

CARTON 6:8

STRONG IN THE STRUGGLE

SOUTH AFRICA, ANTI-APARTHEID
AND MOZAMBIQUE

CIRCA 1980-2000

2017/193

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY
POLICY STATEMENT

ONE THING THAT THE WORLDS, CAPITALIST, COMMUNIST, MUSLIM, JEWS, CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, IS AGREED ON, VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUSLY, IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S SYSTEM OF LEGALIZED OPPRESSION, COMMONLY KNOWN AS APARTHEID, IS AN EVIL THING AND A PRESENT THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. FURTHER, THE WORLD IS AGREED THAT SOME ACTION NEEDS TO BE TAKEN. BUT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO THE NATURE OF THE ACTION. AT THE PLACATORY LEVEL, PLACATORY TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICA THAT IS, IS PRESIDENT REGAN'S POSITIVE ENGAGEMENT SOMEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE ARE THE SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES. AT THE MILITANT LEVEL, IS THE DETERMINATION OF THE OAU TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE OPPRESSORS OF THEIR BROTHERS.

SO FAR, REGAN'S HOPE THAT REASON WILL PREVAIL REMAINS UNFULFILLED; ON THE CONTRARY, PERHAPS BECAUSE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA KNOWS THAT THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION IS ON ITS SIDE, CONTINUES TO ESCALATES OPPRESSION AND MURDER OF THE COUNTRY'S MAJORITY, THE AFRICANS.

THE REV. LEON SULLIVAN'S PRINCIPLE HAVE NOT BETTERED THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE OPPRESSED? AND THE OAU AND ITS SUBSIDIARY, THE FRONT-LINE STATES, IS AT THIS TIME IN ANY CASE, CONSTRAINED FROM PHYSICAL WARFARE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT, LEAVING OUT EGYPT, WHITE SOUTH AFRICA COMMANDS MORE MILITARY RESOURCES THAT THE REST OF AFRICA PUT TOGETHER. AND THIS IS WHERE WE, THE CITIZENS OF THE SO-CALLED FREE WORLD, SHOULD BEGIN TO HANG OUR HEADS IN SHAME FOR SOUTH AFRICA HAS REACHED ITS POSITION OF MILITARY STRENGTH BECAUSE OF THE HELP, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY, THAT IT RECEIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES, BRITAN, CANADA, FRANCE, JAPAN, ISRAEL AND WEST GERMANY.

BECAUSE OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE FAILED TO DISENGAGE THEMSELVES FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND DO NOT EVEN SHOW THE SLIGHTEST INDICATION THAT THEY MAY DO SO, EVEN IN THE REMOTE FUTURE (IF THERE IS A FUTURE) IT IS UP TO US, AS ORDINARY CITIZENS, TO SHOW THAT WE DO NOT GO ALONG WITH OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS THAT SEEM TO CONTROL THESE GOVERNMENTS.

DO YOU OR YOUR ORGANIZATION DO BUSINESS WITH BANKS OR OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT DO BUSINESS WITH OR INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA? CONTACT STOP BANKING ON APARTHEID AT THE AFRICA RESOURCE CENTER IN OAKLAND OR THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

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TAKING APART HEID ADAPT

Chris Hani

Chief of Staff,
Umkhonto we Sizwe,
African National Congress

Political Bureau member,
South African Communist Party



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Southern Africa Perspectives

South Africa Fact Sheet

Thirty-three million people live in South Africa today. Only the 4.8 million whites have full rights of citizenship. Because of the color of their skin 28 million Black people have no political power and are subjected to controls which restrict where they can live, work, go to school, be born and be buried. This is the apartheid system.

But that system is under growing pressure to change. By the mid-1980s opposition to apartheid inside South Africa had reached a new level, with boycotts, strikes, massive demonstrations and stayaways sweeping the country. Internationally, pressure on the white minority government was also growing.

In response to growing domestic and international opposition, the government has modified a few existing apartheid laws without eliminating the basic structure of apartheid. This so-called reform program has done nothing to satisfy Black South Africans' demands for majority rule in a united, democratic and nonracial South Africa.

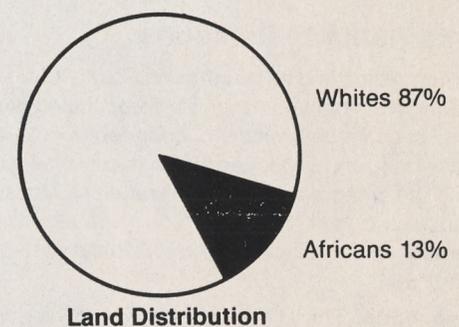
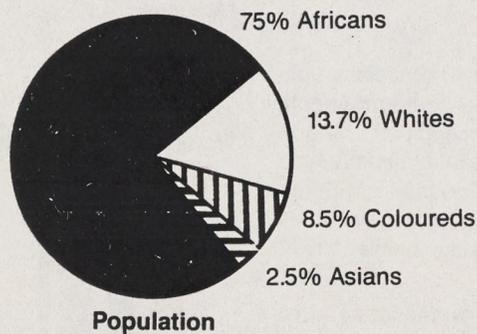
Struggling to reassert total control, the government declared two successive states of emergency in the mid-1980s and unleashed intensive repression seeking to conceal its actions by a media blackout, press censorship and continuing propaganda about change.

This fact sheet is designed to present an accurate picture of the continuing impact apartheid has on the lives of Black people in South Africa.

Population v. Land Distribution, 1985

Under the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, 87% of the country's territory has been reserved for whites, 13% for Africans. Africans can own land only in the bantustans (see below) and in certain designated African townships. Asians and Coloureds must live in segregated areas in the territory reserved for whites.

Africans	25,163,000	75.3%
Whites	4,569,000	13.7%
Coloureds	2,833,000	8.5%
Asians	821,000	2.5%
Total	33,386,000	



(Includes population estimated for Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei)

Apartheid: An Afrikaans word which literally translated means "separateness." A system that enables a small white minority to maintain political, social and economic control of the Black majority and consequently maintain its own wealth, power and privilege.

The Bantustans: Ten fragmented geographical areas designated as "homelands" serve as reservations for Africans. In 1986, 13 million Africans or 52% of the African population lived in the ten bantustans. Four of these areas—Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei—have been artificially declared "independent homelands" by the South African government, although no other country in the world has diplomatically recognized these areas. The Africans that the white government declares citizens of these areas lose their South African citizenship and become bantustan citizens, even if they are physically living in other

parts of South Africa.

Because the bantustans are totally inadequate for even minimal subsistence needs, about 90% of families living there are forced to seek work in white South Africa. But under the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act of 1986 75% of the "citizens" of the independent bantustans—about 7.5 million people—were further stripped of any right to permanent residence in the white areas while only a small portion, under 2 million, may be allowed to reapply for South African citizenship. In 1986, the government was forced to cancel plans for making a fifth bantustan, KwaNdebele, independent after powerful local protests.

The racial divisions used are official South African government categories. The term "Black" includes the African, Coloured and Asian populations.

Forced Removals: Between 1960 and 1983, the South African government removed more than 3,500,000 Blacks from "white areas" to areas designated for Blacks. The government announced an end to this policy in 1985, but the removals have continued. In 1986, new removals were taking place in many areas, including Nyanga, Langa and Brits.

Distribution of Population, 1986:

	Urban	Rural	Bantustans
Africans	25%	23%	52%
Whites	90%	10%	—
Coloureds	77%	23%	—
Asians	93%	7%	—

Government: The South Africa Act of 1909 and the Republic of South Africa Act of 1961 effectively restricted voting for and membership in the governing parliament to whites. The South African Constitution of 1984 established a three chamber parliament with one dominant chamber for whites and chambers for Coloureds and Asians. The election of Coloureds and Asians to the parliament was successfully boycotted by opposition organizations because the new constitution further entrenched the apartheid division of races, ensuring whites a continued monopoly of real power and totally excluding Africans.

Economy

Gross National Product (total value of goods and services), 1985: \$51.17 billion (0.5% growth over 1984 level).

Government Budget: 1986/87 \$16.9 billion (estimate). Military and Police: \$3.3 billion (19%); Health: \$1.3 billion (7%); Education: \$2.7 billion (16%).

Value of Trade: Foreign trade accounted for between 50% and 60% of Gross Domestic Product in 1985. Exports, 1985—\$16 billion, including \$7 billion in gold. Imports, 1985—\$10 billion.

Principal Exports and Imports: Exports—gold, manufactures, minerals, coal, diamonds, agricultural products. Imports—manufactures, machinery, motor vehicles, chemicals, agricultural products, minerals.

Major Trading Partners, 1985: SA imports from/exports to, in billions of dollars—U.S. 1.4/1.35; West Germany 1.7/0.6; Japan 1.0/1.3; UK 1.3/0.95.

International Relations

South Africa and its Neighbors: South Africa illegally occupies neighboring Namibia and has militarily occupied parts of southern Angola almost continually since independence in 1975. In addition, Pretoria has armed and supported the anti-government UNITA rebels in Angola and the anti-government MNR rebels in Mozambique. All told South Africa caused at least \$10 billion in damage to neighboring countries through economic, military and political destabilization between 1980 and 1984.

Sanctions: The U.N. Security Council passed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977, and OPEC nations have attempted to end oil shipments to South Africa since 1974. By 1986, sanctions of varying strength had been imposed on South Africa by the U.S., Japan and Denmark as well as the European Economic Community, the Commonwealth Nations, and the Nonaligned Movement.

Income and Employment

Unemployment: Between 4 and 6 million Blacks were unemployed as of mid-1986 according to some reports. The government figures, which are widely regarded as inaccurate, report that 26,846 whites, 28,569 Coloureds, and 14,846 Asians were registered as unemployed in 1985 and an estimated 513,000 Africans were unemployed.

Migrant Labor, 1985: Some 1.8 million Blacks work in South Africa as so-called migrant workers under contract, a system which forces the separation of workers from their families. Also, 371,000 foreign Blacks were employed as contract workers.

U.S.-South Africa

U.S. Companies Doing Business in South Africa, 1985-86: About 270 U.S. companies have direct investments in South Africa and a further 6,000 do business there. Some 65 companies ended their direct investment in South Africa in 1985 and the first half of 1986.

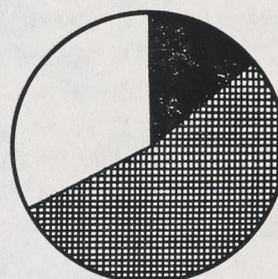
Major U.S. Corporations in South Africa (assets/employees or sales): Mobil Corp. (\$400 million assets/3,182 workers); Caltex [Chevron Corp and Texaco Inc.] (\$324 million assets/2,186 workers); Ford Motor Co. (\$150 million assets/7,174 workers); USX (\$102 million assets); Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. (\$97 million assets/2,471); Burroughs Corp. (\$55.8 million assets/808 workers); Citibank (\$332 million assets/256 workers); General Motors* (\$310 million sales); IBM* (\$180 million sales). *No longer has direct investment.

U.S. Percentage of Total Direct Foreign Investment in South Africa: 20% (second only to Britain, the largest investor)

U.S. Investment in South Africa: The real value of U.S. direct investment declined only slightly between 1980 and 1985, although the dol-

U.S. Financial Involvement in South Africa

Bank Loans
\$3.2 billion
33%



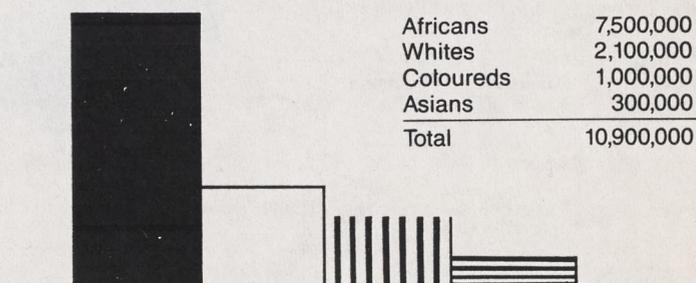
Direct Investment
\$1.3 billion
14%

Stockholdings
\$4 to \$6 billion
53%

Employment and Average Monthly Wages, 1985:

	Numbers Employed	Average Wage
Mining		
Africans:	662,293	\$174
Whites:	78,948	\$902
Coloureds:	8,871	\$293
Asians:	696	\$460
Manufacturing		
Africans:	703,800	\$211
Whites:	302,500	\$831
Coloureds:	232,100	\$240
Asians:	88,500	\$300

Economically Active Population, 1985:



Agriculture: About 890,000 Blacks worked in the formal agricultural sector in 1986, mostly on white farms. Estimates for farm worker wages range from \$16 to \$20 per month with additional "in kind" payments and other benefits which add up to the equivalent of between \$7 and \$17 per month.

Domestic Workers: About 38% of working Black South African women are domestic workers. There are 800,000 registered domestic workers (unofficial estimate is much higher). Average wages range from about \$45 per month in Johannesburg to as little as \$13.50 a month in East London for a 6½ day work week. Some 60% of domestic workers are the sole wage-earners in their families.

Economic Ties

lar amount dropped substantially because of the fall in the rand/dollar exchange rate. U.S. direct investment in 1985 was \$1.3 billion, and U.S. banks had an additional \$3.2 billion in bank loans outstanding. In addition, U.S. stockholdings on the Johannesburg stock exchange were between \$4 and \$6 billion.

U.S. Trade with South Africa 1985: Exports to South Africa—Industrial machinery \$204 m; Computers and office machinery \$124 m; Chemicals \$94 m; Aircraft \$57 m; Rice and Corn \$56 m; Electric Equipment \$57 m. Imports from South Africa—Platinum \$584 m; Diamonds \$328 m; Iron and Steel \$267 m; Uranium \$139 m; Artworks and Antiques \$104 m; Clothes \$36 m; Shellfish \$30 m.

U.S. Bank Loans: In October 1986 the U.S. government banned public and private sector lending to South Africa except trade related loans. Virtually all external lending to South Africa had already ended in September 1985 after Pretoria declared a debt repayments standstill as a result of the growing refusal of foreign banks to provide new loans. More than 25 U.S. banks have also adopted public policies of refusing to make any loans to South Africa and only one U.S. bank, Citibank, continues to operate as a commercial bank in South Africa.

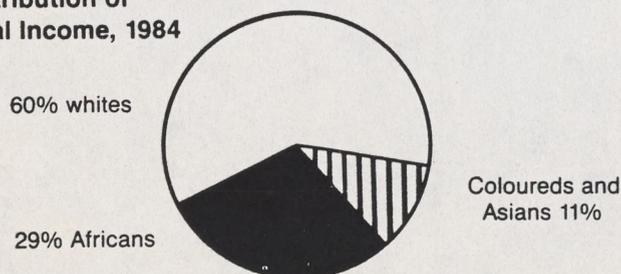
The U.S. Divestment Campaign: This campaign seeks to force U.S. corporations to end their support for white minority rule by severing all ties with South Africa. By October 1986, 19 states, 80 cities and counties and 116 colleges and universities as well as substantial numbers of churches and other organizations had adopted binding measures requiring the sale of stocks and bonds in U.S. corporations involved in South Africa.

African Incomes Versus Poverty Level: The household subsistence level in September 1984 ranged from \$113 to \$147 a month in the major urban areas while the monthly average household income for Africans at that time was \$123. The household subsistence level is the estimated necessary income per month for an African family of six to meet bare subsistence requirements, including rent and food but excluding education or health expenses. Income levels in the rural areas and especially the bantustans are much lower. About 80% of households in the bantustans receive income below the minimum living level and 13% receive no income at all.

Unionization: There were 1,650,000 members of trade unions in South Africa at the end of 1984, of whom 1,165,300 were Black. Since then two new independent Black trade union federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the CUSA/AZACTU Federation, have been formed.

Strikes: More workers were involved in strikes in 1985 than ever before: 239,816 workers were involved in 389 strikes, not including political strikes and stayaways. The largest general strike in South African history took place on May 1, 1986 when nearly two million Black workers denounced apartheid in marking the centennial of May Day in response to the call by COSATU.

Distribution of Total Income, 1984

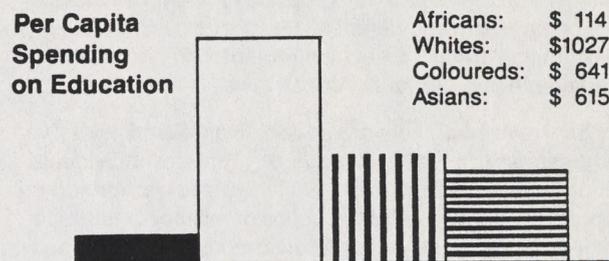


(excluding agricultural and domestic service income for Blacks for which no accurate data exists)

Education

Attendance: All public education is racially segregated with racially differentiated curricula. In 1985, of 4,223,578 African students, 81% were in the primary grades and 19% were in post-primary school. Of 1,006,081 white students, 57% were in primary grades and 43% were in post-primary grades. More than one million African students, however, were not attending school at all as part of widespread student boycotts to protest inferior education, segregated schools, detentions of students and the presence of troops in the classrooms.

Teacher/Pupil Ratios, 1984 (excludes homelands): Africans, 1:41; whites, 1:19; Coloureds, 1:26; Asians, 1:23.



Health

Mortality: Infant mortality rates per 1000 live births in 1982 were 80 for Africans, 13.4 for whites, 59 for Coloureds, and 20.7 for Asians. In some areas of the bantustans, half of all children die before reaching the age of five. In addition, 55% of all deaths among Blacks occur between the ages of one and five.

Malnutrition: Some 3 million children suffer from malnutrition. Up to 66% of all Black children suffer from protein deficiencies, although South Africa produces enough food to meet 122% of the optimum daily energy requirement of the entire population.

Doctor/Patient Ratios: Rural areas, 1:25,000; urban areas, 1:750. Ratio of people to available hospital beds: Africans, 337:1; whites, 61:1. Estimated number of African physicians: 500; 17 dentists.

Repression and Control

Twice in less than a year the South African government attempted to crush internal resistance by declaring states of emergency, in July 1985 and June 1986. Even without these emergencies, the government has a wide range of laws and policies designed for repression and control. Some of these include:

Security Legislation: The Internal Security Act of 1982 allows for indefinite detention without charge or trial and excludes the right of access by lawyers, private doctors or family. Under this law a government minister can order the preventive detention of anyone whom authorities consider a danger to state security; can outlaw any organization alleged to be a threat to public order; can prohibit the production and distribution of publications; can order random police searches; can curtail freedom of movement and restrict communication, association and participation in any event. This law makes it illegal to render assistance to any campaign, domestic or international, that protests or seeks to modify or repeal any law if such a campaign aids a banned organization. Under article 46 the government has since 1976 banned all outdoor political meetings, except bona fide religious or sporting events, as well as many indoor meetings.

Laws Controlling Movement of Black People: The government enforces racial segregation of neighborhoods and schools through the Group Areas Act and classifies people according to race under the Population Registration Act. In June 1986 the specific legislation regulating the pass laws and influx control was abolished, but the government has begun using trespassing laws and housing and work permits as a way to regulate the movement of Black people. Opposition organizations charge this action effectively continues the pass laws under a new guise.

Legislation Regulating U.S. Companies: Under the National Key Points Act of 1980 the Minister of Defense is empowered to declare any area a Key Point requiring the proprietor to provide security under supervision from the armed forces. These provisions are applicable to U.S. corporate operations in South Africa. It is illegal to print any information about security measures or about any incident at a Key Point. According to the government there were 413 official Key Points and another 800 semi-Key Points as of March 1984.

There are 5 separate laws, including the National Supplies Procurement Act and the Price Control Act, which can be used to require U.S. firms to sell goods and services to the South African government. Under these laws, for instance, U.S. corporations can be required to sell to the military and prevented from publicly revealing such sales or other agreements with the government. Petroleum has been legally defined as a "munition of war" by the government, and oil companies are particularly restricted by South African laws.

Restrictions on the Press: There are at least five different laws that regulate the press and prevent coverage of events or individuals. Among other provisions, by December 1986 the press was forbidden to publish reports on any actions of the police or military or any "subversive statement" (including discussions of boycotts, reports of opposition to any state official or structure or statements by opposition organizations).

Declarations of States of Emergency: Under the Public Safety Act of 1953 the state president is empowered to declare a state of emergency and suspend normal judicial procedures. The first emergency was imposed following the Sharpeville massacre of 69 unarmed Black protesters in 1960, a second emergency was declared in July 1985 and a third was declared less than a year later on June 12, 1986. The emergencies were primarily declared to provide individual, low ranking members of the security forces with extensive powers of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial and to give security forces immunity from prosecution for their actions. They also enabled the government to further restrict press coverage and ban journalists from covering actions of the security forces. In the first six months of the third emergency at least 20,000 people were detained, 40% of whom were under age 18. Amendments to the Public Safety Act in 1986 effectively gave the government the same far-reaching powers it has under a state of emergency without requiring the formal declaration of an emergency.

Statistics on Government Violence

Arrests for Political Offenses: Many anti-apartheid activists are arrested and charged under existing security laws. For instance, thousands have been arrested and charged with "public violence" for actions from throwing stones at troop carriers to burning down schools. In addition, human rights organizations in South Africa report increasing numbers of people arrested for political offenses are being charged with petty crimes. These figures do not count the 1,924 charged in 1985 for offenses under the Internal Security Act or the at least 1,370 people jailed under that act in the first eight months of 1986.

Official Violence: At least 2500 Black South Africans were killed in political violence between September 1984 and December 1986.

Hangings: 136 people were hanged in 1985, 5 of them white.

Torture: Torture and deaths in detention have been a well-documented part of South African police and military practice for many years. Methods include electric shock, beatings, sleep deprivation and isolation. In the summer of 1986, for instance, there were well-documented cases of torture of workers, clergy and especially children. At least 80 people have died in police custody in the last twenty years.

Prison Population: The average daily prison population in December 1985 was 113,792—more than ten times the per capita prison population in the U.S. At that date, 258 were imprisoned for two years or longer for "offenses against the state," including 22 people serving life sentences.

Children: Black children in South Africa bear much of the brunt of the apartheid system. A Black child between ages one and four is 14 times more likely to die than a white child and has less than a one in five chance of going beyond sixth grade at school. Increasingly, children are also becoming a target of government repression. In the last seven months of 1986, during the state of emergency, more than 8,000 children were detained and many of those were tortured or physically assaulted.

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- All figures have been converted into dollars at the following rates for one rand: 1985—\$0.45; 1984—\$0.68; 1983—\$0.90.
 - South African government statistics on the African majority are increasingly fragmented and incomplete because of the apartheid policy of bantustan "independence." Where possible the figures used here are for South Africa as a whole. However, in some cases, due to a lack of other information, government statistics which undercount certain categories of workers have been used. As a result, figures from different sections of the fact sheet may not be directly comparable.
-

December 1986

Compiled by David Brooks, James Cason, Lisa Crooms, Jennifer Davis and Richard Knight.

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INTERNATIONAL MOBILISATION

AGAINST APARTHEID AND FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Vol. XI No. 4 - October 1990

UN General Assembly's Call Maintain Sanctions to Accelerate Dismantlement of Apartheid

The UN General Assembly has made yet another call for maintaining the present sanctions against South Africa, to speed up the dismantlement of the apartheid system.

The call was made in a resolution approved by acclamation on the last day (17 September 1990) of the 44th session of the General Assembly, amidst expressions of grave concern over the escalation of violence in South Africa.

The resolution which was approved after a three-day debate held earlier by the General Assembly (12 to 14 September 1990) said that violence was due to the preservation of the policy, practices and structures of apartheid, as well as the actions of those forces which were against democratic change in South Africa.

While noting the measures that had already been taken by the South African regime to pave the way for change, the resolution called on all governments and inter-governmental organisations to maintain the present sanctions against South Africa to compel Pretoria to eliminate apartheid.

A highlight of the resolution was the stress it laid on the South African regime taking immediate steps for the removal of the pillars of apartheid to create a climate for negotiations as demanded by the UN Declaration on apartheid of December 1989.

In the debate on the policies of apartheid of the government of South Africa, the majority of speakers demanded that the Pretoria regime fulfil completely the conditions set out in the Declaration on apartheid,

without procrastination of any kind.

In his address to the General Assembly during this debate, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar deplored the fact that several essential measures stipulated by the General Assembly in its Declaration still remained to be fulfilled in their entirety. Those included the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the end of the state of emergency throughout the country, the repeal of all legislation designed to circumscribe political activity, the removal of all troops from the townships and the cessation of all political trials and political executions. He went on to point out that the present violence was widely seen to be rooted in the structures of apartheid: the homeland policy and the migrant labour system.

On the eve of the General Assembly debate on apartheid, a timely call was made by representatives of anti-apartheid organisations for the retention of sanctions and intensification of pressures against South Africa. Speaking at a meeting of the Special Political Committee on 11 September 1990, they criticised the Pretoria regime for not complying with all the provisions of the Declaration on apartheid.

The international community must heed the exhortation made by the outgoing General Assembly President Joseph N. Garba, at his farewell press conference in New York on 13 September 1990: "It is perhaps fitting that my presidency should end with a debate on this issue (apartheid). The prospects for fundamental changes and the dismantling of apartheid are very good. However, we cannot lower our guard until the job is fully completed."

"Jewel of India" India's Highest Honour for Nelson Mandela

India has conferred its highest civilian honour, Bharat Ratna (Jewel of India), on ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The award was presented by the President of India, Mr R. Venkataraman at a glittering ceremony at the Rashtrapati Bhavan (President's House) in New Delhi on 16 October 1990.

Amongst the distinguished personalities at the ceremony were Vice President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, Prime Minister V.P. Singh and former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Cabinet Ministers.

Mr Nelson Mandela, 72-year old African National Congress leader who has symbolised the struggle against apartheid, is the second foreign national to receive the Bharat Ratna. The first "foreigner" was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, affectionately known as the "Frontier Gandhi" for his valiant non-violent struggle against British imperialism in the North West Frontier Province of the then united India. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a colleague and friend of Mahatma Gandhi, was a great stalwart of united India's liberation movement. When India was fragmented under the British

imperialist partition plan, the North West Frontier Province and some other parts of India were severed from it.

Later in the day, a grand public reception was held in Mr. Mandela's honour, where Prime Minister V.P. Singh presented Mr Mandela a cheque for five million dollars as "a token of the solidarity of the Government and people of India with the anti-apartheid cause in South Africa".

Mr Singh recalled that India was the first country in the world to boycott South Africa and break off all contacts with it as a protest against its apartheid policies.

The Prime Minister said: "India today looks forward to a time when we will be able, once again, to have friendly relations with a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

Earlier, Mr Mandela visited Raj Ghat, the cremation site of Mahatma Gandhi, which has become India's national shrine, and laid a wreath there.

During the day, Mr Mandela told a press conference: "The basic issue in South Africa is the extension of the vote to all and any solution of less than one-man-one-



ANC leader Nelson Mandela receiving the Bharat Ratna from President Ramaswamy Venkataraman in New Delhi.

vote will not be acceptable. The fight will continue so long as this demand is not conceded."

He sought to dispel the notion that his foreign visits served as indicators of a lessening of repression in South Africa. Hundreds of people, he said, were still being subjected to repressive measures. If he and some of his colleagues were being allowed to visit foreign countries, it was because of the pressure mounted on the South African government from within the country and without.

Mr Mandela expressed his deep appreciation of India's support and said that India has been in the forefront of the nations championing the black national cause in South Africa.

ANC at British Labour Party's Conference Urges Sanctions Vigilance against S.A.

The ANC has again appealed to the international community not to relax sanctions against South Africa, as apartheid still remains in place there.

This appeal was made in the statement of the ANC at the annual conference of the British Labour Party in Blackpool, Britain on 4 October 1990. The statement was made on behalf of the ANC by Mr Thabo Mbeki, Member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and Secretary of its Department of International Affairs. Mr Nelson Mandela who was to attend the Labour Party's conference was not able to do so as he had hoped.

Mr Thabo Mbeki was accorded a standing ovation and warmly embraced by Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, at the Blackpool conference.

Published here are extracts from the ANC statement made by Mr Thabo Mbeki at the Labour Party Conference.

It is clear that there are many within the army, the police and the white population at large in South Africa who are opposed to the processes of change in which we are engaged. These apartheid loyalists are determined to resist this change by force if necessary. It seems clear to us that the closer we get to real change, the more

desperate will be the resistance of these forces. We must therefore be ready to deal with the situation in which more people may die as reactionary groups fight a rearguard action in an effort to stop the inevitable.

Media Projects False Picture of Violence: The recent criminal violence in South Africa in which hundreds of people died, was organised and orchestrated precisely by these elements. The picture projected by the media that this was an ethnic conflict or one between the ANC and Inkatha was false. The hundreds who died did so because organised forces opposed to the destruction of the apartheid system decided to act to subvert and destroy the peace process. The fact that they used some black mercenary forces to carry out some of their dirty work does not change the essential nature of the conspiracy against freedom and peace.

We have said this in the past and repeat it here, that it is the responsibility of the Government to find the elements responsible for the campaign of mass terror and to bring them before the courts. The ANC is doing everything it can to assist in identifying the culprits and is ready to work with the Government to ensure that terror is not used once more to threaten movement forward towards a free South Africa. In the end, the South African Government will have to prove its good faith by acting

against everybody who was involved in the recent campaign of murder however highly placed they might be within the state security forces.

Political Struggle Must Continue: The recent outbreak of violence points to the reality that we cannot at this stage say that the process of change within our country is irreversible. Many obstacles have still to be overcome and more changes effected before we can make such a determination. What this means is that the political struggle must continue.

We ourselves must continue to mobilise the masses of our people to fight in defence of the peace process. We must continue to activate the people for the realisation of the agreements that the ANC and the Government have entered into. The international community must maintain sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

We trust that the Labour Party (of Britain), itself a frontline fighter against racism in this country (Britain), will, by responding positively to our appeal for financial and material assistance, do what it can to help us to carry out this vital task of reestablishing the ANC within South Africa as a democratic and non-racial organisation on whose shoulders rests the responsibility to ensure that South Africa is indeed transformed into a democratic and non-racial country as speedily as possible.

Council for Namibia Dissolved

The UN General Assembly on 11 September 1990 dissolved the United Nations Council for Namibia. It stated that the Council had fulfilled its mandate.

The Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to provide the necessary resources to complete the 1990 programme activities already approved by the Council, for Namibia.

The United Nations Fund for Namibia will continue under the custody of the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General expressed his appreciation of the role played by the Council for Namibia over the past 23 years. He said that, while with the Council's dissolution the intimate association of the United Nations with Namibia's quest for independence had concluded, the Organization's commitment to Namibia had not diminished.

Walvis Bay? The question mark remains about the fate of Walvis Bay, an integral part of Namibia which still remains under the military occupation of South Africa's racist regime.

As has been mentioned often, Namibian independence will remain incomplete until this question of South Africa's retention of Walvis Bay is resolved. Walvis Bay is the only deep-water port of Namibia, without which it will remain virtually a landlocked country that will jeopardise its future development.

The continuing military occupation of Namibia threatens all the Frontline States.

It is to be hoped that the Secretary General's statement that the United Nations commitment to Namibia would not diminish, would cover the future of Walvis Bay. There is already a UN decision, Resolution 432 of July 1978 which declared that "the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the reintegration of

Walvis Bay within its territory".

On its part, the independent government of Namibia has made its stand clear on this issue in the words of its Prime Minister. In his address to the UN General Assembly at the time of the admission of Namibia to the UN Organisation in

April 1990, the Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob said that his country's territory comprises "the enclave, harbour and port of Walvis Bay, as well as the offshore islands of Namibia, and its southern boundary extends to the middle of the Orange River".



South African authorities are maintaining billboards they had erected in the strategic deep-water port of Walvis Bay, which is even today under the military occupation of the Pretoria regime. The independent government of Namibia is still demanding that the territory of this enclave be returned to Namibia. The billboard says: "Welcome to South Africa: Walvis Bay - Good Neighbours".

ANC Accuses De Klerk Government of “Bad Faith” Violence Stratagem to Weaken ANC to Perpetuate Authoritarian Rule

The African National Congress has accused the government of President de Klerk of “bad faith” and condemned it for adopting a *laissez faire* attitude towards the violence in Natal and the Transvaal with a view to subduing the decisive majority in South Africa and making it more amenable to authoritarian domination.

The ANC has warned that the stratagems devised by the government to weaken the ANC and other democratic formations could wreck the negotiations process to bring about change in South Africa.

The ANC has reinforced its charge that the combined forces of elements of the South African security services and Inkatha vigilantes had unleashed the ongoing violence in Natal and the Transvaal.

This criticism of the South African government was made by the ANC National Executive Committee at its emergency session in Johannesburg on 18 to 20 September 1990.

The ANC has decided to convene a meeting with all “homeland” leaders in South Africa, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence and taking measures to prevent any possible future outbreaks.

The gist of the deliberations of the NEC session of the African National Congress was given in a press release issued by the ANC’s Department of Information and Publicity in Johannesburg on 20 September 1990.

Published here is the text of the ANC press release.

THE National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress, met in extended session from Tuesday 18th September until shortly after noon today, 20th September (1990).

The extended NEC meeting, which included representatives of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), the UDF (United Democratic Front), members of the Interim Leadership and representatives of all sixteen regions, was convened as a matter of urgency to review the ANC’s strategic and tactical perspectives in view of the current wave of violence that has visited so much death, injury and misery on the African townships of the Reef.

The meeting received an extensive report from the Joint National Working Committee on Violence, comprising representatives of the ANC, COSATU and the UDF, and discussed a Strategy Document prepared under the auspices of the Political Committee.

The meeting noted that while the South African government is evidently committed to political change in South Africa, it is becoming clear that it would prefer that change occurs on terms most favourable to itself. In pursuance of that objective, the government has adopted a two-track policy which, on the one hand, accepts the need to negotiate a settlement of our country’s problems while, on the other hand, devising stratagems to weaken the ANC and other democratic formations.

The government has consequently, adopted a *laissez faire* attitude towards the violence in Natal and in the Transvaal with the hope that it will generate a climate of insecurity, fear and terror and thus make a decisive majority of our

people more amenable to an authoritarian regime.

The ANC condemns, in the strongest possible terms, the violence that has been unleashed against the people of the townships in Natal and the Transvaal by the combined forces of elements of the security services and Inkatha vigilantes and emphasizes that the ongoing violence poses an immediate threat to the entire process of peaceful transition. Though the ANC has a profound and unwavering commitment to peace in our country, we warn the South African government that, unless the government is seen to be taking appropriate measures to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators of this violence, it will have to assume full responsibility for the derailing of the peace process.

It was the unanimous opinion of the NEC that the measures announced by State President De Klerk on Wednesday 19th September (1990) and those threatened by General Erasmus of the South African Police on Saturday 15th September, are designed to abridge the civil liberties of the African population on the Reef, repress legitimate political activity, reintroduce the State of Emergency by guile, and not to bring an end to the violence or track down its organisers and instigators.

We are obliged to draw the attention of the South African people and the international community to the act of bad faith committed by State President De Klerk in his most recent actions. It is a matter of record that pursuant of the adoption of the Pretoria Minute, a joint Government/ANC Working Group was established to devise mutually acceptable principles for the implementation of a ceasefire. Among the numerous tasks with which this Working Group was charged was the disposition of the arms and other weapons in the possession of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. The State President has deliberately undermined this Working Group by preemptively criminalising the possession of such weapons. We cannot but interpret this as a measure directed against the ANC and its underground military structures. It does nothing to build mutual confidence between the ANC and the government.

The meeting unanimously condemned the continued detention of members of the ANC and the democratic movement, including our colleague, Comrade Mac Maharaj, under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. We shall hold the South African government accountable for any harm or injuries these comrades incur while in its custody. The attitude of the government with regard to these anti-apartheid fighters and leaders contrasts sharply with the concern it displays in relation to detainees of the White ultra-right. The refusal of the South African government to extend indemnity to Comrades Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils, both members of the NEC, was also noted.

The NEC noted the veritable avalanche of charges, emerging from every area that has been affected by this wave of violence, to the effect that the South African Police and the SADF (South African Defence Force) have adopted a partial attitude in favour of the vigilante aggressors in almost all instances of violence. The Report of the Goldstone Commission on the March 22nd massacre in Sebokeng confirms our belief that internal departmental inquiries conducted by the Police and the Defence Force do

not deserve public confidence. The ANC therefore calls for an independent judicial commission of inquiry, with adequate terms of reference, to investigate the numerous charges levelled against the state’s security organs.

The NEC also adopted a recommendation made by the Joint ANC-COSATU Working Committee on Violence to conduct a national campaign to achieve greater public accountability on the part of the Police and other Security Services. This campaign shall be centred, inter alia, on demands for:

(i) The establishment of an independent review body, equipped with powers to recommend action, to investigate complaints against the police.

(ii) The establishment of a publicly devised code of conduct for all police personnel.

(iii) The demilitarisation of the police.

(iv) The limitation of police arms and weaponry to those adequate for normal law enforcement and the detection of crime.

Consistent with this view, the NEC calls for the immediate and visible disbandment of the various State murder squads such as the CCB, the Askaris, Koevoet and other mercenary formations such as Battalion 32. There should be full public disclosure of the future deployment of the personnel of these units, the distribution of its assets and its arms.

The extended NEC noted the century-old migrant labour system and the degradation and humiliations it imposes on a sizeable section of the African working class. These hostels and labour compounds were expressly designed to isolate the migrant labourers from the urban environment in which they work by segregating them in barracklike conditions which permit neither privacy nor normal family life. This situation of stress has inevitably contributed to feelings of aggression and hostility which have on numerous occasions been cynically exploited by elements pursuing political agendas that are inimical to the best interests of the migrant workers and their fellow workers.

The speedy elimination of the migrant labour system should be regarded as one of the priority national tasks facing us as we strive towards a new South Africa. During the intermediate period the ANC demands that all labour compounds, single sex hostels and similar compounds be converted into decent living quarters, such as flats, to accommodate those who wish to live as single persons and those who wish to live as families.

In order to get to the root causes of the violence and to secure peace among the people, the extended NEC resolved to convene a meeting with all homeland leaders, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence and measures to prevent any possible future outbreaks.

The ANC, in cooperation with its allies will, at the earliest possible date, also call a conference of the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid and democratic forces with a view to discussing a common strategy to combat the forces of destitution and violence.

In order that they can mount effective defence, the extended NEC encourages all our people in the areas affected by vigilante violence to organise themselves for purposes of self-defence.

The meeting instructed the NEC of the ANC to seek an early summit with the South African government to discuss the gravity of the situation and to bring to the government’s attention our profound anxieties regarding the future and inter-

(Continued on page 4)

Violence of Apartheid in South Africa

Nelson Mandela

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in this article, affirms that forces opposed to their peace initiative are behind the latest violent eruptions in South Africa. Their strategic objective is to undermine the process that the ANC started to create a non-racial, united and democratic society in the country.

The article is based on the address of Mr Nelson Mandela to the International Conference on "The Anatomy of Hate" held in Oslo on 26 August 1990. The conference was attended by the Prime Minister of Norway and heads of state or government of a number of countries. (The situation in South Africa in regard to eruption of apartheid violence has considerably deteriorated, since Mr Mandela's address to the conference in Oslo).

Published here are extracts from Mr Mandela's address.

We have come here despite the pressing need for us to be in South Africa. Our troubled country continues to bleed because of the violence of apartheid. As a result, we come here carrying the hopes of millions of our people, who pray that this conference should contribute in some way towards bringing a speedy end to their long suffering. Our presence here is not an abdication of our duty at home. Rather it is an affirmation of our long standing faith in the common destiny of the human race. Our commonness challenges men and women of conscience to understand the anatomy of hate and promote universal love, prosperity and peace.

When we talk about hatred in the world today, we should do so without fear or favour. We should have the courage and political will to be counted amongst those who stood for right in the face of overwhelming evil. In this respect, we cannot talk about human rights without addressing the sea of problems confronting our generation, especially hunger, homelessness, illiteracy, ignorance and disease.

We are living in times of great upheavals and great hope. The political landscape of our world is being transformed beyond recognition. The familiar landmarks are no longer there. We are pioneers of a new world. We should and indeed must steer humanity towards a new path, away from the pain and tribulations that have afflicted us for so long. This is a task that can no longer wait. The clouds of war gathering in the Middle East must be diffused through dialogue without delay. This is not only necessary but possible. For as long as there are men and women of conscience amongst us, we cannot and must not lose hope.

ANC Accuses...

(Continued from page 3)

grity of the peace process. In this regard, the NEC is instructed to demand that the government take the necessary measures to put an end to the activities of all irregular, pro-apartheid armed groups and forces such as the vigilantes, right-wing paramilitary formations and the covert armed wing of Inkatha.

During its final session the meeting received news of the successful exploratory meeting, held in Durban on the evening of 19th September, between members of the NEC and members of the Central Committee of Inkatha. The NEC welcomes this development and congratulates the participants, from both organisations, for the excellent work they have commenced.

The meeting concluded by sending a message of greetings to Comrade President O.R.

We should replace apartheid by peaceful means. Our movement, the African National Congress, lost no time in inviting the Government to open negotiations with the legitimate leaders of the black majority. In this regard, it should be mentioned that there is no single organisation or political party in South Africa, which can compare with the ANC's commitment to peace. As a result, we are heartened that finally, the Government has responded positively to our initiative.

We have had two successful meetings between the government and the ANC. In both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings, the main subject for discussion was the creation of the necessary climate for peaceful negotiations. In a gesture of goodwill and reconciliation, the ANC announced the suspension of the armed struggle at the conclusion of the Pretoria meeting. For its part, the Government undertook to address the violence which at the time, was confined mainly to the province of Natal. It is deeply distressing that the current wave of violence, has spread to many parts of the country with the ferocity never seen before. The first major incident of the current wave of violence occurred on 22 July 1990, when violence broke out at the Sebokeng hostels, following an Inkatha rally. On that day, thirty people died and approximately fifty people were injured. Since then, well over six hundred people have died and thousands more are injured.

Time does not allow us to give a detailed account of the pattern of the current state of violence. What is clear, however, is that forces opposed to our peace initiative are behind the latest violent eruptions. Their strategic objective is to undermine the process that we have so delicately nurtured. In this regard, the role of the South African Police has been less than helpful.

The ANC will not allow this violence to derail the process of negotiations. It is for this reason that the ANC shall leave no stone unturned in an effort to normalise and stabilise the situation in our country. We have already set in motion a process which we hope will usher in peace and reconciliation amongst the various political organisations and our people. The international community has an ongoing responsibility to assist and strengthen our efforts to promote peace and democracy in South Africa.

Apartheid Sustains Violence

The so called black on black violence has its roots in the system of apartheid,

which continues to be firmly in place. It is apartheid which continues to sustain this violence. On the other hand, the Right Wing has declared its readiness to defend apartheid by all means, including the use of violence. Indeed in some instances the Right Wing has carried out its threat by resorting to violence. So the threat to the peace process remains real. We are still far from the stage where we can say that, a fundamental and irreversible transformation has taken place in South Africa. Until then, it is our common responsibility to challenge without relent, the apartheid edifice.

The international community should, therefore, maintain all forms of pressure, including sanctions, on the apartheid system. It would be premature for anyone to begin thinking of assisting apartheid South Africa to break out of her paria status and diplomatic isolation. Apartheid is an evil and this evil must be ended, not merely reformed. We urge all concerned to heed the appeal of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

For our part we remain fully ready, to continue with the struggle until our dream of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa has become a living reality. We shall continue to be partisan fighters on the side of peace and democracy. We shall relentlessly challenge the infamous seeds of hatred wherever these are found. This is the spirit in which we have come to Oslo. The spirit which has guided our people over centuries; the spirit which has sustained us during the many and lonely years of our imprisonment. The spirit which will form the basis of our new society.

We seek to build a society wherein a person's colour will matter no more. A society in which all our people will be united in their diversity. In doing so we are challenging the scourge of racism which is negating the humanity of the whole world. We are opposed to white domination as much as we are opposed to black domination. The solution to our problems does not lie in the enslavement of others; rather it lies in our ability to free all, for in so doing, we shall be freeing ourselves. In this regard, male domination and sex discrimination should not find any place in any truly democratic society.

Let us all march forward confident that good is ultimately bound to triumph over evil. History has shown that, the human race does not only have the capacity, but also the will to rise in defence of humanity. Let us do so now, and not relegate our collective responsibility to posterity.

In a statement issued on 13 September 1990, the ANC said that violence was not a spontaneous eruption but rather a well orchestrated plan, conceived by some "diabolical agency" with a view to spreading death and mayhem.

The ANC statement did not elaborate on the diabolical agency involved, but said that the intention of the campaign of violence was to destroy the African National Congress and other democratic formations in the townships by "the piecemeal murder of their personnel and supporters", and to terrorise the people into accepting a regime of martial law in their country.

"Diabolical Agency" Behind Violence in South Africa

Earlier, the African National Congress had criticised the South African government for what it called its "failure" to take action against the perpetrators of recent violence in South Africa, and to "uncover those in its security forces, including the police, who are implicated in these acts of terror and violence".



A Conspiracy of Silence Police Collaboration with Inkatha Violence in South Africa

Police involvement in the Inkatha violence in South Africa is being cited more and more as a deliberate stratagem to disrupt the negotiations process to end apartheid.

In a well-documented study, the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, an anti-apartheid organisation based in London, has exposed the role of the police in the Inkatha Violence.

Published here are extracts from this study entitled, "The Natal Violence: South Africa's Killing Fields", which says that the Natal violence, now spreading to other townships, threatens the negotiations process.

THE label most often used to describe the Natal violence is that of "black-on-black" violence. This label, promoted by the police "unrest" reports, implies certain assumptions about the causes of the violence. It suggests, feeding white fears of majority rule, that the foundation of the bloodshed is an atavistic inter-tribal tribalism. The label serves to disconnect the conflict from apartheid structures and indeed goes further, in purporting to justify continuation of the State of Emergency, including the presence of South African Defence Force (SADF) troops in the townships. Yet this term has as much heuristic value as describing World War II as "white-on-white" violence. The label serves rather to prevent an understanding of the nature of the conflict. In the first place the conflict is not tribal, it is profoundly political. The conflict is not between tribes but is a conflict, in a region most of whose residents are Zulu-speaking, between a group associated with the apartheid structure and those opposed to its role within the structure.

Secondly the label has obscured the way in which the conflict has served apartheid. In brief the conflict has served to justify emergency rule over the residents of black townships. It has seen the elimination of large numbers of activists and members of anti-apartheid organisations. It has disorganised and disrupted anti-apartheid organisations and held the communities in which they are based captives of the turmoil. All this has been accomplished without the material cost which would have been involved in a pacification programme in which the armed forces acted as the principal agents, and without the public and international censure that would have followed intervention and repression by security forces. It is for this reason that the Natal conflict has been cited as an example of the "privatisation of repression" or a process of "sub-contracting the dirty work."

Low-Intensity Conflict: From this perspective the Natal violence is one example of the widespread emergence of vigilantes throughout South Africa in the 1980s, as part of a broader strategy of counter-insurgency warfare, known elsewhere as "low intensity conflict". The promotion of the label "black-on-black" violence is an *object* of this strategy, serving *inter alia* to sever the connection between the central government and the violence. As with the destabilisation strategy directed against the states of Southern Africa, there are short-term advantages for Pretoria in such intense conflict, but the long-term consequences could be the creation of permanent conflict and destruction, a culture of violence in which killing is the norm and in which force becomes an acceptable solution to every problem.

From 1980 Inkatha's participation in apartheid institutions, particularly the administration of the schools, township housing, and municipal structures, brought it into conflict with an alternative political tendency making itself felt nationally: the youth, civic and trade union organisations pursuing political positions broadly in line with the positions of the ANC. Between 1980 and 1985 there were occasional violent clashes between supporters and opponents of Inkatha in Natal but these clashes did not extend to the Pietermaritzburg district until 1985. The clashes consisted mostly of attempts by Inkatha-led groups to act against students critical of Inkatha or of its leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, or leaders of residents' associations who opposed their townships being placed under the Kwazulu bantustan administration.

Black-on-Black Violence?

"The label of 'black-on-black' violence, promoted by the South African police 'unrest' reports, has as much heuristic value as describing World War II as 'white-on-white' violence. The label serves to prevent an understanding of the nature of the conflict in S.A., which is not tribal, but political, a conflict between a group associated with the apartheid structure and those opposed to its role within the structure."

Growth of UDF-COSATU: In the 1983 the UDF was formed and numerous youth congresses including those in Natal affiliated to it. In 1985 COSATU, the largest black trade union federation, was inaugurated in Durban. These developments gave rise to a rapid increase in political activity in the Pietermaritzburg townships and a rapid growth of UDF-supporting organisations. Issues such as school boycotts in 1984, trade union campaigns and commuter boycotts of bus transport provided focal points for organisation and mass action. They also led to a sharp divergence of interests between these mass organisations and Inkatha. Those established as leaders in local administrative structures, such as community councillors, bantustan officials and members of school committees, almost all of whom belonged to Inkatha, felt their positions threatened by the growth of UDF affiliates at the local level. Rent boycotts and school boycotts drew Inkatha into direct conflict with the activities of these groups. Inkatha, portraying itself as the authentic political representative of Zulu-speakers, was dependent for the practical realisation of this claim on projecting the region as being politically united behind Inkatha. A failure to secure such unanimity in Natal would threaten any claims to a position on the national political stage.

In 1985 there was a stayaway from work in solidarity with COSATU-affiliated SARMCOL workers in nearby Howick who had been sacked for striking over trade union recognition. It was observed by a significant number of residents in the greater Pietermaritzburg area, despite opposition from Inkatha. If Inkatha was not actually losing ground, it appeared to the public to be doing so. Inkatha instigated the formation of the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) as its trade union wing in order to counter the influence of COSATU affiliates. Conflicts between COSATU affiliates and UWUSA sharpened and physical attacks began on members of COSATU affiliates. For example, in December 1986, in nearby Howick, three COSATU worker leaders and a young woman were dragged into an Inkatha meeting, assaulted and later killed.

On 5 and 6 May 1987 UDF/COSATU called a stayaway in protest against the white parliamentary elections. The stayaway was opposed by Inkatha. It was overwhelmingly successful, but Inkatha attributed this to solidarity action by bus drivers, members of the COSATU affiliated Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). Thereafter Inkatha commenced a vigorous campaign to reverse the drift of support away from it. Firstly UWUSA mounted a campaign to compel bus drivers to resign their membership of the TGWU. In the months following the stayaway, 12 TGWU members were murdered. John Aitchison, of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal which has been monitoring the violence, argues that the stayaway exposed Inkatha's lack of clear dominance in the Pietermaritzburg region and was to lead to more intense efforts to remove "disloyal" elements.

Release of Mandela and After: In March 1990 during the rise in political temperature throughout South Africa following the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC, Inkatha-led armed groups attacked UDF-supporting communities *en masse*. For example, in early April 2,000 armed Inkatha supporters launched an attack on Calusa and Ashdown from Mpumzuza. An Inkatha impi (armed group) from Elandskop devastated parts of Gezubuso, Vulindlela, Kwa Shange and Kwa Mnyandu. The attackers even carried off possessions and livestock. The police did not intervene. A similar attack was launched on Mpophomeni. As a result of these attacks over 14,000 people were rendered homeless and 80 persons killed. Non-Inkatha sections of Imbali and Slangspruit were also attacked. In view of the fact that all the refugees and most of the victims were persons deemed to be opposed to Inkatha, the press for the first time conceded Inkatha's role as the aggressor in the violence.

The pattern of violence which commenced in 1987 has continued unabated throughout the Pietermaritzburg townships and outlying areas in the Midlands region. In 1989, the conflict which had been previously sporadic in the townships around Durban, extended to other townships in Northern and Southern Natal, following the same pattern and features, except for the fact that the Kwazulu Police have come to play a major role in the violence, not as impartial police but as the armed wing of Inkatha itself, according to evidence in a relevant court case.

Apart from the Kwazulu Police, known

warlords had operated in the Durban areas since the mid 80s. Shabalala and Jamile hold or have held high office in Inkatha. They have openly been linked to vigilante attacks. Shabalala for example is alleged to have put out the eye of a COSATU supporter brought to his "court". Warlords in the shanty towns around Umlazi have used their power as landlords, and exploited popular resentment against residents of the more affluent townships, to induce or lead attacks on UDF sections of Umlazi. Currently Jamile is facing trial on five counts of murder. Shabalala was recently acquitted on charges of responsibility for the killing of several UDF youths.

Role of the Police: Competition between politically opposed groups does not of itself lead to violence. To understand the scale and intensity of the violence which erupted in Pietermaritzburg and spread to other parts of Natal it is necessary to examine the role of the police.

Ineffective and partial policing of the official law enforcement agencies has been a condition for the violence reaching its current proportions. To generate community or vigilante violence it is not necessary for the police to actively participate in or instigate the violence: all that is required is that they refrain from intervening. Where one side is armed, such a failure to intervene grants the aggressors immunity from the consequences of their violent conduct, and ensures that the community attacked must rely on its own capacity to defend itself or embark on retaliatory or pre-emptive attacks. Once the cycle of violence is initiated, the absence of police intervention allows the conflict to become self-generating. COSATU has alleged that the vigorous prosecution of four or five of the known warlords in late 1987 would have deterred their supporters and members from embarking on wanton and apparently public violence.

Police Assist Inkatha: It is alleged however that the police went further than mere omission and assisted Inkatha directly in the conflict. Residents of various townships around Pietermaritzburg allege that the police have failed to intervene when their communities are attacked by Inkatha, or when the police do intervene it is not to disperse Inkatha mobs but to disperse the residents congregating to defend their neighbourhood, thereby opening the way for Inkatha attacks. An interdict was successfully granted in favour of the residents of the Mpophomeni community, ordering the police to protect them, to disperse Inkatha mobs when the community is attacked and to cease the campaign of unlawful assaults on members of the community. In Mpumalanga interdicts have been granted against the South African Police who were alleged to have not only failed to protect community residents from attacks by armed Inkatha groups but to have stood by while their houses were being looted. Police similarly failed to intervene when such groups were looting the houses in Vulindlela in March 1990. In Trust Feeds during 1989 it was police themselves, according to an inquest magistrate, who attacked and killed women and youths inside a homestead. There has been no prosecution of any of these policemen.

Attorneys acting at the instance of COSATU conducted research into police responses to incidents of violence in Imbali township, and on the basis of the affidavits provided to them, and correspondence with the South African Police, alleged a pattern of police collaboration with Inkatha in that:

- The police had a differential approach to the bearing of arms by Inkatha as opposed to non-Inkatha residents. The police were alleged in some instances to have armed or failed to disarm Inkatha mobs while pursuing a vigorous policy of searching for arms in UDF areas including allegedly torturing suspects. Inkatha "peace" rallies are attended by warriors heavily armed

with spears, knives, fighting sticks, homemade guns and the like. Police have claimed that these are merely "cultural weapons".

- The police have failed to prosecute Inkatha members particularly the most notorious warlords, even though eyewitness evidence has been adduced of their participation in murders.

- The police have failed to protect witnesses, complainants or court applicants in interdict proceedings as well as communities under attack. The result has been a crisis of confidence in the law enforcement agencies, the courts, and alternative forms of conflict resolution.

- Even where warlords have been taken into custody they have been released on bail shortly afterwards. Such release on free or limited bail has disheartened communities who see little advantage in proceeding with prosecutions or complaints in the absence of any apparent results, and at substantial risk to themselves.

- The police have failed to effectively discipline themselves. Notwithstanding repeated complaints against police partiality or blatant illegality the police have little to show in the way of effective disciplinary proceedings, suspension of miscreants, or change in patterns of conduct.

- Police use Inkatha members alongside their own forces to identify 'comrades', or have handed 'comrades' over to Inkatha warlords to be disciplined, and have allowed Inkatha members to assist in effecting the arrest of non-Inkatha members. It is significant that the police have routinely sought to identify whether a suspect at the scene of violence is a member of Inkatha or not. Indeed some community residents falsely claim to be Inkatha members when apprehended in the knowledge that they will receive more lenient treatment.

- Inkatha members who have participated in or been at the scene of violence are seldom if ever detained under the emergency regulations whereas over a thousand UDF members have been detained supposedly on the grounds that they are a contributing factor to the violence. Research undertaken by COSATU also revealed that of 22 incidents of violence surveyed, despite the fact that 16 of the incidents were initiated by Inkatha members and only three by opponents of Inkatha, 26 of the 28 arrests arising out of these incidents were opponents of Inkatha. Only two were from Inkatha.

- COSATU has argued that the police collaboration with Inkatha and/or policy of sympathetic treatment of Inkatha members should not be seen as the isolated actions of rogue policemen, but rather the application of a systematic policy of support for Inkatha. Thus for example, the Minister of Law and Order has unequivocally laid the blame at the door of the "revolutionary agents of the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance", namely UDF and COSATU. On 24 April 1989 he announced the commencement of 'Operation Ironfist' which would put an end to the violence. He is reported as saying of the persons he blamed for the violence: "We will

root them out. We know they will make a big noise but we are prepared for it. We will grab them with an iron fist."

In 1988 he had sought privately to discourage participation in the peace process at a crucial juncture. **At that stage he claimed that Inkatha was merely a cultural organisation, and blameless in the conflict. Such public pronouncements were so directly out of line with the acknowledged facts in the area that the inference is inescapable that the Ministry of Law and Order was itself directly involved in promoting Inkatha in the conflict. The consistent refusal by the government to accede to requests by a diverse range of organisations for a commission of inquiry into police conduct lends credence to COSATU's complaint.**

The role of the police has been a crucial ingredient in manufacturing the violent instability which has ravaged Pietermaritzburg and Durban townships. Ineffective and partial policing has fuelled the violence while peace initiatives have been undermined by the lack of effective conflict-resolution machinery, such as the police and the courts, to sustain fragile peace accords.

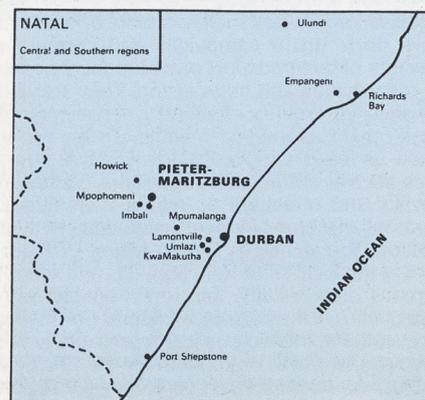
Proof of the deteriorating confidence in the South African Police has been the insistent call since 1988 from several communities that the South African Police be replaced by the South African Army, even though the ANC has demanded the withdrawal of troops from the townships. Such calls are not statements of confidence in the army but an index of the low esteem in which the SAP is held.

Counter-insurgency Warfare: There are strong parallels to be drawn between vigilante violence in South Africa, and that in other countries in which violence by vigilante and civilian units has been an essential component of the repression adopted by the governing regimes. **The strategy involves the clandestine creation of surrogate armed forces while making them appear to emerge "spontaneously" from the 'people' themselves. It is then claimed that the surrogate agency has popular support.**

The theory of low intensity conflict is an extension of the military theories of the French general Andre Beaufre: on the basis of his experience in the Algerian conflict, he argued in his book *Introduction a la Strategie* for a military approach that extended the battlefield to encompass all aspects of civil society. The dissolution of the boundaries between military and civil society as proposed by Beaufre (now known in the South African political lexicon as "total strategy") was reformulated in the 1980s to incorporate elements of low intensity conflict theory. It was explicitly adopted by South Africa's security establishment in approximately 1986. The use of surrogate forces was also part of South Africa's strategy of destabilising neighbouring states.

Low intensity conflict theory, as Sarah Miles argues in her informed review [*Low Intensity Conflict in Central America*, 1986] of such conflict in Central America, is not less violent than conventional warfare. It simply operates on the premise that there should be little direct security force intervention - where security forces do intervene in conflict situations they have lost the initiative. In low intensity conflict the battleground is "the people" not geographic regions, and engagement is a matter of social destruction and political manoeuvre for optimum strategic response. In short it is a war of counter-organisation. Notwithstanding the integration of "soft war" steps (such as township upgrading and development aid) with "hard war" steps (such as the creation of death squads and vigilante groups) low intensity conflict is a dirty war:

It penetrates into homes, families, the entire fabric of grassroot social relations; there are no civilians in low intensity conflict. It is a science of warfare whose goal of controlling the qualitative aspect of human life merits the term 'totalitarian'.



Drawing showing the townships where Inkatha violence has taken place in the Natal province.

(Continued on page 10)



Joseph N. Garba
President of UN General Assembly
1989-1990

East-West Changes Africa to Get "Short End of the Stick"

Joseph N. Garba

During his term as President of the UN General Assembly in 1989-1990, Mr Joseph N. Garba from Nigeria gave a number of lectures on the implications of East-West changes for Africa.

Published here are extracts from two lectures delivered by Mr Garba in Thessalonika, Greece on 27 August 1990 and earlier at the Carter Centre in Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A. on 9 April 1990 which detail the harmful effects of East-West changes on Africa.

Extracts from Mr Garba's lecture in Greece:

WE in Africa are conscious that the new-found relationship between the East and the West, which is marked by the drastic reduction of global tension, welcome as it is, represents a radical departure from known world political and economic relations. Many months after its inception, the implications of such a relationship are yet to be fully fathomed. Emerging evidence is showing that the change, its benefits notwithstanding, will leave the African continent with the proverbial "short end of the stick". If I sound pessimistic, there are reasons for that.

The implications of changing East-West relations for Africa are manifold. Regrettably, they are proving themselves more negative than positive. There is a Swahili proverb, which states that "when two elephants fight, the grass suffers; and when the same elephants make love, the grass also suffers". Africa has, as far as the East-West relations are concerned, had assumed the unenviable position of the "grass".

Where there are many competing for very scarce or limited resources, only the fittest or the most favoured will survive. Unfortunately Africa is neither the fittest nor the most favoured. It is no secret that as Eastern Europeans open up to embrace democratic principles, they have instantly become the favourites to receive Western aid and assistance which have never so freely been given to African countries.

The United States has cut its bilateral assistance to Africa by half since 1985, to about \$1 billion, even though the continent contains the world's poorest nations. In contrast, Poles and Hungarians receive 10 times as much aid per capita from Europe, and Central Americans 34 times as much from the United States. Private investment in Africa has dwindled from a peak of \$2.3 billion in 1982 to \$500 million in 1986. Perhaps the best analysis was given by Chester Crocker who said: "Africans could end up paying for the expanding frontiers of freedom everywhere else. That would be an obscene response to the African crisis". Indeed, world response to Africa's plight has been obscene, if not inhumane and immoral.

The ongoing changes in East-West relations pose a dual and curious challenge to Africa's politics and economy. They offer, on the one hand, positive hopes and promise for lasting solutions to some of Africa's political problems and conflicts. On the other, they raise our deepest concerns about the fate of our economy and the basis on which our developmental and economic growth will be predicated.

Extracts from Mr. Garba's lecture in Atlanta, U.S.A.:

It was the African continent that found its political fixation in battling colonialism in Namibia and apartheid South Africa. But it was also the same Africa, which tried earnestly, despite obvious impediments, to pull itself up by its bootstraps and redress its economic misfortunes in a world whose economy in the 1980s was over-stretched with the fatigue of trade imbalances,

debt constraints and general economic disequilibrium.

Africa, a continent endowed with diverse natural resources, is today the poorest continent of our civilization; underdeveloped, with a remarkable percentage of its people living in poverty and most under-nourished. It is the same Africa that calls for assistance and help, that is today confronted in the challenge of competing in a global economy that is fast being restructured — with the strong becoming stronger and the weak, weaker.

Danger of Total Economic Collapse: It is my personal view — and, I believe, a view shared by many other Africans — that the most prevalent danger confronting Africa as a continent is that of total economic collapse.

Our collective fear of such a collapse has been further heightened by changing global developments — particularly, East-West relations and the integration of the European Economic Community in 1992. This assertion does not in any way presuppose the mitigation or indeed preclude possible dangers of political crisis, or even their possible conflagration into international issues — as was the case in the Chad-Libyan dispute.

I am merely saying that while Africa's economic crises have been hitherto underplayed by the media, in preference for political upheavals, they have always and still possess the capacity to engender both economic and political turbulence of devastating proportions.

Negative Implications of East-West Relations: First, I wish to add my voice to the school of thought which correctly argues that in contemporary world politics, security and economic situations are more often than not, skewed — though not always deliberately — with the resultant effect that Africa absorbs a disproportionate impact of the negative burden of such skewed situations.

Prior to the warming of relations between the East and West, Africa was caught in the ideological divide of the cold war. In that setting, while a preponderance of African States were inclined to embrace capitalism with an evident tilt and alignment to the West, others espoused socialism and opted for a political bent towards the East.

Irrespective of ideological preferences, the African reality and experience was that African States, in spite of the striking diversity in their economies, growth rate and natural resources, were always grouped together and treated alike. It is, therefore, safe to assume that within the ongoing and imminent political and economic global changes, Africa will be treated as a single entity — and will be equally affected as an entity by all adverse implications of the change.

There are various dimensions of how the East-West relations could affect Africa. The most crucial is that with glasnost and perestroika, the Soviet Union, the prime-mover in the Eastern bloc, is already looking inwards as are its erstwhile satellite States. This disposition is understandably inevitable if these States must respond to the yearning of their populace to modernize their respective socio-economic systems. Similarly, the prospect of a unified Europe in 1992, with the attendant implication of a unified Germany being part of that configuration, raises additional problems for Africa.

I see four areas of particular concern:

(a) The demise of ideological barriers and the wish to secure allies around the globe translates into the loss of concrete support, diplomatic, political and economic for some African States. The elephants are departing.

(b) The end of the military and economic support to forces still fighting for self-determination in southern Africa.

(c) Western economic assistance (however minuscule) meant for African States will now be diverted towards the emerging (and white) democracies in Eastern Europe.

(d) Foreign, largely Western, investment, long promised to African States in return for their implementing the full structural adjustment programmes, will prove even more elusive than ever as resources rush to Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union.

As has been observed by many commentators: "Competition for investment, developmental aids, official assistance from developed countries and loans from the world's multilateral financial institutions would, therefore, be heightened. The net effect for peace, stability and sustainable development of African countries, crippled by huge indebtedness and other afflictions, could only be imagined. In a world where there is a very close interrelationship between peace, security and development, and where underdevelopment or poverty could seriously threaten national stability, the relevance of this factor cannot be underestimated for peace in Africa."

Let me make this concern more vivid by citing a particular area of concern as a case in point. The recent meeting of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, which took place in Rome late last month (March 1990), revealed that Western donors had found an additional 2.3 million tons of free cereals for Eastern European countries this year alone, and implied that higher political priority is now being given to such assistance than fighting Third-World famine.

The direct result of such a disposition is that a high proportion of the 1.868 billion tons of cereals produced last year world-wide, and yet a higher percentage of the 1990 output will go to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union at the expense of famine-stricken African countries like Ethiopia, the Sudan, Angola and Mozambique, where 40 to 60 per cent of the families suffer malnutrition.

Such a denial of much needed food assistance for Africa will no doubt have dire implications. Today, "Africa is the only part of the world where per capita output has decreased while population rates are increasing". And Africa's food production has grown at only half its population growth from 1970 to 1985.

Africa Needs a Hand of Partnership, Not a Handout: Let me end by saying that no one but the clairvoyant can fully fathom the implications of changing East-West relations and their consequences for Africa. There are imponderables, but there are also certain well-known facts that seem to me inescapable.

Whatever these consequences will be, they seem to me to revolve around economic issues more than political ones. Africa's seemingly intractable circumstances of economic underdevelopment are all too well known. What is not so well accepted is that African leaders have during the past decade acknowledged their share of their responsibility, and in many cases have demonstrated their willingness to take extremely difficult measures.

Beginning with the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, African leaders at their meeting in November 1984 chartered an economic course spanning nations, regions and the whole continent. Many of them even swallowed the

(Continued on page 10)

U.S. Support for Unita Disrupts Angolan Peace Talks

Angola has criticised the U.S.A. for continuing its support for the Unita rebels, which was affecting the peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita, started some time ago.

A week after Angola's Permanent Representative to the United Nations had denounced (31 August 1990) the bellicose intransigence shown by Unita in the negotiating process, the United States expressed support for the pretensions of the group led by Jonas Savimbi.

Interviewed by the Voice of America, Jeffrey Davidow, U.S. Assistant Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, saw fit to state that "Unita's positions in the talks were reasonable and the proposals put to it by Luanda were inadequate".

In a commentary on this development, Angola's national news agency, ANGOP, said on 13 September 1990:

Shamelessly interfering in the internal affairs of Angola, an independent and sovereign state, and conducting himself in what can only be described as a domineering and arrogant manner, Davidow was officially announcing U.S. support for Unita's positions in the talks.

Responding to pressure from Washington, as is its custom, Unita came on strongly at the talks, showing that it is only concerned about winning power rather than peace. So the third round of talks, which ended in Lisbon (early September 1990) was a failure as far as popular expectations are concerned.

Jonas Savimbi's delegation to the direct talks in Lisbon was inflexible, insisting on recognition of Unita as a party before any steps towards a ceasefire can be taken.

It is now quite clear that Washington is instigating Unita to secure from the Angolan government its recognition as a political party with its own army.

This concept, unknown anywhere in the world, presupposes recognition by a state of an armed opposition; in other words, the recognition and institutionalisation of violence in the country.

In defiance of every form of democracy, the U.S.A. is obviously promoting a concept which has never been adopted in any country in the world.

However, the Angolan government continues to reaffirm its willingness to work for peace, a regulated market economy and a multiparty system in the country based on universal democratic principles, without external interference, as Unita and the U.S.A. would like.

Regardless of the intentions of Unita and its mentors, the Angolan government is aware that the nation cannot subject itself to the negative strategy of hostile forces which are incapable of adapting to the new political thinking in the world.

Moreover, the essence of the problem in the peace negotiations in Angola is that Unita, under sustained pressure from Washington, wants to be recognised as an armed opposition. This is obviously in order to make official the entry into Angola of U.S. military assistance. Yet no state would in fact take the risk of institutionalising violence in any guise or on any political pretext.

U.S. Support for Unita Denounced in Britain

Lord Gifford, President of the Mozambique-Angola Committee, has described continued United States support for Unita as "outrageous". He was speaking in London on 29 July 1990 at a lunch to raise funds for famine victims in Angola.

It was disgraceful, he said, at a time when the world was moving towards the elimination of the Cold War climate and towards detente, that the U.S. should continue to give military support to "criminal bands" in Angola.

Lord Gifford advised the U.S. government to change its policy of aggression towards Angola to a "policy of participation in reconstructing a country destroyed by South African aggression and acts of sabotage by Unita, with Washington's complicity".

He announced that the Mozambique-Angola Committee would shortly be sending a container of agricultural implements as a donation to peasants in Benguela, one of the provinces most affected by drought.

The Angolan Ambassador to Britain, Luis Neto Kiambata, also denounced U.S. policy towards Angola and called on the international community to press Washington to end its support for Unita.

British MPs Protest at U.S. Embassy:

A delegation headed by Lord Gifford, President of the Mozambique-Angola Committee based in Britain, went to the United States Embassy in London on 2 August 1990 to protest against Washington's interventionist policy in Angola.

A letter addressed to the United States Ambassador signed by Lord Gifford and Baroness Hart, both members of the British House of Lords; members of Parliament Joan Lester and Bernie Grant; and Margaret Ling and Peter Brayshaw, Co-Chairs of the Mozambique-Angola Committee, was given to the U.S. Embassy.

Extracts from the letter:

We are writing to express serious concern about United States policy towards Angola, its military support for Unita and reports that President Bush's administration is asking Congress to approve another \$10-\$15 million for the anti-government group, in addition to \$50 million already earmarked for this year.

Until the New York agreements of December 1988 which led to Namibia's independence, Angola was devastated by more than 13 years of direct invasions, occupation, bombing and shelling by the South African army and air force. Unita played an auxiliary role in that war, receiving training, logistical supplies, air cover and other all-round support from the South Africans and often fighting alongside them.

Now Washington has taken over from Pretoria as Unita's sponsor, violating Angola's borders, from bases in neighbouring Zaire, by flying in weapons which are used to attack villagers and food supply convoys, to mine roads and paths, to cut off water and power supplies to urban centres, in short to "hit where it hurts most", to quote Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The fact that the United States does not recognise the Angolan government is sometimes given as legal justification for violating the sovereignty of that African country. Yet, it is a violation of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations of which both countries are members.

At a time when everyone is welcoming the end of the Cold War and a new climate of seeking negotiated solutions to conflicts, the United States seems bent on putting its own proteges in power in Angola; or, failing that, using military pressure to force Angola to govern itself on Washington's terms.

We earnestly appeal to the United States administration to reconsider its interventionist policy in Angola, to cease financial and military support for Unita and to allow the people of that country to solve what is indeed "an internal Angolan question".

Renamo: Tool of External Forces to Destabilize Mozambique

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, who has been trying to hold peace talks with Renamo terrorists, has told the Mozambican Parliament - the People's Assembly - that the "bandits' pre-conditions" were a pretext to achieve their objective of "conquest of power".

Speaking in the People's Assembly on 19 September 1990, President Chissano said that "what they want is power", adding that the leaders of Renamo, "knowing that they cannot conquer power through the force of arms", and that "not even their mentors can hand them power on a tray", are trying to "get us to bring them into power", even giving government positions to them.

The Mozambican leader said that, if Renamo could get power, not only would they seize it, but they would use it dictatorially to exclude any other group in the country from power.

It is not possible, the President stressed, "to create democracy through anti-democratic processes", and said that Renamo "have always used anti-democratic methods. They don't understand the democratic process that we are creating in our country".

President Chissano also revealed that, in talks held with Renamo leaders, it was evident that when speaking of a multiparty system, they were referring only to the existence of just two parties, Frelimo and Renamo.

Forces Behind Renamo: Job Chambal, one of the members of Parliament, asked the President whether there had been a change in the character of Renamo as an organisation armed by external forces and serving foreign interests, and whether Renamo's positions in the peace talks could not have been the result of pressure from the forces behind them who want to continue the destabilization of Mozambique.

Mr Chissano responded that the "destabilising hand" at work behind the upsurge of violence in South Africa comes from "forces that are opposed to the changes that the South African government, and President de Klerk in particular, want to introduce into South Africa." It is "these same forces", he said, "that are - directly or indirectly still supporting Renamo." There is continuity, he added, although to a different degree and with lesser effect, to that which existed before.

The Mozambican leader drew attention to the fact that the Mozambique government is aware that Renamo also have contacts in Portugal, and he reported that Renamo's chief of external relations, Raul Domingos, and other elements of the group, have been visiting Portugal since 18 September 1990.

Mozambique Government's position: President Chissano presented to the People's Assembly the Mozambique government's position on the withdrawal of the Zimbabwean forces from Mozambique. The government was willing to enter into such discussions once Renamo is agreeable to discussing a ceasefire because, he said, "the Zimbabweans are not here to stay".

However, Renamo alleges that if it discusses the ceasefire first it will lose "the only means of pressure" which it has, namely through the force of arms. Mr Chissano pointed out that Renamo itself, through its attacks on Zimbabwean territory, and its attacks on the road and railway linking this landlocked country with the Indian Ocean, "makes it necessary for the Zimbabweans to stay".

BOOKS

Facing Up to the Domination of the North

The Challenge to the South

The Report of the South Commission

Published by Oxford
University Press, New York,
U.S.A. in 1990

Price not mentioned. pp. 325

Reviewed by Bhagat Vats

A NEW hope has been created for the developing countries for freeing themselves from the domination of the developed industrialised countries, domination that perpetuates the Third World's poverty. And this has been done most appropriately by leading experts from the developing countries themselves, under the chairmanship of Mr Julius K. Nyerere, former President of Tanzania.

Meeting as members of the South Commission, set up three years ago at the initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement, the experts have produced what they describe as The Report of the South Commission. It is a call for action that the Third World was waiting for – a programme for galvanising peoples support at all levels to remove the blot of poverty and underdevelopment from civilization's face that the present international economic and other mechanisms controlled by the developed countries are mainly responsible for.

The South Commission adopted a terminology of its own to designate different segments of humanity in a divided world. Together, it says, the developing countries, accounting for more than two thirds of the earth's land surface area, where live three and a half billion people – three quarters of all humanity – are often called the Third World; these countries have been termed as the **South**. On the other hand, the developed countries are called the **North**. The countries of Eastern Europe are included in the category called North. "Our notion of the North also includes the countries of Eastern Europe, whose attitude towards the South has differed from that of the West. So far, these countries, while strongly supporting the aspirations of the South, have not played a major role in North-South negotiations on economic matters. Links of co-operation between them and the South have not been fully developed. Conditions in these countries are changing very fast and a new basis for co-operation will need to be evolved as they seek to re-define their position in the global economy."

On the wide gulf dividing the North from the South, The South Commission's Report says: "While most of the people of the North are affluent, most of the people of the South are poor; while the economies of the North are generally strong and resilient, those of the South are mostly weak and defenceless; while the countries in the North are, by and large, in control of their destinies, those of the South are very vulnerable to external factors and lacking in functional sovereignty."

Why is this so, and what can be done to change it?

The South Commission has endeavoured to answer these vital questions that affect the vast majority of humankind with sympathy, insight and wisdom.

The South Commission's Report tries to show a way to the South of how to deal with the challenge it faces to defend itself from the economic and other impositions the North forces on them to preserve the present inequitable arrangements from which the latter benefits.

The South Commission does not directly deal

The Challenge to the South

The Report
of the South
Commission

with the stratagems the North adopts to subvert the efforts of countries of the South to end poverty. But it does expose effectively the North's growing power: "The widening disparities between South and North are attributable not merely to differences in economic progress, but also to an enlargement of the North's power vis-a-vis the rest of the world. The leading countries of the North now more readily use that power in pursuit of their objectives. **The 'gunboat' diplomacy of the nineteenth century still has its economic and political counterpart in the closing years of the twentieth. The fate of the South is increasingly dictated by the perceptions and policies of governments in the North, of the multilateral institutions which a few of those governments control, and of the network of private institutions that are increasingly prominent. Domination has been reinforced where partnership was needed and hoped for by the South.**"

The South Commission's Report makes only a passing reference to apartheid and the South African racist regime's domination over the region of Southern Africa. But even the brief mention it has made is of great value in understanding the phenomenon of apartheid.

The South Commission does not say it in so many words, but it is apparent that the white racist regime in South Africa is part of the North. All these years, apartheid has been maintained, supported and sustained by the Western countries of the North. It is the collective Western veto in the Security Council which has thwarted the demand of the vast majority of the international community in the UN General Assembly for imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, against South Africa.

The Western countries' equivocation in this regard is utterly devoid of any scruple or shame. While opposing sanctions against South Africa on the specious plea that "sanctions don't work", they brazenly demand sanctions against other countries when it comes to serving their interests in, say, the South Atlantic or the Middle East.

In its reference to apartheid, the South Commission is in effect giving a warning against any half-measures for the dismantlement of apartheid. "Gross injustices," it says, "are clearly incompatible with development. Personal insecurity, whether it arises from widespread crime or government action, is incompatible with freedom and therefore with development. So too is the denial of human dignity and equality. Discrimination on the grounds of sex, colour, race, religion, or political belief cannot be justified by economic or social advances which spill over to those who suffer such discrimination. Apartheid would remain the antithesis of development even if black South Africans were able to enjoy a larger share in South Africa's wealth."

This observation underscores the need to mobilise support for the full implementation of

the UN Declaration on apartheid adopted in December 1989.

The racist regime has received and is still receiving a considerable measure of support from a number of Western countries which have huge investments in South Africa running into thousands of millions of dollars. The North will work in concert with the apartheid regime, even in the negotiations process between it and the struggling people of South Africa.

The North's power has always tilted towards the racist regime in South Africa, a tilt which can be countered by greater unity of the Third World as a whole, and not only in the region of Southern Africa.

We may here quote from the South Commission's Report to underline this aspect of the situation globally: "Global interdependence is not symmetrical: the South is not an equal partner of the North but is in a position of subordination. In international economic relations the South is not allowed a fair share but is exploited. So far from participating in decision-making at the world level, it is in fact excluded. It has little influence on its external environment; it is by and large at its mercy.... One of the central conclusions of this Report is that the destiny of developing countries and their economies and societies will become even more dependent on the external environment in the period to come, and in a number of new, diverse, and complex ways. In view of their weaknesses and vulnerabilities, it is therefore of critical importance for all developing countries to try to secure an adequate degree of institutionalized protection of their independence and freedom of action through a multilateral regime, backed up by a strengthened United Nations system."

In the sub-chapter entitled, Advancing South-South Co-operation: Strategy and Programmes, the South Commission's Report commends the formation of several economic co-operative undertakings in different parts of the Third World to strengthen their position against the domination of the North. In this it includes the SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) and says that this economic arrangement "stemmed from the concern of a group of African countries to strengthen their solidarity in the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa".

Tremendous havoc has been caused in Southern Africa by the apartheid regime's aggression against the Front Line states, and the backing it has given to rebel forces there with the help and connivance of the North. All this will ever stand out as one of the most heinous acts against international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The South Commission has outlined a six-point global programme of immediate action to deal with pressing issues, to combat world poverty, in the interest of sustainable development worldwide and the promotion of global peace and security.

It is to be hoped that the world public at the NGO level will lend support to this programme which includes action to stop the net transfer of resources from the South to the North, to remove the overhang of the external debt of developing countries, establishing multilateral arrangements for protecting the global environmental commons and ensuring sustainable development, and to draw a time table for lifting protectionist barriers.

The suggestion made by the South Commission for setting up a South Secretariat to help prepare the South to face a well-organised and united North should be implemented by the developing countries without delay. And the members of the South Commission including its esteemed Chairman must be associated with the work of the South Secretariat.

The South Commission's report must become part of the curricula of all institutions, colleges and universities in the Third World. It should constitute a must reading on the part of leaders of government, and activists in public life, trade unions, youth and women's movements, the media world, and the NGO movement as a whole, especially in the South countries.

BOOKS

India's Pioneering Support for Africa's Liberation

Nehru and Resurgent Africa

by Hari Sharan Chhabra

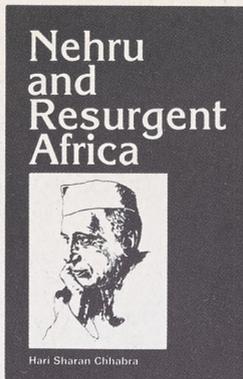
Published by Africa Publications (India), M-13, South Extension Part-II, New Delhi 110049 in 1989.

Price Rs. 150 pp. 172

This book gives an authentic account of the passionate advocacy of Jawaharlal Nehru, before and after he became Prime Minister of Independent India, of the cause of Africa, its freedom and liberation from colonial domination.

The book is well documented and puts the record straight on India's pioneering efforts for taking Africa's side against world imperialism which dominated different countries of the African continent.

India was the first country to raise its voice in international forums in support of the liberation



movements in different countries of Africa under the yoke of British, Portuguese, Belgian and French colonialism.

The book gives due credit to India's role in the United Nations, where it was the first to raise the issue of racial discrimination in South Africa. This was done in 1946, almost from the very inception of the world organisation. India also was the first country to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa and impose a trade embargo against it, long before the word "sanctions" had entered the international terminology. India has maintained these sanctions throughout these last decades.

India was also the first country to implement in full the UN General Assembly Resolution 176(XVII) on a general ban on trade and other

contacts, like sea and air travel with South Africa.

The book brings out effectively Jawaharlal Nehru's observations on the attitude of the West towards racial tyranny in South Africa. The author points out that Nehru was disappointed at the attitude of Western countries in dismissing the issue of racism in South Africa as one which had become "frozen" or "petrified".

The author quotes Nehru describing the racial policy of South Africa as "a violation of everything that the United Nations stands for".

The author says: "A little known fact is that it was on Nehru's insistence that racist South Africa was kept out of the Bandung Conference (of Asian and African countries, held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955). Instead of South Africa, two delegates of the African National Congress of South Africa attended the Bandung Conference."

The book contains the text of some memorable speeches of Nehru on Africa. It also has the text of the letter of Nelson Mandela which he wrote from the dungeon of apartheid on Robben Island to the Indian authorities that conferred on him the prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding for 1979. The prison officials held up the letter; the letter then was smuggled out of prison and it reached India a year later, when it was circulated by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

"Nehru and Resurgent Africa" is a very readable book and should be in every library as a document of India's great contribution to the liberation struggles of the African people, and to the ending of apartheid in South Africa.

Police Collaboration with Inkatha

(Continued from page 6)

Controlling Dissent Through Low Intensity Conflict: What is apparent in low intensity conflict theory and in the speeches of its South African proponents is the belief that the creation of a political solution requires not a commitment to political bargaining, not even top-down reform, but a bottom-up reconstruction of political forces. The move from total strategy to active low intensity conflict is the subtle move from controlling dissent to reorganising politics. Its emergence in South Africa coincided with the realisation that maximum force policing, exemplified in the use of live ammunition on crowds, the massacres of demonstrators at Langa, Mamelodi, Winterveld and in the "Trojan horse" incident at Athlone, could not disrupt or contain the uprising which erupted throughout South Africa in 1984. In fact it even accelerated community resistance and cohesion. What was required, therefore, was an additional disorganising strategy. The use of vigilantes which spread throughout South Africa in 1986 is such a stratagem. Only in Natal, however, has there been an agency capable of sustaining such conflict without direct and overt security force assistance.

In Natal the security forces could make use of Inkatha's desire to pursue its own national political goals while confining the role of the state to guaranteeing Inkatha's resources. Inkatha has benefited from the violence politically. Not only has the violence caused the extermination of opponents, but it has hindered the organisation of an alternative political presence in an area it regards as its own fiefdom. **The history of peace initiatives indicates that the violence has at times increased Inkatha's political leverage, establishing the necessity of incorporating Inkatha and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi into any national political settlement. There is no clearer indication of Inkatha's strategy to achieve its own political ends than the history of its participation in various peace initiatives.**

Peace Initiatives: At the heart of the failure to secure a durable peace accord are the very different interests the two sides have in a peace agreement. Whereas UDF/COSATU/ANC have consistently argued in favour of one objective, freedom of association in Natal, Chief Buthelezi has a different view of what a peace accord should deliver. Inkatha has sought, in effect, to freeze the political boundaries in Natal thereby preventing further erosion of its support base. Whereas UDF/COSATU/ANC require peace in order to consolidate and extend their organisational structures, Inkatha seeks a solution which would not promote such an outcome. It is for this reason that several initiatives towards the achievement of a peace accord have come from the UDF/COSATU grouping. Inkatha has withdrawn from or criticised these peace initiatives while at the level of public rhetoric advancing itself as an organisation of peace, seeking a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems. Strident and warlike talk by Inkatha leaders to their own constituency is at odds with this claim, as has been the promotion of those within its organisation identified as 'hawks'.

Future of Natal: The Natal violence now constitutes a barrier to national negotiations between the government and the ANC. Its elevation on the political agenda is not a political stratagem designed to add items to the "pre-negotiations agenda". It is a realistic appreciation of the suffering of the people of Natal. It reflects an acute awareness that the legacy of the violence will last for years if not generations, and the realisation that seeds have been sown which could sustain destructive acrimony in a post-apartheid South Africa, replicating the divisive conflicts which have beset Mozambique and Angola. **The conflict undermines the prospect of creating a democratic culture in which the freedoms of assembly, speech, debate and political affiliation will be tolerated. Instead it is creating a culture of violence and death. The brutalisation of the Natal townships crosses political lines, tribal affiliation, gender and age differences.**

Foreign Support to Inkatha: Chief Buthelezi has been allowed to evade pressure to enter a durable peace pact because foreign governments from which he draws his support have accepted his stated commitment to peace as sufficient. Yet those who claim that they wish to see a multi-party democracy in a future South Africa will not serve this cause by refraining from intervening in this conflict.

Impact on Africa

(Continued from page 7)

Western-designed structural adjustment programmes, all in the hope that the international community would live up to its pledges.

Few promises were as eloquent and grand as those of UNPAAERD; as yet unredeemed. True, certain countries, preferring the bilateral approach, have converted their debts to development grants. Some have even written off debts owed by the least developed countries. **But, for a serious transfer of development resources which were promised at these conferences, the political will is lacking, multilateralism has been abandoned, and Africa has received nothing.**

And so, you can imagine our feeling when we hear of the establishment of financial institutions with huge sums for the development of Eastern Europe, bilateral grants to individual countries, simply because they have "renounced" that Western enemy "communism". It is almost as if the West will respond only to something akin to a religious conversion to their own ideological beliefs. I hesitate to bring in the matter of race, but it is hard for Africans to understand that, especially in those countries that have always held democracy as their goal and have always encouraged at least a mixed economy, there is no enthusiasm let alone a reward.

What we can do alone, we shall do. For reasons of national pride and sovereignty, Africans have refused to put the major share of the blame for their underdevelopment on the ex-colonial and neo-colonial Powers. But like our own elephant, we do have long memories. We know that we did our share in two world wars to uphold democracy and freedom, and we demand our fair share of what this freedom has provided the developed countries.

Africa is not averse to doing business with the rest of the world. It must, however, have the capacity to conduct such business without becoming subservient to global economic and structural adjustment policies that constrain development and engender massive human suffering and misery. For Africa to survive, it must be given a hand of partnership — not a hand-out.

A UN Report

Sports Boycott of South Africa Must Continue

The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid has observed that the policy of sports isolation of apartheid in South Africa is essential and must continue.

This observation is made in the last issue of the Special Committee's Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa (1 January - 31 December 1989), which also contains the Consolidated List of sportsmen and sportswomen who participated in sports events in South Africa from 1 September 1980 to 31 December 1989.

Published here are extracts from the Introduction to the last issue of the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa which says: "Since the progress prescribed in the [UN] Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (December 1989), is still very limited, i.e., negotiations have not even started and the pillars of apartheid remain intact, the implementation of the sports boycott remains not only timely but essential. The Special Committee against Apartheid, therefore, intends to continue publishing this Register and to advocate the strict adherence to the policy of sports isolation by Governments, organisations and individuals."

ONE of the potent measures aimed at applying pressure on Pretoria to abandon apartheid is the observance of the policy of sports isolation of apartheid South Africa. Since the progress prescribed in the UN Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (December 1989), is still very limited, i.e., negotiations have not even started and the pillars of apartheid remain intact, the implementation of the sports boycott remains not only timely but essential. It forms part of the "concerted and effective measures" that the international community has undertaken to speed the elimination of apartheid. The Special Committee against Apartheid, therefore, intends to continue publishing this Register and to advocate the strict adherence to the policy of sports isolation by Governments, organizations and individuals.

Cases of Discrimination in 1989:

Although it is widely recognized that genuine sports integration is not possible under the system of apartheid, white sports administrators continue to organize so-called integrated events, which have, however, failed to detract from the reality of segregation. A volley-ball tournament, for instance, scheduled at the Rainbow Valley Resort at East London had to be moved elsewhere because one of the teams contained three coloured players, who were barred from staying at the resort. In another case, black karatekas taking part in the Transvaal Shokukai Karate Association Championships were forced to sleep 60 kilometres from the venue while their white counterparts were accommodated at a nearby motel. According to the organizers, there were no facilities for black competitors at the motel adjoining the venue. Other examples of discrimination are given below.

Six black anglers were refused entry to the Loskop Dam Overvaal Holiday Resorts near Pretoria because the facility was for white use only. The deputy marketing director of the Overvaal Holiday Resorts said: "The resorts are government-run and fall under own affairs. There are separate resorts for different races and, until the law is changed, there is nothing we can do."

A black official was refused entry to watch a

football match at an all-white club at Pretoria that refused to allow blacks. Three young swimmers were barred from using the indoor Hillbrow Swimming Pool at Johannesburg. All 27 municipal pools in the city are reserved for white use.

The white South African Tennis Union (SATU), hoping to avert expulsion from the International Tennis Federation, announced that it would expel any tennis club that practised racial exclusivity. Thereafter, two clubs in the Transvaal, Selection Park and Valedale, held emergency meetings to drop the "whites only" stipulation from their constitutions.

The white-controlled South African Gymnastics Union evaded the issue of racial discrimination by vesting autonomous power in the clubs. Therefore, clubs refusing to admit members on the basis of colour, culture, language, creed or religion, will not be disciplined. Most gymnastics clubs in the country still remain exclusively white.

Blacks who are forced to accept certain apartheid sports structures are, quite often, subjected to discrimination. Professional boxing has, on many occasions, been accused of being biased. This was evident in June 1989 when Howard Mpepesi, a black, fought Sakkie Horn, a white. Experts, including the English and Afrikaans television commentators, agreed that Mpepesi won the fight easily but the three judges, of

which two were white, awarded the bout to the white boxer. The judges are nominated by the government-appointed South African Boxing Board of Control.

The Coloured South African Rugby Federation (SARF), which is affiliated with the white South African Rugby Board (SARB), exposed the discriminatory nature of so-called non-racialism in rugby. The President of SARF, in an address, stated that the "presence of non-white clubs and teams in Union competition is only outshined by their absence. The number of Federation players taken up in representative teams over the past decade can be numbered on the fingers of two hands". He continued "that competitions and provincial teams are holy cows in which the occasional and symbolic presence of non-white players are intrusions to be tolerated rather than encouraged".

South African police stopped 11 buses full of black school children from leaving a high school in Guguleto, near Cape Town, to hold a non-racial sports event. It was suspected that the police had been asked to intervene because the sports event was not organized within the framework of the apartheid Government's Department of Education and Training.

Conclusion: The international pressure on apartheid, including the isolation of South Africa in the field of sports, has undoubtedly played a significant role in the new policy of the South African Government to seek negotiations with the representatives of the majority towards a new future for the country.

It is evident that the sports boycott against South Africa has focused world attention on the discrimination prevailing in South African society and sports and has further intensified international demands that the regime should dismantle apartheid, including apartheid in sports.

The policy of continued isolation of apartheid South Africa in sports was generally confirmed in the Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa which incorporated the pledge of States Members of the United Nations that all effective and concerted measures would be taken to ensure a speedy end to apartheid and that existing measures would not be relaxed until profound and irreversible changes were made in line with the objectives of the Declaration.

In this light, the Special Committee against Apartheid will continue to issue the Sports Register, which has become an essential component in the campaign for the boycott of apartheid sport. Until apartheid is eliminated, the sports isolation of South Africa will remain in effect.

Commission against Apartheid in Sports Calls for Support

The UN Commission against Apartheid in Sports has recommended that the General Assembly urge all those States, that have not done so, to sign and ratify the Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

Ending its second session in September 1990, the Commission further recommended that the Assembly urge all States, organizations and individuals to maintain the sports boycott against South Africa. It also appealed to governments and sporting bodies to provide assistance to non-racial South African sports organizations.

Chairman James Victor Gbeho, from Ghana, called for the international community to continue to apply sanctions, including those involving sports, until apartheid had been eradicated.

Apartheid isn't Sport – No Apartheid Sport – Picture of a demonstration published in "Father Huddleston's Picture Book".





Appeal for Public Support for AFRICA Fund

An appeal has been made to non-governmental organisations, foundations and other public institutions for material support for AFRICA Fund, set up at the initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1986. India is the Chairman of the Fund.

The AFRICA Fund came into being, as its name signifies, for "Action For Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid". It was meant to mobilise the conscience of the world in assisting victims of apartheid in South Africa.

So far several governments in different parts of the world have contributed to the AFRICA Fund. An appeal has now been made for support of NGOs, public organisations for this humanitarian initiative.

Published here are extracts from the appeal made by India in its capacity as Chairman of the AFRICA Fund; the address of the AFRICA Fund is care of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, South Block, New Delhi 110001, India.

Nelson Mandela is already more than half way through his one-man Odyssey apprising the world of the new situation in South Africa. Wherever he has gone, he has emphasised the need to maintain the international pressures on Pretoria that have contributed so much to achieving the present, hopefully promising stage of developments in that unfortunate country. All this would of course be known to you.

My purpose in writing to you is to apprise you of the initiative that was taken by over a hundred developing countries at a meeting in Harare in September, 1989 to mobilise the conscience of the world in assisting the victims of apartheid in South Africa. And to enlist your support in this noble cause.

The Harare meeting of Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) decided to set up the AFRICA Fund-the acronym in this name standing for "Action For Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid". The objectives of the Fund were mainly to support the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa in their struggle against oppression and to assist the Frontline States in resisting South Africa's destabilisation policies. In meeting its objectives, the Fund was mandated to focus on developing human skills, rehabilitating refugees and migrant labour, building up strategic relief reserves and strengthening the sectors of transport and communications.

The world at large has responded generously to NAM's appeal for participation in the AFRICA Fund. As many as 58 governments have so far pledged around US\$ 430 million to it, most of it in kind or as technical assistance. Not all of these contributions have come from the nonaligned countries. Much valued assistance has also been received from Finland, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Turkey in the Western world, as well as from the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

At its recent meeting in Lusaka, the AFRICA Fund Committee decided to look beyond governments and seek also the cooperation of non-governmental organisations, foundations and

other such institutions for the accomplishment of the Fund's unfinished agenda. In the past its humanitarian activities have included participation, along with UNICEF, in the provision of drinking water for displaced women and children in the Sofala province of Mozambique. Medicines and clothing, tents and tarpaulins have comforted a large number of refugees from disturbed areas who have fled to other Frontline States. Training has been organised by a number of participating countries to impart urgently needed vocational skills. Others have supplied boats and trucks, buses, jeeps and railway wagons to the affected people of Southern Africa. But much more needs to be done."

The AFRICA Fund was launched in New Delhi in January 1987 by the then Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi with India making the first contribution of 40 million dollars to the Fund.

The launching ceremony was performed at a meeting of leaders of nine non-aligned countries, which constitute the AFRICA Fund Committee. These countries are: India, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Argentina, Congo, Nigeria, Peru and Yugoslavia.

The purport of the AFRICA Fund was explained by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his address that launched the Fund: "We belong to one human family. That part of our family which lives in southern Africa is suffering the consequences of invasion, colonialism and apartheid. We wish to go to the aid of our kith and kin. It is this spirit of unified action which has inspired our discussions. In a few short months, we have translated an idea into a specific plan of action. The schemes and projects we have identified will channel urgently needed additional assistance to Liberation Movements in South Africa and Namibia, and to the Frontline States. The AFRICA Fund is an earnest of our solidarity with our brothers and sisters in southern Africa.

"The ending of apartheid is not merely the restoration of human rights and human dignity to the people of South Africa but is, in fact, the restoration of human rights and human dignity to all of humanity. To temporise with apartheid is to compromise with human decency. There is a significant correlation between the reluctance to take decisive action and vested economic interests. Many speak about human rights. Few have suffered as much as the Frontline States for standing up for human rights. They have done so with courage and out of principle. They are paying a heavy price for resisting apartheid and aggression.

"The racist clique is increasing its oppression, not from strength but from fear; fear that apartheid is about to crumble; fear that its overthrow is imminent and inevitable; fear that the whites of South Africa will learn to live in amity with the other races; fear that South Africa will have a society based on human rights and the dignity of the individual.

"Now is the moment to strike-and strike hard. The superstructure of apartheid is built on the foundations of military relationships and economic sustenance from abroad. Sanctions will undermine the foundations of apartheid. Sanctions are the only non-violent means left to counter the violence of apartheid.

ANC Writes to International Mobilisation

The African National Congress in a letter to the Editor of WPC publication, "International Mobilisation Against Apartheid and for the Liberation of Southern Africa", has expressed "profound appreciation" for its contribution in mobilising public opinion for ending apartheid.

The letter has been sent by Mr Yusuf Saloojee, Administrative Secretary, Department of International Affairs, African National Congress from inside South Africa, from the ANC office in Johannesburg (Munich Re Centre, 54 Sauer St., Johannesburg 2000).

The letter dated 21 September 1990 said: "The usefulness of your publication cannot be overemphasised. It is indeed an important contribution to our campaign for maximum mobilisation of the International Community against the heinous system of apartheid. Even though important changes have taken place in South Africa, apartheid remains intact. We hope you will continue to assist us in mobilising the International Community through your publication. Amandla!"

In another communication to "International Mobilisation" (24.9.1990), ANC Representative in Finland, Mr. Mohamed Hussein said:

"International Mobilisation is indeed very useful in our work here in Finland to get across the message of the struggle against apartheid. In particular, we appreciate the extensive interviews and speeches from key actors in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Given the wide international reach of your publication, there is no question in our minds as to its value and impact on the international anti-apartheid scene. We commend you for your sterling efforts and express the hope that International Mobilisation will continue to provide the invaluable service that it does."



INTERNATIONAL MOBILISATION

AGAINST APARTHEID AND FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

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BAOBAB NOTES



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Chissano wins Mozambican election

President Joaquim Chissano won Mozambique's first multi-party elections by obtaining 53% against Renamo's Dhlakama's 34% of the presidential vote. In the parliamentary vote, Frelimo obtained 44% of the electorate while Renamo obtained 38%. The rest of the electorate went to smaller parties. The overall voter turnout was close to 90% with the election declared free and fair by all observers

SWAPO wins Namibia's vote

President Sam Nujoma and his ruling party SWAPO swept to easy victory on December 10 in Namibia's first post-independence elections, heading for a majority big enough to allow the party to rewrite the 1990 independence constitution. With almost all votes counted, SWAPO had 70.6%, the main opposition party Democratic Turnhalle Alliance had 21.9%, and the United Democratic Front 2.8%. SWAPO is expected to take about 50 seats in the 72-member parliament. Sam Nujoma led the independence struggle of Namibia from South Africa. Officials said indications were that 55-65% of the 650,000 registered voters had cast ballots in this election.

(The Boston Globe, 12/11/94)

Republicans plan to slash aid for Africa

One of the first priorities of the Republican Party is to cut foreign aid funding. Senator Mitch McConnell (Republican from Kentucky), Chair of the Subcommittee on International Operations, has proposed the elimination of a fund which reserves a portion of the aid budget for Africa. "I have a hard time justifying expenditures in most of the African continent... I know they have enormous problems, but I have a hard time finding an American national interest," he said. McConnell has introduced legislation to abolish the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) which reserves special funds for Sub-Saharan countries for specific health, education and economic development projects in Africa. Without these protections for Africa there is a growing danger that the Africa budget will be further cut and the continent further marginalized. Write to Sen. McConnell, Chair, Subcommittee on Int'l Operations, US Senate, Washington DC 20510; fax: 202-224-2499; tel: 202-224-2541 and Rep. Sonny Callahan, Chair, Subcommittee on Int'l Operations, House of Representatives, Washington DC 20515; fax: 202-225-0562; tel: 202-225-4931 and urge them to keep the Development Fund for Africa.

(Jim Casson/Africa Fund, 12/94)

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Notes from the Editors

1994 was an exciting year for the Baobab Notes, with a growing number of paying subscribers, lots of positive feedback and several significant developments in southern Africa: we witnessed the victory of freedom over apartheid in South Africa in April, the first multi-party elections in Mozambique in October, as well as peaceful elections in Namibia in November. While hundreds of thousands of refugees returned home to a peaceful Mozambique, war raged on in Angola where negotiations between the government and Unita remained tense at best. Prexy and Heeten were fortunate to travel and report back to you from the South African elections, and Jenny reports on the Mozambican elections in this issue.

This is a chance for us to thank you -- the readers and subscribers and generous donors -- for a good year, and to wish you a happy 1995! Thanks to each of the Baobab readers who contributed to MSO so that we were able to send Jenny Dahlstein to join Prexy Nesbitt as MSO's representatives on the World Council of Churches delegation to Mozambique. In particular, we thank Allen Isaacman, Prexy Nesbitt, Beate Klein Becker, Susan White, and the Mozambique Support Network/Boston for their generosity.

Jenny has spoken about the elections at the Community Church in Boston, is planning a brown bag lunch at her work (John Snow Inc.), and hopes to have other opportunities to share her experiences. Please contact MSO if you are interested in hosting a talk on southern Africa.

Thank you to Ruth Brandon Minter, who led the U.S. delegation, and spent a lot of time and energy pulling together the delegation and sharing logistical information through mailings and phone calls. We also extend our gratitude to Sister Janice McLaughlin and Jen Davis for their efforts in making this delegation a reality.

Thanks also to Betsey Chace who is joining us to help with the Baobab. Betsey was also an election observer on the WCC delegation.

Thanks to the Kaplan family for their generous contribution and kind words in support of MSO's work.

We are including subscription information in this issue, and urge subscribers to renew their subscriptions. We are further appealing for you to make an additional contribution which will allow us to upgrade our computer system and database. We survive entirely on subscriptions, small grants and personal contributions. Please consider sharing the Baobab Notes with friends, and encourage them to become subscribers too.

-- JD

New parliamentary chairman

Eduardo Mulembue, the new chairman of Mozambique's parliament, the Assembly of the Republic, was the country's Attorney General. He is 40 years old and comes from the northernmost province of Niassa. He is chairman of the ruling Frelimo party's disciplinary body, the verification commission, and in this capacity sits on the 15-member Frelimo political committee. Mulembue has had a distinguished career in the legal profession. He taught in the law faculty at Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University from 1980 to 1984, and then worked successively as a judge in the Maputo city court, and a member of the administrative tribunal (which supervises the legality of administrative acts and of public expenditure) before being appointed attorney general in 1991. (*AIM, 12/8/94*)

Comiche on election funds

Foreign donors contributed 59.1 million US dollars towards Mozambique's first multi-party elections. Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the donors, Finance Minister Eneas Comiche said that 15 countries and two international bodies (the European Union and the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP) had contributed to the electoral budget. The initial budget for the elections was 69.9 million dollars, plus 15% for unforeseen contingencies. Right from the start the Mozambican government had said that only the local currency equivalent of four million dollars was available from the Mozambican state budget. Everything else had to come from donors. According to UNDP figures, the final cost of the elections was 63.53 million dollars, which works out to about ten dollars for each registered voter. Comiche said that the main donors had been the European Union (26.2 million dollars), Italy (10 million), the United States (9.2 million), and the Nordic countries (more than 9 million dollars). "We would like to express our great thanks to the countries and international organisations who made a positive contribution so that the pacification and democratization of Mozambique could be crowned with success", said Comiche. Comiche urged the donors to continue their support for demobilised soldiers into civilian life, to remove land mines, and to repair the infrastructures destroyed during the war of destabilisation. (*AIM, 12/11/94*)

Agreement on Cahora Bassa

The Mozambican and Swedish governments signed an agreement on the 13th of December under which Sweden will provide financial support for building a new power line from Cahora Bassa Dam, on the Zambezi River in the northwestern province of Tete, to Zimbabwe. Sweden will provide 65 million Swedish kronor (about \$US8.5 million) for the project. The new line will meet about 25 percent of Zimbabwe's electricity needs and could generate important export earnings for Mozambique. The total cost of building the line is estimated at \$US80 million and other financiers include Norway, Finland, France and the European Investment Bank. Sweden has been assisting the Mozambican energy sector since the early 1980s. (*AIM, 12/13/94*)

Mozambique's parliament opening

On the 8th of December, Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano opened the first session of the newly elected parliament, the Assembly of the Republic, the first multiparty legislature in Mozambican history. The 250 deputies were elected in October. Chissano's Frelimo party has 129 seats, the former rebel movement Renamo 112, and the Democratic Union (UD), a coalition of three small opposition parties, has the remaining nine. When Chissano praised the outgoing parliament and particularly its chairman, veteran nationalist Marcelino dos Santos, there was a standing ovation from Frelimo and an ungracious silence from Renamo. The hostility is doubtless mutual - dos Santos has stated publicly that he will never shake hands with Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama unless specifically ordered to do so by the Frelimo leadership. The display of Renamo rudeness merely caused the Frelimo deputies to redouble their applause and cheers for Dos Santos.

Chissano paid handsome tribute to dos Santos. "Writer, poet, political leader, fighter for the freedom of his own country and of southern Africa, Marcelino dos Santos is one of the great figures of the history of Mozambique and of the continent", declared Chissano. In words that could have been read as a gentle rebuke to Renamo, the President added "knowing how to respect the past, without turning it into a myth, is a condition for the continuity of the state and the nation". He noted that the deputies came from different parts of the country, and were of different races, religions and ethnic groups, as well as from different political parties. But certain things were common to all: "you are all Mozambican and all deputies of this assembly", said Chissano. "and you all have as your fundamental mandate to serve Mozambican interests, the cause of national unity, of Mozambican sovereignty, the defence of our territorial integrity, and the progress and well-being of all social strata". (*12/8/94, AIM*)

Dhlakama rejects new chairman

Mozambique's newly elected parliament, the Assembly of the Republic, faces a bumpy ride in the near future, with the main opposition party, the former rebel movement Renamo, adamantly refusing to recognise Eduardo Mulembue. The election of Mulembue at the assembly's first session was "shameful", declared Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama. He dismissed the session as "just a Frelimo festival". "So far there is no recognised assembly", he alleged, and called on the deputies to "put right" the situation - presumably by throwing out Mulembue and electing someone else. The head of the Frelimo parliamentary group, former transport minister Armando Guebuza, speaking to the weekly paper "Savana", hoped that Renamo and the UD would review their position "otherwise we shall soon find ourselves in the ridiculous situation of saying that votes are only democratic when Renamo wins". Despite this, Dhlakama said he was prepared to work with Chissano to find solutions to the nation's problems. "I was always a democrat. We know about democratic rules", he boasted. (*AIM, 12/10/94*)

After the war a shattered peace

A visit to Cuito, a provincial capital east of Huambo in Angola's central highlands, is disturbed by blasts. Not artillery shells, but the sound of people treading on landmines or children picking up handgrenades. Relief workers say four or five people blow themselves up each day. Angolan government troops drove Unita rebels out of Cuito in July. The city of 140,000 was left with one of the highest amputee populations in the world.

There is not a tree without bullet holes. The facades of the once lovely Portuguese villas look like they have been bashed by a gigantic sledgehammer. Perhaps, one might imagine, such devastation is to be expected after 20 years of war. But it has taken only two years to destroy Cuito and most medium-sized cities in Angola. It took much longer to wreak less destruction in former Yugoslavia. For nine months there was no humanitarian assistance. No one will go on record but it is widely known that some people resorted to eating corpses. The same people who tell you this say the dogs were eaten. Indeed, there are no dogs left in Cuito.

What has gone missing is an understanding of what has happened here. Until the October 1992 elections, the Angolan war was fought mostly in the bush, touching a handful of urban settlements in the south-east of the country. During a brief window of peace in 1992, Angola was still intact. When Unita leader Jonas Savimbi went back to war at the end of 1992 he seized the cities. These have become ferocious battlegrounds during the past year as the war has turned in favour of the government.

These names mean nothing in the West: N'dalatando, Milanje, Sauremo, Huambo. They were each home to hundreds of thousands of people and now they are ruins. Only Luanda, Lobito-Benguela and Lubango have survived. The rest of the world may have been in the dark, but it was not without its contribution. At last count, 68 different kinds of explosives from 23 nations have been found in the rubble of Cuito -- even British handgrenades of early World War II vintage.

The inhabitants of Cuito are camping in the husks of former apartment blocks, in tents and in a destroyed football stadium. Not wanting to risk more of the living by crossing minefields to bury the dead, makeshift cemeteries -- little mounds with wooden crosses and flowers -- have been constructed in people's back gardens.

The Angolan army has been rebuilt at vast costs to the country's oil reserves and with the help of South African soldiers from Executive Outcomes, who have played a major role in turning the war around. It has been left to the International NGOs to take over the distribution of food, medical care and the welfare of the Angolan people.

The human rights group, Africa Watch, charged both the MPLA government and Unita of human rights violations, including summarily executing opponents. The government's armed forces, FAA, also stands charged of indiscriminate aerial bombardment of population centres, while Unita is accused of mass abductions and starving civilians by attacking relief operations, mining agricultural fields and killing those tending their fields.

That this catastrophe has gone largely unreported is partly the fault of the competing armies, who have kept journalists away from the frontlines. It is also the fault of the news agency format that is a conduit for every piece of war propaganda uttered by the two sides. The resulting slew of contradictions are usually far too

confusing for foreign editors, let alone the man in the street, many thousands of kilometres away.

Luanda absorbs all the shocks that strike the interior. Refugees fleeing this war of a thousand fronts are packed tightly into slums, or bairros, built on former market gardens, in factories or in city parks. One rose on what used to be Luanda's rubbish dump where the stench has never quite dissipated. A city that was built for 600,000 people at most now holds anything up to three million -- almost a third of the Angolan population.

Luanda is a city of hard times where nothing is cheap. The minimum wage is 240,000 kwanzas a month -- about half an American dollar. It costs twice that a month to send your child to private lessons, which is the only way he or she will be educated; a quarter of your month's wage for a loaf of bread; one eighth for a bucket of clean water; one sixteenth to shit in private.

Anything that has the slightest economic value sells in this city. One family is in the toothpaste business. The children rummage through the rubbish dumps for spent toothpaste tubes that the adults scrape out until they have a full tube to sell in the market.

Cuito has been so badly damaged that some officials have suggested it be written off and a new city constructed alongside. Even while they dither, the people have themselves started rebuilding. In Cuito, the street market is bustling again. On sale were onions, car parts and, significantly, rows of nails neatly sorted into different lengths. The World Bank officials in Luanda, wary of stepping on mines, haven't even travelled to Cuito yet to revise the costs of reconstruction but the people of the city have started the enormous process of rebuilding their lives.

Among the war's greatest victims, the peasants, there is an almost mystical optimism that this time the fighting is over, contrasting with a worldly wise cynicism in Luanda. News of the peace talks travels by radio and bush telegraph. Everyone in the villages around Balombo, even those who cannot tell you their age, know the latest from Lusaka.

If they had the time, they might reflect that they are not just victims of the MPLA and Unita warmongers. One of the pities that this war has gone unreported is it lets off the hook international players who need their noses rubbed in the fly-ridden rubble of Cuito. Like the Portuguese, who created the original mess, and the Americans and the Russians who used Angolan lives as pawns in their global chess game.

Then there is the United Nations, which forged ahead with an unrealistic election date, ignoring warnings that Savimbi still had an army, because it didn't want to waste more money on an unsexy Third World country. For that mistake, at least 100 000 more Angolan civilians have died. The UN stood back feebly while Savimbi took the country back to war. The government had largely demobilised and was left without an army.

Most importantly, South Africa -- in particular the militarists of the National Party government -- have a lot to answer for. They spent millions of our tax rands to build up and defend Savimbi, providing him with the power base to hold his country to ransom and destroy it for the sake of his personal ambition. Yes, we paid for it. We all had a role in reducing Angola to beggary. Still, the darkness permits us to ignore it.

(*Excerpts from Phillip van Niekerk's account, WM&G, 11/18/94*)

Reflections of an election observer by Rachel Rubin

When I arrived in Maputo on October 20 one week before the elections, I could have been back in Chicago in the middle of one of our election campaigns. Campaign posters were plastered everywhere: on every lamppost of the main streets, on the sides of buildings, on an occasional billboard and in store windows. In some places one poster for one party had been placed over a poster for another. Occasionally I saw the face of Chissano next to that of Dhlakama. There were rallies daily, usually Frelimo or Renamo. The other parties did not have nearly the same resources or visibility. Many people sported either Frelimo or Renamo buttons, t-shirts, capulanas, hats or scarves, all given out free. Also the National Electoral Commission (CNE) had very high visibility with T.V. spots teaching voters how to vote, instructional posters and school children with CNE hats, shirts and scarves.

On October 22 I arrived in Chimoio, the capital of Manica province in central Mozambique to observe the elections with three other international observers also sponsored by the World Council of Churches and the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM). Renamo had been very active in this province during the war and was expected to be one of the more contested areas during the elections. I lived in Manica province for two years and knew the area well. Old friends and acquaintances told me stories of some pre-election intimidation by Renamo. Some Renamo campaigners told people in rural areas that if Renamo did not win the election they would return to the bus and resume the war -- the message being, vote for Renamo or else. Others told me that if they did not register to vote they would not get food from the distribution program, again in predominantly Renamo areas. Also people were concerned with the ability to guarantee secrecy of the vote; many felt that one way or the other, that party officials would know how they voted. Despite these threats, people were eager to vote and were quite caught up in the festivities surrounding the last few days of the campaigning.

Chimoio was similarly but less extensively festooned with campaign materials as Maputo. Campaigning went on in the central market with one elderly candidate for president walking between the vegetable stalls shaking hands and being followed by an entourage of children eager to share in the excitement. Renamo had a march through town with about 200 marchers on foot and piled into the back of flatbed trucks. OMM (Mozambican Women's Organization) passed out free Frelimo capulanas and scarves. All campaigning ended on October 24, two days before voting was to start, and voters were not permitted to bring campaign materials including the wearing of t-shirts and capulanas to the polls, and no one violated these regulations.

At 5:00 AM the morning of October 26, we were awakened by a radio announcement that Dhlakama was calling for a boycott of the elections that were to begin later that morning. Most foreign nongovernmental organizations in Manica province had sent their foreign employees out of the country prior to the elections for fear of violence despite no indications of such problems prior to this time. Now that Dhlakama had called for a boycott, almost all remaining foreign workers were forced to leave. The UN Mission in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) did not anticipate any violence, but of course suggested caution. Our local coordinator from CCM suggested we go ahead with our scheduled plans for election observing and we headed out to observe our first polling stations

of the day. It was felt by most Mozambicans that there was no danger and that any difficulties that were likely to occur would happen only after the vote was counted and reported, two or more weeks after the elections. As was to be seen in the months ahead, the Mozambicans were right.

I, along with another member of our small group, Bonnie Adkins, and Sr. Azarias Massuque from the CCM, proceeded to Machipanda in Manica District on the western edge of the province, bordering Zimbabwe. We observed the opening of four polling stations housed in a rural school. Only one of the four polls opened about 45 minutes late. All election officials, five per station, knew exactly what they were doing and obviously were very well trained. I was impressed wherever we went with the youth and the dedication and seriousness of the officials. Most were between the ages of 18 and 25 years old and conducted themselves in a highly professional manner.

Despite the excellent training of the officials, the voter's education program was not as successful; most voters did not know how to vote. They had to be instructed on the spot by the election officials how to mark and fold their ballots. The line at the polls on the first day were exceedingly long with several hundred people waiting in front of each station. Generally people were orderly and patient, but crowd control was a problem at some sites. The voting process was slowed down considerably due to the need to teach voters the mechanics of voting prior to casting their votes.

We moved from station to station throughout the district and saw similar circumstances at most polls: long lines, people waiting in the hot sun for hours, and diligent officials keeping the process moving slowly, but smoothly. Inside all the polling stations there were party observers from Frelimo and Renamo and usually two or three others from other parties. No one interfered, everyone was polite if not cordial with each other and generally the level of tension was low. We saw no illegal electioneering unlike situations considered routine in Chicago.

The closing of the poll we observed the first night also went smoothly and meticulously despite minimal light from one working flashlight. The two ballot boxes were sealed with plastic closures that were numbered. All the closures were checked and their numbers recorded in an official log. The next morning the numbers on the closures would be checked against the list to ensure that there was no tampering during the night. During this procedure two men came to the window wanting to speak to the Renamo party observer. It appeared to me that they wanted him to leave the station and observe the boycott. He refused to talk with them until the closing procedure was complete.

As far as we could tell no one stayed home because of the boycott. It's true many voters did not know of the boycott, but any that did know including the Renamo party observers showed up anyway. They may have voted for Renamo in fact, but they voted. By the middle of the second day the boycott was called off and a third day of voting was added, but by the end of the second day most polls we visited had already had a 80-90% turnout. I was constantly impressed by the smoothness of the process itself and the patience of the officials with only occasional expressions of frustration.

On the second day we traveled through Gondola district. One

Reflections of an election observer

man in a homemade wheelchair/hand-operated tricycle arrived to vote. He crawled up several stairs to reach the schoolroom where he was to vote and a friend brought up his chair. The voting booth was too high for him to reach and vote in privacy, so an official removed the bottom part of the legs of the booth and lowered it to the appropriate height for the man to vote. No one was allowed to be with him behind the booth and he was given as much time as needed to mark and fold his ballot.

Another woman has no fingers, probably lost to leprosy, but she managed to mark her ballots without assistance. An official helped her fold them, but was very careful to show us he had not seen her marks. All voters, after placing their votes in the ballot boxes, has a finger dipped in indelible ink. This woman without fingers had a mark placed on her forehead. She laughed along with the rest of us and went on her way. Many people walked 20 to 30 kilometers to reach their polling stations, arriving too late to vote on the first day and had to sleep outside the poll, wait in line for hours the next day to vote and then walk back home.

After the final day of voting, the count started at 6:00 PM and continued throughout the night. We observed the first three to four hours of counting, again done in an organized, disciplined fashion. Contested and spoiled ballots were shown to all officials, party observers and international observers, and a final determination was made by the officials to be reviewed later on the provincial and national levels. Even with disagreements, everyone remained calm. No fraud was observed by anyone.

Coming from Chicago where the saying goes, "vote early and vote often", I have never seen a better conducted and more fair election. Despite some pre-election irregularities and acts of intimidation, the actual voting and counting went extremely smoothly. I had the chance to talk with several UN international observers who had observed elections in countries such as El Salvador, Nicaragua, Namibia, Angola and South Africa, and all said the Mozambican elections were the best run elections they have seen. I can only concur.

12/26/94, Rachel Rubin

Rachel Rubin, a physician from Chicago, was a delegate of the US Independent Observer Election Team which was part of the World Council of Churches delegation.



Setting-up polling station 0430 in Monapo, Nampula (J. Dahlstein)

Election results Candidates, parties and by province

Chissano 53%, Dhlakama 34%
Frelimo 44%, Renamo 38%, UD in parliament

Presidential Election Results:

Maximo Dias	115,442	2.34%
Carlos Jequé	34,588	0.70%
Casimiro Nhamithambo	32,036	0.65%
Mario Machel	24,238	0.49%
Carlos Reis	120,708	2.44%
Afonso Dhlakama	1,666,965	33.73%
Ya-Qub Sibindy	51,070	1.03%
Padimbe Kamati	24,208	0.49%
Domingos Arouca	37,767	0.76%
Campira Momboya	58,848	1.19%
Wehia Ripua	141,905	2.87%
Joaquim Chissano	6,148,842	53.30%

Legislative Election Results:

AP	93,031	1.95%
UNAMO	4,809	0.73%
PT	26,961	0.56%
FUMO/PCD	66,527	1.39%
FRELIMO	2,115,793	44.33%
SOL	79,622	1.67%
PIMO	58,590	1.23%
RENAMO	1,803,506	37.78%
PRD	48,030	1.01%
PACODE	52,446	1.10%
PADEMO	36,689	0.77%
PPPM	50,793	1.06%
PCN	60,635	1.27%
UD	245,793	5.15%

Total Registered Voters	6,148,842	100.00%
Total Who Voted	5,404,199	87.89%
Total Blank Votes	457,382	8.46%
Total Nulled Votes	173,592	3.21%

Parliamentary Seats:

	FRELIMO	RENAMO	UD	TOTAL
Niassa:	7	4	0	11
Cabo Delgado:	15	6	1	22
Nampula:	20	32	2	54
Zambezia:	18	29	2	49
Tete:	5	9	1	15
Manica:	4	9	0	13
Sofala:	3	18	0	21
Inhambane:	13	3	2	18
Gaza:	15	0	1	16
Maputo-prov.:	12	1	0	13
Maputo-city:	17	1	0	18
Total:	129	112	9	250

(Noticias de Mocambique, no 24, 8/11/94)

Saturday, October 22: I arrived early yesterday morning and was picked up by the Concilio Cristao de Mocambique (CCM, Christian Council of Mozambique), our host organization here. I spent most of the day, late into the night, at CCM headquarters in Maputo, meeting other delegates from the U.S., Zimbabwe, South Africa, Lesotho, Holland, Germany, Finland and Canada. There have been difficulties with logistics and money, and the Comisao Nacional de Eleicoies (CNE-- National Electoral Commission) are cranking out credentials and photo-ID cards for hundreds of election observers as fast as they can. I'm lucky to have received mine right away; several people have been here a week already without credentials. The apartment building where I stayed last night with Edith from Zambia and Fanny from the U.S., is decrepit, sewage leaking into the stairwell, pitch dark, and there is garbage everywhere; and this is in central Maputo so this level of poverty is nothing compared to rural areas. We rose at 4:30 am to catch a flight to Nampula province in the north, but the flight was overbooked and our tickets unconfirmed, so we will wait until the next flight Tuesday morning. Today was a good, but quiet and long day -- it has just begun raining, big fat drops, refreshing. The white U.N. cars are everywhere in this city!!

Sunday, October 23: Yesterday all the U.S. delegates met; people are here for many reasons, but I think Tyree summed it up, that we are here "looking for peace in Mozambique". It's nice to see that the U.S. people are so well-informed; someone made the important point of not being "election tourists"

Since tomorrow, Monday, is that last election campaign day, activities are peaking with a noticeable increase in the traffic of masibombas (buses), cars and pickups overflowing with singing people of all ages -- each wearing at least one political item: capulana (cloth), t-shirt, cap, or carrying a big scarf with Chissano's face on it. There is overwhelming, visible support for FRELIMO in Maputo; other areas (including Nampula province where I'm going) are more contested. Honking cars and singing began at 5:00 in the morning along Eduardo Mondlane Avenue. This day was full of memorable comments and thoughts and sights... On a walk to Costa do Sol, north of Maputo, we passed a half-constructed luxury hotel on the waterfront, which has never been completed because -- so the story goes-- the Portuguese who was having it built poured cement in the entire pipe system and elevator shaft, to ensure the government couldn't make use of the building. An act of bitterness before leaving Mozambique, which has turned into a sort of symbol of interrupted colonialism. I was fascinated by this huge, cement skeleton. And by the waste: there is a structure which at least could have been used for housing but there was no funding to finish construction, or even money to tear down the building.

We talked about feeling connected to certain politics and yet as observers having to be conscious that our actions be neutral -- it's hard not to respond to seeing powerful displays of emotion and politics. Today I felt an intense inner joy at finally being here.

Monday, October 24: Ruth introduced me to her good friend Victoria and her little sister, who live outside Maputo. Victoria was ordained in June; she invited us to lunch (fish, batatas fritas and water). We are the same age, our lives so different; she has lived through a terrible war, was kidnapped by RENAMO at least twice, her house trashed, her family split up, she spent a long time on the

run. Ruth has written down the story, which Victoria invited me to read. How did she find the strength to survive and rebuild her life, even in the midst of poverty and war?; she is so proud of her studies, and I am full of admiration.

Joe Hanlon, who wrote the AWEPA Observers Manual, led a briefing for observers today at a conference center near the Barrio 25 de Julho. Joe provided useful, illustrative anecdotes from the registration process here, which he said was immaculately completed, and in such a short period of time, with hardly any registered voters in July and 6.5 million registered a mere two months later!! He warned experienced observers to remember that the Mozambican election process will be different from other countries, and to always remember that these elections must be Mozambican-run. We conducted a mock election to visualize the voting procedure.

Tuesday, October 25: Flew to Nampula province with seven other delegates from Germany, Holland, Finland, U.S., and Zambia. Guilherme who received us on behalf of CCM in Nampula is the delegation coordinator and arranged for comfortable housing in Nampula city.

Wednesday, October 26: We met this morning with Guilherme and other members of CCM, and were updated on recent events in the Nampula province. It is clear that everyone is relieved that the war is over; we are told that one reason why many Mozambicans may appear less enthusiastic about this election even though it is a first multi-party election, is because they are afraid that the losing party/ies won't accept the results and will return to war. Renamo in particular has been using the threat to return to war. In March of 1994 there was a cyclone which destroyed many areas in the province, and caused another economic set-back in an already difficult period of reconstruction after the arrival of peace. During the elections, I'll be staying in Monapo, a trading town on the road between Cidade de Nampula and the coastal town of Nacala. Each of us is being sent to our own district, where we must arrange for our accommodation.

After arriving in Monapo after dark and introducing myself to the local electoral commission, I was fortunate to find a room in a *caza de visitas* (guest house). One visual impression of many from the ride here today haunts me: Jamal from the CCM told us that the rusted car and minibus wrecks which line the recently demined road are reminders of the frequent bandit roadblocks and ambushes, in which dozens of people were killed. In my head, I am trying to remember how many of those wrecks we saw, and then imagining each car or bus containing several people. Eerie tombstones of gruesome, horrifying deaths; permanent reminders of the war. Soon after hearing this, our car was stopped by four boys who stood waving in the middle of the road; they had built mounds of dirt as a kind of roadblock. Jamal threw some money out the window and we were on our way; I thought of how many people before us who were not lucky enough to have that option.

The elections in Monapo will be held in the town's soccer stadium, a polling center consisting of eleven polling stations. Each polling station has five staff, several political party delegates, and serves 1,000 registered voters. Dozens of people are working in the dark at the local electoral commission, with last minute logistics for tomorrow, the first day of elections.

Thursday, October 27: Got up at 4:30 and watched the setup

of the eleven polling stations. The stations are built of grass walls, with tin roofs and borrowed wooden church and school benches and tables. Each station has a president, vice president and three "membros da mesa" (staff people). The European Union has sponsored the station kits which contain voting materials: perforated ballot paper pads for both presidential and parliament elections, pens, thumbprint ink, indelible ink (to mark voters' right index finger), voting booth components. By 5:00 am there are already hundreds of voters lined up in the stadium, although voting won't begin until seven. All staff people are well-trained, serious and dedicated and voting begins promptly at 7:00 a.m. Until 10:00 a.m., when the first U.N. observers arrive, I am the only international election observer around (even though this town plus outskirts has 11,000 registered voters!) Around that time, word goes around that RENAMO has withdrawn from the elections, and the few people who speak out loud about it (how many really know?) wonder apprehensively what this means for the elections, peace, and for the thousands of people in and around Monapo who literally walked for hours to get here. Will the elections continue? Is this the beginning of a dangerous situation? What about all of the months and months of hard work the Mozambicans have put in in preparation for these two days? Will the voters and political party delegates be outraged? Strangely, no one but a few of the international observers and two station presidents speak about it from what I can tell; perhaps the feeling is that there is still be hope for the elections to continue: the thought of the voting ending now, and of a potentially unstable situation, is too much for anyone to speak of aloud.

I have noticed that there is no visible tension between FRELIMO and RENAMO (or other political party) delegates; in fact, everyone without exception is taking the voting process itself very seriously, and there is a sense of calm and conviviality.

Friday, October 28: It's about 40 degrees centigrade. Well it's now Friday around mid day and we have just received official word from the local CNE (National Election Commission) that the elections are being extended for a third day. Here in Monapo people are trickling in, the big crunch took place all day yesterday and this morning until about noon, so we won't need the extra day. But I wonder if the polling stations may have to stay open for the sake of national conformity. Some party delegates and polling staff I spoke with think the extension day is probably necessary in those areas where polling didn't start on time, so that everyone truly will have a chance to cast their vote; others think that this extension is a mere concession/compromise in response to RENAMO's temporary boycott, so that they would rejoin the elections. There is also talk about a fourth day extension so that counting can take place in daylight; apparently some of the battery-driven camping lights sent from Europe have already given up. My brand new flashlight broke within five minutes of use last night; I was in the middle of walking from the polling station to the guest house and the flashlight was the only source of light around. So after some grumbling, I just stood and waited until my eyes had adjusted and did what everyone else here does: walk in complete darkness when there is no electricity.

Saturday, October 29 (P.M.): Voting has slowed down to a trickle; at least one polling station has had almost 100% of its one thousand registered voters show up. Technical problems have been

minimal but there have been no late openings, no complaints from party delegates about opening and closing procedures every morning and evening, so everything appears to pass transparently. More and more staff and delegates are becoming angry because they have received food and water subsidies only for the original two voting days, and now it's fairly certain that counting will only begin tomorrow (meaning a fourth day of work). I forwarded an official complaint from one RENAMO party delegate to the local CNE about lack of food and water subsidies. It's now 4:00 pm and there have been two voters in the past hour; I've spent most of the day at one polling station, out of interest of watching an entire day's procedure from 7:00 am opening to the closing procedure which begins at 6:00 pm. Tonight I'm staying with Isabella and the others from polling station number 0430; most staff and delegates have spent nights at the polling stations, many without blankets/capulanas, and certainly no comfort in the form of beds. Several people have brought grass mats which are rolled up against the polling station walls during the day. There are a few policemen who guard the stadium at night. Since there haven't been any major problems with arguments, and since there is no apparent political tension in the air, no one seems worried about sleeping at the stations.

Sunday, October 30: Isabel, one of the party representatives at poll 0430, generously shared her grass mat with me last night, and lent me an extra capulana. One of the big differences between the South African elections and this one is that the counting procedure takes place in the same polling station where the votes took place; the ballot boxes were not transported anywhere during the three days (or nights) of voting either. This greatly reduces chances of ballot box tampering (in addition to other security measures such as numbered plastic closures to seal the ballot boxes, which are re-checked against the official log every am and pm). Counting takes place by consensus with the polling station staff and the party delegates; this is designed to reduce potential claims about partiality or fraud. I'm impressed; to me this is a concrete example of a democratic process: the counting is transparent, done by consensus and with complete discussion of each contested ballot. Of course, this means the counting process is taking a long time, since there are about 900-950 ballots each for presidential and parliament, or close to 2,000 ballots, each of which will be read out loud and shown to each present member!

Counting took all day, from 7 this morning until 5 pm, and was done with great care and precision, conducted in the same professional manner as the rest of the election process. The general results from the three or four polling stations I have gathered final numbers from indicate that Dhlakama won the presidential candidacy by a big margin (often three to one against Chissano), with the parliamentary results more evenly distributed between Frelimo and Renamo.

Riding back to Nampula province, where I would rejoin the other CCM delegation members, I saw yet another memorable image, another entry for my baobab notes: it was a surreal sight to be driving in Nampula province at night because there were no other sources of light other than the car's headlights which illuminated all the light-cement-gray baobab trees, that look like ghosts with dozens of flailing arms.

IFP Chairman on murder rap

Victor Shawe (49), Bhambayi's Inkatha Freedom Party chairman and a senior IFP leader, has been charged with the murder of two IFP members who were shot dead after organising a joint IFP and ANC peace rally in the Bhambayi squatter settlement, near Durban in early September. The attack came after about 1,000 people had pledged their commitment to peace at the IFP/ANC rally in Bhambayi the previous day. About 200 people died there in the 12 months leading up to the April poll -- and a Goldstone Commission report said that kwaZulu Police hit squad members had been deployed in the settlement. The deceased and their colleagues formed part of an IFP/ANC/police team that monitors Bhambayi on a 24-hour basis in a bid to prevent violence in the area.

(*WM&G, 9/9/94*)

KwaZulu would have paid SDUs

Col. Jan Breytenbach, who commanded the SADF's 32 Battalion during South Africa's war in Angola, has confirmed that negotiations for him to head a training programme involving hundreds of Zulu recruits in kwaZulu had been well advanced. But he said the deal fell through in late 1993 when the kwaZulu government could not find enough money.

Breytenbach's statements follow disclosures by Pretoria businessman Riaan van Rensburg, who said his company, Crusader Consultants, trained 60 IFP recruits last year on instructions of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and in close liaison with IFP parliamentarian Walter Felgate.

Van Rensburg said the leader group of 60 recruits had been trained in Louis Trichardt, Northern Transvaal pending the identification of a suitable terrain in kwaZulu for 1,000 recruits, but that he had sent them home in December when Felgate failed to settle the bill. Breytenbach said he had been approached by Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen in the middle of last year to help train Zulu units, after Viljoen had apparently been approached by Buthelezi.

Felgate had "recruited" 60 troops in Empangeni, comprising the "ex-Hippo" group from Caprivi and IFP members.

Van Rensburg said that ANC leaders to have been targeted for assassination were kwaZulu/Natal leader Jacob Zuma, provincial chief whip Harry Gwala, national parliamentarian Blade Nzimande and a reference to ANC Ladysmith leader Ebrahim Rasool.

(*WM&G, 10/21/94*) (*WM&G, 10/28/94*)

Mandela invites Chissano

Nelson Mandela sent a message to Joaquim Chissano asking him to visit South Africa "as soon as possible", so that he could congratulate him in person on his victory in Mozambique's first multiparty general elections. Mandela said that the "exemplary manner" in which the Mozambican elections were conducted "is remarkable and needs to be commended". The outcome "is a clear victory for democracy" and could serve "as an inspiration to other countries in the region and in the rest of Africa". "the peaceful outcome of the elections in Mozambique was of the utmost importance to Southern Africa", said Mandela. "Full credit for the success of the elections should go to the people of Mozambique and to all the parties that endeavoured to achieve a successful outcome to what was a difficult process". (*AIM, 12/2/94*)

ANC's 49th Conference

In December, 3,000 delegates attended the ANC's 49th national conference in Bloemfontein. Confronted with Cyril Ramaphosa's bleak secretary general's report depicting an organisation virtually devoid of funds, its structures weakened and embattled by political jockeying and border disputes, delegates' exuberance was barely dampened. As Mandela pointed out in his closing address, none of the mud-slinging over lack of delivery materialised; delegates showing instead "an unprecedented display of unity".

Immediate tasks for delegates include:

- * Launching an education campaign by the first week of January to ensure pupils' speedy registration at schools and drawing communities into governance bodies "at all levels".
- * Preparing for a national strategy workshop in February on local government elections and setting up local councils in rural areas.
- * Tackling the IFP's power-base among traditional leaders.
- * Setting up RDP groups at local government level to monitor and push for implementation.
- * Establishing land and agriculture committees ahead of a planned national summit.

Elected representatives will return to parliament and provincial legislatures with task lists for legislative change and new initiatives. Proposals include democratising organs of the state; taking on the public service unions; restructuring the courts and setting up an independent prosecuting authority; privatising state assets to finance the RDP; re-writing the constitution; re-shaping foreign policy.

The conference also voted Nelson Mandela as President of the ANC; Thabo Mbeki as Vice-President (taking over from the retired stalwart Walter Sisulu); Cyril Ramaphosa as Secretary-General; Cheryl Caroulas as Deputy Secretary-General; and Jacob Zuma as the Chairperson of the ANC.

(*WM&G, 12/23/94*)

Slovo's crane and leopard

It was a poignant moment: one veteran of the struggle acknowledging the contribution, over decades, of the other.

President Nelson Mandela, his own voice breaking with emotion, honoured "an outstanding revolutionary" who had "touched the lives of millions" by his example of "militant and unswerving commitment" to the ANC.

Housing Minister Joe Slovo, whose battle against cancer has been as courageous as his decades-long fight against apartheid, sat nursing an arm broken in a recent fall as Mandela announced the decision to crown him with the Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe award. It is the ANC's highest honour. The gold medal the blue crane and the leopard, marking the Nguni custom of decorating those who distinguished themselves in service of the nation with the feathers of the blue crane and the Sotho tradition of recognising heroes by giving them the skin of a leopard.

Speaking after the riotous applause had died down, Slovo said: "What I did I did without any regret, ever. I had decided long ago in my life that there was only one target -- to remove the racist regime and obtain power for the people."

(*WM&G, 12/23/94*)

Outcry over toxic waste import plan

Toxic waste shipments will be allowed into South Africa, according to new policy devised by Environment Minister Dawie de Villiers. A White Paper gazetted in October says the existing embargo on toxic imports into the country is not in South Africa's interests and proposes to create regions in the country where toxic material from overseas countries can be dumped. "A blanket ban on transboundary movement of such wastes would ... jeopardise and impact adversely on present economic and industrial activities," says the document.

Environmental groups reject the White Paper's claim that South Africa has the technical expertise to dispose of toxic materials in a safe way. They say recent incidents at the Thor Chemicals plant in Natal demonstrate how incompetent local authorities are in handling these imports. The notorious Thor case deals with two workers who died after being exposed to high levels of mercury toxins. Another worker has been in a coma for three years due to the exposure and 28 others are diagnosed as having mercury poisoning symptoms. Officials in the Environment Department defend the paper by noting it meets requirements of the Basel Convention, an international agreement designed to ensure effective controls on transboundary movements of toxic materials. Human rights lawyers and green activists are worried that the proposed legislation specifically excludes organised labour from taking part in the management of toxic imports and dumping. The Thor case, they argue, shows that factory workers are frequently the first to suffer and play a vital watchdog role.

After national outcry against the proposal, the Department of Environment Affairs said the paragraph allowing import of hazardous waste for recycling might have to be removed "with us getting this type of comment".

(*WM&G, 10/14/94, WM&G, 10/21/94*)

Making waves in Transkei's reserves

Officials from Eastern Cape Nature Conservation met this month with leaders from villages which surround the reserves to broker a deal that has effectively stopped the environmental damage. Wildlife authorities agreed in principle at the meeting that local people be allowed controlled use of forest trees for construction of houses and free access to the coastline so they can tend to ancestral graves and harvest seagrass for weaving purposes. The conservationists are considering the possibility of allowing people to harvest limited amounts of shellfish, pending scientific investigations into this prospect.

Community members have agreed, in return, to patrol the shores of the reserves to prevent illegal plunder of shellfish and other marine resources. In 1984 wildlife was introduced to the reserve and the villagers were refused all entry, resulting in them being cut off from the sea. This led to a long period of resentment and antagonism as people were severed from resources needed for subsistence and cultural purposes. The latest agreement marks a dramatic move away from old autocratic styles of game reserve management and will be seen as a prototype for community-friendly conservation models that are being experimented with in various parts of the country.

(*WM&G, 12/19/94*)

First community-based conference

From the 9-13th of November, the Langa-based Tsoga Environmental Resource Center together with the Panos Institute (UK) and NORAID (Norwegian Aid Agency) convened the First Community-based Conference on the Environment at Gordon's Bay. The conference brought together 120 national delegates along with a few international ones to discuss the importance of community-based organizations' (CBOs) input into environmental decision-making in the era of reconstruction and development.

For the first time, community-based organizations from the around the country had the space to discuss their environment as they saw it and as they defined it. The conference had 4 working groups which made important recommendations for the new government and which will be presented to Deputy Minister of the Environment Bantu Holomisa. The Deputy Minister was also the key-note speaker and made it very clear that he is deeply committed to community participation in all decision-making.

Tsoga's Director, Thobeka Thamage said, "We're busy educating the community about the environmental issues involved. Everything revolves around information. If you don't know that you've been wronged, you are powerless. If you know you've been wronged but don't know there is a court to appeal to, you are powerless. That's why we've emphasized the need to access to information -- the right of people to know -- which will be a real break with the past. The conference delegates were approximately 80 percent women and around 90 percent black. The conference covered topics from environmental racism/justice to new policies to funding difficulties for CBOs.

(*SAEPEJ Report & New Scientist 12/10/94*)

Greening the RDP

The Environmental Justice Networking Forum (EJNF) convened their Greening of the RDP conference from the 25-27th of November. This conference, which was also EJNF's Constitutive Conference, focussed mainly on the government's Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and its relation to sustainability and sound environmental policy. Key working groups met around land, water, industry, mining, waste and sanitation, and energy. Minister of Water Affairs Kader Asmal gave the opening address and called for a "radical shift" in the overall environmental agenda. In a very candid and hard-hitting address, he commented that "good intentions were not good enough".

On the issue of southern Africa, he said, "We have an obligation to Mozambique and Angola. We have to show modesty with our neighbours and get of our introverted parochialism. We must reconstruct the region." He said that he was pushing for a water office in SADC, separate from the environmental office. He went on to elaborate on the functions of his ministry, "No one can tell me that my obligation ends with the Shona in Eastern Transvaal. What about the Mozambicans right across from the border?" Minister Asmal pointed out that "poverty is the grindingstone that destroys our people". His talk emphasized the environmental burden on women and workers and argued to avoid industry's smokescreen for job creation when dealing with environmental and occupational health and safety issues. (*SAEPEJ Report*)

Give us your old bombs

Armscor proposes to build a site in a remote part of the Northern Cape where the military -- local and foreign -- can dispose of old weapons, bombs and explosives. The proposed site, at a gunnery testing base called Alkantpan in an arid area near Prieska, is part of Armscor's efforts to privatise its operations.

Demand for a land-based facility to destroy explosives is expected to increase worldwide as most member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation have, in terms of the London Dumping Convention, agreed to stop dumping obsolete bombs and weapons at sea by the end of 1995.

Armscor officials say Swiss authorities have expressed interest in exporting old explosives to the site if it is built -- although the feasibility study was conducted at Armscor's request. (WM&G, 10/28/94)

Tensions over Yemen weapons deal

The defence ministry is investigating Armscor's mysterious shipment of 8,596 AK47s, 15,665 G3 rifles, and more than 14-million rounds of ammunition to Yemen -- which may originally have been intended for Unita. Armscor's statements that the weapons were destined for Lebanon were blown out of the water when the Lebanese embassy in South Africa dismissed any suggestion that its government had purchased the weapons from South Africa. The Lebanese embassy in South Africa described the documents Armscor produced to prove that Lebanon was the buyer as "false and counterfeit". Military and arms-trade researchers have indicated that the consignment may have originally been put together for Unita. Military experts say the low price tag on the shipment indicates that politics, not profit, was the motive for the transaction. Sources active in Angola reported that Unita was looking for AK47s and other automatic weapons in April or May this year. The sources said they understood Armscor had agreed to supply the weapons but the deal collapsed when Unita could not raise the necessary money. Executive Outcomes' Eben Barlow said he had Angolan intelligence information that Unita had been negotiating the deal in April or May. He surmised that the deal fell through when Unita lost control over Cafunfo, the centre of its diamond trade, to the Angolan Defence Force in July. Barlow said that between September 15 and 22 -- around the time it became clear Yemen would not accept the arms -- three independent arms brokers had offered him the consignment. Barlow said two of the three brokers told him the consignment they were offering had originally been intended for Unita. This week the London arms broker said he was inclined to believe the veracity of the report as two independent sources had confirmed it to him and as it was "not the first" clandestine consignment for Unita since official South African support for the rebels ended. (WM&G, 10/7/94, WM&G, 9/30/94)

Union leader and ANC stalwart remembered

Oscar Mpetha, a longtime ANC figure and union leader who was a political prisoner for many years died on November 15, 1994 of advanced diabetes. He began his union work with factory workers in the 1940s and became prominent in the mainly black Food and Canning Workers Union. He joined the ANC in 1951, and became vice president of the Cape Province for some years before the ANC was banned in 1960. In 1983 he was convicted of terrorism and of inciting a riot in August of 1980. In 1983 he was elected to be one of three co-presidents of the United Democratic Front, an umbrella group of anti-government forces. (New York Times, 11/21/94)

SADF role in ivory smuggling

Over the years, sketchy details have emerged of military involvement in poaching endangered wildlife and smuggling especially from Angola and Mozambique during, and after, South Africa's official participation in their wars. Often the South African military was paid in kind for its overt support for Unita in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique.

The London-based Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA) reported last year: "Over the last two decades...weapons and supplies have poured in to support the guerrilla armies of Unita and Renamo. Meanwhile ivory, rhino horn, timber and gems have flowed out through South Africa to pay for the war effort." In the late 1980s, South African special forces legend Colonel Jan Breytenbach dropped a bombshell with descriptions of how Unita and the SADF colluded in the destruction of elephant populations.

He said Frama, a military intelligence front company supplying Unita, had started running tea out of Angola in the 1980s. "It was open knowledge -- official. They were running the stuff out in trucks...all the way to South Africa without being searched. Then I began to pick up rumours about them also taking out ivory."

The Portuguese businessman behind Frama, Arlindo Maia, has since also been linked to military supplies to Renamo, and in 1992 it was claimed he moved ivory and rhino horn from Mozambique to South Africa via Swaziland. Maia has admitted the SADF role in Frama, but has denied "mirror operations" in Mozambique.

Two years ago senior SADF officers who worked with Unita in the 1980s told the Weekly Mail & Guardian how they helped Unita leader Jonas Savimbi set up an ivory carving shop at his bush headquarters in Jamba, and ivory transport routes out of Angola.

In 1992, The Weekly Mail uncovered evidence pointing to the reason for the assassination of anthropologist David Webster, widely believed to have been a Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) job. A former Mozambican minister of security revealed Webster had divulged details of an ivory smuggling operation before his death.

Indications that even that was not the end of it came early last year when police arrested a senior Renamo officer in the Kruger National Park trying to sell ivory.

The scale of devastation on wildlife wreaked in those countries during years of war emerge from figures quoted by the EIA. It says up to 60 000 elephants could have died in the Angolan war, and that 40 to 60 tons of Angolan ivory is informally estimated to be stockpiled in other countries. In Mozambique, the elephant population plummeted from about 66,500 in 1974 to no more than 7,000. (WM&G, 10/14/94)



Maputo: Frelimo supporters campaigning



J. Hanlon (3rd from right) runs the mock election for observers



Maputo: Mozambican children wearing National Electoral Commission (CNE) t-shirts



Monapo, Nampula: the counting process at polling station 0430

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Book Reviews

Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique, William Minter

Dec. 1994. 308p. Zed Books, New Jersey, \$29.95

by Prexy Nesbitt

In March 1981, Ronald Reagan's first Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, warned a Time Magazine audience that there had to be decisive action taken towards the Southern African liberation movements because their "so-called wars of national liberation are putting in jeopardy our ability to influence world events... and to assure access to raw materials." The long-awaited publication of William Minter's *Apartheid's Contras* is a thorough and incisive explanation of the little-known, silent wars in Angola and Mozambique that represented in part the application of the Reagan doctrine in the Third World long wanted by Haig and others. With death tolls of nearly two million people in a ten year period, scholar Eqbal Ahmad has appropriately described these and other such wars as history's "unrecorded holocausts".

Apartheid's Contras is an anti-dote to those who assert the increasingly popular image of Africa as full of nothing but "civil wars" and "tribal violence". Meticulously documented, historically sound and straightforwardly organized, this new study provides a rich framework for explaining why the wars took place in Angola and Mozambique in the 1960s to the 1990s. The chapters on theory and "nationalism, ethnicity and decolonization" are essential for understanding how the US-South African client Jonas Savimbi wages a vicious war in Angola today.

This is a study that asks and answers the questions that most of the US media totally ignore. This is one of Bill Minter's strengths as a scholar and it characterizes all his other works. But what stands out about this book for this reviewer is that for once "the organ grinders" (as the late Samora Machel used to dub those who engineer, finance, train and supply the contra fighters) are not left unidentified and untouchable. A highlight of *Apartheid's Contras* is that it points a finger of accountability at those in the USA and elsewhere who encouraged, audited and managed the deadly killing machines that have cost the Southern African people so dearly. If some day courts and truth commissions ask the Jesse Helmses, Dan Burtons and Bob Doles to account for their contributions to the death tolls in the region, it will be in no small measure due to the rich and invaluable work of studies like *Apartheid's Contras*.

Editors: Karin Candelaria, Jenny Dahlstein, Heeten Kalan, Prexy Nesbitt

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Long Walk to Freedom, Mandela

Nov. 1994. 576p. illus. Little Brown, \$24.95

by Hazel Rochman

In a time of political cynicism, Nelson Mandela's union of pragmatism and principle is a blazing triumph. The publication of his autobiography is a drama in itself; he wrote much of it secretly in prison on Robben Island; his jailers found the manuscript where he'd buried it; they didn't know that the prisoners had smuggled out another copy. Now Mandela has revised and updated that account with the collaboration of Time magazine contributor Richard Stengel. Some of the history has been told before in the fine authorized biographies by Mary Benson (1986) and Fatima Meer (1990). But much that had to be kept secret in a time of terror can now be revealed. Those who have followed the anti-apartheid struggle will find here the details they've hungered for: who decided what and why; how Mandela survived underground and how he was finally caught; what daily life was like during those 27 dark years on the island, in the lime quarry and in the cells; and what led to his "talking with the enemy." From the 1950s Defiance Campaign through steps leading up to his final release and election — all the people and discussions and events are here. There's no self-righteousness. "I don't have an epiphany," he says of his political role. His court speeches are as thrilling as ever, but it's the personal voice, sometimes restrained, sometimes furious, frank about failure, funny about his own weakness, that gives this story its compelling authority. You believe him. Running quietly throughout the book is anguish for his loss of family and the grief he caused them. Trying to explain his absence to his children, "one's voice trails off." His democracy is grounded in his awareness of human frailty and courage. Always he sees the individual, whether friend or enemy. Elected president in South Africa's first nonracial election, this leader invited his ex-prison warder to the inauguration.

(This review first appeared in *Booklist*, 11/15/94)

Hazel Rochman was born and raised in South Africa. Since 1972, she, her husband and two sons have lived in Chicago. A graduate of the University of Chicago she is an editor at the American Library Association. In 1988 she edited *Somehow Tenderness Survives*, a wonderful collection of Southern African short stories for children.

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New Worker's Organization Formed

Three hundred delegates representing different labor divisions from each of Mozambique's ten provinces gathered in the nation's capital at the end of October. They were participants in the constitutional conference to establish Mozambique's first post-independence workers' union to be known as the Organization of Mozambican Workers (OTM).

But as President Machel reminded those present, the tasks and responsibilities of a workers organization in a developing country must be different from those in already developed countries - where there is no hunger, long lines for goods or war.

Before independence, according to the president, "in the colonies the most brutal capitalist exploitation associated itself with the humiliation of occupation of the motherland and with racism" and "because of this the struggle here assumed many times, a double aspect - the struggle to get concessions from the boss and the struggle against colonialism". The period between 1917 and 1926 saw many Mozambican worker strikes and revolts which resulted in indiscriminate massacres but not many concessions. Workers came to see that to act against one employer or company was useless unless there was some united action to rid themselves of colonialism itself.

As Mariano Matsinho, chairperson of the conference noted in his address - in the era of "colonial-facism it was not possible to have intermediate solutions". The Armed Struggle was "the first time", in their history that "the Mozambican workers encountered an organized form which was able to channel their resistance." It was these workers "organized into the Front that won power in Mozambique."

The fore-runner to the unions now being established were the Production Councils which were set up in 1976 in factories and other work places throughout Mozambique. Before them Grupos Dinamizadores (dynamizing groups) created at independence functioned in each work place with the responsibility of neutralizing colonial-capitalist maneuvers which were taking place all over the country at that time. During this period remaining colonialists were engaged in economic sabotage including fraudulent ways of diverting money from their companies to bank accounts in Portugal as well as the destruction of equipment vital to the continued functioning of a company they would leave behind when

they abandoned the country.

The organization of the Production Councils were seen as a way to destroy the capitalist relationships of production by guaranteeing workers' participation in the planning and control of production. The Production Councils also addressed such issues as the upgrading of poor installations, the provision of social services to workers - lunch rooms, social centers, and day care centers - and the creation of structures to respond to special workers' problems.

The creation of Mozambican unions is seen as a giant step taken to carry the idea of workers' participation to a new level. The new unions will draw upon the experiences of the Production Councils. The objectives of the new unions are to increase the organization of the working class, reinforce the alliance between workers and peasants and to contribute to a more concerted action between the workers' organization and State power.

Unions will also be expected to challenge productivity among workers, to provide programs to increase the technical, scientific and political training of workers, to organize worker initiatives for participation in the Popular Militias and vigilance groups, as well as to address such diverse problems as those faced by the aged worker or mothers who work.

In the new workers' structure the National Conference, which will meet every five years, will be the supreme organ. Also functioning at the national level will be the Central Council, the Secretariat and The Control and Discipline Committees. At the local level the OTM will have three grades - the Section, the Production Unit and the Work Center. The task over the next five years will be to get the unions functioning at all levels.

The biggest responsibility of the unions as seen by the party is to raise the conscienceness of the workers to understand that more food and more products are only possible if the workers are organized to produce more. Workers organized are the major factor in winning the battle being fought to improve the national economy.

President Machel characterised the new Mozambican's Workers Organization as schools of national unity. "The combat for the consolidation of National Unity is today, as yesterday, a decisive combat on which the future of the Revolution depends."

South Africa Behind Maputo Bombing

South Africa escalated its war against frontline states in mid-October with an attack on an apartment building in the Mozambican capital of Maputo. Three closely placed bombs exploded on the roof of a four-story apartment building on Rua General Pereira d'Eca, near its intersection with Avenida Mao Tse-Tung. The Mozambican News Agency, AIM, reported that five people were injured, none of them seriously.

According to AIM, the building that was targeted in the October 17 attack housed a library run by the African National Congress that is used for the distribution of ANC publications to the international media and members of the diplomatic corp in Mozambique. The Mozambican government also reported, shortly after the blast, that three of those injured were ANC members while the other two were Mozambicans.

In announcing the attack, South African Defense Minister Magnus (Continued on page 2)

Rain Falls but Food Shortage Continues

Torrential rain fell over the three provinces of southern Mozambique hardest hit by drought. In November and December heavy rains swelled many of the formerly dust-dry streams throughout the region. But the rain came too late to save crops which had been planted earlier in the year and left the northern provinces as dry as before. Food shortages still continue to plague dozens of districts.

According to the Vice-President of the Commission of the Prevention and Combat of Natural Calamities, Aranda da Siva, Mozambique needs more than 250 tons of cereals over the next five months. He believes that the

(Continued on page 3)

MAPUTO BOMBING

(Continued from page 1)

Malan reported that a "small task force" of troops attacked a penthouse in central Maputo which he claimed housed offices used in the planning of ANC attacks inside South Africa. Malan also reported that the apartment is close to a house used by Mozambican President Samora Machel and is also near a major military base, indicating, he said, Pretoria's ability to strike at will in neighboring countries.

The Mozambican government immediately took issue with the South African account, noting that it was widely known that the apartment buildings contained residences, the ANC library, and a clinic used by the liberation movement. The government's report was later confirmed by foreign workers who live nearby. The ANC's United Nations representative Mfanafuti Makatini also told **Mozambican Notes** that the building contained the movement's library.

The Mozambican government also took issue with Malan's characterization of the bombing as a daring commando raid. The government reported that no special commando missions had been detected that morning and officials suggested that the attacks appeared to be the work of South African saboteurs based in Maputo.

Samora Machel, on an official visit to France at the time of the raid, issued a strong condemnation of the raid. Also, the Mozambican government wrote a letter to the United Nations Secretary General requesting a formal U.N. protest. Mozambican officials suggested that the reason for the South Africans describing the raid as they did was to placate its white electorate who, at the time were about to vote in an important referendum.

The US government issued a statement deploring the raid and "maintaining our position that violence is not the answer to the region's problems." A State Department source, asked by **Mozambican Notes** to comment on the raid, would not confirm or deny that an official protest had been lodged with the South African government, but would only say that "we have made our views known to the states in the region."

France, Portugal and Britain issued statements condemning the attack.

On December 7, two South African refugees were seriously injured when an explosion completely destroyed the wood and zinc house in which they slept at three in the morning. The house was located in the Xipamanine area of Maputo. A communique issued in Zambia by the African National Congress of South Africa accused the regime in South Africa with responsibility. ■

MNR Captives Freed

The devastating effects of the drought in Mozambique have obscured the relatively successful anti-terrorist campaign that the government has been waging against the South African backed MNR. The campaign, launched earlier this year, in 1983, was the culmination of a new military strategy in which 1500 former freedom fighters were organized into counterinsurgency units, civilian militias were revitalized and new provincial military commanders appointed. The newly appointed commanders brought with them a record of substantial achievements as freedom fighters during the war of independence as well as deep familial and ethnic ties to the provinces in which they were assigned.

Restructuring the military and reinvigorating the militia, according to senior Mozambican officials, proved decisive in thwarting a major southern MNR offensive at the beginning of 1983. Between February and August 1983 Mozambican troops killed or captured almost 500 South African backed terrorists and overran the principal MNR supply and logistics base in Inhambane province. Recent reports also indicate that the government offensive in Zambezia - the nations most populous and economically important province - has, at least momentarily, disrupted MNR activity there.

The Mozambican forces freed a number of foreigners and Mozambicans held captive at the MNR bases. The 12 eyewitness accounts graphically illustrate the terrorist tactics which the MNR used to intimidate the rural population and provides additional evidence that the MNR is a military arm of Pretoria. (See **Mozambican Notes**, September 1983)

Alexandre Julai Mbanuili a 43 year old peasant and father of six recounted that "as soon as they (MNR) set up here they helped themselves to everything the people had, cattle, goats, chickens everything they could eat. They went into every house and lifted whatever they felt like, furniture, radios, bicycles, clothes. Anyone who protested was beaten up." Narendra Bima Nhay, a Portuguese citizen of Asian descent suffered similar abuses. Travelling on the main road in Inhambane with his mother and grandmother his car was ambushed and hit by a bazooka. "They took everything we had including our shoes" he recalled. "I was wounded and loosing blood, but they only bandaged my leg after I had fainted." During his 4 month captivity Nhay and his family were held under constant guard in a room 4 meters by 4 meters. They heard tales of plunder and how the peasants were so intimidated that even rumors of their impending arrival precipitated panic and flight.

Nhay and another Portuguese prisoner, Eduardo Ribeiro, noted that the MNR made no effort to hide their links to South Africa. On the contrary they spoke openly of the training they received at a South African military base in Pharabowa located near the Mozambican border and ruminated about the "large quantities of bread, cheeses and jams which their white officers provided." Both Portuguese citizens observed that many of the MNR recruits had been forcibly interned and were warned "that if they ran away and surrendered to the Mozambican forces they would be shot as terrorists," (John Burleson A British Ecologist held captive by the MNR at another base, reported a similar MNR strategy to prevent flight). In February 300 of the new recruits, chosen because they had a minimum of 5 years of schooling were sent for training in South Africa. Nhay was told that they had left from the Inhambane coast in small boats which ferried them out to a larger South African vessel well out to sea. He also witnessed a South African airdrop of ten crates of war material primarily machine guns, bazookas and

(Continued on page 3)



Roof of building damaged by bomb explosion in Maputo.

MNR CAPTIVES FREED

(Continued from page 2)

small arms and ammunitions, on August 12, 1983. Ribeiro indicated that on several occasions South African planes landed white military instructors, officers and medical personnel at a makeshift runway 25-30 kilometers from the base at which he was being held.

In short, their testimony confirms South Africa's escalating efforts to strangle Mozambique at the very same time that it is intensifying pressure on Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. ■

Improving Conditions for Tourism

Before independence, Mozambique's beautiful beach resorts and sandy white ocean sides were used by scores of white South African and Rhodesian tourists, who also crossed the border to reach the nightclubs and strip joints of the old Lourenco Marques, the game park near Beira and the fishing spots along the coast.

Today the development of tourism in Mozambique goes hand in hand with the development of the nation in general. Following independence, many of the most notorious nightclubs were closed or revamped. Because of the military situation between Mozambique and Rhodesia, and later between Mozambique and South Africa entrance by many of the former tourists was restricted and new tourist sources explored.

The Secretary of State for Tourism, Antonio Materul recently visited several provinces to assess the situation of tourism in Mozambique. Weak professional training of management and workers was one of the problems found. This Materul saw as being partially corrected by the opening of a hotel school in Maputo. Before Independence most hotels were managed by South African and Portuguese who left the country after independence. The new courses are geared to upgrade the abilities of the managers and workers who have had to learn the business of running a hotel on their own since independence.

Inadequate accounting sections and the fact that prices charged by many hotels and restaurants are too low to cover actual costs were two other problems pointed out. The secretary also proposed measures to correct the situation created by state firms and ministries which often incurred heavy debts at various hotels or restaurants.

Many urban hotels have a large number of permanent occupants because of a city housing shortage.

(Continued on page 7)

FOOD SHORTAGE CONTINUES

(Continued from page 1)

effects of the drought will be felt over the following years as well.

Mozambique is the recipient of international aid destined to those countries hardest hit by drought. Canada, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the Church World Service of the United States responded to an appeal from the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator which resulted in an emergency shipment of food (1600 tons of cereals, condensed milk, vegetable oil and other items) being shipped to the province of Inhambane in early October. This followed local reports that 15 persons were dying daily from hunger in some areas of the province. The continuing drought has contributed to the food crisis in those areas where peasants traditionally depend on the crops they grow for survival.

In December the American Ambassador in Maputo, Peter John De Vos signed an agreement pledging \$98,500 to the World Food Program to aid in the transport of emergency food to Inhambane.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam offered 2,000 tons of rice. And UNICEF arranged an emergency shipment of 20

tons of medicine to be used in drought areas.

From Great Britain came a donation of 50,000 pounds from Oxfram. This followed the showing on British television of a film highlighting the extent of hunger and devastation in Gaza province where in October, 80 people were reported to have died of hunger at one relief center alone.

In the capital, Maputo, the water crisis was also severe before the rains hit. In August water levels were so low that restrictive limitations were placed on its use. Residents with access to wells and pumps were encouraged to make use of these sources instead of using water distributed by the city system. Because of the low pressure many apartment building faucets were useless and residents had to seek out street level faucets for their daily supplies. New wells are being constructed by the city.

The urgent need at this moment is more food for the populations of Gaza and Inhambane who are suffering the most because of the drought.

But rain in quantity is the only long range solution. As the posters placed around the city to remind citizens to conserve water say, "Without Water There Is No Life". ■



Women collecting water from a puddle caused by recent rain fall.

Operation Production

"Maputo is a city of at least 800,000 people. There is a work force of 325,000, and there are only 120,000 jobs." Thus, did a high level Mozambican official explain the underlying rationale for *Operation Production* - a two phased program designed to intergrate thousands of unemployed urban dwellers into communities located primarily in the fertile, but sparsely populated, northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado.

Neither the massive exodus from the countryside to the cities nor the attendant social problems which it has created are unique to Mozambique. To the contrary, throughout the entire Third World, unemployment, overcrowding, crime and food shortages have come to characterize life in the sprawling urban centers.

Drought, war and other factors have stymied Mozambique's attempt to become food sufficient. Each year Mozambique spends more money than the year before on imported foods. In 1982 there was a decline in the production of cereals which form the basis of many Mozambicans' diet. Food imported include cereals, fish and meat.

Fertile land in areas less affected by drought goes under-utilized and yield

far less than potential suggests. Provinces such as Gaza and Inhambane, which normally engaged in the food production which supplied Maputo, suffered losses as the population shifted south. Niassa is generally recognized as having the potential to turn Mozambique from an importer to an exporter of food but is sparsely populated and least developed in terms of infrastructure.

Mozambique has worked to increase food production by stimulating farming cooperatives and family farms and by improving the administration of state farms. But gross agricultural production is down. Contributing to this decline was the daily flight of peasants to the urban centers.

The Attractiveness of Urban Areas

The reasons for the shift in Mozambique's population since independence are not very different from those in other developing countries. Many moved to the urban centers to work for the central government. But many others - especially young men - responded to the images of an exciting new life in the big city, with its cinemas, sidewalk cafes, nightclubs and faster pace of

life. The city, to these youths, also represented the opportunity to make more money than they could in the countryside.

The reality of their existence proved to be quite different. Work was difficult to find. Slow industrialization and lack of raw materials meant that factory work was hard to come by. Most lacked the educational background required for office work. The result was a large unemployed, unproductive segment of the population who required food, water, clothing and shelter just as others did.

Operation Production Begins

The first phase of *Operation Production* began on June 20th of 1983 and lasted for two weeks. During this period all unemployed urban dwellers were encouraged to register at the office of their neighborhood political group. The option to select where one preferred to live was offered. Most, volunteers naturally chose their home regions. In addition the volunteers were guaranteed the necessary agricultural implements. By early July 6,000 had registered in Beira, 3,000 in Quelimane and a much larger number in Maputo.

All volunteers were promised work in any area in which they were technically proficient. In some cases families were transported jointly to their new home, in other cases men were moved first with their families and belongings to follow.

In the second compulsory phase households were visited by teams made up of representatives of various mass organizations from that neighborhood. The unemployed were referred to verification centers where each case was reviewed separately.

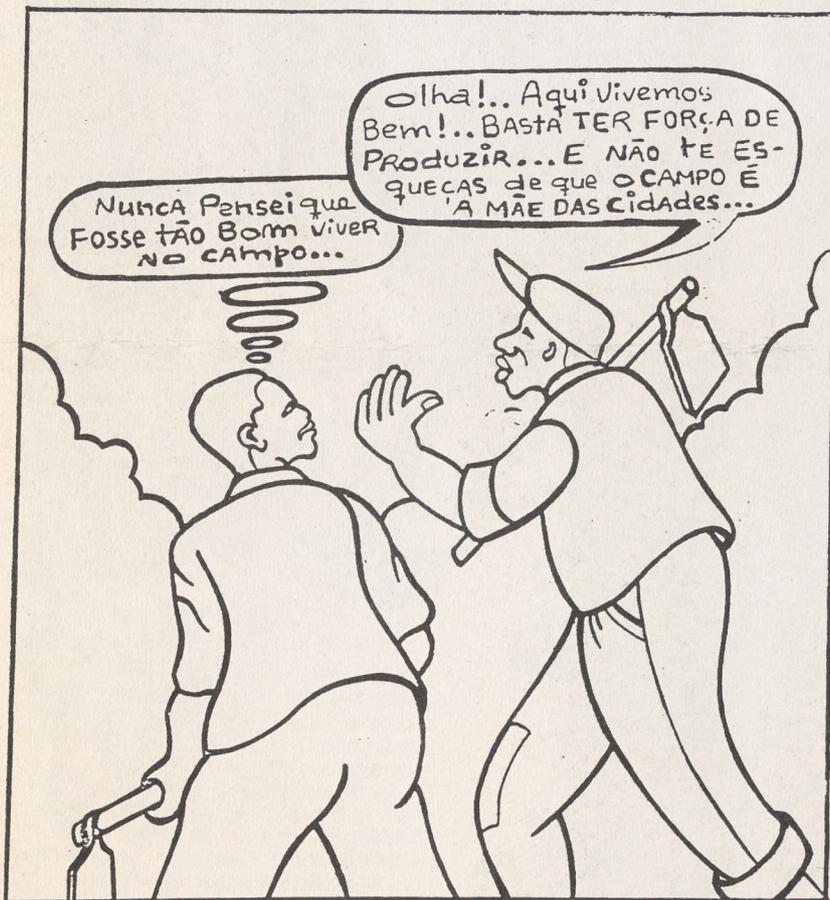
Return to the Rural Areas

Those recently evacuated found that workers in their new regional home were glad to see them arrive. Those who had never left spoke of the value of their lives and their work in the rural areas. Guidelines stressed that new arrivals should build their homes among those of older residents in order to not to have distinctions between the two groups.

For many, the return to the rural area represented the start of a new life. It meant land on which to build a home, land for a garden and a guaranteed salaried job.

According to Maria Simas, a young mother of two resettled in Buzi with her unemployed husband, "We had thought about coming here a long time, but we didn't know how. I had said to my husband - and he agreed - that there in Beira the part-time jobs that he had, didn't guarantee us subsistence. here I have the opportunity to make a garden, while my husband goes to work to cut logs for the company factory."

Brigades from the state and party traveled to locations which received



Cartoon published during Operation Production campaign in Maputo newspaper. It reads: "I never thought it was so good to live in the countryside." "Look!...Here we live well!... You just have to have the strength to produce... And don't forget that the countryside is the mother of the cities."

Reinforcing the Link between the People and the Police

workers to see for themselves what their situation was. At each location, the newly resettled workers voice their concerns which often centered on the desire of married men to finish their new homes so that they could send for their families, and the shortage of tools in some areas. In most districts local residents and co-workers assisted new arrivals with house building.

While thousands were settled smoothly and to their satisfaction some problems were also experienced. The most difficult involved determination of what should constitute unemployment and which of these persons should be affected by *Operation Production's* directives. As the campaign progressed guidelines were issued periodically to clarify procedure. *Operation Production* was the subject of a special session of the Maputo City Council which met in August to discuss, analyze and make proposals to solve problems detected during the first two months. Women deputies were especially critical of problems which had affected women. All members were concerned that mistakes or errors made by some should not jeopardize the success of the entire program or dampen the enthusiasm of most citizens for the program. The deputies vowed to take a more active role in the proceedings and made suggestions for modifications in the process.

By October, approximately 30,000 Mozambicans had been relocated primarily in the north. Although it is too soon to evaluate *Operation Production*, Mozambican officials point to a number of instances where the presence of former urban dwellers enabled the state farms and communal villages to harvest crops which would have otherwise perished as a result of labor shortages. At the Matama state farm in Niassa province, for example, the newcomers played a critical role harvesting several thousand tons of badly needed maize and sunflower.

In the longrun increased levels of production in the countryside depends on the workers dedication, the availability of necessary tools and equipment and the inventiveness of workers to improvise in their absence. The hope continues that *Operation Production* will make the entire country - not just the cities - a better place for all. This means the provision of consumer goods and more recreational outlets in addition to employment, food, and shelter. As one Niassa official explained after asking which of the workers resettled there knew how to run a business - "Here we also want restaurants, shops and bakeries."

As the Minister of Justice, Oscar Monteiro reminded a group of new workers at a citrus company outside Maputo "...it is from here, from the countryside that the cities so many of you like are born." ■

In Mozambique, November 5 is known as Legality Day and Day of the Popular Police of Mozambique. This year's commemoration of Machel's 1981 declaration on legality were held throughout the country. In neighborhoods all over the country thousands of citizens and police officers came together to reflect on the importance of legality to the new society.

The population was reminded that fighting against illegality was the right and duty of all citizens, and that ordinary citizens as well as police must become familiar with the normal channels of law and justice.

Citizens who were credited with the denunciation of black marketeers, thieves and other criminals in their neighborhoods were also reminded of the responsibility for understanding the legal process. Populations were encouraged to adopt methods to prevent crime as well as reporting it.

On the official level, President Machel had a meeting with a delegation of high ranking members of the Ministry of Interior (the ministry responsible for the Police Force). Machel stated that the present need is to increase the quantity and quality of the police force. He expressed the government's belief that those who are police officers should possess special qualities including the spirit of sacrifice, courtesy and efficiency and recommended that a police school be set up in 1984.

On November 5, 1981 President Samora Machel had addressed a large



"Now I feel relieved. My husband already has employment." Virginia Pencela after her family's return to a rural area.

gathering in Maputo and ordered those responsible for upholding the law - the heads of the Police Force and the Army, the Security Minister, and the Minister of Justice - "to detect and remove those infiltrators, the corrupt, the undisciplined, those who abuse power, those who disrespect and mistreat the people, those who use the prestige and the functions of the Defense and Security Forces to satisfy personal interests."

"These infiltrators," declared Armando Guebuza, current Minister of the Interior, on the first anniversary of Machel's speech, "use the power that was given to them to mistreat the people and put in jeopardy the respect the people have and nourish in relation to the FRELIMO party and the Government and in relation to the people who have the task of guaranteeing the security of persons everywhere."

As a result in 1981, more than 150 members of the police force accused of violating the law were expelled and a new system for the selection of future police officers was instituted.

Popular participation is viewed as crucial to guaranteeing that legality is upheld and respected. Machel's 1981 speech was important because it placed the government and the people together on the side of law and isolated those members of the Security and Defense forces who misused the authority of their uniforms or security I.D. cards.

In President Machel's meeting with Interior Ministry officials this year, he stressed the importance of recognizing and eliminating problems within the police force, but he was careful to point out the advancements which had been made since independence in the establishment of a police force which truly served the interests of the people.

"The Portuguese did not leave behind Mozambican Policemen who understood law or had sensibilities for social questions. And it is from nothing that we are forming our police." ■

Announcement

The New York Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition and the Hunter College Day Session Student Government are presenting a Music Against Apartheid concert on February 17, at Hunter College Auditorium in New York City. Featured artists are jazz musicians Noel Pointer, Roy Ayers and Sonny Foryune. Proceeds are to be used to purchase medical supplies for refugees from South Africa and Namibia. For further information call (212) 283-4878 or (212) 234-1334.

A View from Within Americans in Mozambique

Nina Swaim was a cooperante in Mozambique for six months in 1981. During that time she worked under a joint contract from the Ministry of Public Works And Housing and OMM (The Mozambican Women's Organization) on a project to investigate women's awareness of water hygiene and sanitation and to investigate the potential of women themselves to improve problems relating to use of water. Nina is a freelance writer currently living in Norwich, Vermont.

I arrived in Maputo on April 2, 1981 only weeks after an incident in the suburbs of that capital city. Twelve refugees from South Africa were shot and killed in their home by South Africans who crossed the border for that purpose. Reports from the South African media described it as a raid on the headquarters of the African National Congress, the liberation movement within South Africa. Shortly after the raid, six members of the American Embassy were forced to leave their posts in Mozambique because of their alleged involvement in the planning of that raid, but the primary blame for the raid was placed on South Africa.

In May, I was assigned to work in the central part of the country along the Zimbabwe border. I was told I was going to an area that only recently had become safe for travel, much less for foreign workers like myself. Zimbabwe had become independent of white Rhodesian rule in 1980 and before independence the border between Mozambique and Zimbabwe had been an open battlefield between Rhodesian military and liberation forces fleeing their country. Exploding land mines and air raids were daily occurrences for the peasants in that area. Since independence, the area was considered safe and a major focus by the Mozambique government for assistance and support to the local residents.

I traveled freely during my five-month work schedule and was given introductory letters by the Mozambican government so that my work would be understood and supported by the local population. I also went through countless checkpoints which were set up along the roads for the security of the population; it was still necessary to identify people for safety reasons. Often, while working in areas where former Rhodesian military personnel were last seen, I was escorted by armed government officials. As I moved close to the areas that were not considered completely rid of outside forces, I came to understand what it is like to live with the fear of a raid or a takeover by a foreign force.

Women described to me their reluctance to leave the confines of their homes because of the very real potential of rape or outright killing. Almost every village I visited knew what it was like to have strangers forcefully procure food and village members for their own needs or pleasures. The villages now, however, felt safe. Finally the people could get down to the business of building village schools and health posts, producing food to feed their families, and learning the concept of communal village living that the government of Mozambique promoted.

My work in the villages was demanding and sometimes frustrating, but it was a moving experience. Sometimes I was the only white woman within 100 kilometers, many times the first white person the villagers had ever seen. The terrain, the food, the climate and the way people went about their daily lives was almost entirely new to me. Initially, when I arrived in a village I was treated with active curiosity and sometimes fear, but once my work was explained to the villagers, their openness and helpfulness seemed to flow effortlessly.

I was there to do research on the women's perspective of their village water needs, their understanding of water sanitation and hygiene, and the potential for organizing the women to solve village water problems. The area had been one of the hardest hit by the 1979 drought. Since women are the water bearers in that society the information they gave me was invaluable for the government's water resource planning.

None of the women had ever had such a person as me probe into their daily lives. Reflecting on it later I am honored at their trust and willingness to help when, less than a year before, the presence of a white person was reason to fear for their lives. They saw me as a worker for their government and their response to me said a lot about how they felt about their government.

Since my return to this country in October of 1981, there have been several significant incidences in Mozambique which have reminded me of the realities that Mozambique must face as a neighbor to South Africa.

The first occurred last fall. Three women from a rural village (not unlike the 40 that I visited and within a day's drive from the area where I worked) returned from their farms with their ears cut off. The women said they had been ambushed by the Mozambique National Resistance. This movement was formed in 1976 to harass Zimbabwe liberation forces in the area, and was believed to be composed of ex-Portuguese and Rhodesian military personnel. Since

Zimbabwe won its independence, they have centered their activities around destabilization in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Terrorizing villagers so that they do not feel free to go about their regular activities — like providing food for themselves — is one form of destabilization. Women are the primary producers of food in Mozambican society as well as in most of Africa. If they are not able to safely travel to their farms, which sometimes are located 10 to 20 kilometers from their villages, their food supply is cut off. This form of destabilization is very effective on rural populations and it also disrupts the work of the Mozambican government in mobilizing the people to improve their lives. Because of the insecurity in the area, the most important activity now becomes security rather than developing their economy and social structures.

In December and again in June and July of 1982, the government of Mozambique announced that it had successfully routed two major strongholds of the MNR located in the south and north of where I worked. What was uncovered in both raids revealed what was long suspected, but now is proven — South Africa's direct involvement with MNR. Highly sophisticated artillery and weapons, a landing strip and fuel for South African supplied helicopters, and copies of direct communications with South African military personnel were the most notable discoveries. One base has a letter from a South African colonel who ordered MNR units to ambush roads, attack rail lines within the country and sabotage the Mozambique-Zimbabwe pipeline. Destabilization programs by MNR aimed at terrorizing the population are expanding to destroy the economic and commercial infrastructures of the country.

Without two of their base camps, the MNR members lost a significant amount of logistical support. What followed were a series of kidnappings, robberies and murders by isolated MNR members in order for them to obtain food, money and movement in the area. Two foreign workers, under the same kind of government contract as I was under, were kidnapped and subsequently killed in the district where I worked.

In 1982, I received a letter from the man who supervised my work in Mozambique. I will quote directly from him: "The security situation has deteriorated a lot since you were here, and although there are reports of advances from time to time, the situation is very worrying. The South Africans seem to have taken over the running of the little group that used to operate the odd raids out of Malawi. Last week they blew up the water pipeline which supplies Beira. If they start on that line of attack, they'll find quite a few cities are very vulnerable, not the least, Maputo." It has been almost three years since I lived and worked in Mozambique, yet the stories coming out of that country about South Africa's destabilization

MOZAMBICAN NOTES

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MOZAMBICAN NOTES welcomes our readers to the second issue of our newsletter and thank you for the interest shown our introductory newsletter published in September. Because our staff is committed to providing our readers with detailed, in-depth information about Mozambique not otherwise available in the U.S. we have opted to publish MOZAMBICAN NOTES quarterly. We are expanding our format to accommodate more information not only about Mozambique but the surrounding area as well.

AMERICANS IN MOZAMBIQUE

(Continued from page 6)

program against Mozambique draws me quickly back to my time there. I see individual people, villages, and farming plots. I hear the children's voices when they sing the Mozambican national anthem at the beginning of their school day. I walk with the women to their farms and they describe to me their hopes for a better crop next year to feed their families. I take my water bucket with them to the village wells and I remember how they giggle as their hands reach out to help me balance the 10 gallon bucket on my head. And especially, I hear an old woman tell me that the best thing about life since her country's independence is that she, her children and her grandchildren are all learning to read for the first time. And I feel sad and angry that these same people and many more now fear for their lives because of the increased destabilization programs directed from South Africa. ■

TOURISM

(Continued from page 3)

Many workers transferred from one area to another find themselves living in hotels. These hotels are now being evacuated as new housing is found for the residents. Hotels are being reclassified to better reflect the actual condition of the establishment.

The Secretary saw the development of the tourism industry as being connected to development in other sectors - especially in the areas of general supplies, transportation, gasoline supply, and the availability of construction materials.

Terrorism instigated by South African backed armed groups in Mozambique has meant that traveling freely around Mozambique by road or rail to tourist resorts in provinces such as Inhambane, Sofala and Tete is at times difficult. But in spite of the many difficulties encountered, Mozambique is determined to improve the conditions which limit its full realization of tourism in Mozambique. ■

MACHEL VISITS EUROPE

During the first three weeks of October, President Machel led a high level delegation on a visit to six European countries. Spending from two to five days in each country, the delegation visited Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Yugoslavia, France and England.

In Belgium, the President met with King Balvino and other high officials of the Belgium government. During these talks the two countries reaffirmed their desire to continue the cooperation already existing between the two. The President also held talks with members of the European Economic Community (EEC) at their headquarters as well as with members of the Commission of African, Caribbean and Pacific States. Machel praised the EEC for its support and interest in SADCC activities.

In his talks before members of the Commission, Mozambique's leader expressed Mozambique's interest in being admitted to this organization which is connected to the EEC by the Lome Convention. Mozambique, which is an observer in the economic organization of socialist countries (COMECON) does not believe that its participation in one organization precludes its interest in the other. Mozambique sees its desire to be involved with the Lome Convention group as a way to diversify and expand cooperation and develop relationships with other countries.

The Mozambican delegation were received in Holland by Prime Minister Lubbers and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Van Den Broek.

Machel is said to have asked for greater Dutch involvement in long term projects in Mozambique. In Holland, Machel also met with non-governmental organizations which supported the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

At the airport in Lisbon, the Mozambican delegation was met by the President and Prime Minister of Portugal and a large crowd made up of Portuguese citizens. In Portugal, Mozambique's President had meetings with officials and groups of Portuguese citizens including a group of businessmen.

In Portugal President Machel visited cities in both the north and center of the country. Throughout the country he was well received by local citizens. The visit marked the Presidents' first visit to Portugal since independence and is seen by many as an indication of better relations between the two countries.

Mozambique also announced that it was revising its foreign investments code and that Portugal would receive preferential treatment status.

In the Yugoslav capital, The Mozambican President and his delegation were met by President Spiljak. The visit to Yugoslavia was made at the invitation of President Spiljak to deepen the friendship and bilateral co-

operation between the two countries.

At a dinner offered in his honor Machel reflected on the "friendship, sympathy and solidarity" extended to Mozambique by that country. - "yesterday, in the fraternal and unconditional support for the Mozambican people in their struggle against colonial domination and today, in the active participation in the reconstruction of the People's Republic of Mozambique."

According to Mozambican news sources, the situation in southern Africa was again the subject of much of the conversation, as it was at a meeting with members of the diplomatic corps stationed there. President Machel had a separate meeting with ambassadors from African countries at which he is reported to have exhorted them to all be representatives of SWAPO, of Namibia and of the southern African region.

From Yugoslavia the Mozambican delegation traveled to France where they spent two days. On the first day, Presidents Machel and Francois Mitterrand held talks. TEMPO magazine of Mozambique cited official sources in Paris as stating that the visit to Paris could "substantially augment the economic co-operation between the two countries."

In France, Machel and his delegation met with the ministers of External Commerce and Tourism, Transportation, Cooperation and Foreign affairs in addition to the secretary-generals of the communist and Socialist parties. It was reported that France may begin giving some form of military aid to Mozambique. During the discussions with the French, France's position on Namibia and South Africa figured prominently.

The main theme of the Mozambican delegation's visit to England was the situation in southern Africa and economic co-operation. The Financial Times of London is quoted as stating that the major obstacle to private investment by the British in Mozambique is not the ideology of the government but the fears of instability in the region. President Machel was received by Queen Elizabeth and met with leaders of the House of Commons. There were extensive conversations between the Mozambican leader and Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In an official communique of the Council of Ministers released in Maputo after the European visit the political results were considered to be very positive. To quote from the document: these visits permitted the consolidation of relationships which existed already between States and to identify reciprocal areas of interest for the development of economic, commercial, military, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. In the conversa-

(Continued on page 9)

Samora Machel EPISODES FROM LIFE

President Machel's 50th birthday was celebrated throughout Mozambique during the month of September with voluntary work campaigns, cultural programs and announcements of new projects by various groups. TEM-PO magazine devoted an issue to recollections of Samora Moises Machel-the child, the man, the fighter, the leader -by those who know him. What follows are excerpts from a 1974 interview with Machel which appears in that issue.

We publish it because we believe that talks about the experiences not only of Machel but of the People as a whole. *"I did not know my grandparents, neither maternal nor paternal. But I had the luck to know those who knew my paternal grandfather who in around 1920 was already more than 100 years old. He was a soldier in the resistance wars against Portuguese invasion. My parents told me that he had many bullet wounds. My father use to tell me stories about the brutality of the invasion, its inhumanity, how the invaders treated the people who were captured. In this way, when I was a child, I was educated in the spirit of resistance. My father told us these things for us to understand certain phenomena that was happening, in particular in the region where we lived."*

Samora Machel talked about the influence of the old men in the area on his education as a revolutionary. One in particular was a Methodist pastor with whom he lived during the school year because the minister's house was closer to the mission school than his parents' home.

"These old protestants were always persecuted. They participated in the war of resistance against the occupation of our country by colonialism. When they became protestants it was a form of resistance. It was they who inspired us, these elders from here. We were not born from nothing. The constant spirit of struggle, struggle, struggle... It was these elders who taught us. They talked with us and said: It is necessary to combat the Portuguese, they are foreigners. it was they who taught us. We could not have learned this anywhere else. Books about Marx never arrived here, neither did any other book talking against colonialism. Our books were these old men. It was them who taught us what colonialism was, the evils of colonialism, what the colonialists did when they entered here. They were our source of inspiration. Never betray, said these elders. Never betray in time of war. Because of this we never gave up."

Machel also spoke of the role of shopkeepers in the region.

"I am going to tell you what made me aware of what was exploration. Those stores belonged to two shopkeepers

Antonio and Joao. At the same time that stores were banks, post offices,... these storekeepers corrupted the administration. When people traded their products here, they were obliged to buy this and that... they could not take all the money. It was a network well mounted. The people had to buy clothes, liquors, etc. and it was they who fixed the price that they wanted. The shopkeepers became cattle-raisers, robbing them through wine. They took their workers in three trucks and would go from house to house, looking for whoever had drank wine the night before... They would say: you drank a bottle of 20 liters and did not pay. It was in this way that they became cattle ranchers, the bandits. With the money that they gained here, they constructed houses and buildings in Maputo., Here (in the district) they never did any developing..."

Machel's oldest brother was killed in South Africa in 1944. In the same interview he recalled what working in the mines meant.

"The men were sold for the mines of South Africa. And when they were there, the women were taken for road work, for six months, in the construction of roads, or in construction work for shopkeepers, or on the plantations of European farmers. I lost many relatives in South Africa. Some returned with tuberculosis, mutilated, blind, completely useless and without compensation. Others died in South Africa, including my oldest brother. When he died in the mines, my father recieved a note which said that he should go there and recieve an indemnification of 40 pounds. But it said also that they would not give all of the indemnification immediately. My father recieved only 10 pounds and the other 30 stayed in the administration's safe, where he was to go from time to time soliciting small quantities to the extent necessary. It is clear that he never recieved any indemnity. Forty pound indemnification for the death of a man, an accident in the mines. Still in addition to this, my father had to sign a form declaring having recieved a total of 40 pounds."

And about his experience in the school system which was available to Africans during colonialism.

"When it lacked 15 days before the 4th class exam, they said to me: Either you are baptized or you leave the mission. The Sisters of Charity and the Father came to see me and told me this. It lacked only 15 days. I had already submitted my papers. I accepted. I was baptized and christened. They gave me many presents, cloth with the face of St. Francisco Xavier, etc. They were satisfied because they had converted a Protestant. They had gained flock. This was in 1950.

"Afterwards I thought: well I made



"My experience is not isolated. It is the experience of all of us," - Samora Machel, Mozambique's president.

the 4th Class as a brilliant student, I will go to the secondary school or at least to the commercial school - Sa da Bandeira - technical school. When I made the application for there, the Fathers came to see me and said: Go to the seminary, go the Magude to the junior seminary. I said: No. I won't go. I want to go to the secondary school, it is normal. I don't want anything of the seminary.

"Then they went to talk with the administrator, they blocked everything, and I was not allowed to enter the secondary school. I went to Lourenco Marques but could not arrange things. The Fathers blocked me. I returned to Xai-Xai in 1951, practiced as a nurse. Then in 1952, I went to Miguel Bombar do Hospital in Lourenco Marques to take a course in nursing."

As he concluded his interview in 1974 he remarked on the common experience.

"My experience is not an isolated experience. It is the experience of all of us Mozambicans. All of us have this experience of life under colonialism. In 1961 and 1962, we had sad moments of anguish, with the persecutions which occurred at the PIDE installations. Some of my friends were prisoners. They were less vigilante, less cautious, they wanted to confront colonialism only with words... But who laughs last, laughs best. Today, we are one people, and not a Portuguese people, but a Mozambican people. And we are constructing our destiny with our own hands." ■

THE FOUNDING OF FRELIMO

Conclusion

(Continued from September issue)

One group, including Nkavandame and Gwenjere, enjoying at least the tacit support of Uria Simango, the FRELIMO Vice-President, took a narrow nationalist posture. For them the ultimate objective was to create an independent black nation run by a privileged black elite which would replace the white colonial elite. Indeed, peasants in the liberated zones increasingly complained that Nkavandame, who was Director of the Department of Commerce, was siphoning off profits from FRELIMO's peoples' stores, speculating in products in short supply, and exploiting labor in his private field.

In opposition stood the majority of the Central Committee led by Marcelino dos Santos, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Samora Machel, head of the army, Joaquim Chissano, a senior member of the Executive Committee, and President Mondlane, who had been radicalized by the struggle. Although Mondlane initially sought to maintain the unity of the movement, by 1968 he had come to recognize its futility. The revolutionary faction argued that Lisbon's defeat would mark only the first step in transforming Mozambican society, and it saw the experiences of the liberated zones as establishing a model, however embryonic, for the way in which collective action and ownership could lead to a more equitable distribution of Mozambique's resources. It rejected the notion that a privileged elite should guide the country and appropriate its wealth.

At the Second Party Congress held in July 1968 Mondlane and his allies prevailed. Despite the staunch opposition of Nkavandame, the Congress was held in liberated Niassa province, Mondlane was reelected President, and the Central Committee's size was doubled from twenty to forty. New members came almost exclusively from popularly elected constituencies inside Mozambique and the military—both of whom supported the revolutionary position. The enlarged Central Committee adopted a new program emphasizing the eradication of all forms of social and economic inequality and committing FRELIMO to forge ahead with the process of national reconstruction begun in the liberated zones.

Although defeated, the minority faction led by Nkavandame was not prepared to yield power without a struggle. A few weeks later Nkavandame organized a meeting of FRELIMO

dissidents in southern Tanzania where he elaborated his plan to establish a splinter organization. In December the Deputy Chief of the Defense Department, Paulo Samuel Kankhomba, was assassinated. Nkavandame was identified by FRELIMO as the culprit, and on January 3, 1969, he was stripped of all his responsibilities. A month later a letter bomb killed President Mondlane at his office in Dar es-Salaam. Nkavandame, along with Silverio Nungu, a senior FRELIMO member, was implicated in the assassination which had been orchestrated by the Portuguese secret police. He fled across the border with the help of PIDE agents and defected to the colonial regime. In May 1970 the Central Committee elected Samora Machel President and Marcelino dos Santos Vice President of FRELIMO.

Like his assassinated predecessor, Samora Machel came from a family steeped in a long tradition of anti-colonial struggle. His grandparents and great-grandparents fought in the wars of resistance at the end of the nineteenth century in southern Mozambique, and his paternal grandfather was one of the leading figures in the Maguigane rebellion in 1896. His family also suffered for its outspoken opposition. Both maternal grandparents were deported to Sao Tome where they died in exile.

When FRELIMO was formed, Machel fled Mozambique and joined the movement rising quickly within its ranks. In 1963 he went with a small group of militants to Algeria for military training and, after his return to Tanzania, he was placed in charge of FRELIMO's first military training camp. In this capacity he played a central role in planning and organizing the initial phase of the armed struggle. A year later he directed the military campaign in the eastern sector of Niassa, and in 1966, after the death of FRELIMO's first Defense Secretary Filipe Magaia, he took over this post. In the hotly contested ideological debates within the Central Committee to which he was soon after elected, Machel was aligned with Eduardo Mondlane and Marcelino dos Santos, emerging as one of the principal protagonists of the revolutionary nationalist position. The selection of Machel as President and dos Santos as Vice President marked the final victory for the forces of revolutionary nationalism and set the stage for a more explicit adoption of a socialist agenda.

Between the end of 1969 and 1973 the principles and practices developed in the liberated zones were formalized and the war zone extended. FRELIMO's clearer ideological stance facilitated the destruction of the last vestiges of traditional authority. It also highlighted the fact that a black bourgeoisie, if left unchecked, could coopt and ultimately

destroy the revolution. The need to emancipate women received greater emphasis, and advances were made in the fields of health and education. On the military front, guerrilla forces blunted the much-heralded Portuguese defensives and expanded their operations in Tete province and, for the first time, began making significant inroads in the southern half of the country. FRELIMO's front in Manica and Sofala not only threatened the white settler highlands but also Beira, the colony's second largest city. Not even substantial aid from the West, including \$435 million from the U.S., could prop up the colonial regime.

By the end of 1973 freedom fighters were operating only 400 miles from Lourenco Marques and growing opposition to the war paralyzed the colonial army and set the stage in Portugal for the coup of the armed forces movement which overthrew the authoritarian regime of Marcello Caetano on April 24, 1974. In prolonged and difficult negotiations FRELIMO unequivocally rejected the attempts of the new Portuguese government to impose a "neo-colonial solution." On September 7, 1974, the Lusaka agreement was signed establishing a transitional FRELIMO-dominated government and guaranteeing Mozambican independence on June 25, 1975.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

MOZAMBICAN NOTES is published quarterly by the Mozambican Resource Center, P.O. Box 2006, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10159. Yearly subscriptions are \$12.00 for individuals and \$15.00 for institutions. Please add \$7.00 for air mail subscriptions

MOZAMBIQUE: FROM COLONIALISM TO REVOLUTION 1900-1982 by Allen and Barbara Isaacman provides a comprehensive background for understanding events in Mozambique today. In addition to valuable historic information it also contains present day accounts of Mozambique's effort to build a new socialist society. Softback copies of the book are available to newsletter subscribers for \$8.00 from the Mozambican Resource center.

MACHEL VISITS EUROPE

(Continued from page 7)

tions which were held as in the meetings with businessmen, we clarified that there is interest in the People's Republic of Mozambique in cooperating with all countries on the basis of reciprocal benefits, equality and mutual respect. We demonstrated also that there are advantages in cooperating with Mozambique and the independent countries of southern Africa.

news briefs

SUBCOMMISSION OF 'THE FIVE' MEET

In October the subcommissions on Transportation and Commerce of a group known as 'The Five' met in Maputo. It was the first meeting of these subcommissions which are part of a organization made up of the five former Portuguese colonies - Angola, Cape Verde, Guine-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. During the meeting proposals for co-operation were formulated to be presented to a meeting of the heads of states of the five countries involved for approval.

Each state presented a report on the status of transportation - concentrating on air and shipping capacities. The group agreed to exchange delegations among themselves and to increase co-operation in the training of professionals connected with transportation, increase technical co-operation and create more harmonious transportation legislature among themselves.

The Angolan chairperson of the sub-commission of Transportation stated that he would recommend the signing of bilateral accords similar to those approved previously by 'The Five' and that the group should consolidate their actions at international meetings for their common interest.

The chairperson of the Commerce Subcommission from Sao Tome and Principe stressed the importance of 'The Five' making commercial exchanges among themselves of goods and equipment a priority. Items which were listed included rice, sugar, corn, milk and medicines.

Banking and financing issues which also affect commerce between 'The Five' were deferred to a future meeting of the Finance Subcommission.

LAND RE-DISTRIBUTED TO FIGHT HUNGER

Since last June more than 1500 families in the Namacurra district of Zambezi province have each received a parcel of land for the cultivation of cassava. Each family received approximately 2 1/2 acres with the promise that they would actually farm it. More than 500 other families received land to grow cassava, wheat and beans. Land is also being distributed to other families to grow rice and sweet potatoes with seeds and small farming equipment being arranged by the City Council of the districts' headquarters.

Those residents who own tractors have been mobilized to support the families with new plots and AGRICOM - a state agriculture firm is providing a large quantity of hoes.

Throughout the country idle or underutilized land not affected by the drought was handed over to families willing to work it.

In Manhica district of the Maputo province more than 2500 families had received plots of land in September with the distribution continuing. The plots involved are fertile lands near the base of the Incomati River. Much of the valley land distributed was formerly used by colonists to produce rice. One of the needs of the families taking over the new plots is boots for working in the wetness.

According to one peasant who received land, Liasse Cohohnuana, "Although we have other farm lands, we prefer these due to their fertility and humidity. We also expect to be supported now that we have started organized cultivation." It is envisioned that associations of family farmers will be formed for the channeling of the support needed and to deal with the lack of tractors and other equipment.

GOSPEL SINGERS PERFORM IN MOZAMBIQUE

A trio of gospel singers from the US recently gave three well attended performances in Mozambique. Although jazz is known and appreciated in many areas of the country, gospel singing was quite new for the thousands who turned out to hear the Barrett Sisters perform. The Barrett Sisters who are on their first African tour, also performed in Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

NEW BABY FORMULA DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM ANNOUNCED

In December a new system for the distribution of artificial milk for babies was announced which encourages mother to breast feed their babies as opposed to using powdered milk formulas when possible. During colonialism many Mozambican women came to believe that the manufactured milk formulas used by Portuguese mothers were superior to the mother's own milk. After independence many women began to use the artificial milk as the only source of nutrition for their babies. To stretch the expensive canned products, some mothers used more water than required. Often the water used was not purified. But more important, research done in this country has proven that even when used as instructed the benefits are far less those received from natural milk.

The new regulations limit the sale of artificial milk to those mothers who are not able to nurse their baby for health

reasons, orphans, mothers who work or study (after the second month), or mothers of twins. Baby cereal is available to all mothers when their child is between five and fifteen months old.

TRADITIONAL GAMES REVIVED

As special cultural and sporting activities were held throughout the country to celebrate the fiftieth birthday of President Machel, the Maputo newspaper NOTICIAS sponsored national championships of two traditional games. The first annual championships of N'Tchuva and Muravarava, traditional Mozambican games akin to chess or checkers were held in Maputo during the week of September 25.

N'tchuva is a game, which originates in the southern Mozambican provinces of Gaza, Maputo and Inhambane, can be played directly on the ground or on a board which has a minimum of eight cups or holes cut into the playing surface. The game can be played with additional cups in multiples of eight.

Muravarava can also be played either directly on the ground or on a square board which has a layout somewhat similar to chinese checkers.

Both games have as their object the capture of the other players' chips or stones through strategic moves around the board. Both games are also distinguished by their use of paired contestants - one who makes the moves and one who advises what moves to make.

Clearly the significance of a championship for traditional games goes beyond the awarding of prizes to the two young winners. Such a revitalization of traditional games is in the interest of the Revolution. They preserve a people's past, a nation's memory and knowledge and are also a way of uniting the country's many cultural groups.



N'tchuva was one of the two games played at championship tournament of traditional games.

FRIENDS and NEIGHBORS

FRONT LINE STATES MEET

Heads of government of the Front Line States met in Lusaka in November. The main topic of discussion was the progress of talks on Namibia. Present were the presidents of Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Angola, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Botswana and observers from SWAPO and the ANC of South Africa.

One of the objectives of the meeting was to prepare for the upcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held in India. The meeting which lasted four and a half hours include a broad discussion of the situation in southern Africa and reports on visits to Europe by President Machel and Prime Minister Mugabe. At the meeting Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere stressed the necessity to denounce the silence that has surrounded the fact that South African troops currently occupy territory inside Angola. He condemned the fact that attention is focused on Cuban troops which were invited by the Angolan government and not on the South African troops which are the real illegal occupants. The meeting of heads of state also condemned the escalation of South African aggressions against Front Line States. The final communique expressed the hope that the Commonwealth Conference seriously considers the problems of peace and security in southern Africa.

SECRETARY GENERAL REPORTS ON NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE PROGRESS

Following a report given by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar on his visit to southern Africa in August, the Security Council adopted Resolution 539 on October 27. This resolution requires the South African regime to communicate to the U.N. body its acceptance of one of the two election systems presently being discussed for Namibia and rejects South Africa's insistence on the 'linkage' issue which SWAPO has also firmly rejected. It condemns the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa in violation of U.N. Resolution 435 and stated that in the case of non-compliance on the part of South Africa with the resolution that the Security Council would consider taking appropriate measures against South Africa as provided for in the U.N. charter.

Previously, the South African regime had also objected to the suggested make-up of the military component of UNTAG (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) whose responsibility it will be to monitor the cease-fire in Namibia.

In his report back to the Security Council in December, as called for by the Resolution, the Secretary General announced that he was unsuccessful in

getting the South African government to respond on the question of election system or cooperate in moving towards Namibia independence. South Africa's stance is seen by many to be a continuation of the diplomatic games played by a regime with no serious interest in negotiating for peace in Namibia.

Meanwhile, France announced that it would suspend its participation in meetings of the Contact Group (which includes the United States, Britain, Canada and West Germany) as long as issues outside of Resolution 435 are raised. Their differences with the other countries over the issue of 'linkage' is thought to be one of the principle reasons for their action.

DOCUMENTS SHOWING DESTABILIZATION PLAN FOR ZIMBABWE REVEALED

Mozambican reporter Alves Gomes writing in TEMPO magazine in November revealed the existence of documents which expose the establishment of military camps inside South Africa devoted to the training of young Zimbabweans recruited or kidnapped who would later participate in destabilization operations inside Zimbabwe. Those targeted for recruitment includes Zimbabweans visiting or living in South Africa and Botswana, former members of Muzorewa's auxiliaries and former members of the ZIPRA wing of ZAPU. The purpose of the trained armed groups would be to provoke inside Zimbabwe acts of economic and social instability in much the same way as the MNR is currently trying to do inside Mozambique. One document is said to refer to the coordination of hostile groups in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Besides Pharaborwa, a camp used for the training of armed Mozambican bands in 1980, the documents also talk of four new camp sites along the Limpopo on the South African side created by former Rhodesian soldiers, but now run by South Africa military and intelligence personnel. One of the documents which included photographs, talked of a meeting which took place near Pretoria in September between South African military officials and a 'Commandant' Wela, (with past ZAPU connections) who was presented as the chief of the so called 'dissidents' of Zimbabwe. Jonas Savimbi of UNITA was reportedly present at the meeting.

The response to these revelations by Mozambique and Zimbabwe has been to continue and strengthen their joint military operations against the South African backed armed bands who threaten hostile acts in both countries.

SADCC ACTIVITIES

In August Tanzania and Malawi signed an agreement to establish and to

develop transportation systems and carriers for trade and commerce between the two countries. The agreement rose out of the two nations' participation in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. Malawi's participation in both SADCC and this particular trade and transportation agreement is significant because of its generally conservative foreign policy and in particular because its trade and political relations with South Africa.

CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA

In early December four columns of South African troops mounted an offensive into the Angolan province of Huila. On December 14, a clash occurred between the South African aggressors and Angolan troops near Mulonga. As recent as January 3, another attack is reported to have taken place near Cuvelia, 120 miles inside Angolan territory. According to Ambassador Elisio Figueiro, Angola's permanent representative to the United Nations, these acts constitute "a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and constitutes a danger to international peace and security."

In light of recent South African aggressions against Angola, the Security Council on January 6, adopted Resolution 546 with a vote of 13-0 (with the U.S. and Britain abstaining). This resolution calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and for the cease of all South African military actions against Angola. The Resolution affirms Angola's right to call on assistance to better fight against aggression of the racist regime against the independent Angolan state and recognizes Angola's right to compensation from South Africa for damages incurred. The resolution required that the Secretary General report back to the Security Council by January 10. In the event that South Africa fails to comply with Resolution 545 and 546, the Security Council will meet to consider more stringent measures as provided for under the U.N. charter.

Announcement

From Chicago comes information of a material aids drive to benefit recipients in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania. Margaret Burroughs of the Du Sable Museum in Chicago has organized the African Aid Project to collect clothing, toys, school supplies and books to send. The African Aid Project is also interested in sending toothbrushes, tooth paste, needles, combs, thread and other small items. The ANC and SWAPO will also be recipients of this project. For information contact Margaret Burroughs, Du Sable Museum, 740 East 56th Place, Chicago, ILL. 60637.

LATE NEWS

Mozambique and South Africa Talk

Following a one day meeting in late December, Mozambique and South Africa announced that the two countries had established four commissions that would begin holding a series of bilateral talks in mid-January on the issues of security, economic relations, tourism, and the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric dam.

The key to the talks, for both sides, is the security issue.

In announcing that the talks would be taking place, Mozambican President Samora Machel reported that "in the context of our policy of peace, good neighborliness and coexistence with the countries of our zone, we have been making contacts with the South African authorities with a view to reducing tensions in our region and to defining rules for a normal and peaceful relationship between two neighboring states."

Machel went on to reaffirm that the establishment of good relations between South Africa and Mozambique required South Africa to stop supporting the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which, he said, "the Pretoria regime recruits, trains, finances, equips and directs to launch criminal actions against our sovereign state."

The Maputo-based daily *Noticias*, commenting on the talks just after

they began in mid-January, noted Mozambique desire for "peace and coexistence" with South Africa. "Geographic location is something that can't be changed. Neighbors can't be changed," the newspaper said in an editorial which went on to point out that there must be peace between two countries that share the same frontier, even though they have different social systems and other contradictions exist between them.

"The negotiations are necessary to make sure that people are living by the norms of international law," the paper said, going on to outline four main points for the discussions:

- Territorial integrity
- Non-violation of frontiers
- Non-interference in internal affairs
- Assurances from both countries that no one of the two states will be used as a platform for violence against the other.

South Africa, in its comments on the talks stressed the security issue. "South Africa has only one rule," said Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, "which is that its neighbors must stop harboring terrorists. We shall not deviate from that even if it brings us into contact with the whole world." In the past South Africa has claimed that its attacks on Mozambique were aimed

COPY

only at eliminating "ANC bases." At the same time the Mozambican government and the ANC leadership have maintained that ANC military bases are only in South Africa.

What South Africa seeks, Botha explained, is a "mutual nonaggression pact," in which Pretoria would curb the activities of the MNR in return for Mozambique doing the same with the ANC.

President Machel, however, in his statement following the December meeting, reaffirmed Mozambique's support for the ANC: "The People's Republic of Mozambique has reaffirmed the principles of our socialist policy of peace, firmly condemning the system of apartheid and the bantustan policy, and restating our political, diplomatic and moral support for the ANC, which fights for democracy, which fights against racial discrimination and for equality between all races in South Africa."

"The ANC enjoys the unconditional support of all true lovers of peace, social justice and progress," Machel said, "included among whom are the Mozambican people."

Following the first round of talks in Maputo on economic relations on Jan. 16, the two sides issued a joint statement saying the talks took place in a "constructive atmosphere." They discussed transport, migrant labor, agriculture, fisheries, industries and commerce, finance, tourism and energy, the joint statement said. ■

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Alfred Nzo, 74, Leading Figure In African National Congress

By HENRI E. CAUVIN

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 14 — Alfred Nzo, who helped lead some of the earliest battles against South Africa's apartheid regime and decades later became the country's first black foreign minister, died on Thursday in a clinic here. He was 74.

A leading figure in the African National Congress for more than 30 years, many of them spent in exile, Mr. Nzo was a key figure in the negotiations that led to country's first all-race vote in 1994 and became one of the country's most important ambassadors to the world after the election of Nelson Mandela.

Mr. Nzo, who suffered a stroke last month, had been hospitalized since then at the Olivedale Clinic, the African National Congress spokesman, Smuts Ngonyama, said today.

President Thabo Mbeki, part of a younger generation of liberation fighters, praised Mr. Nzo, who retired from government last year after the election of Mr. Mbeki. "To his last day, he was an unwavering champion of nonracialism and non-sexism," President Mbeki said in a statement. "He stood for a united country and people."

Like many other leaders of the struggle against apartheid, Mr. Nzo

found his calling at the University of Fort Hare, where he joined the A.N.C.'s Youth League. It was the beginning of an allegiance that would last his lifetime, eventually making him the party's secretary general.

He left Fort Hare in 1946, after his second year. Back in Johannesburg, he studied part time at a technical college, and in 1951 he was licensed as a health inspector and assigned to work in Alexandra, one of the area's impoverished townships.

The poverty and deprivation he observed heightened his political consciousness.

Determined to play a part in the incipient struggle, he helped organize the defiance campaigns of the 1950's. In 1956, his activism cost him his job as health inspector, and he then thrust himself headlong into the activities of the A.N.C. Without his job, he lost his right to reside in Alexandra, but he did not leave, and that made him a frequent target of the security forces. He was arrested repeatedly, ordered banned, and on more than one occasion imprisoned. In 1963 and 1964, he was detained for a total of 238 days.

Eventually, he went into exile, becoming an diplomat for the African National Congress, first in Cairo, lat-



Associated Press, 1994

Alfred Nzo

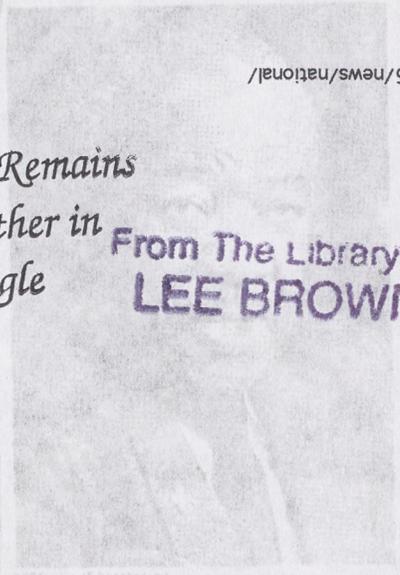
er in New Delhi.

In 1969, he was elected the movement's secretary general and moved to its headquarters in Tanzania. He remained secretary general, overseeing much of the African National Congress's day-to-day operations, until 1991.

He remained part of the inner circle that negotiated with the government and laid the groundwork for the country's change in power.

Mr. Nzo is survived by his wife, Regina, and their son.

http://www.nytimes.com/00/01/15/news/national/obit-nzo.html



Lee Brown Remains
Your Brother in
Struggle

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January 15, 2000

Alfred Nzo, 74, Anti-Apartheid Leader, South African Diplomat

By HENRI E. CAUVIN

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Like many other leaders of the struggle against apartheid, Nzo found his calling at the University of Fort Hare, where he joined the ANC's Youth League. It was the beginning of an allegiance that would last his lifetime, eventually making him the party's secretary-general.

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Not long after his release, he went into exile, becoming a diplomat for the African National Congress, first in Cairo, Egypt, later in New Delhi, India.

In 1969, he was elected the movement's secretary-general and moved to its headquarters in Tanzania. He remained secretary-general, overseeing much of the African National Congress' day-to-day operations, until 1991.

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A Tribute to Boer War's Black Victims

South Africa to honor 12,000 long forgotten

By Andrew Selsky
ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — At least 12,000 perished in concentration camps. Thousands more were massacred or died in battle. Their bones lie in mostly unmarked and long forgotten graves.

But now, for the first time, black men, women and children who died in the Anglo-Boer War are being honored as the nation commemorates the conflict's 100th anniversary — and rewrites a national history in which whites received top billing and blacks were footnotes at best.

President Thabo Mbeki and the Duke of Kent are to lay wreaths tomorrow at the grave sites of Africans, Britons and Boers outside the town of Brandfort, 190 miles south of Johannesburg.

An exhibit depicting the participation of blacks opens today at the War Museum in nearby Bloemfontein, which previously described the conflict exclusively from the perspective of the Boers — the descendants of Dutch and other European settlers.

"This will signify that the war actually affected every South African. That's contrary to the views widely held at that time that it was a white man's war," said Musa Xunu, who heads the centennial commemorations. Battle re-enactments and university conferences are also planned over the next four years.

It's all part of a broader recasting of the nation's past now that centuries of white rule have ended with the 1994 all-race elections that brought the African National Congress, and the overwhelming black majority, to power.

"All this is very important because the role of black people in every aspect of South African life has not been properly documented," Xunu said. "We need to create an atmosphere that recognizes their importance."

A panel of academics is considering whether history books should be rewritten to reflect a more balanced view of the Anglo-Boer War. Few South Africans realize how deeply blacks were involved.

The war began on Oct. 11, 1899, with Britain seeking to control South Africa's gold reserves, the world's biggest, and President Paul Kruger of the South African Republic resisting. After three years of mainly guerrilla warfare, the British wore down Boer resistance.

Col. Robert Baden-Powell, who commanded British troops in the northern town of Mafikeng, which was besieged by Boers, armed some blacks, prompting a Boer com-



Black soldiers lined up for a group picture in this undated file photo taken in Mafikeng, South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War. The nation is commemorating the war's 100th anniversary.

mander to accuse him of "an enormous act of wickedness."

The black fighters in Mafikeng received smaller food rations than whites, were eventually given horse feed and finally the choice of starving or running the Boer gauntlet. But they did most of the fighting in repelling a Boer assault on May 12, 1900. Uncounted numbers died of starvation or were shot to death in the seven-month siege.

Armed blacks captured by the

Boers were commonly executed. Unarmed blacks were also occasionally slaughtered.

The British herded about 25,000 blacks and 94,000 whites — most of them family members of Boer commandoes — into the world's first concentration camps. Epidemics swept the camps, killing at least 12,000 blacks and 18,000 whites.

The horrors that blacks endured are just now being recognized, said Thomas Packenham, author of the

critically acclaimed book "The Boer War."

Afrikaner descendants of the Boers are planning their own commemorations.

Louis Trichardt, director of the Afrikanerbund, which promotes Afrikaner culture and language, said he hopes the refocused history will help unite South Africans.

"I think it is definitely a good idea," he said. "We must look to the future."

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Prosecutor Probing Bishop's Death Flees Guatemala

ASSOCIATED PRESS

GUATEMALA CITY — A prosecutor who was investigating possible military involvement in the murder of Roman Catholic Bishop Juan Gerardi resigned yesterday and fled the country in fear — following the path of a judge in the case.

In an interview with a local radio network, Prosecutor Celvin Galindo said he was "frustrated at not reaching the end (of the case), but I believe that in reaching the end of the case I would run a very great risk."

Speaking from an undisclosed location in the United States, Galindo also questioned the ability or will of Guatemala's government to resolve the high-profile murder. He implied that his children had been threatened, though he did not give details.

Gerardi, the 75-year-old head of the Guatemalan church's human rights office, was bludgeoned to death on April 26, 1998, two days after releasing a major report cataloging human rights abuses during the country's 36-year civil war and blaming most of them on the military.

The first judge and prosecutor overseeing the case were forced to resign after international complaints that they had gone out of their way to ignore evidence the army might be involved. They had arrested another priest on suspicion of the murder. He was later released.

The second judge, Henry Monroy, quit in March after only a month on the job and fled to Canada. He said he had received death threats after authorizing investigation of possible political motives in the case.

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COPY Impressive SF gathering eyes strategy for peace

By WILLIAM ALAN
and ANN WASHINGTON

SAN FRANCISCO At what some call the largest Bay Area peace conference in recent memory on June 13, more than 300 people attended "In the Common Interest—Strategies for Peace."

They came from 60 organizations representing labor, community and minorities.

Berkeley Mayor Eugene "Gus" Newport, San Francisco Supervisors Nancy Walker and Harry Britt, and Alameda County Supervisor John George were active participants. Newport chaired most of the session. Co-chairing with him was Chockie Goddard, national vice president of the U.S. Peace Council. Newport and Walker had just returned from a session of the World Peace Council in Stockholm.

Resolutions were adopted on: The economic impact of the military budget in the Bay Area; nuclear arms and disarmament; the struggle against racism and its importance to the peace movement; non-intervention and solidarity with national liberation struggles.

Supporters came from Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) the San Francisco Building Trades Council, Intl. Assn. of Machinists, Service Employees International Union (SEIU), United Public Workers, Communication Workers Union,

ANC official set for Freedom Day

SAN FRANCISCO — David Ndaba, administrative secretary of the African National Congress, will be guest speaker at a commemoration of South Africa Freedom Day Thursday, June 25, 6 p.m., at 33 Gough St., SF.

The event, part of South Africa Awareness Week, is sponsored by the Coalition of Black Trade Unions.

among other unions. Also represented were Writers Guild of San Francisco, National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, and several senior organizations, including the Gray Panthers.

Keynoting, Mayor Newport said, "This is a great beginning, bringing so many separate peace forces into one conference against Reagan's war program. As mayor of a city that is being hard hit by Reagan's budget cuts there is no informed way to address local concerns like ours without addressing the issue of peace and the arms race."

"This is a life and death struggle between war and peace, privilege and equality, corporate needs and human needs, **f a n a t i c i s m a n d humanitarianism.**"

Newport said there are already signs that President Reagan is facing mounting opposition to his \$77 billion proposed cuts in social services. This is seen in the recent Senate vote of 95-0 against cuts in Social Security benefits. Reports are that Reagan's mail reveals strong public opposition to his budget cuts proposal.

Special guest was the Honorable Decina Williams, ambassador from Grenada to the Organization of American States, who said, "The struggle for peace is to win masses of exploited millions, who make up two thirds of the world population, who are struggling for a living, and show to them they benefit from World peace."

"Recent sessions of the World Peace Council report that the peoples of the Third World are outraged against US foreign policies. In particular, the peace forces in the Caribbean, are demanding that that area shall be a zone of peace and friendship."

She and Newport took sharp issue with the Reagan propaganda that the "Russians" are the cause of US needs to bolster its armaments and so called "defense" budgets to the still high of \$200 billion in the

coming fiscal year, and several trillions of dollars between now and 1985.

They both spoke strongly of the struggle for peace by the Soviet Union and called for renewed world wide movements to win SALT II and to halt nuclear missiles build-up.

Lee Brown, Black senior unionists from the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union, Local 2, and longtime activist in the struggle for peace, was awarded a Peace Medal by the conference.

Among the labor peace veterans was the internationally known Harry Bridges, vice-president of the World Peace Council who actively participated during the entire conference, in addition to helping in its inception.

"The Economic Impact of the Military Budget on the Bay Area" workshop resolved that "We stand opposed to these drastic increases in military spending that only heighten the danger of war, rather than providing security for the American people; we oppose Reagan cutbacks in human services while he provides increased profits to giant corporations, we demand reductions in military spending, pursuit of arms limitations and a dedication of our nation's wealth to human needs."

The workshop on "Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament" resolved that, "the delegates demand ratification of SALT II, the prohibition of all testing, production, stockpiling and use of conventional, nuclear, binary, chemical, and ethnic genetical weapons, and the dissolving of all military alliances and dismantling of all foreign military bases."

The "Struggle Against Racism and its Importance to the Peace Movement" workshop pledged "our full commitment to the fight against racism. We express our determination to strengthen the peace movement by building all forms of cooperation among



Ann Washington photo
CHOCKIE GODDARD, national vice-president of the U.S. Peace Council co-chaired the historic peace conference last weekend in San Francisco at which resolutions opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador were adopted.

people and organizations fighting for arms control, for social programs and for full equality."

The "Non Intervention and Solidarity with National Liberation Struggles" workshop resolved that "whether it be in El Salvador or Central America, South Africa, Southeast Asia, or the Middle East, we oppose all US intervention in the just struggles of the native peoples of those countries."

Summarizing, Peggy Gannon, co-chair of the U.S. Peace Council Steering Committee, said the conference was extremely significant because of the large

turn-out of delegates, the hundreds of members those delegates represented, and the unanimous passing of all resolutions by the various organizations.

Moreover, Roberta Goodman, press organizer for the steering committee added, the conference was a success because it brought together, through the topics of concern, groups which have historically not participated in the peace movement, such as Blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities.

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