through the proper procedures it was supposed to have. They had to go and tell them to get out of a difficult situation."

The leadership recognizes the difficulties faced by these cadres. Its commitment to uphold the constitution has tied its hands. Not all the problems are legal. The government is determined to safeguard the productivity of the mostly white commercial farming sector, which is the major source of Zimbabwe's foreign exchange supply. This sector is also a major foreign exchange earner for Zimbabwe. All these factors would tend to argue against any radical socialist agrarian policy in the near future.

Another problem for ZANU will be the construction of a viable political machine in ZAPU-controlled areas in the western parts of the country, a process which has been complicated even further by the emergence of the dissident movement.

The central question remains whether such efforts in all these areas can come together to produce the necessary consensus for one-party rule. The outcome will largely determine whether such a step will be taken on a constitutional basis or will lead to further polarization and all that might entail for the future.

Isolate South Africa Break the Corporate Links

For many years it has been obvious to most people that the struggle for Black majority rule in South Africa will be long, bitter and dangerous. Because the white minority is determined to preserve its power and privilege, it has responded to the Black call for justice with violence—using its wealth to arm itself against change and by building prisons, torture chambers and security fences.

Recognizing that the white minority would continue its brutal rejection of Black demands for equality as long as it had the strength to do so, the international community looked for ways to curb the apartheid regime's power, and thereby limit its capacity for violent survival.

The most direct way of doing this, short of mounting a military invasion, is to cut South Africa's supply lines from the outside world. Thus the international community, seeking to play a non-violent, positive role in bringing change to South Africa, sought to stop the flow of oil, guns, computers, money and technology to apartheid by imposing mandatory and complete economic sanctions against the white minority.

Yet today the flow of supplies, and with it the violence, continue, because the United States and its allies have consistently blocked the imposition and implementation of sanctions—using one false argument after another to defend their actions.

Most of the member countries of the United Nations recognized long ago that sanctions were necessary. They understood this before Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Robert Sobukwe were sentenced to life in prison, before 53 people were killed by the police while being held under South Africa's fascist security laws. They knew it before hundreds of young people were gunned down by the regime in 1976, followed by the detention without trial of at least 5,000.

They knew before South Africa slaughtered more than 800 Namibian refugees at an Angolan camp called Kassinga. They knew it before the forced removal of over three million Blacks from their homes to remote and barren "homelands." They knew it before the bloody South African raid on Matola, Mozambique in 1981, and the December 1982 assault on Maseru, Lesotho, that left 42 dead. They knew it before South Africa developed its nuclear weapons capability and arrogated to itself the right to mock world opinion and international law.

Before the apartheid regime committed all these barbarous acts against its neighbors and its own people, the world knew South Africa was destroying peace inside and across its borders. The world knew, finally, that only action as strong as mandatory, full-scope sanctions could

help bring an end to these crimes against humanity.

With this sobering knowledge, the world community has sought to take effective action. In 1977, the UN Security Council finally instituted a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The embargo should have dramatically reduced South Africa's ability to commit acts of aggression against its neighbors. In fact, having reluctantly been forced to vote for the embargo, the US, Britain, and other major Western powers have refused to implement it effectively.

An oil embargo has long been recognized as an indispensable complement to the arms ban, and almost all oil exporting nations have imposed one. But again, the big Western oil companies have connived at shipping oil to apartheid, undercutting the international sanctions drive.

Other key efforts towards isolating South Africa have come in the areas of sports and culture. These have barred South Africa from competing in prestigious international athletic events, and gaining acceptance from numerous artists and entertainers. The message of both boycotts is the same: by the practice of apartheid, South Africa has barred itself from humanity.

Yet none of these embargoes has achieved the desired effect, because South Africa is protected by powerful friends in Western governments and transnational corporations who place their own ideological and economic interests above the suffering of the South African people.

With this special supplement, *Southern Africa* hopes to contribute to the creation of an outraged public opinion that will demand strong action against the racist white minority rulers of South Africa—strong actions for sanctions.

**Boycot Apartheid
Steun het Verzet!**

Steun de bevrijdingsbeweging A.N.C.
en het ondergrondse vakverbond S.A.C.T.U.



Apartheid: A Crime Against Humanity



South Africa is an outlaw nation. On three major counts, it already stands tried and convicted before the United Nations. For its repeated armed attacks against neighboring countries—condemned. For its illegal occupation of Namibia—condemned. For its internal policies denying all rights of citizenship to over 85 percent of its people because of the color of their skins—condemned. But the worldwide condemnations, even when backed up with a mandatory embargo on arms sales to South Africa, have been met only with scorn and defiance. South Africa continues sending its troops on raids against other countries, continues ruling Namibia through armed force, and continues the brutal oppression of the majority of its citizens—oppression that the United Nations has declared a “crime against humanity.”

South African officials dress up their occupation of Namibia and attacks on neighboring states with imaginative rhetorical camouflage—“maintaining stability,” “fighting international terrorism and communism,” “protecting Western values.” What they are really protecting, however, is the system of white supremacy known in South Africa as “apartheid,” which is

pronounced, appropriately, *apartheid*.

At the heart of the apartheid system is the policy of “separate development,” under which Black South Africans are being steadily stripped of any claim to their citizenship and national inheritance. By law, 87 percent of the land is reserved exclusively for whites—although they account for only sixteen percent of the population. Africans are allowed into the white areas only to work for the whites—producing the wealth that gives whites one of the highest standards of living in the world.

The government has decreed that the remaining thirteen percent of the land, over 100 isolated and scattered bits of barren wilderness divided into ten tribal reserves or “bantustans,” are the only areas where Africans are to have any political or human rights—ever. As each bantustan is forced to accept a sham “independence,” the people designated its citizens automatically lose South African citizenship, although many have never set foot in their so-called homelands.

In pursuit of this policy, over three million Black people in the white areas, mostly the wives and children of male workers (officially

regarded as “superfluous appendages” of the Black work force), have been brutally and forcibly uprooted from their homes and dumped in the bantustans. Already overcrowded, these “homelands” can offer neither employment, farmland, health and education services, or even clean water.

The results are predictable. Starvation, malnutrition and tuberculosis are rampant, producing an infant mortality rate among Africans that, at 282-per-1,000, is over 200 times the 12-per-1,000 rate for whites.

Driven by hunger and desperation, hundreds of thousands of African families have been shattered as fathers and mothers leave their children in the bantustans to seek work in the white cities. Over half the African work force are migrant laborers, working at jobs that, in four out of five cases, pay wages below the bare minimum Poverty Datum Line.

The same huge gap exists in education. In 1979 the government spent \$833 per year to educate each white child, for whom schooling is compulsory and free. In contrast only about half of all African children can attend the overcrowded and inferior schools provided by apartheid. The government spends only about \$82 per year on education for each Black child.

“Blood All Over”

For those who complain, or who are simply caught up in the intricate net of laws and regulations that control Black lives, there await the prisons, torture chambers and hangmen’s nooses of the apartheid regime. On any given day, about 100,000 people pack South African jails, the largest per capita prison population in the world. Ninety-five percent of the prisoners are Black.

And for those guilty of “political

offenses"—organizing a trade union, forming a cooperative health clinic, even reading a copy of this magazine—house arrest, imprisonment without trial, or torture and death may be in store.

Of 129 prisoners executed in South Africa in 1980, 128 were Black. This does not include the 53 prisoners who, like Black leader Steve Biko, have died under torture at the hands of the Security Police in recent years. Despite official denials, the international human rights group Amnesty International reported that in South Africa, "All the evidence indicates that torture is extensively inflicted on political detainees and the government sanctions its use."

A recent victim of torture, Simon Farisani, a dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, recounted his own sufferings at the hands of the police: "They forced me on my head against the wall and kicked me all over, as cruelly as they could. They banged my head against the wall. They used sticks to hit my head, and even chairs. I lost consciousness several times. There was blood all over."

What was Farisani's crime? Arranging a funeral for a fellow pastor slain by the police. He was finally released without charges.

South Africa capped off 1982 with

a pre-dawn raid on the capital of Lesotho, gunning down 42 people in their homes. In response to a Security Council condemnation, Pretoria brashly boasted that its attacks were justified by its "special responsibility" for "maintaining stability" in the region.

During the last two years, South African troops have "maintained stability" by invading and virtually occupying southern Angola and by making frequent forays into Mozambique. In addition, South Africa has served as the staging ground for attacks on Zimbabwe and for an attempted coup in the Seychelles islands.

In both cases, the Pretoria regime denied involvement. In both cases, members of the South African armed forces were captured or killed.

Illegal Occupation of Namibia

South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia (formerly known as South West Africa) was declared illegal more than a decade ago by the UN General Assembly, the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

Rather than allow the UN-supervised elections called for in a 1976 Security Council resolution, South Africa has increased its occupying army to over 90,000 men (in

a country whose population totals barely 1.5 million). The northern half of the country, where more than three quarters of the population lives, has been declared a virtual "free-fire zone," with a dusk-to-dawn curfew enforced by troops and police with unlimited powers. On the diplomatic front, with considerable assistance from the United States, South Africa has found one excuse after another to block a settlement.

Meanwhile, inside Namibia, less than 80,000 whites continue to prosper, with a per capita income of over \$3,500, as 1.5 million Blacks struggle to survive on less than \$150 per year per person. For many, it is a losing struggle. Only half the Black children born in Namibia live to celebrate their fifth birthday.

For decades, South Africa has been talked to—threatened, begged, encouraged and scolded—in an effort to bring about change. Those words have fallen on deaf ears. The degradation, suffering and legalized murder that is apartheid remains unaltered. On and on it goes, until the statistics become simply numbing—and the explanations of those who profit from this system simply inexcusable.

It is time for the world to stop talking and start acting. It is time, indeed past time, for sanctions. A.M. □

South Africans Speak

"Some say that if we got out of South Africa others will invest. I want to say very respectfully that the moral standpoint of that argument is breathtaking. It's like saying, 'Hey, your wife is going to be raped and if I don't, someone else is waiting.' —Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches.

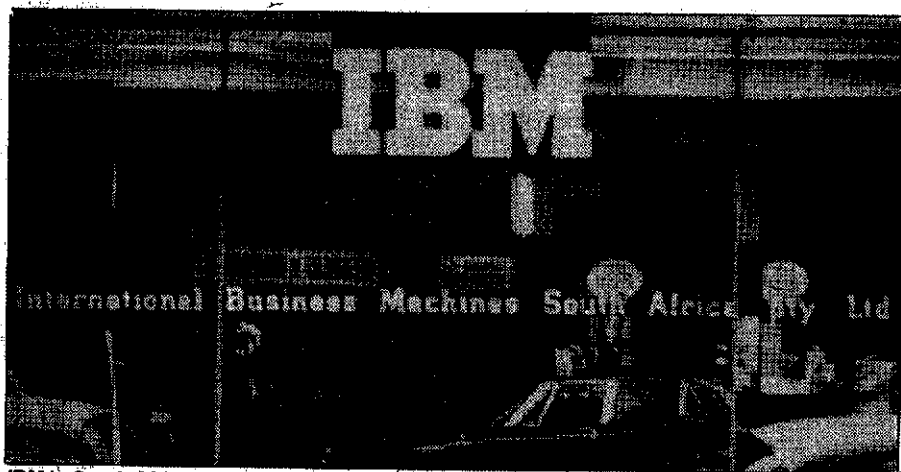
"I hardly believe if divestment could start it could bring a hastened end to apartheid. Perhaps an exodus of American companies from South Africa could bring about change." —Tzannele Bothe, leader of the 1979 strike at the Port Elizabeth Ford Motor Company plant.

"If Washington is really interested in contributing to the development of a just society in South Africa, it would discourage investment in South Africa. We Blacks are perfectly willing to suffer the consequences. We are quite accustomed to suffering." —Steve Biko, Black Consciousness Movement leader. Biko died in police detention in 1977.

"If I said that the only way to bring change would be total economic sanctions, I would be liable to go to jail. So let's just be cagey. Let's say that I support 'pressure' and leave it at that." —Dr. Nikoto Mollana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10.

Excerpted from *U.S. Business in South Africa: Voices for Withdrawal*, a pamphlet published by the Africa Fund (120 Broadway, New York, NY 10038) and available from that organization for 50¢ each.

Apartheid: Getting By With a Little Help From Its Friends



IBM in South Africa. The giant US computer firm is heavily engaged in automating apartheid.

Under Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter, countries that flagrantly disregard international law and threaten world peace can be punished with mandatory and comprehensive economic, diplomatic and cultural sanctions imposed by a unanimous vote of the UN Security Council. It is an act of last resort by the world body to bring renegade states into compliance with universal world opinion and maintain peace.

By these standards, sanctions should have been imposed against apartheid South Africa many years ago. But on three separate occasions over the past ten years, the United States, France, and Britain have vetoed Security Council resolutions for sanctions against apartheid—most recently on April 30, 1981.

The Western nations don't argue that they support apartheid, at least in public. What they do argue is that sanctions and other forms of coercion are not the best way to bring about change in South Africa. "Sanctions are an ineffective means of influencing policy," says United States Ambassador to the United

Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick. And the example most often cited as proof of this ineffectiveness was the failure of mandatory sanctions against the illegal white-minority Rhodesian government in what is now independent Zimbabwe. Opponents of sanctions also point out that after the UN imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977, the apartheid state was still able to develop an impressive armaments industry.

These examples raise questions not about the effectiveness of sanctions, but about the willingness of Western countries to enforce them.

Sanctions Busting

Although Britain initiated sanctions against its former settler colony in Rhodesia, it conspired with South Africa and Western multinational companies to ensure that the Rhodesian military never lacked for oil or arms in its war against the Zimbabwean people. In 1971, the US Congress actually passed a law allowing powerful US companies like Union Carbide to import Rhodesian chrome despite

international law. Sanctions against Rhodesia didn't fail—they were sabotaged by Western governments and corporations.

The mandatory arms embargo against South Africa was and is just as leaky. South Africa purchased a sophisticated field cannon from the US-based Space Research Corporation in 1978, probably with the connivance of the CIA, according to a Congressional report released last year.

Sanctions against South Africa can only be as effective as South Africa's major trading partners want them to be. And while Jeane Kirkpatrick feels sanctions would be ineffective against South Africa, the US has felt no inhibitions in imposing them, to varying degrees, on the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, Libya, Poland and a host of other countries around the world.

More to the point, in rejecting sanctions Kirkpatrick chose not to remind her fellow delegates that the US is now South Africa's largest trading partner, or that US and European multinational corporations have many billions of dollars profitably invested in apartheid South Africa. Far from believing that sanctions against South Africa wouldn't work, Western government and business leaders fear they would work too well, cutting off an investment market that often returns twice as much on the dollar as the world average.

Moral Bankruptcy

Western countries and businesses prefer not to admit that they reap handsome profits from the sufferings of Black people under apartheid. Instead they have devised some ingenious arguments against sanctions, ranging from the notion that sanctions would only hurt

Blacks in South Africa and the independent African countries who trade with South Africa, to claims that the industrial countries are dependent on South Africa for important minerals. But a close look at these assertions reveals the moral and political bankruptcy of sanctions opponents, and underlines apartheid's vulnerability to comprehensive sanctions.

According to South Africa and its Western allies:

Sanctions would only make life worse for the South African Black majority.

While it is true that sanctions would increase Black unemployment, the statements of South African Black leaders suggest the African majority is prepared to shoulder the burden as part of the freedom struggle (see "South Africans Speak," page 9). It is impossible to conduct a poll of Black workers on sanctions, because anyone advocating sanctions in South Africa can be tried for treason.

Isolating South Africa is counter-productive. US and European companies in South Africa are a force for progressive change, setting an example of how to operate without apartheid.

Through enlightened workplace reforms, corporations say, the backward, irrational system of apartheid is being undermined.

On the contrary, however, South African society is becoming more militarized daily, and the multinationals are being drawn into this militarization. Foreign investment fuels South African economic growth and strengthens the repressive state apparatus.

Sanctions would only hurt the independent African countries surrounding the apartheid state.

The independent African countries surrounding South Africa have strongly supported calls for international sanctions. But they point out that transportation and trade links inherited from the colonial period make it impossible for them to close their borders with their southern neighbor without major international aid. A campaign for sanctions should include greater interna-

tional support for the independent countries of southern Africa and their efforts to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa through such mechanisms as the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC).

South Africa's natural resources and advanced industrial economy make apartheid self-sufficient, and therefore immune from sanctions.

When the racist National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948, it began to prepare for the day when sanctions would be imposed. Millions of tax dollars were invested in state-run corporations to produce such strategic items as steel and synthetic fuels. New laws required that cars, trucks, and other machinery carry an increasing percentage of locally made parts, thereby creating a captive market for local business. The government has also stockpiled millions of barrels of oil, because South Africa has no oil fields of its own.

But all the government did was shift South Africa's dependence on US and Western manufactured goods to advanced technology, such as computers and nuclear energy. After three decades and billions of dollars invested, South Africa still imports three times as many industrial and technological goods and services as it sells abroad, and it has foreign debts totalling about \$15 billion.

Ironically, as the South African economy has become more sophisticated it has actually become more dependent on imported technology and expertise to supply and maintain it. The State Department has determined that lack of access to Western technology would cripple South Africa, according to a recent report by the American Friends Service Committee. "There is no possibility all replacement parts for imported goods which keep the economy going can be locally produced," the study says.

US oil companies, for example, have helped South Africa obtain the imported oil it needs in violation of an OPEC-imposed ban on supplying oil to apartheid. Almost all of South Africa's oil is refined by the big Western oil companies, some 50 percent by US-owned companies alone. And it is likely that some of the fuel used to power both the South African army's bloody raids into other countries and its illegal occupation of Namibia is imported and refined with American help.

Made In USA

It is in the areas of nuclear technology, computers, and investment capital that South Africa remains most dependent on the United States and Europe. South African scientists were first introduced to nuclear energy under the US gov-



Pelindaba, South Africa's top secret uranium enrichment plant. Imported technology and training is indispensable to South Africa's nuclear weapons program.

ernment's "Atoms For Peace" program in the 1950s; their Safari I experimental reactor was built with American assistance, and their technicians are trained in US nuclear labs. The indispensable role played by the US in South Africa's nuclear program was openly acknowledged by the former head of the South African Atomic Energy Agency, A.J. Roux, when he said: "We can ascribe our degree of [nuclear] advancement today in large measure to the training and assistance so willingly provided by the United States of America."

This cooperation continues today. Despite the technical ban on sales of US-enriched uranium and nuclear technology to South Africa, imposed because the apartheid regime has refused to sign the nuclear weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty, two US companies recently brokered the sale of European reactor fuel to South Africa with the full knowledge of the American government. Export licenses for computers and other equipment used in nuclear weapons development have also been okayed by Washington.

The South African government requires computers for more than nuclear weapons, however. One American computer guides South African missiles in Namibia and another forms the backbone of the government's "pass law" system. Over 75 percent of all these computers are marked "Made in USA."

And the very symbol of South Africa's drive to become self-sufficient—its massive oil-from-coal Sasol gasification plants—are being built by a California-based construction firm, Fluor.

South Africa isn't able to pay for these expensive imports of technology and triple its military budget at the same time. To make up the shortfall, it has turned increasingly to Western banks for loans, particularly in periods of crisis. US banks stepped in with a critical \$40 million revolving credit soon after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre caused a massive pullout of foreign investors fearful of a coming revolution. Western banks rescued the regime

again in 1976, when the nationwide rebellion that came to be known as the Soweto uprising rocked the bastions of white power and stampeded foreign capital.

Without Western oil for its army, Western technology for its industry, and Western money to bail it out during periods of intense popular resistance to white minority rule, apartheid would grind to a halt.

Western countries are dependent on South Africa for many important minerals.

South Africa is fabulously endowed with natural resources, including gold, diamonds, cobalt, uranium and coal. At least four—chromium, manganese, platinum and vanadium—have significant military and industrial uses and are thus considered "strategic minerals."

It is the potential cutoff of these strategic minerals that is supposed to make sanctions against South Africa impossible, since, as South Africa eagerly points out, it holds nearly three-fourths of the known platinum reserves, two thirds of the chromium, half the world's vanadium and over a third of the manganese.

But convenience and dependence are two different things. Certainly a

cutoff of mineral supplies from South Africa would cause dislocations in mineral supplies for Western countries. But according to a 1980 study for the US Senate, in the unlikely event of a total cutoff of mineral exports from South Africa, Western countries could make adjustments in consumption and marketing patterns over the short to medium term. And over the long term, according to the same study, newly independent countries, desperate for foreign exchange, would have little choice about where to sell mineral resources. Thus this threat also vanishes on closer examination.

Why Not Sanctions?

We then come back to the question, why haven't sanctions been imposed? South Africa is certainly dependent on the US and its Western allies for political, economic and moral support. And Western nations could certainly survive a short-term cutoff of access to South Africa's minerals.

Sanctions have not been imposed against South Africa quite simply because the United States and other Western countries have economic and political interests in maintaining the present government in the apartheid Republic. **M.F.**



The port of Durban, South Africa. Fifty percent of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product comes from overseas trade.

The World Demands Sanctions: A Chronology

March, 1960—Thousands of people gather at the segregated African township of Sharpeville, South Africa, for a peaceful demonstration called by the Pan-Africanist Congress against the Pass Laws. In response, South African police gun down 67 Africans.

June, 1960—Second Conference of Independent African States, the forerunner of the Organization of African Unity, calls on member states to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa and boycott South African goods. The conference also appeals to Arab states to prevent Arab oil from reaching South Africa.

January, 1962—African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela announces at a conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa that, "The movement for the boycott of South African goods and for the imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa has served to highlight most effectively the despotic structure of the power that rules South Africa."

November, 1962—The United Nations General Assembly (Resolution 1761) deplores South Africa's flagrant violation of the UN Charter. It calls for specific actions to diplomatically and economically isolate South Africa. The UN also establishes the Special Committee Against Apartheid. By 1962, the UN had already passed 27 resolutions aimed at the elimination of white minority rule in South Africa. In the following years, the UN General Assembly will annually adopt resolutions expressing abhorrence and outrage against South Africa's racist system and acts of unprovoked violence against neighboring territories.

December, 1962—Civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and ANC leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli make a joint appeal for sanctions against South Africa.

August, 1963—UN Security Council (Resolutions S/5384 and S/5386) calls for a voluntary halt of arms sales to South Africa.

April, 1964—An international conference on economic sanctions against South Africa, organized in London, England, and sponsored by eleven Afro-Asian states, suggests that South Africa is not immune to economic sanctions, and that coercion to enforce complete economic sanctions should not be ruled out.

October, 1966—The UN General Assembly (Resolution 2145) officially terminates South Africa's territorial jurisdiction over Namibia. The South African occupation of Namibia is thus formally recognized as illegal.

December, 1966—The UN Security Council (Resolution 232) imposes selective, but mandatory, sanctions against the white minority government in Rhodesia. The embargo is aimed at certain key commodities, including Rhodesian chrome and exports of oil to Rhodesia.

December, 1969—Mass demonstrations in Britain force the cancellation of a South African rugby tour of England. The boycott of South African sports teams, which began in the early 1960s, gains strength in the early 1970s. Many countries refuse to give visas to South African teams and South Africa is banned from the Olympics.

March, 1971—The Episcopal Church introduces the first of many shareholder resolutions on corporate involvement in South Africa. The initiative, aimed at General Motors' operations in South Africa, is followed by many other shareholder actions.

November, 1971—The US Senate and House of Representatives pass legislation declaring chrome imports to be strategically vital to US interests. The bill, called the Byrd Amendment, unilaterally exempts the US from the UN embargo against importing Rhodesian chrome. The arrival of Rhodesian chrome at US ports spurs national protests and, in particular, the refusal by longshoremen to unload cargo.

November, 1973—In response to a request made by the Organization of African Unity Council of Ministers, an Arab summit conference in Algiers calls for a complete oil embargo against South Africa.

May, 1973—District 20 of the United Mine Workers of America calls on longshoremen to refuse to unload coal consignments from South Africa in order, according to one pamphlet, to express workers' solidarity in the "fight against the imperialist system as a whole, and in particular its oppression of the Azanian people."

January, 1973—The World Council of Churches proposes shareholders withdraw holdings from institutions that help perpetuate racism by their financial involvement in South Africa. The WCC sells approximately \$1.5 million worth of stock.

November, 1973—The UN General Assembly (Resolution 3068) declares apartheid to be "a crime against humanity" and calls for international action against any individual, organization or government directly cooperating with apartheid.

continued on page 16

POWER

The difference between poetry and rhetoric
is being
ready to kill
yourself
instead of your children.

I am trapped on a desert of raw gunshot wounds
and a dead child dragging his shattered black
face off the edge of my sleep
blood from his punctured cheeks and shoulders
is the only liquid for miles and my stomach
churns at the imagined taste while
my mouth splits into dry lips
without loyalty or reason
thirsting for the wetness of his blood
as it sinks into the whiteness
of the desert where I am lost
without imagery or magic
trying to make power out of hatred and destruction
trying to heal my dying son with kisses
only the sun will bleach his bones quicker.

The policeman who shot down a 10-year-old in Queens
stood over the boy in his cop shoes in childish blood
and a voice said "Die you little motherfucker" and
there are tapes to prove that. At his trial
the policeman said in his own defense
"I didn't notice the size or nothing else
only the color," and
there are tapes to prove that, too.





Black Mothers By a South African Artist
 Issued by: The African National Congress

Today that 37-year-old white man with 13 years of police
 forcing
 has been set free
 by 11 white men who said they were satisfied
 justice had been done
 and one black woman who said
 "They convinced me" meaning
 they had dragged her 4'10" black woman's frame
 over the hot coals of four centuries of white male approval
 until she let go the first real power she ever had
 and lined her own womb with cement
 to make a graveyard for our children.

I have not been able to touch the destruction within me.
 But unless I learn to use
 the difference between poetry and rhetoric
 my power too will run corrupt as poisonous mold
 or lie limp and useless as an unconnected wire
 and one day I will take my teenaged plug
 and connect it to the nearest socket
 raping an 85-year-old white woman
 who is somebody's mother
 and as I beat her senseless and set a torch to her bed
 a greek chorus will be singing in 3/4 time
 "Poor thing. She never hurt a soul. What beasts they are."

by Audre Lorde

Audre Lorde is a Poet and a Professor of English at Hunter College of the City of New York. Power was taken from Ms. Lorde's book of poetry *The Black Unicorn* (W.W. Norton, 1978). Her last book of poetry is *Chosen Poems—Old and New* (W.W. Norton, 1982) and *Zami: A New Spelling Of My Name* (Persephone Press, 1982) is her last work of fiction.

SANCTIONS

continued from page 13

December, 1973—The UN Security Council (Resolution 342) decides to end contacts with South Africa. At the same time, the General Assembly recognizes SWAPO as the sole representative of the Namibian people, pending free and fair elections.

April, 1974—Increasingly successful wars of liberation against Portuguese colonialism culminate in a military coup against the fascist regime in Portugal. Barely a year later, on June 25, 1975, Mozambique becomes independent, and in November of that same year Angola gains independence.

June, 1975—UN Security Council proposal to embargo all arms sales to South Africa because of its continued illegal occupation of Namibia is vetoed by the US, Britain, and France.

January, 1976—The UN Security Council (Resolution 385) unanimously calls for "free and fair" elections in Namibia under UN supervision and control.

June, 1976—School children in Soweto, South Africa, protest the government's insistence on the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in Black schools. Police respond to the peaceful demonstrators by opening fire and killing hundreds. The massacre sparks nationwide protests against the regime.

January, 1977—In the wake of the Soweto uprising the United Steel Workers, the International Longshore Workers Union and other labor organizations investigate ways to divest union funds that are invested in corporations operating in South Africa.

October, 1977—The Congressional Black Caucus calls for economic and diplomatic sanctions against apartheid in the wake of a massive government crackdown against the Black opposition.

November, 1977—The UN Security Council (Resolution 418) demands that the existing arms embargo against South Africa be strengthened and universally applied. All shipments of arms and material that could be used by the South African police and/or military are supposed to be halted. This is the first time that the UN has applied explicitly punitive measures against one of its members.

November, 1977—The Board of the National Council of Churches adopts a policy statement recognizing the detrimental role of US bank loans and foreign corporations in South Africa and decides to "withdraw all funds and close all accounts in financial institutions which have investments in South Africa or make loans to the South African government or business."

January, 1978—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls for complete withdrawal of American businesses from South Africa.

1977-1979—The Soweto uprising puts apartheid on the front page in the United States. The emergence of heated student activity throughout the United States forces many colleges and universities to sell stocks from

corporations active in South Africa.

April, 1980—After 25 years of political and armed struggle, Zimbabwe becomes independent.

June, 1980—The State of Michigan passes legislation prohibiting the deposit of state funds in banks that make loans to South Africa or to US corporations operating in South Africa.

February, 1981—Harvard University sells \$50.9 million in Citibank shareholdings after students protest bank's involvement in South Africa.

May, 1981—The United Nations-sponsored International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa adopts the Paris Declaration aimed at mobilizing political assistance by governments and peoples for liberation movements in South Africa. The vital contribution of sanctions to the destruction of apartheid is emphasized.

July, 1981—The touring South African Springbok rugby team stirs outrage among US and New Zealand citizens. Demonstrations attracting up to 75,000 people protest the tour in New Zealand, and activists in the US force the cancellation of a number of games. One South African newspaper called the tour "the most humiliating tour in the history of South African sport."

January, 1982—The beginning of the United Nations International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The UN urges activities on all levels: governmental, community organizations, trade unions, religious bodies, students, and youth and women's groups to publicize the importance of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

June, 1982—2,225 mayors from 54 countries issue a declaration demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners.

October, 1982—Over 200 angry demonstrators picket Ray Charles concert in New York to protest the 1980 tour of South Africa. In response to calls from inside South Africa, coalitions in the United States in particular have been organizing to protest cultural contact with apartheid. In late 1982 there is a giant upsurge in protests against entertainers traveling to South Africa.

December, 1982—By the end of 1982 more than 20 colleges and universities had divested more than \$1 billion from banks and corporations operating in South Africa. In addition, Connecticut, Michigan, Philadelphia and Grand Rapids are among the states and cities legislating restrictions on investment of public funds in companies operating in South Africa. In 1982 alone state and local actions call for divestment of holdings valued at over \$300 million. **Tracy Dewart**

Tracy Dewart is a student at New York University in New York. She is a long time southern Africa solidarity activist.

Washington's Growing Alliance With Apartheid

by Salih Abdul-Rahim

While the vast majority of the world's nations have joined the call for the international isolation of apartheid South Africa, the United States has moved in exactly the opposite direction. Instead, the Reagan administration has established what the African countries have termed "an unholy alliance" with apartheid—relaxing many previous restrictions on trade and diplomatic relations, and openly calling for greater political and military cooperation with the white minority government. These changes are all part of Washington's new sympathetic approach to the racist regime which it calls "constructive engagement."

In the two years it has been in office, the Reagan administration has actively pursued closer American relations with apartheid South Africa. Following are just some of the policy changes Reagan has made:

- In March 1981, the administration granted visas to three senior South African military intelligence officers, including their chief of military intelligence and a former South African military attache who had been asked to leave the US in retaliation for the expulsion of the US military attache in South Africa. The existing policy (conforming with the UN arms embargo) of not permitting senior South African military and intelligence officers to come to the US was ignored.

Salih Abdul-Rahim is a legislative assistant for TransAfrica, the Washington-based Black lobby for Africa and the Caribbean. He is the editor of TransAfrica's quarterly TransAfrica News Report.



President Ronald Reagan, left, talks with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha. The American policy of "constructive engagement" has created an "unholy alliance" with South Africa.

- The US upgraded its military attache office at the American embassy in Pretoria and allowed the South Africans to do the same in Washington. In addition, members of the South African military are now trained in the United States by American Coast Guard personnel.
- In November 1981 and March 1982, two South African generals visited the US as part of a Namibia negotiating team. Such official visits by military personnel were unprecedented. In October 1982, two South African police officers attended a conference in the US.
- The US permitted the South African government to establish as many as three new consulates in different parts of the United States. Washington also granted the state-owned South African Airways permission to open a new air route to Houston last August.
- The administration loosened restrictions on the sale of medical equipment to the South African military in June 1981 and elimin-

ated some restrictions on the sale of "crime control" devices to the South African government.

- The administration further amended US export policy in February 1982 to permit the sale of so-called "nonlethal" items to the South African police, military and security forces. Previously, the official policy had been to refuse to sell any items to the apartheid military and police.

This change made it possible for an export license to be "accidentally" granted for the sale of 2500 electric "shock batons" to South Africa last August. The device, described by the manufacturer as "a flashlight with self-defensive capabilities," delivers a powerful 3500-volt shock—an ideal torture device.

- The departments of State and Commerce agreed to grant two American aircraft companies, Beechcraft and Piper, licenses to export up to 22 "air ambulances," to the South African air force. The South African government wants to purchase at least six of the

small planes, which are also used by the US Air Force. They will probably be used to ferry wounded troops from Namibia to South Africa, and can also be used as troop carriers and reconnaissance craft.

- The Reagan administration has quietly permitted an increase in sales to South Africa of "dual use" items with nuclear weapons program applications.

According to Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, five export licenses for equipment which could be used in South Africa's nuclear program have been approved since May 1980. For instance, Commerce approved the sale of vibration test equipment, which can be used to test the reliability of warheads and ballistic re-entry vehicles, and computers and multichannel analyzers, which can analyze data from hundreds of cables at a nuclear test site.

- In 1981 alone, the US permitted approximately twenty South African nuclear technicians to come to the US to receive training at government facilities.
- In March 1982, the administration granted an export license to an American company, Control Data, to sell a Cyber 170/750 computer to South Africa's government-controlled Center for Industrial and Scientific Research (CISR). The Cyber 750 is one of the most advanced computers made in the US and can be used for advanced research on nuclear explosives.
- Two US companies—Edlow International and SWUCO, acted as brokers in arranging the sale of enriched European uranium for use in South Africa's Koeberg nuclear power plant. The United States refuses to supply enriched uranium to South Africa because Pretoria has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The State Department was aware of the transaction well in advance of delivery and did nothing to stop it, although the sale clearly circumvented US non-proliferation policy.

- Washington has all but ceased to make public statements about the wholesale human rights violations in South Africa and occupied Namibia. It has refused to condemn any of South Africa's destabilization activities against its neighbors (with the lone exception of the bloody raid into neighboring Lesotho) and even vetoed a UN resolution condemning the regime's massive invasion of Angola in 1981—South Africa's biggest military operation since World War Two. Prior to each of South Africa's assaults on Angola over the past two years, US officials were advised that attacks were pending, but did nothing to prevent them.
- Strong backing from the United States was a decisive factor in a controversial International Monetary Fund decision to loan South Africa over a billion dollars last November. The US and other Western countries pushed the loan through over the strong objections of Third World member states. Critics of the loan have called it "a subsidy for the South African army."
- The Reagan administration has thwarted the five-year-old negotiations over Namibia's indepen-

dence by insisting on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a condition for an settlement. The Cubans were invited into Angola by the government to help defend that country from repeated South African attacks. The Cuban issue, as raised by South Africa, was introduced by the US in 1981.

- In early 1983, the US officially endorsed some proposed South African constitutional changes that would establish racial segregation and politically subordinate parliamentary chambers for people of Indian and mixed race descent—but exclude the African majority altogether. The proposals, which enshrine the principles of apartheid in the structure of government, were praised by the State Department as a sign of progress.

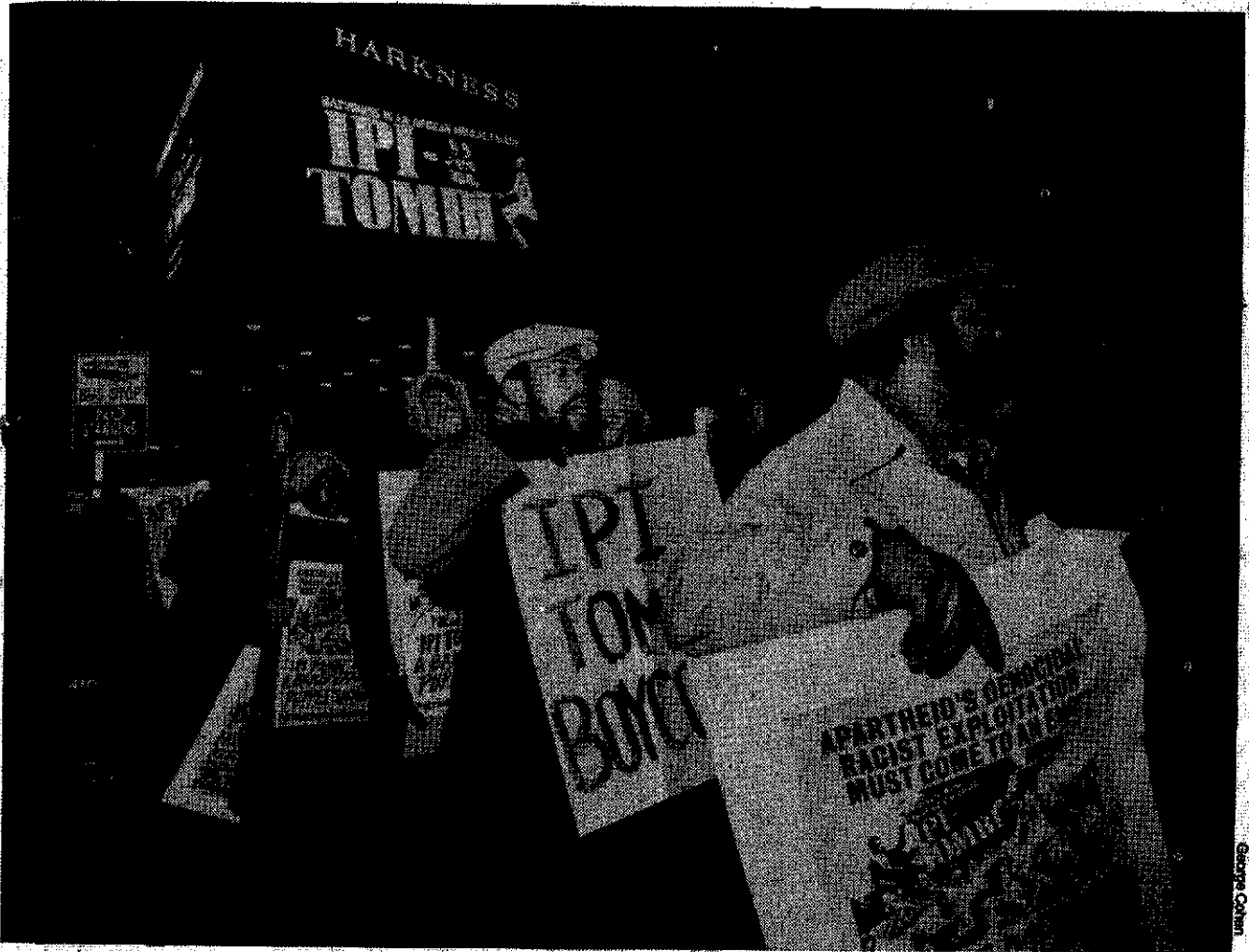
The above are only some of the numerous changes which have strengthened Pretoria politically, militarily and economically. We encouraged it in its war on the African peoples in the region. Opposition to Reagan's unholy alliance with apartheid by the American people is a vital part of the global drive for sanctions.



US Representative to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick and Sir Anthony Parsons, the British representative, veto Security Council sanctions resolution in 1981.



The People Demand Sanctions



Protesters picket a 1978 performance of the South African play *Ipi-Tombi* in New York.

South Africa's wealth of political and economic ties to the major Western capitalist countries means any effective campaign to isolate and weaken the apartheid regime in South Africa must be international in scope. As a result, the United Nations has quite logically become the most important forum for the development of coordinated political and economic sanctions against South Africa.

But the United States, together with France and Great Britain, have used their veto powers to pre-

vent the world body from enacting complete and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime. An important task for anti-apartheid and progressive groups in these countries should be to put public pressure on their governments to support international sanctions. But there is no need to wait for governments to act, because the people themselves can impose sanctions against apartheid and its collaborators.

Through a series of actions ranging from legislative campaigns at

the state and local government level to the picketing of entertainers who perform in South Africa, anti-apartheid organizers have demonstrated that sanctions against South Africa can begin at home. The very economic, political, and cultural links which make the isolation of South Africa so difficult also create many opportunities to confront the symbols of apartheid—and win.

State and Local Governments

Against a backdrop of economic decline and skyrocketing unemploy-

SANCTIONS

ment, US anti-apartheid activists have joined with church and community development organizations to force a growing number of state and local governments to pass laws forbidding the investment of public funds in companies that do business in South Africa. In the past year alone, reports the New York-based American Committee on Africa, legislation was passed that will result in as much as \$300 million in publicly controlled investment funds being pulled out of companies doing business with apartheid as part of a nationwide legislative Campaign Against Investments in South Africa (CAISA). "State and local government actions have an enormous potential," says Dumisani Kumalo, a CAISA field organizer for ACOA. He noted that similar divestment bills are scheduled to appear in Minnesota, Kansas, California, Oregon, Michigan, and Texas in coming months, as well as the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Massachusetts Victory

A four-year campaign by Mass. Divest, a coalition of over 100 Massachusetts organizations, won a

decisive victory this January when both houses of the state legislature overwhelmingly passed a divestment bill. The new legislation calls on the two state employee pension funds to sell investments in firms doing business in South Africa.

State Senator Jack Backman, who co-sponsored the bill with State Representative Mel King, cited the broad nature of the coalition supporting the bill as the key to its success: "We had the public employee unions, so nobody could argue this went against the interest of their members. It's their money. We had the religious community. We had the Black community. And we had a number of community change and political action organizations, free-lance activists who came together around this one issue."

The new legislation, passed over the veto of outgoing Republican Governor Ed King, will result in the sale over a three-year period of over \$90 million worth of securities in such major investors in South Africa as Ford, Citibank, and Manufacturers Hanover.

Another key to the campaign's success was the connection drawn between corporate investments in

South Africa and economic hardships at home. Several firms affected by the divestment bill, including Ford and Westinghouse, have recently closed plants in Massachusetts, while maintaining their South African subsidiaries. The bill mandates that funds released by divestment be reinvested in ways that benefit the state economy.

Divestment bills also passed in Connecticut and Michigan this year, as well as in the city of Philadelphia. In at least one case, far, the divestment campaign helped persuade a company not to expand its South African operations. General Electric's decision to cancel a new \$14 million investment in a South African coal mine was based in part on its fear that it would be a public relations fiasco.

Stop Banking On Apartheid

The scope and momentum of the state and local initiative campaign is reminiscent of earlier efforts to cut off US bank loans to South Africa. In the wake of the Soweto uprising in 1976, the national Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA) developed and grew to the point where it has thirteen full-fledged chapters leading banks from California to New York City.

The main tactic adopted by the campaign was the withdrawal of personal and institutional funds from banks that refused to stop making loans to the South African government or to corporate operations in the white Republic. Activists forced a number of banks to take public positions against new loans and the campaign educated thousands of people who might otherwise have realized that their money was being used to finance apartheid. South African officials have acknowledged that the campaign was an important factor in limiting direct loans from US banks to the South African government in the late 1970s.

More recently, the November decision by the Western-controlled International Monetary Fund to loan the South African government \$1.1 billion has focused new attention



Students at Princeton University protest the school's investments in apartheid.

tion on the role of the banks in shoring up apartheid. Legislation opposing further IMF loans to South Africa is expected to appear in Congress sometime this year.

Church, Student Action

The churches have been another source of pressure. The liberal Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility continues to coordinate church shareholder resolutions like last year's at Citicorp, which called for no new loans to the South African government.

The churches themselves have come under pressure from their members to divest. Last September, the Lutheran Church in America resolved to divest all directly-controlled church funds from corporations doing business with South Africa. The resolution, the product of three years of hard organizing by the Lutheran Coalition on Southern Africa, was backed up by an even broader resolution instructing the church hierarchy to "call upon the governments of the United States and Canada to implement economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa and to support, join, and encourage other United Nations members also to implement these sanctions."

Campus activism, while not at the fever pitch of the late 1970s, has also proved successful in some places. In 1981, students at America's most prestigious institution, Harvard University, forced the school to sell \$51 million in Citibank shareholdings to protest the bank's involvement with apartheid.

In 1982 Harvard students successfully defeated Citibank's attempts to get Harvard officials to reverse their divestment decision. Citibank argued that its large new loans in support of government housing projects for Blacks constituted support for the needs of Black South Africans, not support for apartheid. Four hundred students turned out at a meeting which rejected this argument and voted to reaffirm the divestment policy. The students pointed out that most Black South Africans oppose government plans to "improve apartheid" and its international image without touch-



Black United Front leader Rev. Herbert Daughtry heads a 1981 demonstration against Citibank at the bank's Manhattan headquarters.

ing any of the basic features of the system.

The Harvard action was a continuation of a long series of student divestment actions which have forced more than thirty colleges and universities to divest over \$100 million in stock in firms doing business in South Africa.

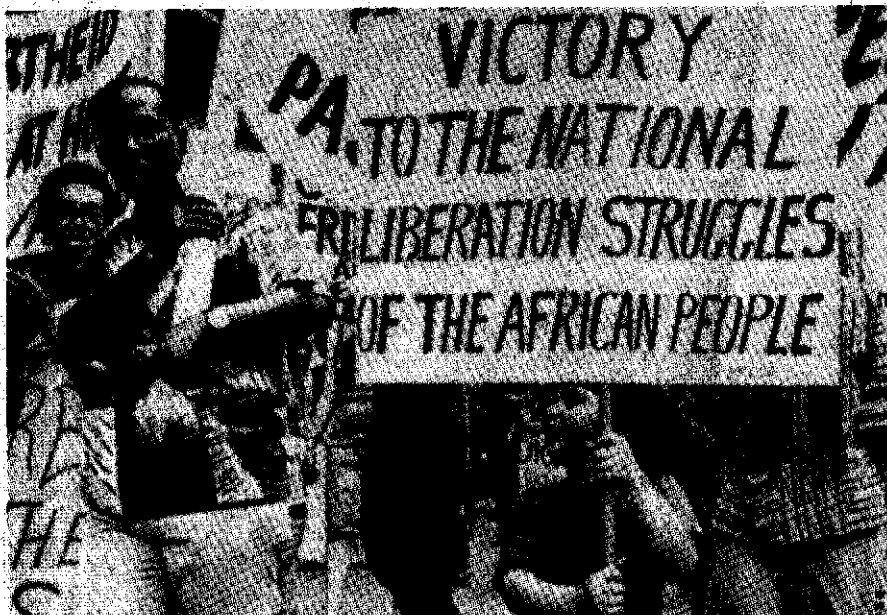
Don't Play With Apartheid

But breaking the financial links isn't the only way people are fighting apartheid in this country, as activists working for the boycott of South Africa in athletics have shown. In the early 1960s, Black South Africans initiated the call for an international boycott of South African athletes. Since then, South Africa has found itself excluded

from just about every major sporting event in the world—including the Olympics.

When South African athletes do show up at international events, they're likely to be met by crowds of angry protesters. Between 6,000 and 8,000 anti-apartheid demonstrators turned out for three successive days of mass action at the 1978 Davis Cup tournament in Nashville. A 1981 US tour by the South African Springboks national rugby team brought thousands of people into the streets in half a dozen major cities across the country, forcing the cancellation of most of the games, and forcing its organizers to schedule most of the rest in secret locations.

The campaign to Stop the Apar-



There is real support for African liberation in the US. Mobilizing this support is important if sanctions are to succeed.

theid Rugby Tour (SART) was so successful that one South African newspaper termed the Springboks visit "The most humiliating tour in the history of South African sport."

In Tune With Apartheid

In recent months, however, the movement to stop artists and musicians from performing in South Africa has become the most visible of all anti-apartheid efforts (see *Southern Africa*, December 1982, January/February 1983). Activists, particularly in the Black community, have been pushing for a cultural boycott for many years, and as Frank Sinatra, the O'Jays, Ray Charles and Millie Jackson (all of whom have performed in South Africa recently) discovered, those early efforts are paying off.

After pickets virtually shut down her Christmas Day concert in New York, followed by an equally devastating protest the next night in New Jersey, singer Millie Jackson pledged never to return to South Africa. Over 150 marchers braved rain to picket a Sinatra appearance at Radio City Music Hall in January, and campaign organizers are expanding their efforts to include night club owners, radio stations and record companies.

The attraction of sports and cultural ties as a target for peoples' sanctions against South Africa, most organizers say, lies in its potential for concrete, short-term victories, the high visibility of athletes and performing artists, and because this kind of sanctions is amenable to direct action.

The value of the sports and cultural boycott as an organizing tool lies in its ability to attract new people into the campaign to isolate South Africa and support the South African and Namibian liberation movements. "We want to make South Africa a household word," explains Adeyemi Bandele a leading cultural boycott organizer. "Whether it be the preacher on the block or the young people listening to the boogie music, it's not something that comes unfamiliar to them... If we can do that we will have accomplished a lot."

End Nuclear Collaboration

Another action that is gaining increasing momentum is the movement to stop Western collaboration with South Africa's military and nuclear build-up.

The United States supplied South Africa with its first nuclear power

facilities in the late 1950s, and a strong component of the sanctions campaign has been to stop American collaboration with South Africa's nuclear weapons program. The church-based lobby, the Washington Office on Africa announced a major campaign to halt US nuclear collaboration with apartheid in December. As part of the campaign, the Washington Office has worked to encourage grass roots support for Congressional legislation against nuclear ties and has issued a special leaflet and information packet.

Clergy and Laity Concerned, a national coalition of human rights groups, sponsored a resolution at the national convention of the nuclear freeze campaign that committed the freeze to support the isolation of South Africa and end US/South Africa nuclear collaboration.

In Baltimore, a coalition of local groups is organizing to protest the use of the Maryland port for importing South African uranium. The uranium is processed and enriched in the US for re-export to Japan.

In other locales, grassroots groups have come together to oppose the South African presence in their communities: the establishment of South African consulates in Los Angeles and Pittsburg, for example, has sparked strong local opposition. Houston residents fought a bitter campaign to prevent South African Airways from opening a weekly route to the Texas city. "Don't have enough racists here now," asked one Houston activist.

In dozens of places around the country, local citizens groups have joined together to combat apartheid's corrosive presence. Consciously or not, these small efforts are laying the base for a truly effective international campaign of sanctions.

The lesson of the past two decades is that sanctions are only as effective as they are made to be. And only direct action by the people, and constant vigilance over the governments' compliance with sanctions, can ever make them work.

W.H.

Sanctions and the Struggle: —An Interview with David Ndaba

The campaign to weaken and isolate the apartheid regime internationally has always been an important part of the struggle of the African National Congress. In the following interview, David Ndaba, a member of the ANC's Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations, links two key aspects of this campaign—diplomatic mobilization for economic sanctions at the UN, and popular mobilization in Western countries for a total boycott of the apartheid regime.

David Ndaba is a former science student who participated in the Soweto uprisings in 1976, and subsequently left the country to work with the ANC, first in southern Africa and then at the UN.

by James Khatami

Why is the ANC supporting sanctions against South Africa?

Because the transnational corporations that are operating in South Africa are not there *despite* the apartheid system, but *because* of that system. They are not there so they can improve the well-being of the South African people, but in order to be able to exploit the cheap African labor that has been made possible by the apartheid laws.

One argument the transnationals have been making to justify their presence in South Africa is that the government is making changes, is taking a step in the right direction. Why do you feel sanctions should be imposed at this point?

Black people do not benefit from economic collaboration between

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

Western countries and South Africa. Continued trade relations strengthen the apartheid regime economically and militarily. This makes it more powerful and therefore more intransigent. If we impose sanctions, this will weaken the regime and enable the people of South Africa to achieve their freedom with relatively less bloodshed than would be the case if they remained strong.

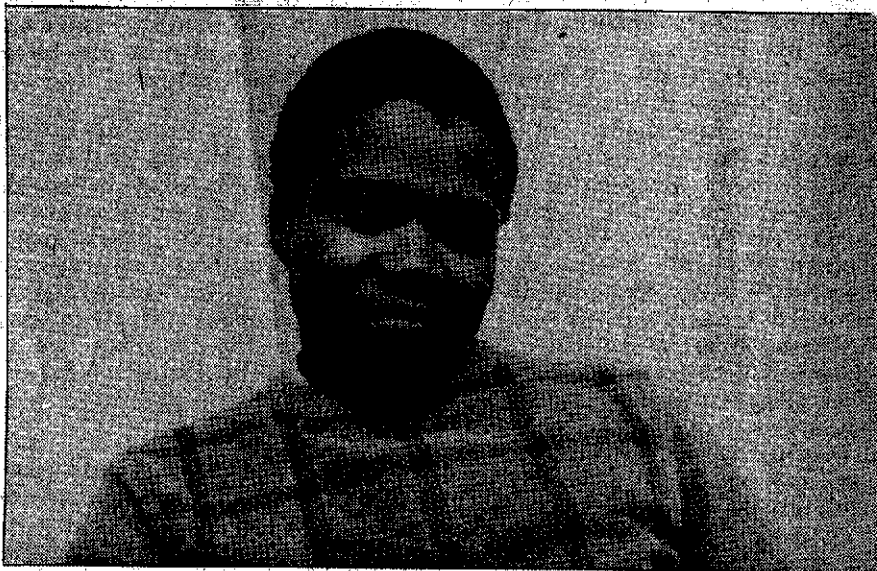
What do you say to people like the Rev. Leon Sullivan who say they oppose sanctions because it would harm the South African people as a whole?

In South Africa, calling for sanctions is a serious criminal offense. Under the Terrorism Act it's considered sabotage, terrorism. It makes you liable for a minimum of 5 years imprisonment. But I can quote one worker in Cape Town. He said, "We the Black people are

prepared to suffer a little bit more, as long as we can see the light at the end of the tunnel, rather than to remain in perpetual slavery." In any economic ladder, if you break that ladder the one who's going to hit the ground the hardest is the one who's on top of the ladder, not the one who's on the bottom. And the readiness of our people to sacrifice for their freedom cannot be questioned.

Do you think that sanctions are a practical policy?

Practically speaking it is possible to impose sanctions against South Africa. We have a clear example in recent history whereby sanctions were imposed against racist Rhodesia. Rhodesia only survived because South Africa never observed those sanctions. But it became so difficult for South Africa to continue supporting Rhodesia that it actually pressured Ian Smith



ANC Representative David Ndaba. "Black people do not benefit from economic collaboration between Western countries and South Africa."



David Ndaba in front of the United Nations.

to go to the Lancaster House talks, which led to Zimbabwean independence. Smith was forced to the negotiating tables by the efforts of the Zimbabwean people in combination with the sanctions imposed by the international community.

How successful have efforts been to mobilize the support of UN member countries for economic sanctions against South Africa?

The majority of the member countries of the international community have already called for sanctions against South Africa. The UN has been a viable instrument for mobilizing for the imposition of sanctions. The reason why the UN has been made a non-viable organ in this particular case is because certain Western countries have misused their veto power to block sanctions. The veto power has been granted to these countries for use in furthering international peace and security. But in this case, despite the fact that the majority of UN members have called for sanctions to stop the threat to international peace and security as caused by the racist regime of South Africa, the Western powers have misused their veto power.

Why have the Western countries

taken this position?

The reason why today we don't have a Security Council resolution imposing sanctions is because these Western powers benefit from this economic collaboration. They reap super-profits out of the cheap Black labor provided by the apartheid system in South Africa.

Are you encouraged by recent efforts inside the US to circumvent the Reagan administration's opposition to sanctions, such as the current campaign for a cultural boycott of South Africa?

Yes, we are very encouraged. Our task is to lobby strongly for the total isolation of South Africa. Actually, this campaign has mobilized more people than ever before. It has great potential because artists are very sensitive to demonstrations. And it has great potential not only to prevent artists from visiting South Africa, but for educating the American people about the apartheid system.

Because sanctions have been blocked in the UN in recent years would you say that South Africa has been encouraged in its military campaign against neighboring states and its campaign of repres-

sion at home?

Yes, definitely. South Africa is spending \$3 million a day to maintain its troops illegally occupying Namibia, and \$5 million a day to defend its strategic economic installations inside South Africa. All that money is made possible by economic collaboration with Western countries. Actually, the main reason the national liberation movement is calling for economic sanctions is because we see them as the last relatively peaceful way of bringing change in South Africa. I say relatively peaceful because even if we could achieve freedom tomorrow it wouldn't have been a peaceful transition because already thousands of students were shot down in Soweto in 1976, people were killed at Sharpeville, and have been massacred throughout our history.

What immediate objectives are you pursuing at the UN now regarding sanctions?

We have succeeded at the UN in mobilizing for the key factors that count most. We mobilized for an arms embargo, which was considered an impossible task in the 1960s, but by 1977 we won the imposition of an arms embargo. Now we have mobilized, through the African Group, for the setting up of a watchdog committee for the implementation of the arms embargo. This committee has come up with fourteen recommendations for implementing the embargo, but these have been strongly resisted by the US.

Are there other initiatives?

Yes, the other step is an oil embargo. Now the OPEC countries have already imposed an oil embargo on South Africa, but despite that Western companies are buying oil from OPEC and selling it to South Africa. So last year we included in a General Assembly resolution an item to set up a UN-funded "Committee of Experts" on an oil embargo against South Africa. This was a major victory. The role of the committee will be to ensure that OPEC oil will not reach South Africa. □



Resources on Sanctions

Organizations Involved Primarily With Supporting African Liberation

American Committee on Africa/Africa Fund
198 Broadway, Suite 401
New York, NY 10038
(212) 962-1210

Distributes literature on southern Africa, serves as a source of speakers, films, and information on African liberation struggles and related US and international issues.

American Friends Service Committee
Peace Education, Southern Africa Program
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7169

Through its regional and national networks, AFSC is involved in education and mobilization around issues relating to southern Africa.

Coalition to End Cultural Collaboration with South Africa
10 Claver Place
Brooklyn, NY 11238
(212) 789-1056

A broad range of Afro-American organizations actively building the campaign to isolate South Africa in the field of culture.

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa
853 Broadway, Room 1005
New York, NY 10003
(212) 477-0066

ECSA issues a newsletter, "For a Free Southern Africa," which provides extensive information on recent developments in southern Africa, and monitors the European and African press on these issues.

International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
P.O. Box 17
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 491-8343

An international organization providing legal and material aid to victims of apartheid; IDAF produces excellent publications about southern Africa, pictorial exhibitions, and a film and slide show.

TransAfrica, TransAfrica Forum
545 8th St. SE, Suite 200
Washington DC 20003
(202) 547-2550

TransAfrica is a Black lobbying organization that monitors US policy towards Africa and the Caribbean, and provides information on recent legislative and policy developments. TransAfrica Forum publishes a monthly newsletter and quarterly journal and TransAfrica publishes a quarterly newsletter.

The United Nations Centre Against Apartheid
c/o The United Nations Information Center
1889 F Street, NW Ground Fl.
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 296-5370

Publishes many useful studies and papers in its "Notes and Documents" series, which deal with various aspects of the struggle against apartheid. The Centre also publishes a monthly newsletter chronicling recent developments in the global anti-apartheid movement. Both publications are available at no cost from the Washington, DC, address.

The U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid
U.N. Secretariat
New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 754-5786

Coordinates UN anti-apartheid activities, holds hearings and publishes information on apartheid-related issues.

Unity in Action Network
251 W. 125th St., Suite 12
Harlem, NY 10027
(212) 866-1600

A combined undertaking of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the African Jazz Artists Society and Studios (AJASS). UAN is one of the key groups involved in organizing and mobilizing for a cultural boycott of South Africa from its base in New York City.

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-7961

Provides information on Africa with special reference to US government policy. Their quarterly newsletter, "Washington Notes on Africa," assesses US policy in the context of recent developments and issues of continuing concern in Africa.

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Africa News
P.O. Box 3851
Durham, NC 27702
Weekly. \$25/year.

Africa Today
c/o Graduate School of International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208
Quarterly. \$12/year.

ANC Weekly News Briefing
801 Second Ave.
New York, NY 10017
Pressclips. \$15/year.

Facts and Reports
Holland Committee on Southern Africa
O.Z. Achteburgwal 173
1012 DJ Amsterdam, Holland
International pressclips. Biweekly.
\$40/year. Airmail add \$11.00

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801 Second Ave.
New York, NY 10017
Monthly. \$10/year.

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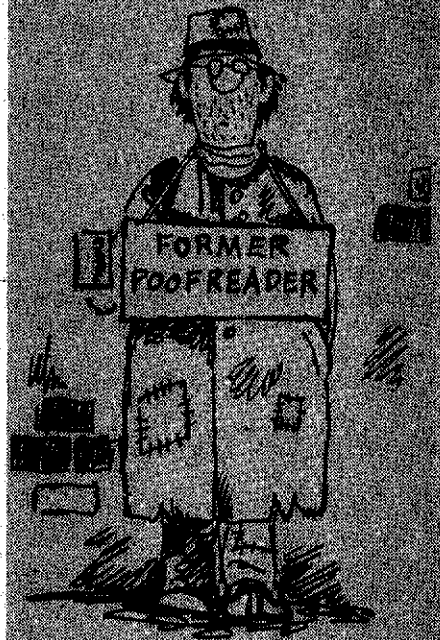
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Labour Party Breaks Ranks

Saying "protest politics is dead," Coloured Labour Party leader Allen Hendrickse in early January convinced his party to endorse South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha's so-called constitutional proposals. Hendrickse's endorsement of the prime minister's proposals, which explicitly exclude any role for Africans and relegate other Blacks to continued subordination to white rule, immediately caused a serious split in the country's mixed-race ("colored") community. The move was also denounced by a wide range of Black leaders within the apartheid Republic.

Botha's plan calls for a three-house legislature, one each for whites, Indians, and "coloreds," and for a near-dictatorial presidency, whose appointment would be controlled by the white minority. Pretoria has always been careful to maintain that African political participation would continue to be limited to the underdeveloped and fragmented bantustans, and that only "coloreds" and Indians would be given any role, however limited, in the constitutional dispensation.

Nonetheless, Hendrickse argued that participation in the plan would give the Labour Party a voice in the government and provide it with a platform from which to advocate reform.

Other prominent "colored" leaders were not convinced. Norman Middleton, a founding member of the party, resigned over the decision, saying that the Labour Party had no mandate to take such a decision. Middleton and a number of other prominent leaders in the "colored" community have called for the formation of a new party opposed to the constitutional proposals.

Bus Boycott

Stone throwing protesters attacked buses and police cars in Black townships near Durban, South Africa, after the Putco bus company announced a thirteen percent fare increase last December. Most township commuters depend on buses to travel to and from work, but with rising unemployment and a worsening economic recession, many of them cannot afford to pay the increased fares, local Black trade union officials say.

A day after the new bus fares were instituted, angry protesters stoned and surrounded buses to prevent them from operating. Within two days, 153 buses and five police cars had been damaged by protesters, forcing Putco off the streets. "There is no point in having buses running empty as nice big targets for stone throwers," said a Putco spokesman. As of late December, township residents were still walking to work or taking taxis to avoid using the boycotted buses.

Rent and bread boycotts have also swept the country's Black townships. In Sobantu Village, a township outside Pietermaritzburg, police were forced to set up a mobile police station as a result of a four-month revolt over rent increases. Since September, houses belonging to policemen and community councillors have been attacked and local government buildings burned.

Skyrocketing inflation and increased unemployment have sparked protest over other price hikes as well. Local committees have sprung up in Soweto to fight hikes in electricity rates and, when the government refused to increase the subsidy on bread and prices shot up, organizations across South Africa organized a boycott of white bread. "The government is not interested in the needs of the voteless majority," said the Federation of South African Women. "It only worries about keeping the minority rich and privileged. It also sells our food to other countries at cheaper prices than what we pay. And food is thrown away to keep the prices high."

South Africa Destabilizes Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwean government uncovered further evidence of South African destabilization efforts during the trial of a Zimbabwean army deserter, Yonah Ndeweni, last November. Ndeweni, a former guerrilla army commander, told the court he was captured by armed members of a Zimbabwean dissident group, Pfumo ReVanhu, shortly after he entered South Africa last May.

"They took me to their intelligence camp, and that was when I realized they were not the [South African] police I had thought before," he said. "Two Europeans came to me after I had spent two weeks in the camp and said they wanted to overthrow [Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert] Mugabe's government."

According to Ndeweni, he was then transferred to another South African camp, near Messina, where he and other Pfumo ReVanhu recruits received military training. Armed with an automatic rifle, he was infiltrated back into Zimbabwe near the border town of Beitbridge, where he was shot and captured by a Zimbabwean army patrol.

Ndeweni's testimony is part of a growing body of evidence of a covert South African war against Zimbabwe. The Mugabe government is particularly concerned about South African backing for Pfumo ReVanhu, originally formed as a paramilitary "cultural guard" under the Rhodesian regime of Abel Muzorewa. About 5,000 Muzorewa supporters fled to South Africa at independence.

Although South Africa officially denies it is destabilizing its neighbors, the Washington-based lobbying group TransAfrica reported that South African support for Zimbabwean rebel groups was discussed at a meeting of the U.S. National Security Council last June. According to TransAfrica spokesman Salih Abdul-Rahim, the meeting was attended by representatives of the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the State Department.

Reagan Endorses Apartheid Justice

The Reagan administration surprised many observers in early December by joining a UN effort to save the lives of six African National Congress guerrillas awaiting execution in South Africa. Three of the men, Anthony Tsotso, David Moises, and Johannes Shabangu, were convicted of military activities and sentenced to death in 1981. Their appeal was rejected in November 1982.

Three other guerrillas, Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane, and Marcus Motaung, were sentenced to death last August for their role in attacks on three South African police stations that left four policemen dead.

The ANC has demanded that the freedom fighters be given prisoner of war status under the Geneva convention. As part of an international campaign to save the lives of the imprisoned freedom fighters, the UN Security Council, with backing

from Washington, passed a resolution that "calls upon the South African authorities to commute the death sentences imposed on the six men," and "urges all states to use their influence . . . to save the lives of the six men."

But, lest the American vote be misconstrued as implying disapproval for South Africa's internal repression or increasingly bloody war against its neighbors, the State Department clarified its position in a letter to Mark Harrison, a staff member of the national ecumenical church group, Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Replying to an earlier letter from Harrison, Eileen Riley, Africa desk officer for the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs wrote: "I wish to emphasize that the US supports these clemency appeals solely on humanitarian grounds. We do not condone violence by national libera-

tion movements against the South African government or any other legitimate government . . . Neither are we calling into question the jurisdiction or fairness of the South African courts."

When asked to comment on the administration's reply, Harrison told *Southern Africa*, "Riley has her facts wrong. The US government does condone violence by so-called liberation movements against legitimate governments—just look at Nicaragua." The Reagan administration has admitted it arms, trains and finances ultra right-wing guerrillas opposed to Nicaragua's socialist government.

"This letter," Harrison said, "reflects the moral bankruptcy of US foreign policy. It clearly shows how far the US has gone in its complicity with racist apartheid South Africa."

IBM Banned for Supporting Apartheid

Opposition to apartheid took a new twist on the night of December 16 when powerful bombs ripped through the suburban New York offices of South African Airways and the IBM corporation. No one was injured in the bombings, which caused extensive damage at the Harrison, New York, IBM branch office. Police managed to cover the explosive device discovered at the state-run airline's procurement office on Long Island minutes before it exploded. In both bombings, anonymous callers warned police that explosives had been planted, allowing time for evacuations.

Four days later, *Southern Africa* received a communique from an underground organization called the United Freedom Front claiming responsibility for the attacks. The communique, apparently authentic, is titled "United Freedom Front

Attacks Apartheid" and cites the Maseru massacre, US support for the recent \$1.2 IMF billion loan to South Africa, and South African aggression against the frontline states as reasons for the attack.

"From Sharpeville to Soweto to Maseru, Lesotho, the racist rulers of South AfriKKKa have been brutally downpressing our Black sisters and brothers for more than a century," the communique reads. "Today we attack the property of the fascist South AfriKKKan government and the IBM corporation, which supplies this racist regime with the technology it needs to continue this slave state."

In what may be a veiled warning to other corporations operating in South Africa, the UFF statement also notes that, "The IBM company is not the only corporate giant operating in South AfriKKKa nor is its

relationship that unusual."

Nothing is known about the United Freedom Front, what its political principles are, its origins or its ultimate objectives. Indeed, the best evidence of the December 20 communique's authenticity is simply that no other organization has claimed responsibility for the bombings. But there can be no doubt that whoever they are, the UFF has chosen its first targets well. IBM is the number one computer company in South Africa and its sales of powerful computers with military uses to the South African government have long outraged civil rights, church, and anti-apartheid organizations. The state-owned South African Airways has also been a frequent target of anti-apartheid forces in the US, as a visible manifestation of apartheid.

Stan Sherakowski c 1980



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