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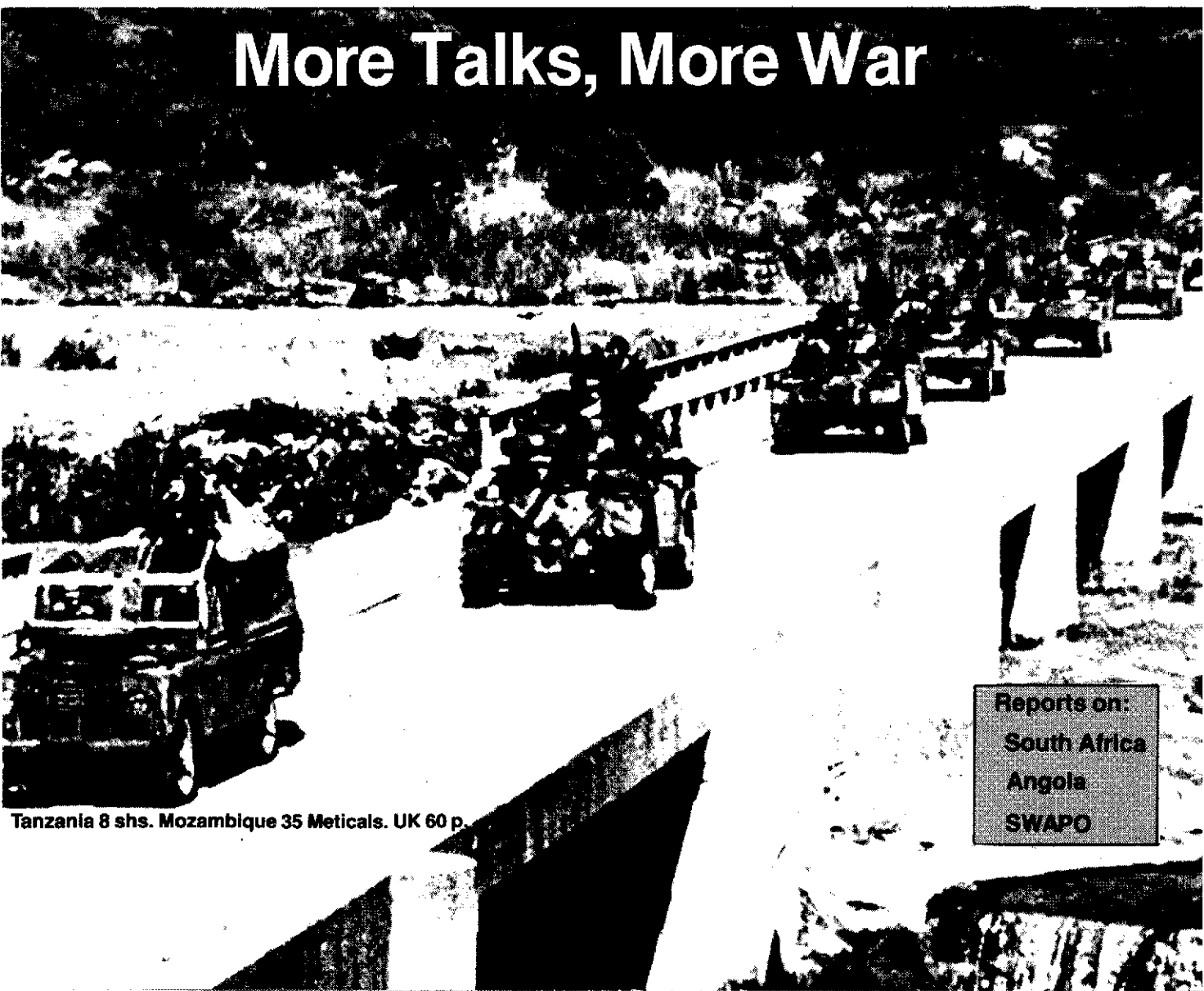
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**Women Workers
in Mozambique**

Namibia and Angola: More Talks, More War



Reports on:
South Africa
Angola
SWAPO

Tanzania 8 shs. Mozambique 35 Meticals. UK 60 p.

update

Swaziland King Dies

The tiny southern African nation of Swaziland mourns the passing of King Sobhuza II, who died peacefully August 21 at the age of 83. Sobhuza was known as the world's longest-reigning monarch, having presided over the tiny Connecticut-sized kingdom since 1921.

During Sobhuza's early years, his grandmother, Labotsibeni the Indomitable, who ruled as Queen Regent, saw to Sobhuza's education in Western and Swazi traditions, and continued resistance to European domination. Sobhuza continued the tradition in struggling to regain land rights in his country which had become a British protectorate early in the century. Largely restricted to the role of a paramount chief, Sobhuza fought nonetheless against South African encroachments on Swazi sovereignty and for the independence from the British, which came in 1968. Four years later, Sobhuza overthrew the British-inspired constitution quashed the opposition and ruled as king through his advisers and parliament.

At the time of his death, much of the Swaziland economy remains controlled by white South Africans and British multinational interests, including most of the farms (that produce sugar, timber, and cattle for export), and the coal and iron mines.

Sobhuza's successor will be chosen from among his sons who number a little under 100, according to Sobhuza's official biographer Hilda Kuper, though press reports have swelled the number to 600. Whichever son is chosen, he will be faced with a critical national challenge posed by the controversial land-swap Swaziland was discussing with South Africa just before the king's death.

The land deal, which South Africa initiated and which the king is reported to have supported (although never publicly), involves the transfer of some 2,000 square miles of territory along with citizenship rights for more than 750,000 Black South Africans to Swaziland. The Black South Africans would have their citizenship revoked and become foreigners inside South Africa

purely on the basis of their Swazi ethnic background, even though many of them had never lived in Swaziland. The land Swaziland would gain would include the Kanguwane bantustan, north of Swaziland, and part of the Kwazulu bantustan to the south, providing the kingdom with an outlet to the sea.

The deal has drawn fire, however, from Black South Africans as disparate as the chieftains of the Kwangwane and Kwazulu bantustans, and the African National Congress. In July, the ANC's National Executive Committee called on the Swaziland government to renounce the deal, saying that it would "seriously complicate and impede the struggle for liberation in South Africa."

ANC President Oliver Tambo met twice with Swazi authorities including the prime minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, one of Sobhuza's sons and a possible successor. Calling the land deal "a move against our struggle and against the interests of Africa," during a press conference in Maputo, Tambo said he had expected to meet with Sobhuza on the matter following the aborted OAU summit. "We have pleaded with our brothers in Swaziland," said Tambo, "to avoid being pushed into a position in which it is allied with the Pretoria regime."

Swaziland has been a long-time supporter of the ANC, providing non-military refuge and offices for its members. The executive committee statement noted that the royal Swazi family participated in founding the ANC during Queen Labotsibeni's regency with the express aim of burying tribalism along with apartheid. The land deal, the statement said "gives rise to the possibility of fratricidal strife among the African people [which] fits in perfectly with the divide and rule strategy of the apartheid regime."

Namibia Negotiations

Negotiations on Namibian independence, although technically still in session, are at an "impasse" because of South African intransigence, a SWAPO spokesman told *Southern Africa* in September. The five-member Western Contact Group (US, Britain, France, Canada, and West Germany) continued to hold talks with SWAPO and South Africa in New York, but Pretoria has refused to commit itself on an electoral system to be

used during the independence process, he said.

An independence plan was originally agreed to in 1978 by all parties, but since that time South Africa has raised objections to various aspects of the process, including electoral procedures. Most recently the Western five suggested a voting system which would either be based on proportional representation or single-member constituency, with the choice left up to Pretoria. SWAPO has said it is willing to go along with either system, but not both, and prefers a system based on proportional representation.

Despite SWAPO's skepticism about South African intentions, especially in light of the recent invasion of Angola, the US State Department has continued to insist that a settlement is just around the corner.

Despite the presence of over five thousand South African troops in southern Angola, the State Department has continued to press Angola for some at least "token" withdrawal of Cuban troops. Washington has refused to comment on the South African invasion other than to say "the United States deplores violence on all sides."

Zimbabwe Kills Invaders

In an incident that provided proof of Pretoria's efforts to destabilize front-line states, three South African soldiers were killed in a clash with Zimbabwean troops eighteen miles inside the border in late August. The three white South African sergeants, who served in the former Rhodesian army, had crossed the border from a South African battalion camped just south of the Zimbabwean border, accompanied by fourteen Black soldiers.

In announcing the clash, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe charged the men had been on a mission "to commit acts of sabotage and to make preparations for an invasion." Mugabe also noted that Pretoria was now at a "new stage" of implementing clandestine operations. After the initial Zimbabwean investigation, a South African Defense Force spokesman conceded that the men were South African soldiers but claimed the soldiers were on an unauthorized mission to try to free "friends" held in detention camps in Zimbabwe.

Women Workers Making Changes



Through organizing themselves with the help of FRELIMO, women cashew workers are making inroads against discrimination.

by Stephanie Urdang

At independence, Mocita Cashew Factory employed no women. This situation was unusual. In most of the plants that process Mozambique's main export crop, women vastly outnumbered men; these factories represented one of the few places where women could find paid labor.

But in this factory in Xai-Xai, capital of Gaza Province, this wasn't the case. Women of the area, angered by their inability to find the work they desperately needed, decided that some changes needed to be made. And the provincial Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM), angered by the gross discrimination, backed them up. They quickly found,

Stephanie Urdang recently spent seven months researching the role of women and development in Mozambique. She is author of Fighting Two Colonialisms and is a long-time member of the Southern Africa Committee.

however, that it was not only the administration of the foreign-owned factory that resisted hiring women. Many husbands, fathers and boyfriends of those hoping to work there also opposed the change.

And so, aided by the FRELIMO cell at the factory and the party's provincial structures, the women launched a campaign on both fronts. After many months, they won out. About one quarter of the work force is now female.

In fact, no men had to be laid off to accommodate the women. By easing the harsh conditions that marked the colonial period, more work was available for all. Reducing the long, tiring shifts to a regular working day, meant new workers had to be hired. Women joined the ranks.

In Maputo, where a number of cashew factories are concentrated, a different picture emerges. The large warehouse-like building of Caju Industrial, for example, is divided into many rows of high tables where the cashews are skinned, sorted by

size and color, and packed. Perched on stools and standing behind large mounds of cashews are over a thousand workers. Every single one is a woman.

Women Welders

A tour of the factory reveals that the men are employed in other tasks—running the shelling machines and roasting ovens, or packing the heavy cans into cartons for export. The salaries—thanks to government intervention and insistence by OMM—are equal for similar work. But a sexual division of labor is still evident. The men work the machines; the section supervisors—with a few notable exceptions—are men. Women do the boring, repetitive tasks. But as the tour ends, we reach a corner where the lids of the large twelve kilo (over 25 pounds) cans are being welded in place. Here, the two workers deftly wielding crude blow torches and swiftly sealing the cans are women.

A few years after independence, members of the women's detachment of the national army paid a visit to the factory as part of an ongoing political mobilization campaign. They too toured the factory. They too noted the separation of workers. Something had to be done about it, they insisted in their talks with women workers. There should be some sign that change is possible under the new government and that women are able to do the same work as men. After discussion, it was decided that women should be trained to weld. Women have been doing this work ever since.

It is a glimpse of the future. While change proceeds slowly, the backing of the government, the party and the women's organization has been pivotal in reassessing women's roles and in ensuring that women can, and do, take on "men's work."

Like all women factory workers, the women at Caju Industrial were propelled by dire economic need to seek work. But unlike workers in other sectors—the clothing and textile factories, for instance—they had no skills, little if any literacy and hence no possibility of joining the ranks of the small number of women who work in these more skilled occupations.

Many are rural women who came to the city hoping to earn enough money to repay money that the woman's family had received from her husband's family at the time of their marriage. Traditionally, this was the only way a marriage could be terminated, even though in many cases the man may have abandoned his wife and children in the first place. Although FRELIMO's policy has been aimed at changing these attitudes, including discouraging the payment of "bride-price," traditions don't change overnight. Other women, with another tradition, were abandoned by lovers or husbands because they were unable to bear children.

These women had no option but to take the lowest paid and least desirable work that even hard-pressed men shunned. The work was—and remains—tedious and tiring. But at the same time the women gain a feeling of solidarity and camaraderie from working together.

In the majority of factories where there were no machines for shelling, the work was even harder. And it was hazardous. The tough shells would first have to be burnt so they could be removed by hand. These shells release a corrosive substance which eats into the hands of the sheller, causing infection and considerable discomfort. The pieces of rags wound around the palms and fingers offered little protection. To make matters worse, men would complain that the smell of the acid never left the women's hands and this often caused the breakdown of relationships.

The shortage of capital and foreign exchange and the generally fragile state of the Mozambican economy means that mechanical shelling cannot be introduced into all of the factories. The basic reality in Mozambique is that its underdevelopment encroaches on all the progressive and revolutionary policies of the government and party, slowing down even the best of intentions. There are still very few jobs available even to begin to meet the needs of women. And the method of work has often changed little since—as the workers say—"FRELIMO came." Yet despite these difficulties, the general conditions of work have been transformed.

When Felizmina Mafumu began working, before independence, she earned an average of 150 escudos per month, or about \$5.00. She was told her salary would reach 300 escudos. But with wages dependent on production, this was an unachievable maximum. "Each day we



Women welders in Mozambique. A glimpse of the future.

would be given a large wooden box which we had to fill. I could hardly ever fill it in one day. So the next day I would have to begin where I had left off. By the third day it would be filled, and only then would I get paid. But only for one day's work. So I never earned 300 escudos."

When the transitional government took over between the ceasefire and independence, the workers went on strike. Their salaries went up to 800 escudos. In 1976 they were raised to 1900 escudos. Then, in 1981, the government totally revised salary scales for the whole country, wages went up again to 2704 meticaís (the same value as the escudo).

There were other changes that reflected the new policies of the government. Felizmina and many of her co-workers have been attending literacy classes at the factory. They are given one hour a day off work and add one hour volunteer time to their studies.

There are other improvements: the day care center that looks after many of the workers' children during the work day; the half-hour allowed twice a day to breast-feed their infants; the sixty days of maternity leave with full pay; the four-weeks vacation per year with full pay. And as women workers they get priority at the consumer cooperatives and in the breadlines so they do not have to spend hours in line.

On the political front the FRELIMO cells, the OMM committee and the production councils focus on the continuing political mobilization of workers.

These organizations are aided by a

growth of political consciousness, enhanced by a number of factors. The government and FRELIMO have provided strong encouragement for women to enter the wage labor force and cooperatives in order to contribute to the development of the country. It is also FRELIMO's policy to encourage women's participation in the workforce as an integral part of their political development. The hope is that economic independence for women will give them the strength to combat attitudes that retard the development of women in the society. In addition, many women that I spoke to expressed satisfaction with the economic independence from men that resulted from working in the factories.

"I feel that women who work are freer because they are able to resolve their own economic problems," said Elisa Cossa, the assistant secretary of the factory's party cell. "They can educate their children and do not have to depend on anyone for anything. Yes, working women are more free than other women."

For the first time in their lives, women feel that their labor is benefiting the development of their own country.

"I have been working a long time for myself and my children," said Maria Matsinhe, another factory worker. "I believe that what I am doing has to be done. Regardless of my financial situation, I would always work. Our work produces foreign exchange so that our government can buy the things it needs. We must work hard to increase production. It is important for our country." □

Negotiations: SWAPO Denounces Western Stalling



Combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

If the US State Department's press releases are to be believed, the long and tortuous search for an end to the illegal South African occupation of Namibia is finally at an end. In recent weeks the Western press has reported a flurry of meetings involving South Africa, the five-nation Western Contact Group negotiating team, the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO, and their frontline African supporters. Confident announcements of "major breakthroughs" in the Namibia negotiations have issued from Washington with all the fervor (and frequency) of solemn promises of a balanced budget and faith in God around election time.

But if you're planning to attend the flag-raising ceremonies in Windhoek, don't pack your bags just yet. Overlooked in the press's eagerness to report on calls for the selection of UN election supervisors, and to trumpet this first diplomatic "success" for the Reagan administration was the launching of yet another massive South African invasion into Angola, clearly intended to derail the negotiations. Also overlooked in the general euphoria was SWAPO, whose assessment of the latest negotiations stands in sharp variance to that of the Western five. In early August, SWAPO Information Minister Hidipo Hamutenya, in London after three weeks in New York for the "final round" of discussions, denounced South Africa and the five for continued stalling in the latest talks. We reprint below excerpts from his statement on August 3:

In recent weeks, the spokesmen of the Western Contact Group have been making very optimistic statements that a unique opportunity now exists for the implementation of the UN plan for the decolonization of Namibia, which South Africa has managed to block from being implemented over the last five years. The representatives of the five Western powers have been telling SWAPO, the frontline states and the UN Secretariat that South Africa has of late indicated willingness to give up its illegal occupation of Namibia and to allow the Namibian people to proceed to national

independence.

The five presented to SWAPO and the frontline states what they said were their final proposals on the agreement which could lead to the immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435. These proposals contain three main points, namely:

1. The choice of the electoral system to be used in electing the proposed Constituent Assembly;

2. The deployment of UNTAG monitoring forces; and,
3. The resolution of the impartiality issue which South Africa has been raising.

With regard to the first issue, the Western five told SWAPO that both they and South Africa have dropped their insistence on a mixed electoral system; and that South Africa will decide on one or the other of the two standard electoral methods, i.e., proportional representation or single-member constituency system.

On the deployment of UN troops, the five Western governments proposed that a small number of UN military personnel be allowed to monitor SWAPO transit camps in Angola and Zambia.

Regarding the so-called impartiality question... they said that Pretoria would be satisfied with a general reaffirmation by the Security Council that the UN will supervise and control the elections impartially, that SWAPO will not take part in the meeting of the Security Council which will be called to authorize UN operations in Namibia, and also that SWAPO will not participate in the meeting of the General Assembly which will be called to authorize the funding of UN operations in Namibia.

On June 14, 1982, the summit of the frontline states held in Dar-es-Salaam and attended by the president of SWAPO, accepted, in principle, the proposals of the Western five with only minor modifications, such as the demand that the electoral system must be decided upon before the negotiations can be regarded as having been concluded. The speedy acceptance of the five's latest proposals was predicated on the belief that there would be immediate proximity talks in New York to conclude the negotiations by July 30, which the five proposed to be the target date. However, from June 15, the five were unable to convene the New York proximity talks which they had promised, and it was not until the first week of July that they finally decided to begin consultations with SWAPO and the frontline states at a level lower than that of foreign ministers which the five had originally promised.

The New York talks which started on July 6, have now gone into recess, but the talks have hardly accomplished anything of significance. The South Africans, who were expected to be in New York by July 6, in order to give their positions on the remaining key issues, such as, the choice of the electoral system, the composition of UNTAG, cease-fire arrangements, and the deployment of UNTAG troops did not turn up during the last three weeks of the talks. Instead of coming to New York to enable the negotiations to reach a final and definitive conclusion, the South Africans chose to raise a new condition for the resolution of the Namibian conflict, namely, the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

In this connection, the South Africans and the Reagan administration are, again, trying to prolong the agony and suffering of the Namibian people under apartheid and colonial fascism. Washington and Pretoria are now using the Namibian negotiations as a trumpcard to arm-twist Angola regarding the Cuban troops. They are using our people's suffering in an attempt to achieve their own global and imperialistic objectives in southern Africa. SWAPO strongly denounces this sinister attempt to delay our country's independence by injecting into the Namibian negotiations an extraneous issue of the Cuban presence in Angola.

It is because of the American/South African attempts to link the Namibian issue to the Cuban presence in Angola that no agreement could be reached in New York on the outstanding issues, namely, the choice of the electoral system, the composi-

tion and deployment of UNTAG as well as the cease-fire arrangements.

The five are, however, now shamelessly saying that more time is needed before we can get South Africa's explicit agreement on all these outstanding issues. At the same time, Pretoria is busy trying to invent yet another new excuse with a view to avoiding the implementation of the United Nations plan. I am referring to the claim by Pik Botha, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Windhoek last week that SWAPO is planning to assassinate the so-called Namibia internal leaders. This is nothing but a cheap smear campaign intended to hide South Africa's unwillingness to proceed with the implementation of the UN plan.

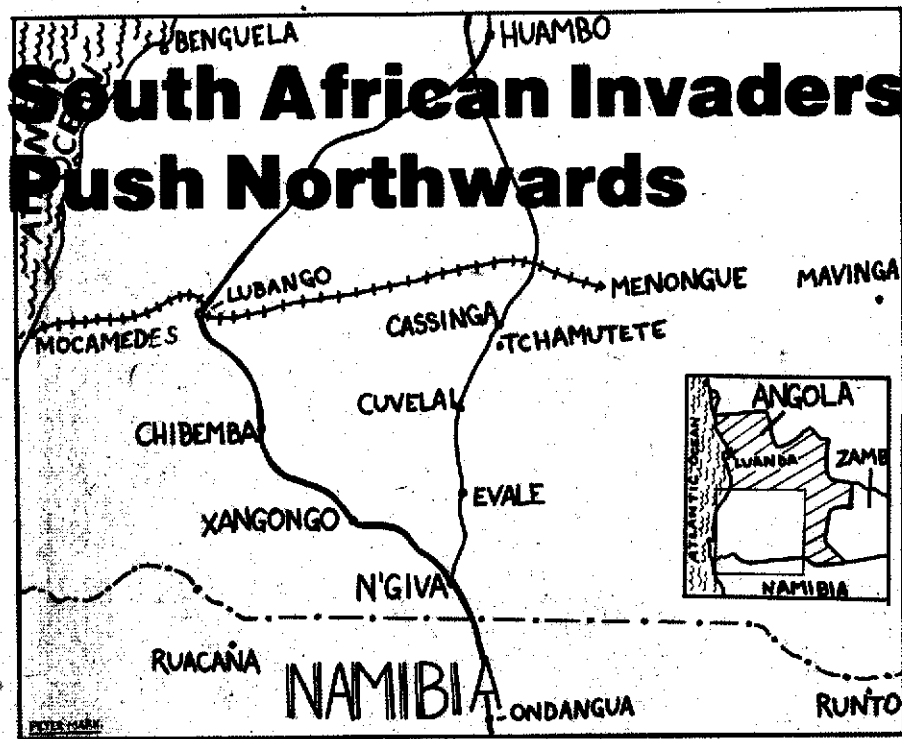
In summary, SWAPO's view regarding the Western moves on Namibia is that the five are less than honest in trying to create a false sense of momentum regarding the negotiation. They have been manufacturing heavy doses of optimism, while, in actual fact, the leader of the Contact Group—the USA—is busy conniving and conspiring with the Pretoria racists in an effort to delay Namibia's independence.
The Struggle Continues!
The Victory is Certain!

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by Jim Khatami

While world attention was riveted to the Middle East this summer, South Africa quietly launched yet another major attack on Angola, sending 5500 men and nearly 300 armored vehicles over 175 miles into the southern province of Huila, near the town of Tchamutete. The latest attack has all but buried any hope that the latest round of talks on Namibia will produce an internationally acceptable agreement for Namibian independence by next year.

Although Angolan reports of a major assault were dismissed as "sheer propaganda" by South African military spokesmen in July, Pretoria later confirmed that the attack began on June 11. The attack was launched from the southern Angolan cities of N'Giva and Xangongo, which the South Africans have occupied since their "Operation Protea" invasion last August (see "Angola Invaded: South Africa's Six-Week Blitzkrieg," *Southern Africa*, was disputed by the official Angolan news agency ANGOP and by SWAPO. The South Africans until August 9, after

SWAPO guerrillas shot down an assault helicopter, killing all fifteen South African soldiers on board.

According to Major General Charles Lloyd, commander of the South African occupying army in Namibia, South African troops attacked SWAPO bases at Ionde and Evale on July 16—advancing north in "hot pursuit" operations. At an August 12 press briefing in the Namibian capital of Windhoek, Lloyd also told reporters that 418 SWAPO guerrillas had died in the fighting.

But Lloyd's account of the operation was disputed by the official Angolan news agency ANGOP and by SWAPO. The Angolan government reported that units of the Angolan army, FAPLA, were attacked by South African aircraft on August 4 as they approached the town of Cuvelai, followed five days later by bombing attacks on Angolan positions in Cuvelai itself. ANGOP also reported continuing South African reconnaissance overflights of Angolan territory as far north as the port city of Mocamedes.

In a communique issued on August 12, SWAPO declared, "this offensive is a clear demonstration that Pretoria is not yet ready to end its illegal and oppressive occupation of our country. Moreover, the

so-called consultative talks on Namibia which have been going on in New York, have to date not moved beyond the state of public relations exercises. They remain, indeed, a diplomatic charade, orchestrated by the Western five to mislead world opinion that progress is being made toward a peaceful resolution."

SWAPO also reported a step-up in their attacks against targets in northern Namibia, shelling a South African base near Ruacana, and downing a total of seven enemy helicopters in early August.

Sabotaging Settlement Efforts

South Africa's military objective in the latest attack appears to be that of increasing the amount of Angolan territory controlled by Jonas Savimbi and his Western-backed UNITA guerrillas. But the apartheid regime's principal motive for the attack is to halt the Namibia negotiations. According to Washington, the only remaining obstacle to a Namibia settlement is the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Although linking a Cuban troop pull-out to a Namibia settlement has been rejected by Angola, SWAPO, and the front-line states, the Angolans have stated that, in the absence of a South African threat to Angolan sovereignty, the Cubans would be withdrawn.

But the attack—and Lloyd's public announcement that his troops will remain in Angola until a Namibian cease-fire is implemented—forces Angola to rely on Cuban assistance, giving South Africa an excuse to continue both its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its destabilization efforts against Angola.

South African troops have occupied parts of southern Angola almost continuously since their abortive invasion in 1975, but have preferred to mask their presence under the guise of "hot pursuit" raids until now.

Meanwhile, the human costs of the war continue to mount. According to Reverend Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga, general-secretary of the Angolan Council of Churches, over 130,000 Angolans are officially listed as refugees from the fighting, in addition to 50,000 Namibians and 5,000 South African exiles as well. "South Africa is waging a secret war against Angola," he said. "They are flagrantly violating international conventions by entering Angola at will and killing people indiscriminately. The horrors and atrocities carried out by the South Africans are beyond description." □

Jim Khatami is a freelance journalist who lives in New York.

Angola in the Fire

"In the lower third of the country, outside of the major cities, it's a constant war," said Dr. Gerald Bender, noted Angola expert upon his return from Angola in early August. "South Africa and UNITA, individually and together, carry out frequent attacks against SWAPO, MPLA forces, Angolan infrastructure, and civilians.

"Until about two years ago, almost all of the attacks were aimed directly at SWAPO. In fact, the South Africans used to go out of their way not to engage [the Angolan forces]. After late 1979, they started attacking Angolan targets. Now they hit both," he said.

Dr. Gerald Bender, author of *Angola Under the Portuguese* and Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California, spent a month in Angola during July. His seventh visit in just over seven years, Bender stayed in Luanda and environs, visited the strategic central city of Huambo, and spoke with numerous top government and party leaders who candidly discussed the country's problems with him.

Bender sees the South Africans pursuing a two-fold strategy in Angola. "Clearly, they are trying to hit Angola so hard that it will weaken its resolve to support SWAPO." But he is convinced the South Africans will fail. "Angolan resolve is much greater than South Africa or some others estimate." US strategy in the Namibian negotiations plays a role here as well. Top Angolan officials, said Bender, are hopeful that the South Africans will accept the benefits of 'constructive engagement' with the US and work for a settlement in Namibia. "Thus far they [the Angolans] don't see the alleged requirement promised and fear that it might be emboldening South Africa to take a more aggressive stance." On the one hand, "the US is seen as colluding with South Africa's aggressive policies and then on the other hand, trying to rein in that very aggression. There's a lot of scepticism...but they [the Angolans] hope it will work. They're a very patient people."

Beyond Namibian concerns, Bender sees the South Africans attempting to



Angolan worker picking coffee beans. Agricultural production continues to decline due to war, destabilization and political-economic shortcomings.

retard Angola's development and thus frustrate its drive for economic independence and socialism. Bridges used to transport goods are blown up, heavy trucks are attacked, people are afraid to use roads that are occasionally mined so goods do not get to market. Also, competent, well-trained technicians stay in the military where the needs are greatest rather than working as civilians. And

more than half of Angola's foreign exchange is spent on the military, instead of on national development.

UNITA remains an important adjunct to South African operations inside Angola. In late July, Bender spent a few days in Huambo, some 300 miles north of the border, and a scene of considerable UNITA activity. "A Red Cross ortho-

over

pedic station just on the outskirts of the city was bombed the night before I arrived. There have been frequent bombings of markets. Railroad tracks inside the city have been bombed and Huambo's television transmitter has been destroyed."

While he notes that UNITA has expanded its operations since last year's invasions, Bender disagrees with those who suggest that UNITA itself poses a threat to MPLA or could take-over part of the southern zone after South Africa withdraws. "UNITA simply is not in the military position where she could defeat MPLA with or without the Cubans. This is an assessment that Savimbi [conceded] in the United States last December. In addition to increasing urban terrorism this year by booby-trapping hand grenades on playgrounds in Luanda and Huambo and killing and maiming a number of children, UNITA appears to have adopted a strategy of kidnapping and killing foreigners, especially those involved in health and development work. Early this summer, for example, a Swiss Red cross nurse was kidnapped and hasn't been heard from since."

The Angolans do not underestimate the dangers posed by the South Africans and thus they have made the presence of Cuban troops in the country a non-negotiable issue tied directly to their survival. "Members of MPLA remember vividly the quickness with which South Africa struck in October, 1975. Right now, South Africa has perhaps five times as many troops sitting on the southern Angola border as they did in 1975. The bottom line is that external aggression must cease first [before any Cuban pull-out]. That does not preclude some tampering with the numbers or moving some troops around, but they will not send away Cuban troops unless there is a trade-off in terms of their security."

Economy the Weak Link

Seven years of destabilization and billions of dollars in destruction from direct South African attacks, have made the economy the weak link in Angola's chain of national security. Agricultural production has dropped in most sectors over the last year, Bender said, marking a steady decline since independence. "Even the coffee sector, one of the worst hit, has decreased almost a third since last year."

However, Angola's economic decline

cannot, in all fairness, be laid simply to the security situation. "Too many people in Angola for too long have pointed to these problems as an excuse and made them into almost a scapegoat. A lot of the problems are also due to sheer incompetence on the part of the government: poor planning, poor execution, and grandiose plans."

Such short-comings "seem to be endemic to all newly developing societies," said the professor. "In large part, it has to do with the colonial legacy because the Portuguese trained very few Africans." During the colonial period the Portuguese made almost no effort to train Angolans, and like its sister state Mozambique, thousands of skilled Portuguese left the country with the advent of independence and the ascension to power of a Marxist ruling party. "I think that part of the difficulty for Angola is that she has chosen a Marxist-Leninist centralized planning approach to economic development and she simply does not have the trained people to staff such a bureaucracy. The result is that there are bottlenecks all over the place and to get anything done is extremely difficult because of bureaucratic red-tape. They are aware of this problem at differing levels but it's difficult to break out of it."

"There are a lot of people being trained abroad and in Angola, but the enormity of the task is such that it will take decades to train a sufficient number of people." On top of that, the recent fall in world oil prices has meant a drop in oil revenue, Angola's biggest foreign exchange earner, which in turn has led to many training programs and some development projects being curtailed or phased out altogether.

Meanwhile, most consumer goods have become prohibitively expensive and the black market is flourishing, further straining the economy. "In the people's stores, where anyone who works is entitled to do their weekly shopping, prices are regulated and products are quite reasonable. Unfortunately, these stores lack a great many things, particularly fruits and vegetables, so that almost everybody has to go to the public or black markets where the prices are simply sky-high," explained Bender.

There, a bunch of produce, such as five grapefruits or five oranges, costs at least six dollars. "Five or six onions cost \$17.50 which could be a third or fourth of a month's wages, clearly beyond the earning capacity of most families. The result is

that most families try to trade on the black market products which they have access to in order to get enough money to buy products that they don't have access to at regular prices.

"For example, if you work in a beer factory and manage to steal a \$10 case of beer, on the Luanda black market you can get up to \$100, and in the interior—up to three or four hundred dollars. It's not corruption in the normal sense because few people are doing it to enrich themselves. Most people are doing it just to make ends meet."

While legal and economic measures have been taken to stem the illegal trade, the key to the problem lies with increasing production and resolving long-standing problems of commerce. "They are scaling back some of the largest state farms," said Bender, "which have not been very successful but have absorbed a tremendous amount of investment." They are moving towards smaller scale enterprises and encouraging private enterprise at that level, particularly in commerce and distribution of goods. "But frankly," he added, "when one considers that the central highland provinces of Huambo and Bie produced something like 85 percent of the country's food before independence, it's rather clear that there are not going to be dramatic turn-arounds in agriculture until the war in that area is over."

Despite these daunting problems, most Angolans remain convinced that they will one day be resolved. Angolans are quick to point out that the challenges that accompanied their long struggle for independence were overcome in no small measure with the solidarity and support of friends and allies world-wide. In this country, Bender felt that "supporters of Angola and other southern African countries should be as well informed as possible so they can recognize and defeat the false stories and disinformation campaigns that occasionally crop up. Pressure should be put on editors who publish such stories."

In addition, he felt that "there must be constant pressure put on the Reagan administration not to intervene in Angolan affairs by not repealing the Clark Amendment and by not imposing solutions on Angola that the Angolans themselves do not accept."

"It's difficult to influence this administration," he conceded, "but people have to try."

M.S.R. □

Soweto Leader Nthato Motlana: Still Defiant

by Corbin Seavers

Born Black in South Africa, Dr. Harrison Nthato Motlana received his political baptism as a member of the Youth League of the then-legal African National Congress. When the ANC was banned in 1960, Motlana chose to remain above ground inside the country, where he became associated with the emerging Black Consciousness movement in the 1970s.

As a prominent physician and member of the Black Peoples Convention in Soweto, South Africa's largest Black township, Motlana was propelled into international prominence by the bloody Soweto uprising in 1976, and subsequent government efforts to crush Black resistance to white minority rule.

Selected treasurer of the Black Parent's Association (BPA), an organization formed days after the June 16 uprising began to help bury the dead, Motlana and the BPA came to serve as an intermediary between the students and the regime.

For his trouble, Motlana and most of the BPA leadership were detained that August and banned upon their release. By the end of June 1977, the Soweto students had forced the old, government-sponsored Urban Bantu Councils to resign. The Soweto Committee of Ten, an unofficial but genuinely representative body with Motlana at its head, then emerged to provide responsive political leadership in the townships.

Since that time, Motlana, often portrayed in the South African and Western press as the "moderate" alternative to violent revolution, has continued his outspoken opposition to the apartheid regime.

Corbin Seavers visited South Africa in June and July of this year. During his visit, Seavers who is an active solidarity worker in the US, spoke with Motlana about the current situation in southern Africa, US policy, and the future direction of the struggle. Below are excerpts from that conversation:

There is some optimism in the international community about free and fair elections being held in Namibia soon.



Dr. Nthato Motlana: "Many Blacks are asking themselves, 'What role can protest politics play in South Africa?'"

What significance might a SWAPO election victory have for Black South Africans?

First of all, it will show that protest politics just does not pay. It will confirm the already strongly-held view that these men [apartheid rulers] respond only to the AK-47. That in fact violence does pay. It will show that South African Blacks need to do more than talk as they have been doing over the years. It will of course enhance the reputation of those who have taken to the bush and taken up the gun to achieve their freedom.

Secondly, it will embolden and increase the confidence of Black people here. Confirming that everything is not lost and that there is still a chance.

If SWAPO takes over, not only does it achieve freedom for Namibians, but it also has a positive effect on the minds of Black people here. That is very important because for many years our people have

thought that this system is morally intransigent, that it is granite and that nothing can change it. The important thing is to show them [the people] that indeed it can change.

1982 marks the seventieth anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC). Many people outside South Africa have questions about the ANC's popularity inside South Africa. Do you think the ANC enjoys popular support here?

I don't have to say that the ANC enjoys tremendous popular support within South Africa. I think it suffices to say that independent opinion surveys carried out year after year have shown increasing support for the ANC and Nelson Mandela.

And I think the reason is this. Many Blacks are asking themselves, "What role

can protest politics play in South Africa?" When the government took such very drastic action against SASO [the South African Students Organization] for celebrating the victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique, and imprisoned people for six years for doing nothing, except celebrating, many of us started asking ourselves whether there was any room left for [trying to use] protest politics to change South Africa.

Obviously the little movements like *Inkatha* are not geared to change the system. They are geared, in fact, to propagate, to promote, and to entrench the system. A lot of people are beginning to see the kind of role the ANC plays as the only one that can conceivably change the status quo. I think that is why the ANC continues to enjoy such popular support and that popular support will increase as the ANC makes its mark more and more visible.

There is a growing debate in the United States about foreign investments in, and sanctions against, apartheid South Africa. Do most Black South Africans support divestment and sanctions?

A debate in South Africa about sanctions or divestment is almost meaningless. There are three acts under which any person advocating economic sanctions or divestment against South Africa can be

charged and hanged.

But what I can say is this. Many South Africans talk of the need to invest in South Africa. They talk of the need to have a burgeoning economy, an expanding economy, in order to expand Black skills, Black consumer power, as a way of achieving what we cannot achieve otherwise. They also say that investment will lead to more jobs.

Without any argument, short-term objectives like jobs can be provided by increased corporate investment. But if you are looking for fundamental structural change leading to a reordering of our society into a fair and just one, then a burgeoning economy, under the circumstances, will not give you that kind of change. No way!

Several months ago the US Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism under the chairmanship of Republican conservative Jeremiah Denton set about investigating "communist influence and control" in the ANC and SWAPO. What was your reaction to the investigation and its finding?

We read in the newspapers, saw on television, and heard over the radio news the attitude that Denton adopted. It appeared quite clear that his purpose was to link liberation movements in southern

Africa to [the Soviet Union] the 'Great Communist Bear.' He tried to show that all the ANC and SWAPO, and some of us internally are trying to do in working for a just society is done at the command of the Soviet Union.

We think that Senator Denton... made a very crude attempt at McCarthyism. The Denton committee was viewed by most Black South Africans as a joke.

How did you react to Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker's testimony before the subcommittee which detailed the amount of material assistance the ANC and SWAPO receive from the Soviet Union and the East European bloc?

The fact that SWAPO and the ANC receive almost all their material help from the socialist nations is no secret. It has been well known and well documented over many years. I remember five years ago I had lunch with [US] Senator [Charles] Percy, and I said to him that almost every black nationalist leader from southern Africa, when he took up the struggle for liberation, went to the West. When my late friend, Dr. Mondlane, the founder of Mozambique's FRELIMO, started the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique, the first people he went to were the Portuguese themselves. He unsuccessfully tried to enlist the Portuguese people to end their colonialism. He went to Great Britain; he went to the United States and received no assistance.

The same thing applies to South Africa. Our men—Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo—went to the West for help against these racists here. And there were no results for them either. Finally our people had to turn to the socialist world for help.

We are not ashamed. We make no excuses for the fact that under the circumstances we are forced to turn to the socialists for the kind of help, material and otherwise, we need to overcome our racist and colonial oppressors. □

THE WHITE TRIBE OF AFRICA

South Africa in Perspective
by David Harrison

With its origin in the BBC series, this is a compendium of essential information about the attitudes, politics, and history of the Afrikaner people who comprise South Africa's ruling elite and the political base from which it is drawn. "A highly readable presentation of a most complex history."—*Library Journal* \$17.50, illustrated.
Perspectives on Southern Africa, 31

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Black South Africans, Black Americans: Same Fight



Black American John Tate after winning boxing match in South Africa. Zwelakhe Sisulu feels that Black Americans who refuse to go to South Africa express solidarity with Black South Africans.

Zwelakhe Sisulu is a Black South African journalist and political activist who has been writing about and working with his people for many years. Sisulu, son of jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, was active in the Union of Black Journalists until it was banned in 1977 and was president of the Union of Black Journalists' successor organization, the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA).

In 1980, the journalists decided to broaden their union to represent not only Black journalists but all Black media workers. The Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA) was formed, with Sisulu as its first president.

Barely two weeks later, MWASA staged its first strike—affecting every one of the 130 Black journalists in South Africa. The striking workers eventually won recognition of their union, and shortly thereafter Zwelakhe Sisulu won his own special sort of recognition from the South African apartheid government—they served him with a three-year "banning" order, a particularly vicious form of house arrest.

Sisulu can no longer work as a journalist, serve in MWASA, or be quoted in any publication inside South Africa. In January 1981, four other MWASA activists were also served with banning notices by the apartheid government in an effort to crush the union. And this June, three MWASA members were again detained by Security Police.

Yet even the banning of Sisulu did not satisfy the apartheid government. In July 1981, Sisulu was arrested and charged under the country's notorious Terrorism Act. After eight months the government released Sisulu and abandoned the case without ever bringing him to trial. But he remains banned and unable to continue his work.

Corbin Seavers, a Black American journalist who traveled to South Africa this summer, interviewed Sisulu in late June. What follows are excerpts from that interview, dealing specifically with relations between the Black movement in the US and the struggle in South Africa.

How do Black South Africans generally look upon Black Americans?

To begin with, I think there is a personal affinity. Black South Africans still regard Black Americans as brothers and sisters in the real sense of being from the same tradition and the same culture. In addition, to Black South Africans, Black Americans represent Black advancement essentially and this is at two levels.

One, you have the sporting and musical grace in the United States. And at the other level you have the professional advancement that has been obtained by Black people in the United States.

In essence, more often than not Black South Africans look up to Black Ameri-

cans because of their achievements. In fact, they also see Black Americans as proof that, given the opportunities, Black South Africans can equal or even surpass what has been obtained by white South Africans.

How do Black South Africans react to Black American personalities like Millie Jackson, Stephanie Mills, Mike Weaver and others who ignore efforts to build a cultural and athletic boycott of South Africa and come to their country?

Often, Black South Africans find themselves in a very painful situation, where they admire a Black American for what that individual has obtained but at the same time they feel that the Black

person has betrayed the cause. This happens, of course, when you get visiting Black Americans. I do not know what might happen for instance if Muhammad Ali were to decide to come to South Africa. He is held in high esteem by Black people in this country. People are obviously torn, but they know their priorities.

This is why Millie Jackson, Stephanie Mills and Mike Weaver have been such a disappointment. The same for John Tate. When they came here just prior to their fights, there was absolute and complete hostility towards them by Black people. But as soon as they had won their fights, they were very popular. It was yet further proof that Black people are capable. So

this is the contradiction in which Black people find themselves in this country.

So although many Black South Africans respect Black Americans for their perceived accomplishments and look upon them as fellow Africans, they are asking us to stay away as an act of solidarity?

In fact, by not coming here, that is acting in solidarity with the people. Because by coming here, Black American personalities perpetuate the lie that there is harmony and change in South Africa. This is the problem with them. We do not begrudge them their success. We are not asking them too much to say, sacrifice a few thousand dollars.

So if you do not come here and you publicly state that you are not coming here because of apartheid, then that is to act in solidarity with the people's struggle.

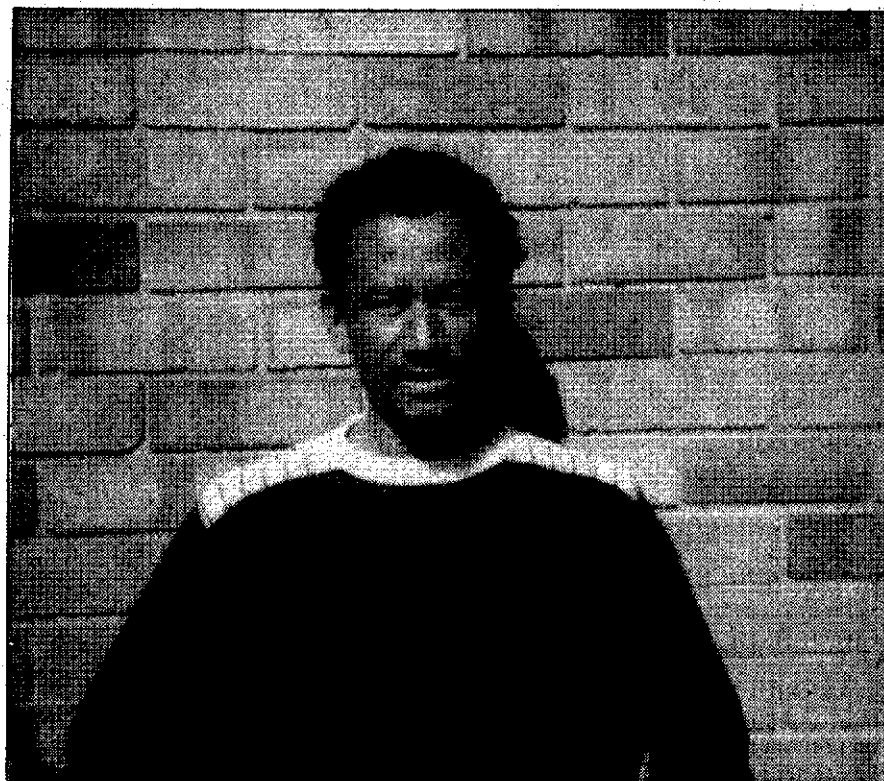
"If you study the history of the Black Consciousness movement, you are in fact studying the history of the Black Panther movement in the United States."

Do Black South Africans take any notice of political activities or actions taken by Black Americans?

There are two levels of consciousness. The first consciousness is the people who see themselves in the capitalist mode. Always admire the Black middle-class American way of life—flashy clothes, flashy cars, etc. That is at one level.

At another level, you find the more politically advanced people, mostly high school pupils, university students and professionals. I think this is where Black Americans have had the strongest impact. I say this because, for instance, if you study the history of the Black Consciousness Movement, you are in fact studying the history of the Black Panther movement in the United States.

Stokely Carmichael had a very strong impact on Black South African student circles. He made such an impact because he came out with a pro-Black attitude without necessarily being anti-white. This was the same stance the Black Consciousness Movement was to adopt later. Stokely also had a big following simply because



Zwelakhe Sisulu, founding member and first president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA).

he could stand up and dare the system.

The same can be said of Angela Davis. It may be sheer coincidence that she is a Marxist. But the fact she being a Black Marxist could stand up and dare the system is the important thing. Call it heroism or whatever, this is the thing that has a lot of impact on the community.

Do you see a bond between the Black American people's struggle and the Black South African struggle?

Yes, undoubtedly, because both people are an oppressed people and their oppression is based firmly on the two evils of capitalist exploitation and racism. It is important to recognize that our tactics to obtain our objectives may differ but we are fighting basically the same struggle to assert Black dignity, culture, and values.

In your opinion do Black Americans have a special responsibility to be actively involved in the anti-apartheid solidarity movement?

When the South African government brutalizes Black people it does not brutalize just Blacks in South African or southern Africa, it brutalizes the dignity

of Black people universally. They do not oppress us merely because we are Black people in South Africa. We are Black people who sell our labor. So this means we are in an identical position with Black people in the United States. In fact we are one people, one class oppressed by the same people, the same class. And for this reason I think it is important for Black people both in the United States and South Africa to recognize that they are one people. And being one we should show solidarity because it is only through solidarity and revolutionary ideology that we will actually be able to change our situation. □

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New Tensions, Old Adversaries

The deteriorating security situation in western Zimbabwe continued to make headlines in the Western press with the kidnapping of six tourists on July 23 by "dissident" former guerrillas. The kidnapped tourists, two Americans, two Australians and two Britons, were taken hostage outside the minority ZAPU party stronghold of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city, sparking a massive manhunt involving thousands of troops, tanks, armored cars, and helicopters. The kidnapers are demanding the release of several prominent ZAPU party officials, including former ZAPU guerrilla commanders Dumiso Dabengwa and Lookout Masuku in exchange for the hostages.

But the kidnappings were only the latest in a series of violent incidents in Matabeleland, which began in February with the dismissal of ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo from the government after arms caches were discovered on party-owned property. Since that time, an estimated 1,000 disaffected former members of Nkomo's guerrilla army, ZIPRA, have left the national army. Several hundred of them have apparently returned to the bush, venting their frustration in a wave of shootings and violence that has claimed over thirty lives to date.

The Mugabe government has accused Nkomo and ZAPU of instigating the kidnapping and has threatened a major show-down with the opposition party over the affair. ZAPU officials, however, have denied any involvement with the dissidents and have publicly urged their former soldiers to lay down their arms. But on July 29, with a stony-faced Nkomo looking on, Mugabe warned unspecified ZAPU leaders to "desist from their clandestine organization of banditry."

The Swords Are Drawn

"The swords are drawn," he continued, "and it will be *A luta continua* (a continuing struggle) to the finish."

While it is clear that the violence in Matabeleland is politically motivated and is being committed by ZAPU Members and sympathizers, it is not at all clear that the

dissidents are under party control. Most of the victims of the attacks are civilians and, given Nkomo's widespread support in the region, presumably ZAPU followers. Moreover, the ruling ZANU party has taken full advantage of the situation to discredit Nkomo and further undercut ZAPU's political position throughout the country.

The government has, as of early August, however, produced no convincing evidence of high level ZAPU officials' involvement in the unrest. What seems more likely is that the dissidents are, on the one hand bitter towards the ZANU government, for which they feel no allegiance, and alienated from Nkomo and their own party leadership on the other. Since ZANU's crushing victory in the 1980 elections, ZAPU has been very publicly relegated to the status of junior partner in the coalition government. The—real and imagined—slights to their leaders and party, coupled with the slow pace of economic and social transformation (which, if not slower in Matabeleland than elsewhere in the country, is certainly no faster), has profoundly disappointed some of the young men and women who fought to liberate their country from colonial rule.

Some dissidents are also known to be disgusted with Nkomo and other party leaders for allegedly enriching themselves with party funds, and acting more in defense of their government jobs than in the interests of their constituents. Significantly, the kidnapers have not demanded Nkomo's return to the cabinet, but an end to government harassment of the party and the release of Dabengwa and Masuku, who face charges of treason in connection with the arms caches.

Whether Mugabe can restore tranquility to the western third of the country while continuing his assault on ZAPU remains an open question. ZAPU, internally divided and lacking a clear alternative political program, is already considered by some to be a spent force. Nevertheless, ZAPU candidates easily won all fifteen seats in local Bulawayo elections last year and the

situation in Matabeleland suggests that the party retains at least some importance to the people there. The government will have to come to grips with this reality if it is to proceed with its plans to create a one-party state after the 1985 elections and avoid widespread repression.

The need to preserve national unity was underscored on the night of July 24, when saboteurs attacked Zimbabwe's Thornhill air base, destroying or damaging a third of the national air force. The attack was believed to have been carried out by former white Rhodesian soldiers, now members of the South African army, as part of South Africa's destabilization campaign against its independent African neighbors. Among the aircraft destroyed were five brand new Hawk jets, recently purchased from Britain at a cost of \$35 million.

The meticulously executed raid underscored Zimbabwe's tense relationship with its white-ruled southern neighbor, which is also rumored to be encouraging the anti-government ZIPRA dissidents.

R.R. □

Guide to Canadian Collaboration with Apartheid

The SACTU Solidarity Committee in Canada has just published a comprehensive guide to Canadian corporate involvement in South Africa and Namibia. The guide includes detailed information on corporations, and their subsidiaries in southern Africa, corporate directors and their connections with other corporations, and information on organizing in these companies by Canadian unions.

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Bernard MAGUBANE, *The Politics of History in South Africa*. New York: United Nations Publication (UN Library Service, United Nations, New York 10017), 1982. 31pp. No price listed.

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David HARRISON, *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective*. New York: University of California Press (50 East 42nd St., New York, NY 10017), 1982. 307pp. \$16.95 hc.

Simon CUNNINGHAM, *The Copper Industry in Zambia: Foreign Mining Companies in a Developing Country*. New York: Praeger Publishers (521 Fifth Ave. New York, NY 10017), 1981. 342pp. No price listed.

Gwendolen CARTER and Patrick O'MEARA (eds.), *International Politics in Southern Africa*. Indiana: Indiana Univer-

sity Press (Bloomington, IN 47401), 1982. 270pp. \$32.50 hc. \$8.95 pb.

Edward J. EPSTEIN, *The Rise and Fall of Diamonds: The Shattering of a Brilliant Illusion*. New York: Simon and Shuster (1230 Ave. of the Americas, New York, NY 10020), 1982. 301pp. \$13.95 hc.

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action news notes

CALC LAUNCHES PROTEST... The Chicago chapter of Clergy and Laity Concerned has launched a series of weekly vigils in front of the South African consulate in support of demands for the release of eight detained church and labor leaders. The detained president, vice-president and the general secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union are among those being supported by the protests.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement has also called for the release of the SAAWU leaders and has initiated a broad public information campaign to garner international support for their release.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE VOTES COMPLETE DIVESTMENT... In late July, the University of Maine joined the small but growing group of colleges and universities which have voted to completely divest of all corporations with holdings in South Africa. The move, involving almost three million dollars worth of investments, climaxes a divestment campaign which has kept the university embroiled in controversy for the past three years.

The committee that spearheaded the move felt, according to spokesman Robert Allen, that the "University of Maine should not profit from this system of institutionalized and legalized racism which is unique in the world."

SPORTS BOYCOTT... The South African Springbok wrestling team sent a 33-man delegation to the US for a series of matches in early July. The tour was organized by two central Oregon high school teachers, and prompted by a university wrestling coach who has been in the forefront of the promotion of US sports ties with South Africa. The interracial team, which included four Black wrestlers (all of whom are employed by the South African police), played in rural areas and made brief stops in California, Oklahoma, and New York.

Following the tour, an Oregon wrestling

team was sent for a tour of South Africa. The Oregon team, however, was missing four players who had decided to honor the sports boycott.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE CONFERENCE... On August 12, three members of the Youth League of the African National Congress left New York for a two-week ANC Youth League conference in Tanzania. They join between 200 and 300 ANC youth living in various countries around the world as well as in southern Africa to discuss the challenges facing the South African Liberation movement.

David Ndaba of the ANC in New York said, "the conference is action-oriented, to again address ourselves to the principles put forth by the former Youth League members who founded the ANC, such as Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela."

While the ANC has been able to raise \$3000 to help sponsor the three representatives sent from the US, the majority of the funds necessary were borrowed. Donations are urgently needed and can be sent to the African National Congress, 801 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

O'JAYS SAY NO TO APARTHEID... The popular Black American singing group, the O'Jays, have agreed to sponsor a conference this fall to discourage Black entertainers from performing in South Africa, as a result of pressure from a National Black United Front campaign.

The regional NBUF chapter in Philadelphia had threatened to picket and possibly boycott a concert the O'Jays had scheduled for June in Philadelphia, because of a trip to South Africa the group made last year. On the eve of the concert NBUF representatives met with the band's managers and, when the O'Jays announced that they regretted having performed in South Africa, NBUF called off the protest. The group's lawyers later announced that the band would not play in South Africa in the future.

Sonia Sanchez, noted Black American poet and NBUF member involved in the protests, lauded the action, asserting: "we need to have a joining of forces between (activists) and people who can get to large audiences and get the word out." Sanchez went on to suggest that the performers take time between their songs to tell people about their experiences in South Africa. Philadelphia NBUF mem-

bers are planning a campaign against Black performers who go to South Africa in conjunction with a local Black music association.

Black American entertainers, who are popular in South Africa, have long been coveted by the regime as a means for placating opposition, internally and internationally. The lure of exceptionally high profits and lack of information on the part of entertainers has hurt efforts to discourage such visits. "The lifestyle (of popular entertainers)," said Vincent Thomas of WRTI, Philadelphia, "does not lend itself to political analysis—it's an inherent contradiction.

The O'Jays later announced, at a joint press conference with the Washington-based Africa lobby TransAfrica, that they would be sponsoring a conference in Hollywood in September to help build the entertainment boycott of South Africa.

APARTHEID LINKS EXPAND... Encouraged by the Reagan administration's recent advances towards the apartheid regime, South African Airways recently applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for permission to launch a new air route between Houston, Texas and Johannesburg. The Houston Chamber of Commerce, the local business community, and sympathetic US Senators have expressed substantial support for the proposition. The Lawyer's Committee For Civil Rights Under Law has urged that letters of dissent be sent to the Civil Aeronautics Board (1825 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20428) in an effort to put a halt to this new link in the chain of US support for the apartheid regime.





RUTH FIRST, EXILED WHITE South African author, journalist, and outstanding member of the African National Congress, was killed by a letter bomb in Maputo, Mozambique, on August 17. First's murder, laid to South African agents, occurred at Eduardo Mondlane University, where she was research director in the African Studies Center. Center director Aquino Braganca and three others were also injured.

ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo lauded First's "unswerving dedication to the liberation struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. Her contribution to the cause of liberation has made its mark even across our national borders, in the neighboring countries and beyond."

Nzo condemned First's murder as part of a program of assassination launched by the white minority regime "to deprive our movement of tested and tried leadership." In an official statement on First's death, the ANC noted that Pretoria's assassins had recently struck down Griffiths Mxenge, Neil Aggett and Moabi Dipale inside South Africa; Petros and Jabu Nzima in Swaziland; Joe Gqabi in Zimbabwe and the "Matola Twelve" in Mozambique.

Born and educated in Johannesburg, First joined the South African Communist Party—at that time the only nonracial political party in the country—while in college, and later became a member of the ANC. She wrote for two anti-apartheid papers in South Africa, both of which were eventually banned, and together with husband Joe Slovo, was a defendant in the famous 1956 Treason Trials.

After a long period of detention (leading to her book *117 Days*), First moved to Britain, where she wrote *Namibia, From Protest to Challenge* and *The South*

African Connection among others. The independence of Mozambique in 1975 offered her the long-awaited opportunity to return to southern Africa where, in addition to her political work in the ANC she published her final book, *Olive Shreiner*, a biography of an early South African feminist.

Ruth First was buried in Maputo on August 23.

South Africa appears to be getting all the oil it needs with the help of several oil transshipment firms based in the Netherlands and Norway, despite an international oil embargo by most oil producing countries. A recent report by the Shipping Research Bureau of Amsterdam identified 52 tankers capable of carrying crude oil cargoes as "most likely" to have delivered oil during visits to South African ports between 1980 and mid-1981. Half of these were known to be connected with three oil firms based wholly or in part in the Netherlands—Shell, Transworld B.V., and Vitol Trading B.V. These three companies are considered by the Bureau to be the most heavily involved in the South African oil trade. Norwegian companies own and manage the rest of the tankers, along with strong representation by firms in Denmark, the U.K., and the United States. The Bureau's report indicated that some 256 tankers capable of carrying crude oil called at South African ports during the same period.

The report noted that the tankers use several evasive maneuvers in getting oil to their apartheid client, including changing a tanker's course for South Africa once out to sea or transporting the oil at a transshipment port where it is unloaded, stored, and later reloaded onto another tanker bound for South Africa.



BUSINESSMEN IN ZIMBABWE and abroad have quietly welcomed Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero's latest budget.

The business community, which is still largely dominated by the country's white minority and foreign corporations, was especially cheered by the fact that the budget contained only minor tax changes. Of the extra \$317 million in taxes outlined by the budget, \$236 million will come from indirect taxes, such as higher sales taxes,

customs duties and taxes on fuel, cigarettes and beer.

Profit taxes were left unchanged at 51.75 percent but business will be required to pay three times a year instead of twice, putting money in the government's hands at a faster rate. There was some concern about the proposed government spending increase, which may rise by more than 50 percent this year.

The rise in government spending is due in large part to Zimbabwe's commitment to overturn the discriminatory features of the former Rhodesian economy. However, such spending has helped to promote inflation, a problem that has bedeviled the economy since independence. The Standard Bank in Zimbabwe predicts inflation will remain between 12 percent and 15 percent this year and will rise in 1983.

Real incomes have risen about 8 percent in each of the last three years, increasing consumer purchasing power but also raising the costs of producing goods, thus fueling inflation. Free education, free or inexpensive health care, and other social services heretofore not available to the African majority before independence have also taken an inflationary toll as have the costs of land purchases and the resettlement of thousands of war-ravaged families.

The mining industry has also suffered losses and the minister of mines recently announced the closing of 177 mines and the termination of nearly 2,000 miners as a result of the world recession. Zimbabwe's state-controlled steel manufacturer has also announced it may have to close down and one of the country's major ferrochrome producers, suffering debts of \$70 million, is cutting back production.

Agricultural production has been severely curtailed by a major drought which has cut the maize harvest in half and eliminated a third of cotton output. The government has shipped more than 11,000 bags of food to western Zimbabwe in order to avert disaster. And plans have been laid to drill 140 new boreholes and 50 water points in the region.

Correction

In the article entitled "More Talk, More Torture" in our September 1982 issue, the photo caption on page 3 should read Bishop Kleopas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church.



SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICE INTERROGATIONS continue to be marked by unmitigated brutality.

Ernest Mobai Dipale, a Black, 21-year-old student organizer became the 53rd person to die in police custody. Dipale was found on Sunday morning, August 8, hanged by a strip of blanket in security police headquarters only four days after he had been detained.

While the authorities reported that Dipale died just hours after making a confession about the activities of Black nationalist figures, most Black South Africans laid the blame on the police. It really does not matter, said Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches, whether Dipale was killed or hanged himself; the authorities were ultimately responsible for the death.

Dipale had been detained in October 1981 and was released, without being charged, the following January.

South African authorities maintain that the "tough security situation" facing the Republic justifies the harsh treatment detainees often receive. Torture during interrogation is touted as a "necessary evil."

South African Minister of Police and Prisons Louis la Grange, following Dipale's death, quipped to foreign correspondents, "You won't get much information if you keep a detainee in a five-star hotel or with his friends." Minister la Grange acknowledged that some detainee deaths had resulted from police brutality, although he told the *Washington Post* that "only six, seven, or eight of these (53) cases died from some form of assault." Nevertheless, of the 53 recorded deaths in detention, eighteen have been found hanged.

When pressed on allegations of detainee isolation, la Grange pointed out that, under most cases, detainees have contact with their interrogators and with officials who make regular visits. His statement, however, fails to explain the high toll of "suicides" and "natural cause" deaths which occur in detention.

Among South African Blacks, the political significance and highly questionable circumstances of Dipale's death, like many before him, are clearly recognized. More than 500 people showed up for his funeral service the following Sunday. Police turned away foreign correspondents, attempted to limit the service to his family, and a magistrate issued a court

order forbidding political speeches, mass marches, or vigils.

Those who attended the funeral service, however, openly defied the police and court actions. More than 500 Black mourners raised their voices in songs demanding freedom and waived clenched fist salutes at the funeral.

The new legislation under which the magistrate issued the court order represents the apartheid regime's response to the funeral of white labor organizer Neil Aggett, during which more than 15,000 paraded behind an ANC banner through the streets of Johannesburg, singing the ANC national anthem in a massive show of solidarity. Aggett was also found hung.

To date, there has been only one official inquiry that has held the authorities responsible for death in detention. Tshifhiwa Mutohe, a 28-year-old Lutheran priest, died at the hand of security police in the Venda bantustan leading to a suit which charged the interrogators with "unlawful assault." The overall question of what is "lawful assault" in South Africa remains defined, it seems, by the rising death toll.

A soccer boycott mounted by Black South Africans in mid-July successfully torpedoed a \$1.7 million tour by an international all-stars team. A broad coalition of Black organizations opposed the tour that was to have involved Black soccer teams from Soweto township in a bid to break out of a world boycott of South African soccer.

After the world soccer body FIFA threatened to suspend any players who participated, two Argentinian world cup players dropped out.

The tour flopped with only three of six matches played after Soweto's three top soccer teams refused to play. "We had no alternative but to call the game off," said John Maboso, chairman of the Orlando Pirates, one of the teams. "It was the call of the nation," he said.

Their decision followed an eight-hour meeting with Soweto community groups and national Black Consciousness organizations, such as the Azanian People's Organization, who had been spearheading the tour boycott effort.

The white South African Press and sporting establishments were stunned by

the teams's refusals to compete, given the huge sums offered and the chance for international exposure. "Blacks saw through the subterfuge," said Bishop Desmond Tutu, head of the South African Council of Churches, which also supported the tour boycott. "They were being used to enable white South Africa to participate in international sporting competitions." The African National Congress also threw its support behind the tour boycott.

Shortly after the tour collapsed, South African Security Police held the leaders of the three Sowetan teams for questioning.

Three South African freedom fighters are to be executed for attacks on police and sabotage of power and rail facilities. The three members of the African National Congress liberation movement, Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, Jerry Semano Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Thabo Motaung, 27, were found guilty of 20 counts of high treason and related charges in early August. They had pleaded not guilty to the charges but admitted, as accused, to participating in attacks on police stations and rail lines in Soweto and a power station in Pretoria. One policeman died during the attacks.

Evidence given during the trial indicated that the three men had been brutally tortured following their capture from an underground island hide-out. The court was told that a senior security policeman had put a wet plastic bag over Mosololi's head, disrupting his breathing, while he was being bitten by a dog. One of the three had a rope tied about his neck which was suspended from a tree so that he was forced up on his toes. Mogoerane and Motaung were said to have received electric shocks.

"I regarded myself as a soldier fighting for the freedom of my people," said Mogoerane, who like the others cited the rebellion in 1976 that began in Soweto as the impetus for deciding to join the ANC. It had been abominable of the police to have shot children, said Mogoerane, who received guerrilla training in Angola. When questioned about why he felt he had the right to shoot policemen, he replied: "What do you do when you meet your enemy in a war?"

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