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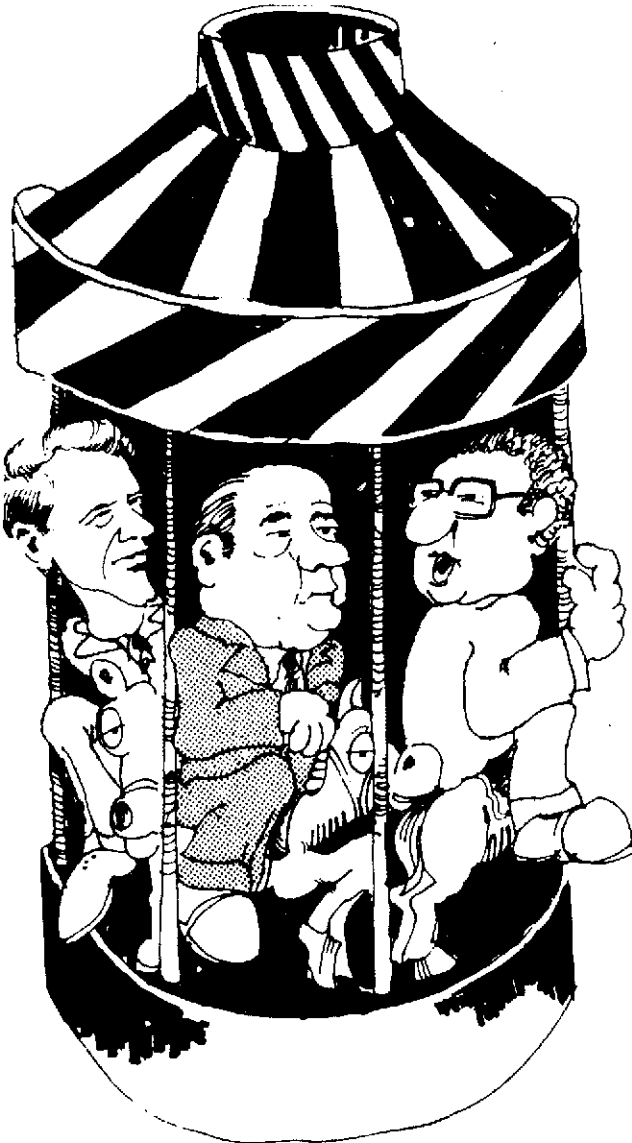
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A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA
IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER. ?

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LETTERS

Bro. Curtis Brown # 31949
Box 51
Comstock, N.Y. 12821
Sept. 27, 1976

Power Bro.s/Sis.s

This is one of the most profound letters that I have written, I am writing to inform you that I am being release on parole after eleven years, therefore, you are to discontinu my subscription to "Southern Africa". If I don't write you concerning this the system will just throw it away.

I want to take this time to thank each and everyone of your organization for all of the education that you have gave me, you have raise my level of consciousness in regards to the struggle within Africa, but, most of all, you have shown me the people will win. . . .

Hasta la victoria siempre. . . .

Bro. Curtis Brown

OUR COLLECTIVE

SOUTHERN AFRICA is published monthly, except for a double issue July-August, by the Southern Africa Committee.

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Southern Africa talks with Sikose Mji

Born in Johannesburg, Sikose Mji is a 21-year old South African high school graduate who participated in the Soweto demonstrations last summer, was a member of the Black Consciousness movement, and is now active in the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Because of her role in the uprisings of last year, she has been forced to leave her family and escape South Africa to avoid detention.

SAC: *What happened in Soweto on June 16, 1976?*

MJI: The students were marching down the streets of Soweto in protest against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the schools. When they gathered at one school they were shot at by the police. The students picked up stones and hit back at the police but the police kept firing on them. There was actually a fight between unarmed students and armed police. Many students were detained and several have died in detention which has caused the fighting to continue up to now. The people held huge funerals for those who had died in detention (and in the streets) and speeches were made against the injustices of the killings, despite the presence of police observers. Since June, there has been a whole lot of chaos, students against the police. Even the parents have joined, because their children have died.

SAC: *What caused this uprising?*

MJI: In recent years, there has been general discontent amongst everybody, and in particular, the youth. With Mozambique and Angola becoming independent, the young people of South Africa felt further challenged to follow the example of the people of Angola and Mozambique. When the government enforced this law within the system of bantu education, it came at a very wrong time for the government, that is. The discontent and dissatisfaction had grown to such a point that people were ready to protest anything, even though they knew well what the government's response would be. The frustration could not be held in any more. It had to burst and go on and on, building in strength.

SAC: *Were these uprisings an expression of spontaneous anger or part of an organized form of resistance?*

MJI: It was probably a mixture of both—spontaneity and organization—because of the accumulation of frustration. Even if it had been organized though, if the people had not been ready to respond, they wouldn't have. So, to a certain extent, it was spontaneous. But I think that perhaps there are among the people some who are trained in the organization of this type of thing. I don't think they were there when the first protest occurred because I don't believe there would have been so many casualties if it had been organized. Whoever was organizing would have made some provision for the type of reaction that is always expected from the government and police. Once it happened however, those people who organize, namely the ANC and the underground in South Africa, had to come in and try to channel it towards some organized



Sikose Mji

form so that casualties would be minimized and some success gained. After this, came the worker's strike where 80 per cent of the people refused to go to work.

SAC: *What does it mean in South Africa, for a South African to refuse to go to work?*

MJI: In South Africa we have what they call the 'legal strike.' Before striking you must notify your employer within 30 days that on a certain day, if certain things are not done, you are going to strike. Obviously this kind of strike loses its impact and its effect. When people strike like they have struck now, without having made it a 'legal strike' in the government's terms, the results are very, very bad. People get fired, and they cannot go to work any more. Their employers don't want them. Further, the government always selects out certain people and calls them the ring leaders. These people are fired, and sometimes even jailed. Or, if it is a whole crowd, the police intimidate them by opening fire on the strikers like they did in Carltonville in 1973 where 12 miners were shot and killed while striking for higher wages. This is why I want to believe that when these uprisings reached a certain level, then there was some organized form of upheaval. The first, June 16, however, was just spontaneous involving students who were tired of being dictated to—in any terms. The spark could have been anything—that students should move and live in another area, that they shouldn't wear certain clothes and not others—whatever the issue, the students would have done the same thing. People at home are so conscious of the whole of Africa being free, even of the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia, countries smaller than South Africa, gaining independence before South Africa. So the South African people feel that they are ready for independence—they even claim that they are ready to die for it. In a number of interviews since June 16, this attitude has been expressed by parents in the Black Parents' Association, students in the Students' Representative Council, women's organizations, the YWCA. . . . When one looks at all the people in South Africa now, the mood and the attitude is the same. They want liberation. And this time they are not asking for it.

They want to grab it for themselves.

SAC: *Is this mood different from what your parents said about the mood following Sharpeville in 1960?*

MJI: I think what is happening now is perhaps something that is quite similar, identical to what happened in Sharpeville. Even if in between there was perhaps a period of some silence, people have been getting caught, struggling individually or in organizations, getting burned, being sent to Robben Island (South Africa's most famous prison for political prisoners). Perhaps the type of upheaval that attracts world attention wasn't there until now, but I don't think the mood is different from that after Sharpeville. If there was some discouragement after Sharpeville, it's over now, especially for the young people, who only learned about Sharpeville, from their parents. People have passed to a stage where they don't fear what happened in Sharpeville any more.

But really I think Mozambique and Angola are very much responsible for this recent activity. It was a shock when Mozambique, for example, became independent overnight. We had never even known that FRELIMO was even fighting. Oh no, we never get that kind of news. Then one day, we woke up and were told that Mozambique was free. People asked—how come the Mozambicans have made it and we are sitting here? This really started our people thinking and made them decide that they were not going to be left behind when other people were going forward. Then came Angola. There have been a whole series of successes achieved by people who fought actively and no success for those who are sitting inside (our) country. People are also aware of the fact that many of the most active students have brothers or fathers outside the country, getting some form of skilled training. Thus even as the people inside begin their struggle they look to people who are better equipped to come back in and help. It's subconscious, but it's there. When I got involved I knew at some stage I'd be forced to go out of the country, and I knew exactly where I would be going. I knew that the ANC was there outside. It was waiting for anybody who was in the position that I was. Now students are coming out by the thousands. They find a way of getting out and getting trained. They are not stopping, because those that don't, die.

SAC: *How did you leave?*

MJI: I left by illegal means, that is all I can say.

SAC: *During the uprisings, we read in the US press about the so-called "Zulu killings"; would you explain these?*

MJI: Yes, this is important. When the government realized that the uprisings and demonstrations were not going to stop, that students were prepared to go on and on, that their parents were refusing to go to work and instead joining their children, the government organized what we called the "black jacks", or plain-clothed black policemen to go about hunting down people, especially those who were supporting the students and refusing to go to work. They considered these people the most troublesome. How we discovered that these men were being used by the police is by the fact that they were wearing the very same type of boots worn by the South African police; plus they were carrying pangas and other dangerous weapons not normally carried in the locations—in fact, you get arrested if you carry them, and they were being brought in vans by the police to the areas where they were ordered to attack the people. Afterwards these "black jacks" all went to the same place, where they were trained by the police

This was first reported by Peter Magubane of the *Rand Daily Mail*. Magubane was hiding in a dustbin,

listening and watching, when he overheard white South African policemen telling these "black jacks", "No, we didn't tell you to destroy government property, we said you must kill the citizens." The students had been burning government property, and apparently those black jacks hadn't heard their instructions properly, and did likewise. Magubane reported what he heard and it was picked up in the newspapers and that very same day he was arrested. He remains in jail today. Thus these black jacks were used by the police who even bought them "bantu beer." This was the government's way of trying to stop the uprising and force the people to return to work.

SAC: *What is the relationship between the black consciousness movement and the national liberation movement?*

MJI: While the black consciousness movement within South Africa and the liberation movement are separate movements, the two movements complemented each other. The black consciousness movement came about when there was a vacuum created by the absence of the most powerful liberation movement within the country. Something really had to keep people going, yet it had to be something milder, something that wouldn't attract government attention and get banned like the other movements. The black consciousness movement could never have replaced the liberation movement and when the black consciousness movement was formed we were very aware of its shortcomings and the fact that it didn't really go far enough. It simply kept you busy, but you shouldn't forget that we are a struggling people. It takes years to form a liberation movement, and the people at home are now expecting the liberation movements that they know are somewhere outside the country, to come back to their salvation.

SAC: *What was the reaction of the parents to the students' rebellion?*

MJI: When the students began their protest of bantu education and all its sub-laws, at first the parents were shocked, but then they applauded the bravery of their children. Our parents, and especially those in ANC, were not taught in bantu education and have always refused to accept it since its establishment in 1955. My father who was a member of ANC at the time was always against this government institution. But the government as usual refused to hear their protest. When the students marched in protest the parents shouted, in our language, things like "our children are doing it" and they hailed the students who were being fired on. Then they too were prepared to demonstrate and refused to go to work. They felt young. Their support was much needed in this movement. It is important for us to remember, however, that the parents are the ones who get jailed everyday in their own organizations, like the Black South African Women's Federation, the Union of Natal Women, the YWCA, etc., without the outside world knowing it. When the students rose up among themselves, people wanted to say that the parents were not doing anything, but this was a false idea.

SAC: *Are there other liberation movements besides the ANC?*

MJI: As you know there can be no liberation movements inside South Africa because the government prohibits them. There are other movements, however, such as the UMSA (Unity Movement of South Africa), and maybe others which people don't really know about, but they are of no serious challenge.

The PAC (Pan African Congress) broke away from the ANC in 1958 or 1959 over the Freedom Charter; the document adopted by the ANC with other oppressed

... in South Africa, the Indian Congress, Congress of
peoples, and the whites. PAC objected to the first line
of the document which reads "We (the people of South
Africa) declare that South Africa belongs to those who live
in it—black and white." The PAC instead follows the
ideology "Africa for the Africans." In my view this is the
main difference. There may be others. I don't think the
PAC makes any serious challenge really, because if you are
serious, we can never have a world of black here, white
there—forever—it just can never be that way. So I think in
the long run, forgetting about the name of the movement,
people will accept this ideology (of the Freedom Charter)
because it is realistic. That is all they'll be forced to.

*Q: An important question for people here is to relate
the struggle in Southern Africa, and particularly now in
South Africa, to what we have to do to prevent what is
happening there, and to also change the system here. Can
you comment on how you see the two struggles are
related and how people in the US can best support the
liberation of the South African people.*

MULT: I see the two struggles as connected in that in both
struggles there is some exploitation of one group by
another. What the people here can do is to get their
government to change its policies, its foreign policy, its
trade links, its arms sales, and all its dealings with South
Africa.

We no longer feel isolated. As students we read a lot,
even books which are banned (I don't know how students
get these books but we certainly have a lot) which we pass
on to each other. As a result we are more and more aware

that other people are struggling too, and that other people
are with us, and we with them.

*SAC: Could you tell us something about your own in-
volvement during this recent struggle?*

MULT: I completed my high school education last year in
Soweto at Mosis Isaacson High, the school most involved
in the uprisings. Masinini also comes from this school, we
were classmates. This year I was in a postmatriculate
secretarial course in Durban. When the uprisings began in
Soweto and children were being shot, many students in
the Black Consciousness movement around Durban and
elsewhere were also arrested by the police. I was one of
the people whom the police were looking for. I escaped
arrest because as soon as I heard the police were looking
for me, I left Durban and went to Soweto and parti-
cipated in the demonstrations there for about a week.
When I learned that quite a number of people who knew
me were aware of my presence in Soweto, I decided to
leave the country. It was no longer safe for me to stay.
Then I came to the ANNC, outside. I had always been in
contact with the people in the ANNC who were outside the
country and they helped me to escape and come up to
this point.

SAC: What is your future now?

MULT: My own future is a future of struggle, because I am
involved with the ANNC now and I am prepared to do as
much as I possibly can, for the organization and the
struggle as a whole. And then sometime, I hope to go and
study. ■

Celebrating the Twentieth Year of PAIGC

George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on
Africa, was the only American to attend the recent celebration in
Bissau. Here are reports on his impressions for Southern Africa.

The Celebration

I spent a week in Guinea-Bissau from September 18th
to 25th. The occasion was the celebration of the 20th
anniversary of the founding of the PAIGC on September
19, 1956.

The PAIGC had invited those who had been their
enemies in the years of struggle to come to the cele-
brations. Governmental representatives came from a few
African countries, the most prominent of which was
President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Delegations from
Guinea-Bissau's neighbors came—the Republic of Guinea,
Senegal, and Gambia. Other African delegations came
from Angola, Ghana, Nigeria, the People's Republic of the
Congo. The Portuguese government was represented by a
Socialist minister. The Portuguese Communist Party was
also represented. Most of the representatives from western
European countries were from support movements. The
Eastern European countries were represented by official
delegates, as were Asian countries including India, Viet
Nam, North Korea, China. The United States was not
invited.

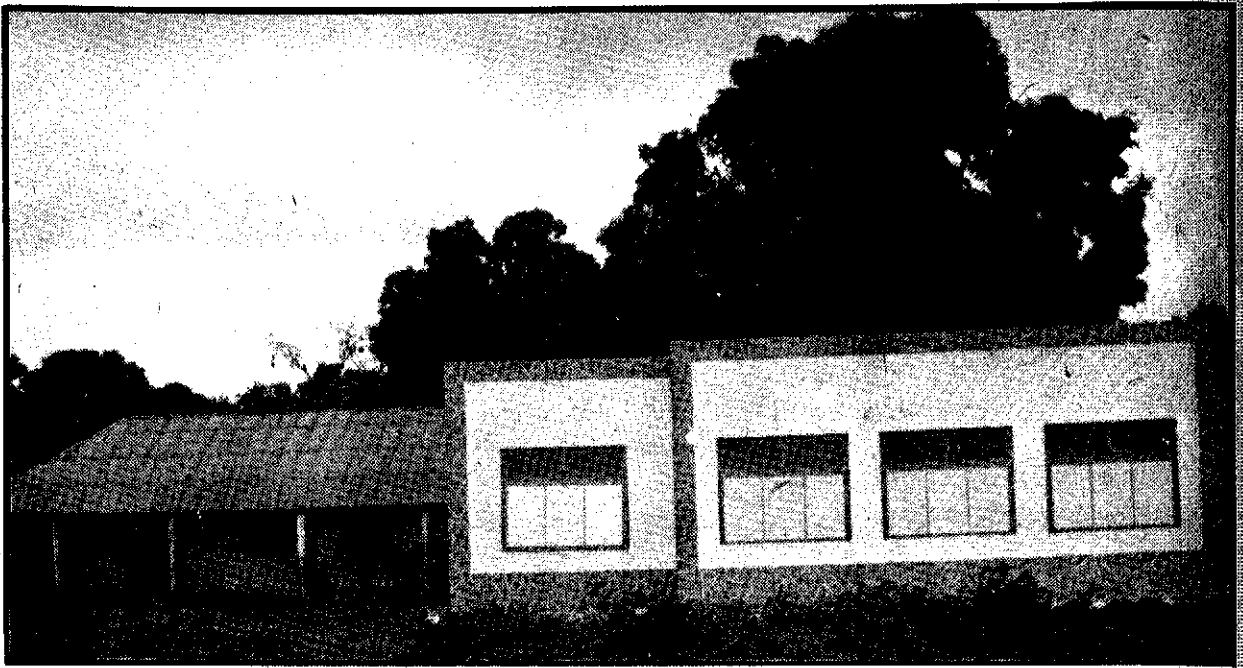
It is significant that the event chosen for the celebra-
tion was the founding of the PAIGC and not the establish-
ment of an independent Guinea-Bissau which occurred on
September 24th, 1973, while the liberation struggle was
still going on and Portuguese occupying forces were still in
Bissau and major towns of the country. The celebration

was very successful. Special events took place every day
from the 18th to the 25th with the climax coming on the
19th, the actual anniversary of the founding of the party.
There was a 3½ hour parade up the main avenue of Bissau
now renamed in honor of Amílcar Cabral. Almost every
aspect of the cultural, social, political, economic and
military life of the country was reflected in the parade.
With great imagination floats depicted the importance of
the Bijiguiti Massacre of August 3, 1959 as well as the
progress made in schools, medicine, industry and produc-
tion and in music and dancing. One evening's performance
was at the theatre where there was a play/pageant portray-
ing the coming of the Portuguese, the struggle against
colonialism and the final victory of the PAIGC. Another
evening was spent at the Palace of President Luís Cabral
where the occasion was topped off with a performance by
Miriam Makeba who came with the delegation from the
Republic of Guinea.

Progress in Health and Agriculture

I spent about ten days in Guinea-Bissau 18 months ago.
I was particularly interested to note changes that have
taken place within this relatively short period of time
following the departure of the Portuguese occupying
forces.

When I visited Mores last year there were only a few



Rebuilding villages—an urgent task. [UNHCR]

huts which had been hurriedly constructed. Now there is a boarding school which, although not yet completed, has 125 students and when it is completed will have 200. Wells have been dug, a generator and pump installed, and water towers built to hold the water. A medical clinic is in operation and a hospital has almost been completed. Also Mores has a people's store operating along the same lines as the stores in liberated areas during the struggle. The stores buy the products from the farmers in the area such as palm nuts, rice, potatoes or beans. These are then sent to Bissau. The only difference is that now the farmers are paid with money instead of using the barter system. The farmers then can purchase what products are available. Also it was very noticeable that the road into Mores from the main paved highway, a distance of about 5 miles, has been vastly improved. In spite of the fact that it was the end of the rainy season while I was there and the roads were wet, there were no quagmires and the car I was in could run along at a reasonable speed, say 40 miles an hour, as compared with the 10 or 15 miles an hour with which we had to travel the last time we were there.

Vacation time had not yet ended and the school children at the boarding school were away on their periods of work on the farms. The school buildings have been constructed by students and teachers working together. Perhaps the progress which has been made in the educational field is the most obvious. One of the reasons for this is that the PAIGC, during the struggle, had already laid the foundations for an expansion of education by setting up not only a limited number of boarding schools, but regular day schools throughout the liberated areas of the country. Last year there were 72,000 students in primary school (classes from kindergarten to 4th grade). Now there are 80,000. Last year there were 8 boarding schools. Now there are 10. Under the Portuguese there was only one high school located in Bissau. Now there are between 4000 and 5000 students in high schools with new ones having been established in Bafata, Cacheu, Canchungu, and Bolama. In addition there is a new technical school which has been constructed in Bissau. Most of the

secondary school teachers come from Portugal on one year contracts and their salaries are subsidized by the Portuguese government. Altogether there are about 100 high school teachers.

Progress is slower in the field of health. There are now two nurses' training schools, one in Bolama and one in Bissau. Each one turns out 20 graduates a year. There are only 33 doctors in the whole country, with 20 of them in Bissau, where the largest hospital, with a thousand beds, is located. At the moment there are only 300 additional hospital beds in the country. Five new hospitals are now being constructed that will have 20 beds each. The aim is to have at least one clinic for every two sectors into which the country is divided geographically. There are 34 sectors in the country. This means 17 clinics with 2 beds each for emergency use only. This and the construction of the new hospitals is a realizable objective in the next year or so, with assistance.

Agriculture and Industry Expand

Progress is being made in agriculture too, particularly in the production of rice. Enough rice is now being produced to take care of internal needs and it is expected within the next year or so that the country will be able to export rice, at least to its neighbors.

There have been new developments in industry. A new sugar factory is being built near Bafata which is expected will employ about 4000 workers. It will be completed by 1980. Sugar cane is one of the main agricultural products of Guinea-Bissau. There are plans for a new port to be established on the Bula River. It is expected that this will be one of the best protected deep water ports in West Africa. It has been discovered that Guinea-Bissau has a rich resource of bauxite, it is a long distance from any available transportation. According to the planners the bauxite industry can be developed when the port becomes a reality. An Italian company is currently exploring for off-shore oil, the old Portuguese contract with Exxon having been ended.

Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau

The question of the relationship between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde came up frequently in conversation. No decision has yet been made on what the formal relationship between the two countries will be. The PAIGC is the only political party in each of the countries and Aristides Pereira is both the Secretary General of the Party and the President of Cape Verde. A Congress of the Party will be held toward the end of July, 1977 at which time the two study commissions, one from each country, will have done their work on recommendations about the future relationship which should exist, the report will be made, and a decision will be forthcoming. There are many problems to work out and the policies of the two countries are not always identical. For example South African Airways still lands at the airport at Sal, Cape Verde. Guinea-Bissau has supported the Polisario movement in the Spanish Sahara and Cape Verde has not. Furthermore Cape Verde has a different position on foreign currency than Bissau, with much tighter control in the latter. But the leaders of both countries, who have had a very close relationship for so many years, are confident that they can work out the problems.

Guinea-Bissau wants to maintain a non-alignment policy in its international relations. They have a policy of not

permitting any foreign military bases. I was told that Sweden and the Netherlands give them a great deal of assistance. I was told that they have received very little in the way of technical assistance or aid from the USSR. Some assistance and technicians come from China. They hope to receive assistance from Kuwait for the development of the port. So far the United States has appropriated only \$1 million for aid to Guinea-Bissau.

I was deeply impressed with the careful planning and with the practical thinking of the PAIGC leadership. Just as Amilcar Cabral resisted being stamped with a ideological tag, the present party leadership does not use a fixed terminology to describe its social and political philosophy. As was quite obvious from the representation at their celebration, their closest friends and allies have come from socialist countries. Yet, as a small country, they are conscious of the fact that their protection lies in having broad relationships if they can be successfully developed. The country is definitely not going the capitalist route. Foreign capital will be sought for some of their development projects, but under very clear controls so that the development of the country essentially lies in the hands of those who fought the successful struggle for independence. ■

South Africa

POLITICS

RESISTANCE CONTINUES

Open resistance to apartheid in South Africa has taken on an air of permanence and determination. Since early October, liquor stores and shebeens (illicit drinking parlors) have been major targets of popular anger. In the Cape Town area, over 100 bars are reported to have been attacked. Shebeens and liquor stores have also been attacked in Krugersdorp and Soweto. The demonstrators have been chasing people out of shebeens, smashing bottles and destroying stocks of liquor. Heavy drinking is seen by demonstrators as a sign of submission to apartheid. This is in marked contrast to the statements by white officials who have been blaming the "unrest" on drunken hooligans. The Soweto Students Representative Council has called for the closing of all shebeens as a mark of respect for all those detained and killed in recent months.

The focus on those killed by police has turned funerals into massive demonstrations. One of the largest such demonstrations was at the funeral of Jackie Mashabani, a university student who died in detention. The police announced that Mashabani had committed suicide, the people believed he had been killed by the police. Police opened fire at a crowd of over 4,000 people who were attending Mashabani's funeral, killing six people and wounding over fifty. The day before at the funeral of Ann Kumalo, police fired into a crowd of one thousand, killing at least one person. They then arrested well over 100 when the crowd refused to disperse.

Widespread firebombings, the destruction of buses, and continued demonstrations all reflect popular militancy. Most recently, students across the country, especially in Soweto, have renewed a strong boycott of schools, just at the time of final exams. Many schools are totally empty and a BBC correspondent could find only three schools in

Johannesburg's townships that were bothering to give the exam. All those who miss the final exam will have to repeat the whole year's work, but many students have decided that apartheid education does not interest them.

Police raided the Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto shortly before the boycott, arresting scores of students and teachers. They took the school files with students' addresses and are using them to search for student leaders.

Morris Isaacson has been a place of high tension ever since the detention of the school's principal, Lekgau Macaulay Mathabathe. Mr. Mathabathe is very popular with both the students and the adults of Soweto.

The condition of Mr. Mathabathe is unclear. However, there are many reports that he is dead. According to a report, reaching the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, Mathabathe was taken to a hospital after a severe beating by the security police. A brain operation was performed during which he died. The security police are rounding up people whom they accuse of spreading 'rumors' of Mr. Mathabathe's beating and death.

Other well known people to be detained recently include sociologist Dr. Fatima Meer and her son, and Ms Saliy Motlana who is prominent in women's church and community groups. The Christian Institute has estimated that several thousand people are currently being detained as a result of the continuing protests, some having been arrested during demonstrations, many others having been detained, under various 'security' laws, as suspected 'leaders'.

JAMES MATTHEWS—PEOPLE'S POET IN DETENTION

a slip on a stair
a flight through the air
these are the ways
they say we take
now, they find you a hanging
a hanging in your cell
another one who went that way
that's what they say
but we know better
as even your little ones do
you took the way
of the first black martyr
when he refused the yoke
and took death instead
you will be added to the
string of beads we wear
and proudly display when
we sing of the way

a black martyr goes
leading to the time when
we will weave freedom ribbons
in our hair *



Black poet James Matthews wrote this poem a short while ago for his fellow South Africans who have died in detention. The official reasons given for their deaths by the security police are a mockery of the truth. I. Haron "fell down the stairs"; N. Kgosthe "slipped in the shower"; A. Timol "suicide" by jumping through the 10th floor window of the police interrogation center. Most recently the deaths of Soweto student J. Maghabane and trade unionist L. Mazwembe, held in the wake of the mass uprisings this summer, were termed "suicide by hanging."

Now James Matthews himself is being held by the South African security police. A letter from South Africa has reached the US expressing the fear that unless there are international cries of protest, Matthews may be another name listed in the annals of the security police as a "suicide by hanging".

Matthews is one of thousands at present held under South Africa's draconian security legislation. The laws allow detainees to be kept incommunicado indefinitely, without explanation, without being charged, without access to a lawyer, to family, priest or doctor. The South African security police literally have the power to make a person disappear, sometimes forever.

James Matthews is being held by the white supremacists because he dared to express the deep feelings of his people—the anger, the demand for

justice, and the determination to destroy the chains by struggle.

soweto skies are aflame with anger
wind carrying the wails of the slain
fire ignited in the minds of people
burst forth in other places
fuelled by layers of oppression
piled around them like kindling
added to the conflagration
nestled in the soul of soweto
words like petrol drops spewed
turn into burning brands passed on
has burst forth in volcanic fury
consuming all in its heat

soweto now becomes a brazier
furnishing warmth to those who demand
their birthright as fathers and mothers
sons and daughters of the soil
making their demand as urgent
as lava brought to the boil



Freedom's child
you have been denied too long
fill your lungs and cry rage
step forward and take your rightful place
you're not going to grow up
knocking at the back door
for you there will be no travelling
third class enforced by law
with segregated schooling and sitting on the floor
the rivers of our land, mountain tops
and the shore
it is yours, you will not be denied anymore
Cry rage, freedom's child

* Poems taken from "Tribute to Martyrs" published in South Africa by the Black Literature & Arts Congress, Vol. 1 No. 3.

Readers concerned about Mr. Matthews may write to him care of, Police Headquarters, Calendon Square, Cape Town, South Africa. Protests at continued police detention of thousands of South Africans can be sent to:

Ambassador Roelof Botha
S.A. Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
Phone (202) 232-4400

BLACK JOURNALISTS HARRASSED

As the struggle against apartheid has intensified, so has the conflict between black reporters and white officials. Black reporters have played a central role in getting out information which the Government has tried to conceal. There have been many times when the only press eye-witnesses to marches, protests and shootings were black reporters. Such reporters are also in much closer touch with developments inside the black communities than even the most well-intentioned white reporters.

There are only about 150 black journalists in all of South Africa. In recent years, reflecting the nation-wide growth of militant consciousness, these journalists have established the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), which has concerned itself with political as well as professional issues.

The UBJ held its third Congress last July, and invited representatives of many community groups to join in discussing important issues. The Black People's Convention, the Black Parents' Association, the South African Students' Association and many other groups attended that Conference.

The UBJ has taken a strong stand in solidarity with the recent uprisings. It has also condemned the Bantustans and attacked as fraudulent and divisive the "independence" of the Transkei.

The South African Government has acted now to silence these voices. The President of the Union, Mr. Joseph Thloloe and the National Assistant Secretary/Treasurer, Ms. Judy Mayet, have been detained, as have two prominent members of the Union, Mr. Harry Mashabela and Ms. Thenji Mtintso. The UBJ Bulletin has been banned.

In another attempt to suppress the news the police have detained five African reporters, Arthur Molefe, Moffat Zungu, Godwin Mohlomi, Willie Bokolo and Duma Ndhloni. All five are reporters for the black audience newspaper, *The World*. It has been through *The World* that much of the information about the Soweto and other uprisings has become known. *The World* is owned by the Argus group, one of the two major English language press groups in South Africa. It was established to capture a black audience and is staffed by black editors and journalists who have sometimes attempted to take an independent line.

The South African Government claims to allow freedom of the press. In reality the press is subjected to various forms of censorship. It is for example a criminal offence to publish an article which "harms relations between white and black" by using "inflammatory language" to describe the effects of apartheid. Detention laws, which allow the police to hold reporters, in indefinite detention without trial also obviously creates conditions in which there can be no free reporting of the truth.

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE CALLS FOR AN END TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT

The Christian Institute, a leading anti-apartheid church organization in South Africa, has issued the following courageous statement calling for no further foreign investment in South Africa. The Institute may face prosecution for issuing the statement. Currently, nine members of the South African Students Organization are on trial under the Terrorism Act for conspiring "to discourage, hamper, deter or prevent foreign investment in the economy of the Republic."

"Governmental insistence on enforcing apartheid and its rejection of normal negotiation with freely chosen black leaders, have produced a situation in which there are few ways of preventing the escalation of violence and bloodshed into a major confrontation.

One of the few remaining methods of working peacefully is through economic pressure, which could help to motivate the changes needed to bring justice and peace in South Africa.

No further investment.

The Christian Institute therefore supports the call for no further investment in South Africa because:

- 1.1 Strong economic pressure is of vital importance in bringing about as peaceful a solution as possible.
- 1.2 Investment in South Africa is investment in apartheid, and thus is immoral, unjust and exploitative.
- 1.3 Attempts to change the situation through pressure by investors have proved inadequate.
- 1.4 The argument that economic growth can produce fundamental change has proven false.

Many black organizations have opposed foreign investment in South Africa, and we believe this would be the opinion of the majority of South African blacks if their voice could be heard. Blacks accept that the consequent economic recession and unemployment would cause them suffering, but argue that this would be for a limited period by contrast with the unending suffering caused by the continuation of apartheid."

CORRECTION

In the November issue, two photos were reversed. The photo on page 7 is of Dzinashe Machingura, Deputy Political Commissar of ZIPA, and should have appeared on page 17. The photo on page 17 is of a meeting at Caripande, Angola; it should have appeared on page 7. Our apologies to readers.

ECONOMICS

MAJOR LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA BY U.S. BANKS—1976

| Borrower | Amount | Period (Years) | Rate | U.S. Banks Involved | Source of Information |
|--|--------|----------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Escom | \$200m | 5 | 1.75% over Libor* | Citibank Chase Morgan Manfrs. Han. | F.M. 30 Jan 76 & F.M. 2 July 76 |
| ISCOR | \$ 80m | 5 | 1.75% over Libor | Chase Citibank Orion | Africa News Oct 18 1976 |
| Richards Bay Minerals (Consortium; 4 participants, IDC (SA) 20% Union Corp. 30%, Quebec Iron & Titanium Corp. 40% & SA Mutual Life Assurance 10% | \$138m | 6 | 2.0% over Libor | Citibank | F.M. July 2 |
| South African Railways | \$ 75m | 5 | 1.75% over Libor | Morgan | Africa News Oct 18 1976 |
| Foskor (Phosphate Dev. Corp) | \$ 30m | Unknown | Unknown | Mnfrs. Han. | F.M. July 2 76 |
| S.A.B.C. (South African Broadcasting Corp.) | \$ 20m | 5 | 1.75% over Libor | Citibank | F.M. July 2 76 |
| South African Government | \$110m | 5 | 1 7/8% over Libor | Citibank) Morgan) Bank of Amer. | Business Week 11/15/76 Sen. D. Clark Hearings 9/23/76 F.M. 6 Aug 76 |
| SA Airways/Railways (for Boeings) | \$ 99m | 10 | about 9.25% | European Banking Corp. (linked to EABC; US headquarters in Chicago) | F.M. July 2 |
| Industrial Development Corp. | \$ 25m | 5 | Unknown | Chase and Ex-Im Bank | SA Digest Oct 15 76 |

Notes: * Libor—London interbank offered rate.

Sources: F.M.—Financial Mail (SA); Hearings—Senate African Affairs Subcommittee Hearings Sept. 23, 1976; Africa News, Durham, N.C.; South African Digest (SA).

This is probably not all, but it TOTALS \$777 million in loans having been granted to S.A. Government or Government controlled corporations in the first nine months of 1976 alone—an astronomical loan growth rate for a "high risk" borrower.

According to Senator Clark U.S. banks (and their overseas branches) are now involved in South Africa to the extent of almost \$2 billion; \$672 million in short term loans, \$181 million in long term loans and \$1.108 billion in loans from the overseas branches of U.S. principals.

It seems certain that this trend will be maintained. On August 6th the South African Financial Mail reported that although the FLUOR/SASOL application for Ex-Im credit had been refused, a major U.S. investment banking house, Dillon Reade and Company has agreed to plan the financing strategy for SASOL 11's nearly \$2 billion cash needs.

According to the Financial Mail, that strategy may still include seeking Ex-Im financing.

DR has named Peter Flanigan as the chief architect of the SASOL financing effort. As chairman of the Council on International Economic Affairs Flanigan has been a senior economic advisor at the White House for the past 7 years, and was known for his persuasive contacts not only in Wall Street but in other major financial centers around the world.

APITCH FOR "CHANGE WITHOUT REVOLUTION"

Several prestigious South African industrial and business groups have urged an end to the system of job reservation which sets aside more highly paid jobs for Whites only. The president of the National Development and Management Fund went a bit further, calling for an end to residential and job apartheid, with more business discretion as to social segregation patterns. Only these moves by the Government, say business spokesmen, will curb unrest, assuage international skepticism about South Africa and return the economy to the right track. Harry Oppenheimer, Anglo-American gold and diamond magnate (with company assets of \$5 billion) echoed the same sentiments in a recent *New York Times* interview when he said pass laws, educational discrimination and social segregation must all be eliminated.

Some South African analysts seem to feel that suddenly, in reaction to massive disturbances in the economic sector caused by strikes and demonstrations, business is suddenly interested in politics. Of course, as in the United States, where ITT and Chile symbolize the close interrelationship between business and government, so too in South Africa, the two societal power centers have always functioned symbiotically. Oppenheimer has been associated for years with the opposition Progressive Party, an organization which has assiduously shied away from commitment to real change in South Africa. What appears to be happening is that traditionally more conservative business interests are becoming aware that apartheid must be better rationalized for the sake of both efficiency and containment. If there is action now to reform the system, says Oppenheimer, ("There is a good chance to get change without revolution." (*New York Times*, Oct. 6, 1976) Or, put another way in a *Star* editorial: "Businessmen and industrialists have more to lose materially than any other group of people should South Africa ever subside into anarchy." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 7, 1976)

International economic writers are pointing more and more to the risks of international involvement in South Africa. An influential columnist with the British *Financial Times* (Sept. 14) recently set out his perception of the deep maladies in South Africa such as the overly brutal government reaction to the uprisings, its apparent resistance to substantial reforms, the South African debacle in Angola in late 1975 and early 1976, and the government's increasing defense budget and resultant strained economy.

How the South African Government will move in reaction to demands from business for reforms to preserve the system is unclear. It seems immobilized except for minor 'reforms' such as housing liberalization and the establishment of advisory boards (for Coloreds). But government accommodation to business interests has long been the pattern, so there may be some illusory reforms around the corner. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 7, Oct. 9, 1976; *New York Times*, Oct. 6, 1976; *Financial Times*, London, Sept. 14, 1976)

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Trade between South Africa and *Israel* tripled between 1971 and 1975, with South African exports up to R16.9 million (\$19.3 million) and *Israel's* up to R19.7 million (\$22.6 million). Of the South African exports, 60 percent were metals and metal products, while *Israel's* main sales were in chemicals, engineering products and clothing. Joint corporate ventures are also beginning, and will accelerate following P.M. Vorster's visit to *Israel* in the

spring of 1976. *Israel's* Koor company is establishing local South African subsidiaries. The combination, which parallels much of South Africa's links with stronger capitalist economies, is one between *Israeli* technology and South Africa's raw materials, low cost labor and financing. The ventures, in chemicals for example, hope to find markets in the EEC and Africa (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 1976; *Safto Exporter*, May, 1976)

Despite difficulties in obtaining loans in Eurocurrencies lately, ESCOM, the state electricity corporation, raised \$80 million in a medium term loan from *French* banks in an arrangement connected with the *French* building of nuclear power plants in South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1976, see *Southern Africa*, August, 1976).

GOLD PRICE BACK UP

No doubt to the relief of mining and finance people, the latest IMF auction of gold bullion did not result in a downward plunge of the gold price. Rather, the price moved up the following day from \$118 to \$123/ounce. The sale on October 27 was the fourth in a series of International Monetary Fund auctions held at six week intervals, and aimed at obtaining funds for less developed nations. The last two sales had served to depress the gold price. There was some talk at the IMF meeting in Manila of having weekly gold auctions, a plan apparently proposed by the United States. Such a procedure would probably help those eager to buoy the price of gold by making the auction a non-event. Although the United States is ultimately pressing for a decreasing role for gold in the world's monetary system, it was asked by other countries such as France to diminish the pressure of 6 week auctions. (*New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1976; *Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 9, 1976)

MINERAL EXPORTS UP

Despite the overall drop in the gold price, the value of mining exports was up some 28 percent over 1975, using comparative eight month figures. The value of coal exports tripled with the increased facilities for export and the new Richards Bay port complex. Experts are predicting similar increases over the next year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 9, 1976)

LABOR SCENE

More South African Blacks are entering the mining sector of the economy, in part because of the real increases in wages offered by the mines, but also because of widespread unemployment. Much to management's distress, however, the stability hoped for from this influx (replacing foreign labor) has not been forthcoming, as the South African workers are only willing to sign short contracts. Training costs have jumped to absorb the new workers. (*Star*, Sept. 24, 1976)

Farmers, especially in the Eastern Cape, have been accused at a recent Cape Town conference of treating their workers as serfs in an old feudal system. The farm owners hedge on cash wages, paying the workers in kind with food, clothes, and at best, old-fashioned paternalism. This has led to an increased migration of people away from the white farms and into the cities. The Bantu Affairs Administration Board is trying to prevent the moves, but without attacking the causes. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1976)

Containing and controlling farm laborers was also the theme at a Nationalist Party meeting in the Cape, where



SA gold miner—reluctant to sign a long contract!

complaints were voiced that Transkei workers were entering the Cape Town area illegally after having been recruited for farm work. Senator Wonnall commented, "It is unhealthy that there is a Blackening of the Cape, but you must be realistic. . . ." He went on to call for better living conditions and acceptance of permanent residence for more Blacks. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1976)

This continued black migration to the cities indicates the hollowness of the "homelands" policy. According to an economist with the University of South Africa, 100,000 people need jobs each year as they move onto the labor market, but only 28,000 new jobs are available annually in the Bantustans. Of the 72,000 without jobs, 35,000 will work in border industries (living in the "homeland") and the rest will live in white areas, where there is a continuing need for more semi-skilled workers. Creating each new job in the "homelands" costs R8,000 (\$9,200), highly inefficient from an economic viewpoint. It is even hard to see the new 28,000 "homeland" jobs forthcoming. For example there are to be 5,000 more jobs in the Transkei, but only after intensive efforts to lure new investors from Europe and locally. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 9, 1976)

SLEWUP IN AUTO INDUSTRY

Unemployment for Blacks is clearly on the rise. Within the auto industry some 4,000 people have been laid off within the last six months. Short-time work is becoming the practice in the auto components, steel and engineering industries because there is a dearth of orders. One wheel maker, for example, has had to cut back production by 40 percent. In the auto industry itself there is now a push to extend the "local content" program. This government program was initiated in the 1960's to increase local

South African content in the production of cars and trucks, and thereby give a boost to indigenous industry, pushing the country towards more self-sufficiency in a time when it feared international boycotts. Local content as of 1976 is 66 percent of production, but component manufacturers are pressing for a higher level, particularly given the country's need to stimulate production. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1976)

BLACKS COST OF LIVING RISES

The minimum cost of living for a black family of five in Pretoria rose 12 percent from R30,838 (\$33,011) (Afrikaner



For blacks, backbreaking work and a rising cost of living.

1975) to R91.17 (\$104.85) per month a year later. This was calculated before recent rises in the price of coal, corn (a food staple), bread and bus fares. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 18, 1976)

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has found that since 1970 there has been a 75 percent rise in the Poverty Datum Level for a Soweto family of five, going to R189.05 (\$148.41) a month in May, 1976. During the last

six months, fuel and transport costs rose 18 percent; clothing, 9 percent; and food, 7 percent. Food now accounts for half of a family's expenses. The PDL is a minimum survival budget which includes only R1 (\$1.15) a month for medical expenses and R3.4 (\$3.91) for savings and emergencies. (*Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, July 30, 1976) ■

Namibia



William Scranton—preserving the delicate fabric.

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The United States, Britain, and France exercised their veto power in the United Nations Security Council on October 19 to block a resolution that would impose an arms embargo on South Africa because of its adamant occupation of the International Territory of Namibia.

The Western trio acted similarly on sanction measures against the South African usurper in June 1975. (The first of their triple vetoes occurred in December 1974 when they protected Pretoria from expulsion from the UN).

US ambassador William W. Scranton, in explaining his government's action, referred to the ongoing shuttle diplomacy being performed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: "... while the sensitive process of consultation is going on it does not serve a useful purpose for the Security Council to take new initiatives on the Namibian question. ... It would be tragic if the delicate fabric of negotiations were to be torn asunder by any precipitate move at this time."

The American representative also emphasized that "The United States has continued to enforce its own arms embargo towards South Africa."

African and other nations were outraged by the vote of the Western three. Theo-Ben Gurirab, UN representative of the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia, told the Council:

"Veto or no veto, Namibia remains a direct responsibility of the United Nations. . . we will continue to utilize, all the options that exist in other competent organs of the United Nations. We as a liberation movement engaged in the armed struggle to liberate our country, will forever remain committed to wage the struggle to its logical conclusion. A LUTA CONTINUA."

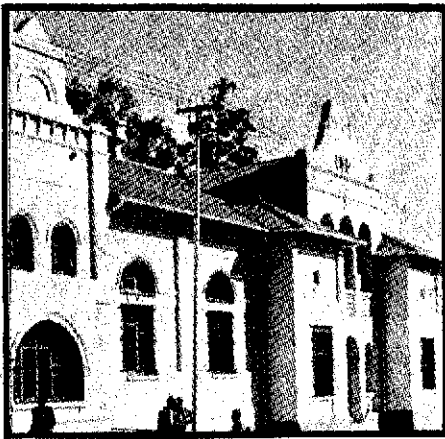
THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE

The South African-sponsored 'constitutional conference' continues to respond to the acceleration of events in Southern Africa. The constitutional committee, composed of representatives from all the 11 'ethnic' delegations at the year-old Turnhalle conclave, announced it had unanimously approved the creation of an 'interim government' for Namibia. The scheme was presented by the leader of the white delegation, National Party chief A. H. du Plessis, who stated the projected entity would be functioning by the second half of 1977 and that enabling legislation would be passed in the South African Parliament when that body reconvenes in February 1977. The plenary of the Windhoek conference was to foregather on November 9 to approve the constitutional committee's recommendation. (*New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1976; *London Financial Times*, Nov. 9, 1976; *Windhoek Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1976).

Turnhalle almost became a battleground when white delegate Eben van Zijl made racial slurs against several black delegates during a meeting of the constitutional committee. He told a Damara representative: "You forget that we fetched you Damaras from the mountains, put clothes on you and lifted you from the mud". Mr. R. Koagub had to be restrained from coming over the table at van Zijl. An apology of sorts followed, after the meeting was adjourned overnight. (*Washington Post*, Oct. 21, 1976; *Windhoek Advertiser*, Oct. 21, 1976).

Unclear at this time is the eventual outcome of differences between black and white delegations over the structure of a proposed three-tier government (see *Southern Africa*, November 1976). National, regional and local authorities have been proposed, with the second level adhering closely to the present 'homelands' set-up, by which the South African occupation has parceled out the Territory.

Blacks want a stronger central legislative assembly, while the white minority insist on regional strength. John Stewart, writing in London's *Financial Times*, says: "The white delegation opposes the idea (of a strong central government) on the grounds that it is contrary to the



Turnhalle—angry words fly.



Eben van Zijl to Damaras—
"We lifted you from the mud."

spirit of Turnhalle's declaration of intent which includes the phrase 'mindful of the interdependence of the various population groups and the interests of South West Africa in its entirety to create a form of government which will guarantee to every population group, the greatest possible say in its own and national affairs. . . .' Put in another way, this means that the status quo, in which the white groups (and foreign interests) monopolise more than 90 per cent of established and potential means of production, will be maintained and that the national or federal authority will be no more than a figurehead." (*Financial Times*, Nov. 9, 1976).

The strivings of Turnhalle become more futile all the time. SWAPO is of course not represented, and indeed denounces the assembly participants as puppets of Pretoria. September and October have seen the Rehoboth Volksparty and several smaller political groupings in Namibia joining SWAPO. A sounding by the Turnhalle's constitutional committee in the Caprivi area in north-eastern Namibia disclosed increasing adherence to SWAPO, by confession of white delegate Dirk Mudge who lamely accredited the seepage to Caprivians being largely "ignorant" of Turnhalle. Of even greater import is a recent meeting in Windhoek of members of SWAPO and the South West Africa National Union, the latter second only to SWAPO as the most politically active liberation organization of Namibia. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, Oct. 27, Nov. 2, 1976).

THE WAR

An upsurge in fighting appears to be underway in southern Angola just above the Namibian border. A

stream of announcements emanating from the South African embassy in Washington, from Pretoria and from South African occupation officials in northern Namibia claimed that forces of the People's Republic of Angola, supported by Cuban troops and SWAPO guerrillas, were waging all-out war against forces of the UNITA movement, which were defeated during the Angolan war late last year and early in 1976. South Africa asserted that thousands of men, women and children were fleeing certain death to the lower regions of Angola, 47,000 at first, but the figure was considerably trimmed down in a November press release from the South African Mission to the UN to about 6,000. Allegations of atrocities figured prominently in a concerted campaign by Pretoria, which flew a 40-person group of reporters from the South African capital to a military base in northern Namibia. (*New York Times*, Nov. 9, 13, 1976; *Washington Post*, Oct. 16, 1976).

The campaign coincided with charges by SWAPO Minister of Defense Peter Nanyembe that South Africa was training UNITA forces, an accusation denied by the South African Defence Force. Pretoria's campaign follows a late August disclosure by former South African infantryman Bill Anderson of wide-scale atrocities by Pretoria troops in northern Namibia. The South African army magazine *Uniform* ran a scathing story on Anderson's eye-witness revelations. It was reported that General Mannus Malan, commander of the South African army, was to visit Namibia to investigate establishing a "multi-racial Defense Force for South West Africa". (*Windhoek Advertiser*, Oct. 19, Nov. 4, 8, 1976).

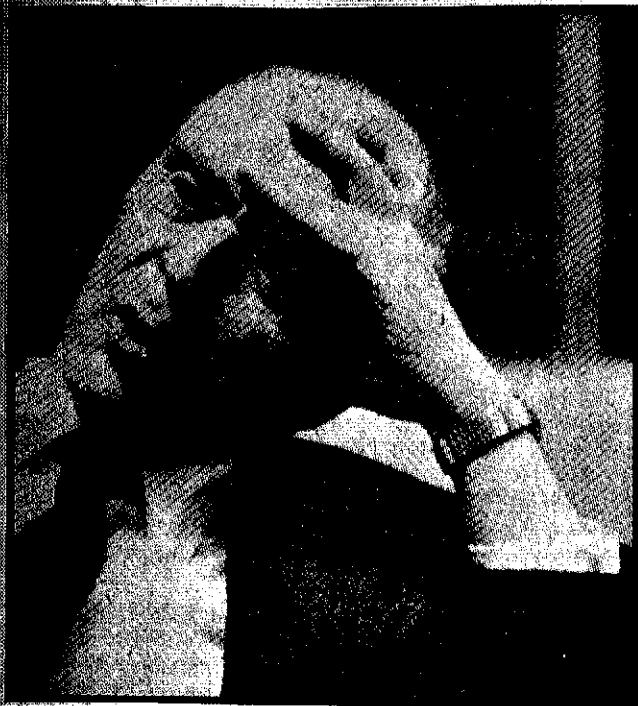
BUSINESS

The prize jewel of Namibia's wealth and strategic value to highly developed nations, the uranium mine at Rossing, has run into trouble. Rossing was supposed to have commenced production in July 1976. But, the British firm Rio Tinto-Zinc, which controls Rossing, had to admit that it might be 18 months before the venture reaches its maximum capacity. Exact details are unclear, for the South African Atomic Energy act has slapped a cloak of near secrecy on the enterprise which Pretoria guards so zealously. A report from Pretoria's Atomic Energy Board, read to a group of visiting Americans in October, claimed that South Africa and "South West Africa" together assure maintenance as "one of the top three producers of uranium in the Free World". (*London Times*, Oct. 18; *Windhoek Advertiser*, Oct. 19, 1976).

Another lode of uranium ore has been discovered in the Namib Desert "which could prove economic in the light of the projected demand for and price of uranium". (*Namib Times*, Oct. 8, 1976).

WALVIS BAY

The town council of Namibia's only deep-water port, Walvis Bay, voted to negotiate with an official in South Africa's Cape Province for return of administration over the Walvis enclave to South African control. Maneuvers to hand over to South Africa Namibia's gateway to the world are part of the Vorster regime's efforts to keep a stranglehold on Namibia while appearing to withdraw from the Territory as a Turnhalle-concocted "interim government" takes over. South Africa's Parliament is expected to repeal a 1922 act in the session beginning early in 1977. All participants at Turnhalle, SWAPO and other groups and the United Nations strongly maintain that Walvis Bay is part of Namibia. (*Namib Times*, Oct. 29, 1976).



Sean MacBride - not another year.

MORE MANEUVERS

A document circulating at UN headquarters in New York tells of a US Agency for International Development project aiming to study on a crash basis the establishment

Zimbabwe

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

The Geneva Conference on Rhodesia, put together after Ian Smith ceded to the so-called Kissinger plan for a "peaceful settlement" in Zimbabwe, got under way on October 28th, and almost immediately bogged down in its own seemingly unresolvable contradictions.

Smith and his delegation arrived in Geneva asserting that the six points of the Kissinger plan were absolutely non-negotiable. Smith's Foreign Minister, F.M. Van der Byl declared, "We are here in Geneva in terms of the set of proposals submitted to us on behalf of the American government by Dr. Kissinger in Pretoria. We are not here to discuss or negotiate on them, but to implement them and merely discuss how these proposals are to be complied with." Only "minor points of very small details," Van der Byl allowed, "were negotiable." (*Washington Post*, October 25, 1976)

Smith's intransigence and the statements he and his delegation have made concerning the Zimbabwean representatives give clear support to the "concern" in both London and Washington that Smith's major objective at the conference is to maneuver himself into a position to blame the breakdown of the conference on the black nationalists. Evidence for this interpretation of Smith's purposes in Geneva came in a confidential press briefing by a senior official of the Smith regime, who claimed Kissinger had promised Smith that the U.S. would change its attitude towards Rhodesia if black nationalist leaders rejected the Kissinger plan. This same official suggested

of a training program for both Namibia and Zimbabwe to avoid "another Angola": (see US and Southern Africa) The project allegedly has a number of CIA or former CIA operatives involved. The paper states that a major policy decision at the highest levels of the US government is that Sean McBride, UN Commissioner for Namibia, must go, because he is an impediment to US policy. (*African Development*, Nov. 1976).

Commissioner MacBride, in a lengthy report on his office's past year's work, announced that he would not seek reappointment, setting off a flurry of jostling for selection of a successor, second only to the campaigning going on at the world body's headquarters for the election of the next Secretary-General. Mrs. Sean MacBride died at their home in Dublin on November 12.

THE VOYAGE

The Golden Harvest, a 69-foot motor fishing vessel, set sail from Portsmouth, England, on October 27 for a 7,000 miles voyage to Walvis Bay. The long-planned and worked-for peace mission of the young men and women of Operation Namibia is expected to reach the Namibian port by Easter 1977. It sailed with a cargo of 5,000 books for the Namibian people, and its two woman, six man crew will pick up other volumes as the Golden Harvest makes stops at major ports along the West coast of Africa. Half the books are banned by the South African occupation authority. SWAPO official Daniel Tjongarero in Windhoek said: "If they are seized by customs, we will work from inside Namibia to get them released. Certainly we need them." ■

that such a change might include U.S. support for the ending of sanctions and for the provision of "logistical support" through intermediary countries for the Rhodesian army. Despite requests by African leaders for urgent clarification, there has been no move by the State Department to deny this report of a deal. (*Observer*, London, October 17, 1976)

The actions and posture of the Rhodesian regime's delegation in Geneva gave little indication that Smith came to the conference looking for a settlement. From its luxurious headquarters, the white delegation issued a series of "fact papers" attacking ZANU as "communist terrorists," laying the blame for the failure of previous negotiation attempts on "nationalist intransigence," justifying the establishment of so-called "protected villages" for the African population, and giving a very white Rhodesian view of decolonization in Africa. This survey of decolonization concentrates exclusively on coups, civil wars, assassinations, and makes favorable statements only about the Ivory Coast, whose willingness to participate in "dialogue" with South Africa seems to serve as a demonstration of a certain level of civilization for the white Rhodesians. (*Washington Post*, October 27, 1976) Further indication of Smith's intentions vis-a-vis the proceedings in Geneva came with his departure from the Conference on November 3rd, to return to Rhodesia. Declaring that he could not "go on sitting here twiddling my thumbs," Smith's strategy and attitude was made clear in his



Some actors in Geneva: Smith (left), Robert Mugabe



and Ivor Richard.

designation of Van der Byl (who is known even among Rhodesian Whites as a 'hard liner,') as acting head of his delegation and in his vituperative remarks about the African delegates, remarks most strongly directed against Robert Mugabe.

The actual intentions of the Smith government have been clarified in discussions going on in Salisbury as well. Rhodesian ministers are privately encouraging the belief that "responsible" majority rule would not mean one man one vote, but rather some form of qualified franchise which would ensure that power remained in white hands. It is reported that this interpretation of "responsible majority rule" in Zimbabwe is accepted in South Africa. (*Observer*, London, October 17, 1976)

But the strongest statement of the white regime's intentions at Geneva came in the form of a major military aggression against the national territory of Mozambique over the weekend of October 30-31. The Rhodesians attacked Zimbabwean camps and civilian populations in three provinces along the Mozambican border (see Mozambique section) in what they first called "hot pursuit" and later relabelled "preventive actions." The attacks were on a scale equal to the Rhodesian invasion of Mozambique last summer. (*New York Times*, November 7, 1976) Directly following the Rhodesian attack, the five front line presidents emerged from a meeting in Dar es Salaam and issued a statement asserting that guerilla war was the only means by which the Zimbabweans could achieve

independence under majority rule. (*New York Times*, November 7, 1976)

Smith's strategy clearly foresees the refusal of Africans to accept what is essentially the continuation of white power. He and his foreign minister have made it clear that they intend to go forward on the basis of the Kissinger plan, and to find "moderate" Africans, in Smith's words, who will accept the terms as set forth. Smith stated upon his return to Salisbury after abandoning the Geneva talks that his government intended to carry out the Kissinger proposals no matter what happened in Geneva. If no agreement was reached at the conference, he suggested he would set in motion discussions with compliant Blacks in Rhodesia "... within the Kissinger framework," and then, "... seek endorsement from the western nations for these moves to obtain the removal of economic sanctions and an international condemnation of guerrilla terrorism." (*New York Times*, November 6, 1976)

Despite Smith's attempts to foist the failure of the talks onto "nationalist disunity," the four African delegations have taken similar positions on the basic issues. First, each of the four Zimbabwean delegations headed by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, united in a "patriotic front", Bishop Abel Muzorewa, and Ndabaningi Sithole, has publicly rejected the Kissinger plan as the basis for negotiations. Robert Mugabe declared upon arrival in Geneva that his delegation "excludes the Kissinger Plan, about which we were not consulted and which stands completely rejected by us and all the masses of Zimbabwe!" Joshua Nkomo, like Mugabe, declared he had not come to Geneva to negotiate with the white Rhodesian government, but rather to negotiate according to the terms set forth by the five front line African Presidents in Lusaka on September 26th, calling for the immediate establishment of majority transitional government. (*Washington Post*, October 25, 1976) Abel Muzorewa, for his part, asserted that, "If he (Smith) insists on (the Kissinger Plan) we are back at square one. ..." And Sithole counseled that "... the final shape of things will be determined by us, the people of Zimbabwe, and not by Kissinger, or Vorster, or Ian Smith, or the British Government."

Second, all four, along with the five front line presidents, have demanded that Britain "shoulder its responsibilities" as the colonial power concerned, both at the conference and in any transitional government in Zimbabwe. (*Washington Post*, October 23, 1976) Mugabe and

... called for the conference to be chaired by a
... government minister rather than by Ivor Richard, a
... who is Britain's representative at the Whitehead
... And they asserted that Smith should attend the
... only as a member of the British delegation.
... (Washington Post, October 13, 1976)

... all are agreed that the interim government
... last no longer than twelve months. Smith's regime
... for a two-year period of interim rule, while the
... have put forward fifteen months as a compromise.
... this point, an issue which the British has originally
... rather non-controversial and easily resolved, that
... conference is at present bogged down.

... Mugabe and Nkomo have put forward their own plan
... which calls for the following: (1) an interim period of no
... than twelve months; (2) a Council of Ministers
... is at least 80% African; (3) African control of the
... of defence and police; and (4) the presence of a
... "resident commissioner" during the transition
... who would hold residual powers and supervise the
... to independence as the representative of the
... power. (Observer London, October 24, 1976)

... Mugabe further asserted that he would have no part of
... Kissinger's purported two billion dollar buy-off. "To us, it
... as if its purpose is to bind Zimbabwe politically and
... economically, and it therefore could compromise our
... independence. (New York Times, November 5, 1976)

... At a press conference in Maputo, (Zimbabwe's Wachungura,
... Deputy Political Commissar of ZIPA, gave the viewpoint
... of the Zimbabwe People's Army: "We reject Kissinger's
... vicious scheme which is aimed at sabotaging the Zim-
... babwean struggle and preserving Western interests there.
... Under no circumstances are we prepared to share power
... with racists and fascists. We are determined to wage a
... resolute armed struggle until final victory." (Star, Johan-
... nesburg, October 2, 1976)

Kissinger on the sidelines

Kissinger has thus far resisted soiling his reputation by participating in the Geneva happenings, sending instead his Undersecretary of State for African Affairs, William Schaufele. Spokesmen in Washington said that Kissinger thinks it would be "highly inappropriate" for him to go to Geneva to "... get involved in arguments with black nationalist leaders who reject his plan as a basis for a Rhodesian settlement." (Washington Post, October 26, 1976) Dr. Kissinger's plan seems to involve staying one step ahead of the game, by issuing statements covering all possibilities, thus his self-characterization as "cautiously optimistic," and by providing little specific information, exemplified by his report to Ford that "... the breakthrough has basically occurred," and "... the situation is essentially on track." (Star, Johannesburg, October 11, 1976) Each time the collapse of his scheme seems imminent, spokesmen for Kissinger assert that Dr. Kissinger knew this would happen and has already taken it into account in planning future moves. Thus, before the talks in Geneva opened, State Department officials said that they expected an "impasse" to develop and that the Secretary would then resume his shuttle diplomacy (New York Times, November 7, 1976) In short, all bases are covered.

The details of the Kissinger proposals remain shrouded in mystery. Questions have been raised about what precisely Kissinger told Smith, what he told Nyerere and Kaunda and what he then told Smith he had told Nyerere and Kaunda. There are questions about the reported compensation fund and about what was promised Smith in return for his agreement to the plan. What does seem clear is that Kissinger made Smith an offer he could not refuse, employing both "the carrot and the stick." (Star, Johannesburg, October 2, 1976) This offer included, at least, a promise that sanctions would be lifted on an economy which is facing its greatest period of uncertainty.



The real decision-makers—Zimbabwe guerrillas in anti-aircraft training (Continued)

since the illegal declaration of UDI, and that the railway "bottlenecks" jamming transport of Rhodesian goods through South Africa would miraculously clear up. And, as the *Star* points out, a free flow of international capital, particularly "soft" development loans from the U.S., would hardly be unwelcome to the Rhodesians.

It is believed that Kissinger, consistent with his policies in other parts of the world, such as Chile, favors a military government in Rhodesia to "maintain order" until a civilian group emerges that can take over this function, and that this was one of the proposals Kissinger made to Vorster during their talks in Pretoria (*Star* Johannesburg, September 26, 1976).

Meanwhile, the small matter of who is to foot the cost of the Kissinger plan has surfaced occasionally. It is reported that Kissinger offered Rhodesian whites \$1½ to 2 billion to ease the transition pains, the money supposedly to come from the U.S. and Britain. But in the US, such a financial deal did not receive entirely favorable marks. The *Wall Street Journal* demanded a full national debate before Kissinger involved the U.S. in another conflict such as Angola. And in Britain, with the pound sinking to new historical lows, sharp cutbacks in domestic spending might contrast a bit too vividly with any substantial compensation to white Rhodesians. The Ford administration is therefore asking other western European nations, (basically West Germany,) and South Africa, to come through with a substantial portion of the money. (*Washington Post* October 9, 1976) In addition, Australia has apparently been giving sympathetic consideration to informal approaches by the British Government to contribute about R 800,000 to the fund. (*Star*, Johannesburg, October 9, 1976)

THE MILITARY SITUATION

Guerrilla strength in the country is now estimated by the Smith government at 3,000. Until recently, guerrillas were crossing into Rhodesia from Mozambique in groups of 40 to 50 and then breaking into groups of 9 to 11. According to Rhodesian military officers, the militants are now penetrating in strengths of 90 to 100. (*Washington Post*, November 1, 1976)

The Geneva Conference, coinciding as it does with the beginning of the rainy season in Zimbabwe, has been paralleled by a step up in guerrilla activities. On October 6, the Matetsi River Rail Bridge, about 47 kilometers from Victoria Falls, was blown up and 11 wagons of goods were thrown into the river. The train was believed to have been carrying minerals. (*Star*, Johannesburg, October 9, 1976) Over the weekend of October 16-17, Rhodesian sources reported a rocket and mortar attack on tea and coffee plantations in southeast Rhodesia (*Washington Post*, October 19, 1976)

One level of white Rhodesian reaction to increasing guerrilla activity is reflected in this account by a middle-aged business executive in the Honde Valley: "We had an absolutely super 'rev' (encounter with the guerrillas) the other day. A 'stick' (detachment) of security boys went over the hills in their choppers to clobber the terts (terrorists). One pilot came back and said three nil. Then another went over—six nil. It was better than watching Wimbledon." (*Times*, London, May 28, 1976)

On another level, however, the "fun" appears to stop after a while. This is reflected in the ever increasing white emigration figures. In August 1976 alone, 910 whites left Rhodesia, making the total for the first eight months of 1976, 4,030. (*Star* Johannesburg, October 2, 1976) More-



For white Rhodesians the gun is always at hand.

over, the emphasis and attention paid to the year old "Rhodesian Women's Service," the women's army branch now numbering 250 members, gives further indication of the growing desperation of the illegal white regime. While male superiority must be maintained (women have no rank or formal status, are referred to simply as "women members"—unlike their Air Force counterparts, who are known as the Blue Birds), the need for a substantial and organized women's force within the military reflects white Rhodesian's shortage of committed military personnel. (*Star*, Johannesburg, September 25, 1976)

Probably the greatest dilemma the regime faces with regard to its fighting force is similar to the dilemma the U.S. faced in Vietnam: the "hearts and minds of its soldiers." In a letter to the *Star* a Rhodesian "territorial," a part-time soldier from Salisbury, wonders if it is worth doing his next stint in the bush. "I don't want to lose my life or perhaps spend it in a wheelchair only to see the leaders of this country sitting round a table with the terrorists," he wrote. (*Star*, Johannesburg, October 2, 1976)

Meanwhile evidence continues to accumulate of continued western military aid breaking the sanctions barrier. It has been revealed that radio equipment manufactured by a British firm, Racial Electronics, was used in the summer raid on two refugee camps, a raid in which at least 800 people were massacred. Other Rhodesian weapons captured recently by Mozambican troops defending their country include British made Buccaneer aircraft supplied to Rhodesia by South Africa. (*Anti Apartheid News*)

THE ECONOMY

According to the London *Observer* (October 17) there has been a considerable strengthening of opinion in Rhodesia's business community favoring the swift transfer of power to a moderate African nationalist government as the "best guarantor of stability." The *Observer* points out that while three of the five major sectors of the economy, i.e. mining, manufacture, and commercial companies, have favored a quick settlement for some time, the farmers and tobacco growers have, in the weeks since Smith's September statement, begun to swing around to the same view. "80 percent acceptance and 20 percent fright," is the way one conservative Salisbury businessman described the atmosphere among whites. The Smith version of the Kissinger plan holds out guarantees for continued white

control, while at the same time offering hope to an economy whose future prior to the Kissinger shuttle seemed bleak. According to the *Star*, foreign exchange is desperately short, new investment low, and manufacturing production is down 9 percent in the first six months of 1976. Black unemployment increased by 7,000 in the same period, with inflation registering at about 10.6 percent annually (*Star*, Johannesburg, October 2, 1976) and indeed, both inside and outside Rhodesia, Smith's settlement immediately generated an excited spurt of economic activity. Prices on houses and estates abandoned or being abandoned by the white exodus, went up. Rhodesian related shares and Rhodesian government stocks quoted in London moved strongly ahead; government bonds jumped by 25 percent. Rumors of an impending devaluation of the Rhodesian dollar generated additional interest (These rumors were squashed later by Rhodesian officials.)

After the initial readiness to pour fresh funds into southern Africa, interest curbed and a "wait-and-see" attitude took hold. New York investors advised Johannesburg stockbrokers that "... there could be no rush to buy." The reversal of the initial surge has been laid at the doorstep of the front line presidents' statement from Lusaka about the Kissinger plan. What seems clear, however, is that the uncertainty with regard to what it means for South African stockholders is a major question. While a resolution to the Rhodesia problem along the lines set forth by Kissinger would mean probably an even greater volume of economic activity in Rhodesia for South Africa, at the same time, as a leading stockholder firm in London pointed out, "A Rhodesian settlement would of course, bring closer the day of reckoning in South Africa, which poses a question for holders of South African shares." ■

A Luta Continua

Angola

Extract from a speech by President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola at the Second National Conference of UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers), quoted from VITÓRIA CERTA, 23 October, 1976:

"... We have as yet many duties before we can achieve a genuine national independence. Can we say that we are completely independent while it is Cabinda Gulf Oil that exploits the petrol of Cabinda? Obviously not. We have achieved genuine political independence but not genuine economic independence: that will be achieved only when in Angola, from Cabinda to the Cunene, there is not a single foreign monopoly exploiting our riches.

"Can we solve this problem by a decree? Can we resolve it with a furious editorial saying that the bosses shall not fatten on the sweat of the workers? Obviously not. Cabinda petrol is extracted by an advanced technology. Do we have this technology? No! Do the countries which are our friends, and help us most, have this technology? No again. Very well, then what shall we do? What we are doing now: telling Gulf Oil that the People's Republic of Angola does not recognise the contracts which Gulf Oil made with the Portuguese colonialists; that these contracts were signed without the knowledge of the Angolan people; and that for the future we are drawing up new contracts which will be contracts on behalf of Gulf Oil and the Angolan people.

"According to these contracts, Gulf Oil commits itself to produce the same as it produced before. And when we have Gulf Oil here, will it be making money in Angola? It will. Will it be fattening on the sweat of our workers and on our riches? Yes, it will. Can we reject this situation. Clearly, no.

"All these are unfavourable conditions for the Angolan people. But we could not avoid this situation without new difficulties for our workers and for our people in general. If we stopped the production of petrol we should impose unnecessary privations on our



President Neto

people. And is Gulf Oil going to exploit our riches for a lifetime? Clearly, not. We are not going to compromise our future. We are making a temporary agreement. For we have no other way. If Gulf Oil meets its obligations, if it produces what it produced during the time when Angola was occupied by the Portuguese colonialists, we shall allow Gulf Oil to continue its work.

"But if Gulf Oil doesn't want to produce, if it starts to sabotage production, what shall we do? Then the remedy will be to sign another contract with another company that does the same work. And I don't think this would be very difficult.

"This is an example that is valid for a variety of enterprises, a variety of companies, which are now working here in Angola, some of which continue to exploit our country.

"We do not wish to deceive anybody. We do not wish to deceive the foreign capitalist monopolies by concealing that we mean to follow the road of socialization of our means of production, of our finances, or our trade, or our service activities, of everything that we can socialize, and as rapidly as possible. . . ." ■

Mozambique

RHODESIAN TROOPS INVADE MOZAMBIQUE

(AN) October 31st marked the beginning of the largest Rhodesian invasion of Mozambique to date. Rhodesian forces penetrated deep into Tete and Gaza provinces in widely separated but coordinated actions. The Rhodesians moved with armoured cars, tanks, cavalry, artillery, and aircraft, using both white and black troops. Mozambique government sources said black Rhodesian soldiers masqueraded in bits and pieces of Mozambican army uniforms and that Rhodesian vehicles carried forged licence plates like those of the Mozambican army. The invaders were also said to include Portuguese speaking troops. Many Portuguese fled to Rhodesia when Mozambique became independent and some of them are known to be openly engaged in activity whose goal is to subvert the current Mozambique government.

At first Rhodesia disclaimed any invasion, admitting only a series of hot pursuit raids against Zimbabwe guerrillas. However, after international attention on such 'raids' and reports that the bulk of the casualties during the week's fighting were Mozambican (early Mozambican estimates toll civilian deaths as high as 200), Rhodesia labelled its attacks inside Mozambique "pre-emptive strikes."

In Tete province, the attacks followed five separate routes, with Mozambican soldiers temporarily pinning down the invaders and blocking their escape route to Rhodesia. By November 7, however, the Rhodesian forces in Tete had been routed back across the border into Rhodesia. Mozambican forces suffered heavy losses in the intense fighting in Tete. Rhodesian losses are not known.

In Gaza province, the fighting had ended by November 2 but civilians suffered heavy losses. The railway was cut

near Mapai and a train and the Mapai station, filled with people waiting for the train, were attacked. Radio Maputo reported 18 civilians killed and about 30 wounded in that attack. The stationmaster said Rhodesian troops raked the station and surrounding buildings and houses with machinegun fire, set fires inside some of the buildings, and heavily damaged four railway cars. Hospital sources said many of the injuries in Gaza province were shrapnel wounds from hand grenades.

On November 3, Rhodesian forces attempted to invade Sofala province at Machipanda but were turned back at the border.

Mapai, the site of the railway attack, is an economic crossroads in that part of Gaza province. It was largely destroyed in a late June invasion by Rhodesian troops. (See *Southern Africa*, September 1976)

The Smith government in Rhodesia claims the Mozambique action resulted in the capture of large quantities of weapons, thus preventing a major guerrilla offensive inside Rhodesia during the year's end rainy season. Mozambican sources say that Rhodesian forces did reach some small transit camps used by Zimbabwe guerrillas but that there are no large training camps anywhere near the area penetrated. They say there are two Zimbabwe training camps inside Mozambique but that they are far from the border. Most of the military training for Zimbabwe is said to be carried out at bases in Tanzania. Furthermore, they say, the Rhodesians will not have found many weapons since those brought in for the rainy season offensive were long ago transported inside Rhodesia.

The main goal of the invasion, from Mozambique's point of view, was to attack Mozambique, in an attempt to internationalize the struggle and lure outside military support for the dying white regime in Rhodesia. Radio Maputo called the aggression "a reflection of the desperation of the Rhodesia Front terrorists in their bid to try and internationalize the Zimbabwean conflict." The radio



At Mapai—Rhodesian attack on train kills many Mozambicans.

report-continued, "Because the fascist terrorist forces have suffered military losses at the hands of the Zimbabwe People's army, ZIPA, they have now resorted to cowardly terror activities against the innocent masses of Zimbabwe and Mozambique."

Rhodesian sources admit that there was increased fighting inside Rhodesia in October. Some interpreters see the invasion as Smith placating his right wing, opposed to majority rule and his participation in the Geneva talks.

MOZAMBIQUE: NEWS BRIEFS

The final resolutions of the provincial seminar of the Organization of Mozambican Women in Sofala have been available since September 7 of this year. The resolutions noted the weak participation of women in national reconstruction as well as the continued existence of prostitution. They also stressed the shortcomings of workers in the state housing and rent administration. Possible solutions to the addressed problems were mapped out.

The final communique in response to the Rhodesian invasion last summer was issued early in September 1976 by Manica province. The communique is the "collection of thoughts" synthesized from the meeting of party, people's forces, and government structures of Manica province held from August 28 to September 1. The meeting was presided over by Governor Jose Moiane.

It was stressed that the low morale of the people and general inexperience and apathy of some officials enabled the enemy to be successful. In order to alleviate these areas of weakness, it was recommended that the vigilance of the masses be more fully developed so that the enemy might be clearly and correctly identified; that there be an increased concentration on building the people's militias; that greater interaction among the people in the village communes be promoted; and that a seminar by the Department of Information and Propaganda be organized to promote its activity in the province. (untitled source, September 9, 1976)

In order to better identify and internalize Frelimo principles, the Department of Information and Propaganda created the comic strip character Xiconhoca (pronounced Shikonyoka). Those who are racist, tribalist, undisciplined, or display public drunkenness, and those who gossip or exploit others are all examples of Xiconhoca(s).

Weekly publication of comic strips denoting different themes will appear in Mozambique's newspapers and magazines. Copies of the current message will also appear in all the Jornais do Povo—or "wall" newspapers. (*Tanzania Daily News*, Dar Es Salaam, August 28, 1976).

On August 16 of this year, the second phase of Mozambican repatriation from Tanzania began. It involves the relocation of 15,200 women, men and children. The first phase involved over 21,000 Mozambicans and began in October, 1975.

Repatriation programs are usually carried out during the dry season to enable the people to prepare farms in Mozambique for cultivation in the rainy season.

Some people were interviewed for an article published in the September 7, 1976 *Tanzania Daily News*. Some feelings of regret were expressed because those Mozambicans in Tanzania did not know how they would be received when they returned home. In Tanzania they had

found warm hospitality and were given food and shelter. Many had planned to stay. They are now leaving their close friends and co-workers but feel honored to be able to participate in the reconstruction of their own country.

Different settlements developed in Tanzania during the war as a result of the mass exodus of Mozambicans. One in particular—the Mputa settlement—had a population of 9,100. It was well known for its high production of tobacco. In 1975, over 1.5 million dollars worth of the tobacco was sold. This year, 2.5 million dollars is expected. Other crops—beans, maize, cassava, and peas—brought in about 1.5 million dollars as of late August this year.

In order for production to continue the Tanzanian government is helping to move nationals into Mozambique, as those who desire to do so, leave Tanzania.

Guinea-Bissau

"AGRICULTURE TODAY; AGRICULTURE TOMORROW"

The following is another in the series of reports that a member of our collective, Stephanie Urdang, has written for Southern Africa on her recent visit to Guinea-Bissau.

Guinea-Bissau is an extremely fertile country. If you look at a map you will see how the rivers open wide into the sea and criss-cross through most of the country. With heavy and continuous rains for the four months of the rainy season, water is not a scarce commodity as it is to the north, and the soil is rich. Potentially the country is in a rather unique situation in Africa, for not only will it be able to be totally self-sufficient for its food, but it will also be able to export agricultural products. Hence, precious foreign exchange will not need to be spent on basic foods, but will be increased through exportation.

The staple product is rice. It has been grown for centuries and has formed the basis of the subsistence farming of the peasant. Rice could not provide the Portuguese colonialists with the kind of profits they desired, so the production of peanut crops was imposed on the peasant economy. Unlike the large plantations for coffee and cotton that were established in Angola and Mozambique with forced labor, in Guinea-Bissau the colonialists made the peasants grow peanuts on their own land to the serious detriment of the rice production. They had no choice but to sell their peanuts to Portuguese traders in order to pay the heavy taxes imposed by the colonial regime. Little money was left for the essential foods they now had to buy because of the disruption of their subsistence farming due to the production of peanuts. By the beginning of the armed struggle, the export of peanuts amounted to 23 per cent of the GNP of the colonial government in Bissau.

Disruption of agricultural production occurred again with the beginning of the war in 1963. Peasants left their villages to live in the forests in order to escape the reprisals of the Portuguese army. Once areas were liberated, the villages were re-established in the forests so that they could not be easily detected by the Portuguese bombers. Large areas of land could not be cultivated because of the continual bombing by the Portuguese. Despite this, production of rice was developed to the point that peasants were growing sufficient rice for their own needs in the liberated areas, and by 1967 were able



to export a surplus. In contrast, virtually every grain of rice needed to be imported into the Portuguese controlled areas.

During the first year after independence a massive relocation of the population took place, as refugees returned from Senegal and Guinea (Conakry) and the towns, and most noticeably, from the forests to the sites of their villages. Their homes had been so long denied them, that their immediate priority was to rebuild their villages, most of which had become overgrown by trees and bush. Agriculture suffered, and over 75 per cent of the basic food had to be imported. The following year imports were down to 20 per cent of needs and this year it looks as if the country may be self-sufficient. When I visited the countryside at the beginning of the rainy season women and men would be working in the fields from early morning to late afternoon. The rains had come on time and were evenly spread throughout the country. There was much optimism that this year there would be enough basic food for everyone and would not have to be imported.

Many plans are being drawn up and with the help of foreign government and UN agencies, and some are already being put into practice, with the view to expanding agriculture beyond the level of self-sufficiency and into the export market. The People's Republic of China has sent a team of agronomists to study and develop a rice production scheme on the banks of the broad Geba river that will harvest rice twice a year. In keeping with PAIGC principles regarding the importance of agriculture, industrialization projects are being developed in ways that connect organically to progress on the land. The foundations of a juice canning factory, with the help of Dutch aid and technicians, have been laid on the outskirts of Bolama, which will eventually have large fruit plantations attached to it and supply many jobs. The British and Dutch governments are collaborating on funding a large

sugar plantation and refinery which will eventually be set up as a small communal town, complete with all social services, for the 2,500 workers and families who will be employed by the refinery.

Through a decision of the People's National Assembly all land now belongs to the nation which puts it at the disposal of all who are willing to enrich it. Collective farming is the long range goal. This has long been the policy of PAIGC. At a meeting with PAIGC militants in 1971 in Conakry, Amilcar Cabral, founder of the party made this clear:

"Regardless of their responsibilities, comrades everywhere in our organization should help our people to organize collective fields. This is a great experiment for our future, comrades. Those who do not yet understand this have not understood anything of our struggle, however much they have fought and how ever heroic they may have been."

In fact, at this time, the goal has not yet been reached but is still primarily a target. While talking with people in the Commission of Justice, I was told that laws concerning co-operatives are soon to be drafted. There are a number of state cooperatives being run in various parts of the country, but collectivization of production at a village level is still minimal. One of these farm cooperatives was established 20 kilometers from Bafata, in January 1975. A responsible for agriculture in the region described in an article in *No Pintcha*, the Bissau newspaper, how he began to organize it.

"I arranged meetings in the villages, each in turn, to launch the idea that we should cultivate a communal plot. I explained to them what a co-operative is. A list of those interested was drawn up. Soon there were some who saw the advantages of a co-operative and some knew about ones in Senegal where many people had fled during the war. Later many others came in when positive results could be seen".

About 25 small villages have joined the co-operative, where they work on communal land left by Portuguese settlers who returned to Portugal at independence. At the same time, the peasants work their own individual plots. As they begin to see the benefit from their own experience of working collectively, sharing tractors and ploughs and increasing their work, the *responsables* anticipate that the desire to maintain individual plots will fall away.

There are a number of state farms which employ over 100 workers each and are experimenting in the diversification of crops and production methods. One such farm, on the outskirts of Bissau, which is run by the Commission of Agriculture, is now producing far more than its original owner, a PIDE agent who fled the country, was able to do. Another cooperative near Bolama grows coconuts, mainly for export. This plantation was originally owned by Gouveia, one of the two Portuguese companies which monopolized and controlled the economy of Guinea-Bissau. Since independence Gouveia has been nationalized. Far too few workers were hired on the coconut plantation in the colonial period for the work to be done, and the workers were paid the usual minimal wages. Now the co-operative is worked by soldiers from FARP, the national army. Every three months, a new group of 80 FARP workers comes to the co-operative. As well as working on the land and being trained in agricultural work, they spend a number of hours each day studying in a literacy program that has been organized for all members of FARP throughout the country. Ultimately 60 workers will be needed for the co-operative, but at present there is not enough money for wages. The work the soldiers do on the land enables the fulfilment of a PAIGC principle that all members of FARP work part-time on the land and understand the importance of agriculture for the country as a whole.

The major obstacles to agricultural improvement lie in

the lack of communication and transportation, and in the shortage of trained cadres. There is a dearth of vehicles, of smooth running boats for the rivers and of adequate roads. The roads were originally built by the Portuguese with forced labor and by the end of the war they were in a state of total disrepair, aggravated by the mines that had been laid. Even if they were in better condition, they are inadequate for the needs of the country. Wherever I travelled I drove over re-surfaced roads and saw tractors and other road-building equipment in use. However, as the rainy season approached, I realized, that despite the small size of the country, many areas would be totally cut off as the roads were turned into muddy swamps and rivers by the heavy rains. Cadres told me that one or two areas had supplies of rice from the previous harvest which they had been unable to transport out due to the lack of vehicles.

The lack of cadres is a severe one. Of the students sent abroad for study during the armed struggle—and since—the majority have been agronomists. But with independence, suddenly PAIGC and the new government were confronted with the need for a large number of cadres to do work not necessary during the war. So now there are agronomists who are ambassadors, who work in international affairs out of the President's office or fill other positions that urgently needed filling.

"It is agriculture today, agriculture tomorrow and still agriculture even later", said Amilcar Cabral when talking about Guinea-Bissau. It is emphasized as the priority of the government and the people of the country. One of the fundamental objectives is to develop and modernize agriculture as a first step to overcoming the economic difficulties. It is not something that can be hurried, but it seemed to me that the direction is clear and in keeping with the progressive ideology of PAIGC as the country develops along a socialist path. ■

U.S. and Southern Africa

WILL CARTER MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

During the Nixon/Ford Administration, opposition to US policy toward southern Africa often focused on the person of Secretary Kissinger. It was Kissinger who ordered NSSM 39 in 1969, recommended a "dialogue" and collaboration policy with South Africa in 1970, made little effort to repeal the Byrd Amendment, defended CIA intervention in Angola, and initiated a major US effort to influence the transition to black rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Therefore, many people are asking whether we should expect a big change when Kissinger leaves the State Department and Carter enters the White House.

During the campaign, foreign policy was a fairly widely discussed issue, but southern Africa was not. One of Carter's main political attacks was against Kissinger's "Lone Ranger" approach. But, in regard to southern Africa at least, his criticism was confined to the style of US policy, not the substance.

Carter said several times during the campaign that he supports Kissinger's southern Africa shuttle diplomacy. The September 26 *London Observer* reported that Kissinger presented Ian Smith with a letter from Carter indicating his support for the negotiations and promising Smith that he couldn't expect different treatment under a new Administration. Carter's campaign staff acknowledged that Carter did not want to jeopardize Kissinger's chances

of success in bringing Smith and some Zimbabwean leaders to an agreement. Carter has said nothing about any other aspects of policy toward Rhodesia and Namibia, such as implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia or UN resolutions on Namibia.

Since Carter will replace Kissinger in January, it might appear at first glance that the western role in the negotiations would de-escalate while Carter appoints a new foreign policy team. But Kissinger's efforts to find a Zimbabwean nationalist who would agree with Smith on terms acceptable to the west met with no success through the first week of talks in Geneva, so a lull in US involvement for the next few months might make little difference. Also, many of the middle-level officers in the Department of State's Office of Southern African Affairs will probably keep their positions during at least the early part of the Carter Administration. A number of them, including the office director, Frank Wisner, were moved into the southern Africa office by Kissinger coincident with his fall shuttle diplomacy, despite the fact that they have little background in African affairs. (*Africa News*, Oct. 25)

Carter's campaign talk on South Africa did differ from Ford's on one point: Carter said that he supports majority rule in South Africa, while Ford steadfastly refused to do



Carter—little change in sight.

so. Carter has suggested that the "race relations" experience in the US south could be a helpful model to South Africa. Specifically, in a press conference in Plains, Georgia, at the end of July, he said that "heavy investments ... in industrial opportunities and banking" in South Africa could be a "possible mechanism that we might use jointly with government" to bring about change.

Carter's comments on South Africa, as well as his earlier opposition to CIA intervention in Angola, reflect significant influence from Congressman Andrew Young, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, and an early Carter supporter. Young shares Carter's southern civil rights background and his view that businesses were a progressive force in desegregating the US south and might be a progressive force in southern Africa. At the same time, however, the Democratic platform called for the US government to deny "tax advantages to all corporations doing business in South Africa and Rhodesia who support or participate in apartheid practices and policies" and to all companies operating in Namibia and paying taxes to the South African government. How these two policy approaches will merge remains unclear.

Discussion of the role of US business in South Africa will probably be a bigger issue in the Congress and the Executive branch in 1977. Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the subcommittee on African Affairs, held hearings on the topic in September and has mailed out a questionnaire to US companies operating in South Africa. He also visited southern Africa in November, and will probably decide what strategy to pursue as Committee chairman in the new session of Congress on his return.

In the House of Representatives, the International Relations Committee may re-institute some of the regional subcommittees which were dropped two years ago. If this happens, there will probably be a new Subcommittee on Middle Eastern and African Affairs chaired by New York Congressman Jonathan Bingham. Congressman

Charles Diggs, who chaired the Subcommittee on African Affairs before it was dissolved, will probably be in line to chair the Subcommittee on International Operations, which controls the State Department budget. Committee assignments will probably be made at a December 5 meeting of the House Democratic Caucus.

US COMPANIES VIOLATE ARMS EMBARGO

The *New Haven Advocate* reported on October 20 that two Connecticut companies—Olin-Winchester Corporations and Colt Industries—have shipped hundreds of thousands of dollars of munitions to South Africa over the last several years in violation of the arms embargo against that country. Walter Plowman, an export manager at Colt Industries, is serving one year in prison for his role in the South African gun-running, and is the first person to have ever been indicted under the Mutual Security Act which makes munitions sales to certain countries, including South Africa, illegal. A federal grand jury is currently investigating at least these two companies, and perhaps some other Connecticut companies as well.

The guns shipped from Olin-Winchester since 1971 were trans-shipped to South Africa via Greece, Zambia, Botswana and the Canary Islands. Three international sales employees, George Rahing, Joseph Brenner and J. Ronald Hayden, were terminated from the company for the illegal gun-running.

Marcia Biederman, author of the *Advocate* article and a former employee at Olin-Winchester's International Sales Division, raises questions about where the responsibility for the illegal gun sales actually lies. She reported that the company's President, George Chandler, called a meeting of all employees of the foreign sales division in February, 1976, to tell them that the three employees had been terminated because they knew the sales they had been involved in were illegal. Biederman claims, however, that the sales were common knowledge within the department.

Evidence suggests that the State Department's Office of Munitions Control may have acquiesced to the Colt dealings. Walter Plowman's attorney, Albert McGrath, said as much in Plowman's pre-trial hearing, although the article does not specify what evidence he gave for the claim. It does quote the US Judge's concern about the charge, however. Judge Robert Zampano reluctantly accepted Plowman's guilty plea, and said:

"If you were just one small cog in a massive wheel that was turning to insure that guns were being shipped to South Africa, and, even more so, if the Government was looking the other way and actually wanted these guns shipped, it is troublesome to me that you are taking, so to speak, the whole rap. Particularly when you indicate that others in the business are doing it without being prosecuted."

KISSINGER'S ZIMBABWE PLAN IN TROUBLE

In September, Kissinger's proposal for a negotiated transition to black rule in Zimbabwe went into high gear, leading to a six-point plan for an interim government and economic guarantees, laid out by Ian Smith on September 24. In October and November political commentators in the US press maintained that the Kissinger diplomacy was a positive development in US-southern African relations and a good achievement to hand over to the new Carter Administration.

But, in fact, the plan has fared badly.

US strategists decided after their debate in Angola

that the US should take the initiative to formulate a transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe. The US saw that the Rhodesian regime could not survive with the Portuguese empire defeated and South Africa becoming less able or willing to be Rhodesia's prime political backer, economic lifeline, and military supplier. The key to the US strategy, then, was to convince Smith to give up his power, and to find an African nationalist to replace him on terms acceptable to the west. Convincing Smith was not too difficult, when the US and South Africa formed a united front to tell him that he was losing the war against the Zimbabwe Peoples Army (ZIPA), and that he could no longer count on their backing if he insisted on indefinite white rule.

But finding a Zimbabwean nationalist to agree to the plan has so far proved much more difficult than the US probably expected. During Kissinger's September shuttle, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* began running front-page profiles of likely candidates. First they focused on Joshua Nkomo as the most moderate and popular leader likely to make a settlement with Smith. When Nkomo returned to Rhodesia after a lengthy diplomatic trip, the *Post* called his welcome from only 1200 people "tumultuous". Then the US press turned their attention to Bishop Muzorewa in early October, when he was greeted in Rhodesia by an organized crowd estimated to number 100,000. They claimed that he had the most support from Africans inside the country, and that he was the key person to watch in the negotiations. The emphasis on Muzorewa continued after the October 10 announcement that Nkomo had formed a "patriotic front" for the October 28 Geneva talks with Robert Mugabe, the Secretary General of ZANU and probably the political leader closest to the ZIPA army.

During the first ten days of the talks in Geneva—ten days which British chairman Ivor Richards said would be crucial to the outcome—all the nationalists united to demand independence by September, 1977. Smith left the conference after rejecting a British compromise date of March 1, 1978. The talks appeared to be a virtual standstill, despite the unexpected intervention of William Schaufele, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who had accompanied Kissinger in September.

Zimbabwean leaders have unanimously rejected the Kissinger plan, but the US appears to believe that at least one of them can be convinced to accept it eventually, and continues to make plans on that basis. An October 5 meeting in New York between Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs William Rogers and 20 US corporations, chaired by New York Senator Javits, focused on increasing US investment in Rhodesia as soon as a transitional government is in place and sanctions are lifted. The corporations present included Chase Manhattan Bank, 3M Company, Citibank, Union Carbide and Mobil Oil, not all of them newcomers to the Rhodesian scene, despite sanctions. E. F. Andrews of Allegheny Ludlum Industries was chosen by his colleagues at the meeting as the business liaison with the State Department on Rhodesia. Andrews is already well-known for his involvement in policy-making toward Rhodesia, since he orchestrated corporate lobbying for retention of the Byrd Amendment in Congress so Rhodesian minerals could continue to be imported into the US.

An AID study contracted to the African American Scholars Council is also going forward, although not without difficulties. (see *Southern Africa*, November, 1976) In September, Walton Johnson, the sole black



Kissinger—still playing the artful dodger.

administrator on the project, resigned his post, at least in part over the limited role blacks are playing in the study. On October 15, the project prepared a preliminary paper with recommendations for AID on aid "during the transition period" in Zimbabwe. The paper was written almost entirely by the staff, since many of the consultants did not finish their papers on time. The preliminary paper on Namibia was to be finished by November 15 with the final paper due on January 1st. All the project papers are classified, but the main political consultant, Robert Rotberg, published a column in the October 29 *New York Times* indicating something of his analysis for AID. He claimed that African disunity is the main obstacle to a settlement and concluded:

"The problem in Geneva is now to arrange a settlement that will bring about a true transitional regime without the overhanging threat of civil war. To do so may mean major concessions by whites, and even by some of the African groups, and the contriving of externally funded and supported institutional arrangements capable of minimizing or eliminating inter-ethnic conflict."

The US is also apparently going ahead with plans to guarantee an end to the war in Zimbabwe by defending an interim government. The November 5 *Washington Post* reported that one of the purposes of Schaufele's trip to Geneva is to consult with the British about a possible peace-keeping force during the transitional period. The October 31 *New York Times* quoted British sources as saying that such a force could include troops from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ghana and Nigeria. *Africa News* also reported on October 25 that a classified study prepared recently by the State Department, CIA, Pentagon and other departments lays out several military options in regard to Rhodesia. Frank Wisner, director of the State Department's Office of Southern African Affairs, says that a western military role has not been

ruled out, and that "it is our strong wish that once an interim government is in office—which would include a chief minister who is an African— . . . the warfare which has been so current in the area would taper off."

Now with respect to the fund, the fund we are discussing is not designed to buy out the white population. The fund is more designed to enable the white population to stay by developing the Rhodesian economy, and only as its second function is a sort of insurance scheme for those who want relief. The fewer people, of course, the less has to be paid out of this fund for the purpose of the settlers.

Secretary Kissinger, Interview, Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, October 2, 1976.

Mr. Greenberg: Would you be in favor of majority rule in South Africa?

Secretary Kissinger: Yes, I am in favor of the principle of majority rule in South Africa, but I think one also has to understand that the situation in South Africa is infinitely more complicated than it is in Rhodesia, in the sense that the settlers have been there for hundreds of years and that a system has developed that is repugnant to us but that it will take some time to change.

Secretary Kissinger, Interview, Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, October 2, 1976

update

SOUTH AFRICA TARGETS STUDENT, TRADE UNION LEADERS

A major South African government campaign against the black trade union movement resulted last month in the banning of thirteen trade union leaders, eight of whom were associated with the Trade Union Advisory Coordinating Committee of the Durban-Pietermaritzburg area.

Five other labor leaders who were served also with five-year banning orders represented the Metal and Allied Workers Union and the Johannesburg-based Urban Training Project.

The thirteen persons targeted in the South African action represent organizations with a total of roughly 60,000 members in the country's three industrial centers—most of them workers who joined unions in the wake of the massive 1973 Durban strikes.

A black student boycott of year-end examinations, has proven extremely effective despite police efforts to keep schools operating normally. Scores of student leaders have been arrested for questioning, and reportedly more than a thousand youths have fled the township—a development that led the black newspaper *The World* to comment recently that a "whole generation is missing" from the streets of Soweto.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has confirmed that there are upwards of 700 South African student refugees in nearby states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. These states have appealed for interna-

tional help in supporting the exile community.

SECURITY COUNCIL PRESSED FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Third World countries at the United Nations pushed through the General Assembly last month the most comprehensive plan of action against South Africa that the world body has ever considered.

Among the ten measures passed by the Assembly were a condemnation of South Africa's relationship with Israel, calls for action against South African apartheid in sport, and the demand for release of South Africa's political prisoners. In addition, the Assembly requested that the Security Council enact a measure outlawing foreign investment in the South African economy, and promulgate a mandatory arms embargo against the white regime.

THOUSANDS FLEE SOUTHERN ANGOLAN FIGHTING

Both Zambian government sources and South African authorities in Namibia report a continuing flow of refugees from Southern Angola into the two neighboring territories. The refugees are apparently fleeing fighting between Angolan government troops and guerrillas of the UNITA movement, which is reportedly aided by South African troops stationed in Namibia.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has visited Zambia to assess the situation and supplies are being airlifted in for the refugees, who number in the thousands according to Zambian government sources.

The Angolan government is claiming success in its military campaign to defeat remaining UNITA forces in the southern part of the country. Angola says that the UNITA troops have been receiving training and logistical and material support from South Africa at special bases in northern Namibia—a charge made also by SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement.

UNITA spokesman George Sangumba, however, says his organization is encountering great success in its operations against the MPLA, which he claims have resulted in the deaths of 2500 Angolan soldiers.

MOZAMBIQUE SUFFERS LOSSES IN RHODESIAN ATTACK

The Mozambican government says that Rhodesian forces have killed dozens of Mozambican civilians and destroyed numerous non-military targets in their November incursions across the border.

The two major Rhodesian attacks came in the first week of November. One force struck deep into Tete Province in an effort to locate and destroy guerrilla bases; a second column attacked targets in the southern province of Gaza, including the town of Mapai and its railroad station. A third attack followed roughly a week later, involving the occupation of Rhodesian troops of a border post at Mavue.

The Rhodesians maintain that their raids resulted in the capture of tons of weapons belonging to ZIPA guerrillas, as well as damage to ZIPA facilities that may set back the guerrilla campaign for as much as two months.

Mozambique says there are only two permanent ZIPA facilities in Mozambique, and these were not affected by the attacks. In addition, officials in Maputo told reporters that guerrillas had fled smaller encampments before the Rhodesian invasion force arrived.

SOUTH AFRICA TO REDUCE MOZAMBIQUE GOLD PAYMENTS

Negotiations now underway between Mozambique and South Africa will likely result in a sizeable economic loss for Mozambique.

Under a 1928 agreement inherited from colonial power Portugal, the Mozambique government has had the option of obtaining gold from Pretoria for the customary 60% deferred pay of Mozambicans working in South Africa's gold mines. And since the payment in gold was calculated

at the official price of \$42 an ounce, Mozambique could make a healthy profit reselling the gold at the world market price of \$130 an ounce.

But now, in the wake of pressure from South Africa's mining firms such as Anglo-American, the white regime is attempting to renegotiate the agreement. Mozambique is reportedly prepared to accept lower payments in gold, but will demand bigger recruitment fees.

Some 60,000 Mozambicans now work in the gold mines, compared with over 100,000 last year.

APARTHEID KILLS!

ARTISTS! A CALL FOR POSTERS!

THE ANTI-APARTHEID POSTER SHOW • APRIL 1, 1977

WHY?

The purpose of this competition is to dramatically awaken people to the murder, injustice and oppression which is Apartheid. 18,000,000 black people are starved, exploited and deprived of their human rights in South Africa. Police firing into crowds of demonstrating children have killed scores. We call on artists to respond graphically to this anti-human outrage.

South Africa is the only country in the world since Nazi Germany to write into law racial superiority, from education, industry, and civil affairs to personal relationships.

Anyone who protests the dehumanizing conditions of Apartheid, black or white is detained, banned or silenced, and censorship laws prevent anyone from seeing or producing works of art, poetry, drama, dance which depict an equal society or promote opposition to existing conditions. That is Apartheid!

THEME & SPECIFICATIONS

The posters should include a slogan in clearly legible letters as an integral part of the design. The artists may choose from the following or may originate their own slogans, from elements presented here.

Oppose Racism and Genocide! ... Ban Trade With South Africa!
 How Long Ago Was Hitler? ... How Far Away Is South Africa?
 Apartheid...A Crime Against Humanity! ... Fight Apartheid...Killer of Children
 Fight White Racism In South Africa... Freedom Now!
 Promote Humanity...Protest Apartheid!
 A Racial South Africa Is A Threat To Peace
 Excise The Racial Tumor of Apartheid
 Let Black Africa Breathe!
 It's A Matter Of Life And Dignity
 Fight South African Racism!

Apartheid is Pronounced Apart...Hate!
 Build Brotherhood! Fight Racism and Apartheid
 Segregation, White Supremacy, Apartheid
 All Crimes Against Humanity
 Artists Against Oppression In South Africa
 Black People of South Africa, Fight Back!

Posters should be 20 x 28 inches, on illustration board, watercolor board, canvas board, or cardboard, in any medium such as oil, watercolor gouache, poster paint, casein or acrylic. Photos, photostats, photomontage or collage, alone or in combination with art and type are acceptable. Use as many or as few colors as you like. All work should be mounted with a three-inch border on top and sides and four inches on bottom, making the finished size with border, 26 x 35 if vertical and 27 x 34 if horizontal.

The posters will be exhibited first at the United Nations, after which they will be part of a nationwide travelling exhibition ending a year from the date of the show in May, 1977.

PRIZES

A five hundred dollar grand prize will be awarded plus four additional prizes of two hundred dollars each to college, high school, grade school students, and open category participants. Any profit from the sale of poster reproductions will be divided equally between artists of the posters used and anti-apartheid movements here and abroad.

Prizes provided by The Africa Office of the National Council of Churches

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ENTRY FORM

Please affix one copy, or facsimile, to the back of each entry

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Address

City

State Zip

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 American Committee on Africa
 305 East 46 St., NY, NY 10017 (212) 838-5030

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I would like a literature list.

I would like the ACOA Annual Report and Budget.

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