

NEWS UPDATE

SOUTHERN AFRICA

SASC

SUPPORT COMMITTEE

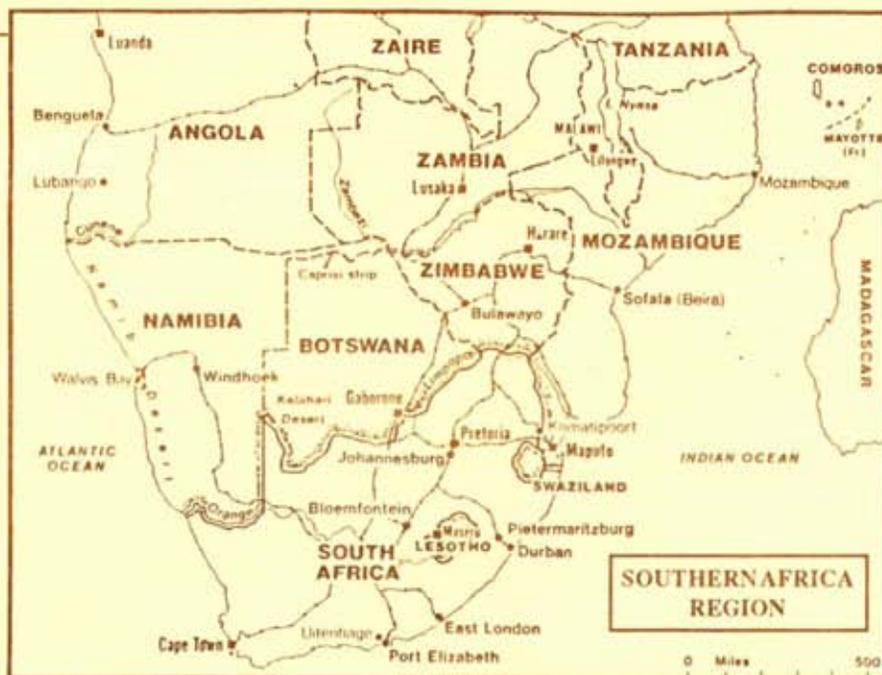
Winter 1988
No. 2

Welcome to our second issue. Events are happening daily in the Southern Africa region, and a lot of those events get little, or misinformed notice in the U.S. press. We hope that our news update can help fill that void with accurate reportage and concrete analysis. And to provide a perspective that will educate the reader as to what are the forces in the spot light, as well as the behind-the-scenes players in the region.

Please take the time to go through this issue thoroughly, and by all means let us know your comments and suggestions.

Next issue we plan a review of our recent Namibia study, and an in-depth article on just who and what is the International Monetary Fund(IMF).

Two quick news items not found inside: P.W. Botha has paid a visit inside occupied territory in Angola, and long time ANC activist, Govan Mbeki has been released from South African prison after more than twenty-five years imprisonment.



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ANGOLA

The Reagan administration continues to support destabilization efforts in and around Angola through its funding of the main counter-revolutionary right-wing group, UNITA. It has been reported that during 1986, the administration provided the African contras with Stingers—hand held, surface to air missiles. And revealed, but not followed up on, in this year's Iran-contra testimonies was another interesting connection to UNITA's funding.

It seems that from as early as 1981 through the beginning of 1986 (when the Clark amendment was repealed), Saudi Arabia and Morocco financed, supplied and trained UNITA troops. Jonas Savimbi is quoted as saying that Morocco was a key training base for his UNITA bandits in 1981. At the time, Morocco was receiving \$50 to \$100 million in military aid from the United States. The Saudis gave money and supplies in return for gaining greater operational control of the AWACS early warning planes sold to them, but operated by Americans. This all changed in 1986 when the Clark amendment was lifted, and the Reagan administration could do in the open what it had orchestrated in secret.

Yet despite these continuing acts of aggression on the part of the United States and South Africa's military and financial support of UNITA (going back some ten years) to overthrow the sovereign nation of Angola, the ruling MPLA-Worker's party strives to build a viable economy and end the region wide conflicts. To that end, Angola has shown a willingness to re-new talks with the west that it broke off last year when the Reagan administration began to openly and directly fund UNITA.

In the capital of Angola, Luanda, recently president Jose Eduardo dos Santos declared, "Cuban troops will remain in Angola until South Africa puts an end to apartheid and grants independence to neighboring Namibia." The deputy foreign minister, Venancio de Moura went on to say, "We can be more flexible on this question, we have not explored all conditions made available by Angola in our proposal (for a phased withdrawal of most, not all Cuban troops) made nearly three years ago." These statements reflect part of Angola's opening salvo to address the U.S.' so-called "linkage" discussion. And by renewing talks, Angola will have avenues open to counter the support UNITA has gotten from the administration and Congressional forces.

On the matter of the restructuring of the economy of Angola and the West President dos Santos has stated, "In this phase of national reconstruction, we cannot do away with cooperation with Western countries. We must ensure the maintenance and operations of the infrastructure. Actually, their participation in national reconstruction is inevitable. What is most important is for us to be able to find, within the framework of current conditions, ways of making economic relations with Western countries advantageous to the People's Republic of Angola. In this context, the Angolan government will express its intention to join the IMF on the basis of its programme of economic and financial reorganization. Angola's eventual membership in the IMF will not prevent it from deepening its relations with the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the Lusophone African nations, or the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Committee (SADCC). Angola will be active in this last organization by activating the fiscal, customs and exchange rate policies on a long-term basis that would prepare the ground for the economic integration of the region, which at the moment is only observed in the field of infrastructures. This integration, which is currently being carried out against hegemonic attempts by the racist Pretoria regime, will in future undoubtedly extend to a South Africa freed from apartheid."

This is not a turning away from Marxism, but rather a hard pragmatic response to the on-going overt and covert war waged against Angola primarily by South Africa and the United States.

ANGOLAN JOURNEY

The following is a personal account of Charles Marshall's visit to Angola from July 19 thru 24, 1987. Charles is a member of the L.A. based U.S.-Angola Friendship Society.

From July 19th through the 24th, a member of the U.S.-Angola Friendship Society visited Angola as part of a four person delegation invited by the Angolan League for Peace and Solidarity With the People (LAASP). The LAASP is a non-governmental organization whose purpose is the development of people-to-people exchange between Angola and other countries. During its stay in Angola, the delegation visited the cities of Luanda and Benguela. Below is a report on the visit.

In July 1985, the Clark Amendment was repealed and a ten year ban on provision of U.S. aid to UNITA, a South Africa trained and financed insurgent group fighting against the Angolan government, came to an end. In 1986 the Reagan Administration provided 15 million dollars in acknowledged aid to UNITA, along with sophisticated, hand-launched, surface-to-air "Stinger" missiles. However, Contra-gate revelations suggest that both before and after repeal of the Clark Amendment, the United States provided much more in aid to UNITA by channeling such aid through intermediary countries such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Zaire. One of the main goals of our visit to Angola was to get a feel for the effects of the U.S.-South Africa backed war on that country and its people.

A drive through the streets of Luanda gives a very distinct picture of a country at war. Indirect evidence of the U.S.-South Africa backed war against the Angolan government is everywhere. Luanda's population is swollen with rural people who have been dislocated by the war. Municipal services and the city's infrastructure cannot meet the demand; consequently, Luanda's streets are dirty and pot-holed.

One particularly depressing image of the streets of Luanda is the unusually large number of people who are missing an arm or a leg. This is another result of the war. The favorite tactic of UNITA is to lay land mines in civilian areas—around schools, health clinics, markets, etc. According to Paulino Pinto Joao, Director of the Department of Information and Propaganda of the governing MPLA-Labor Party, Angola has over 30,000 amputees and mutilated persons among its 9 million citizens. The government has one factory that makes prosthetic devices operating in the city of Huambo, in southeast Angola. However, this factory cannot keep up with the demand and, we were told, prosthetic devices are among the most urgent material needs of Angola.



Villagers liberated by FAPLA from UNITA

Luanda's streets seem to be filled with military people, and a good portion of the civilian population is mobilized as a result of the war. The youthfulness of the Angolan population is evident when one sees the faces of FAPLA's (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) soldiers—they all seem to be 17 and 18 years old, including the pilots who flew and staffed the planes we used to travel from Luanda to Benguela and back. FAPLA is supported in the war effort by two civilian mass organizations: the People's Defense Organization (ODP) and the People's Vigilance Brigades (BVP). The ODP is an armed civilian militia that backs up the army. At the end of 1986 there were 600,000 Angolans, both men and women, in the ODP. The BVP is Angola's largest mass organization with over a million members. The ODP guards economic installations and government buildings against urban sabotage. In addition to requiring large amounts of human resources, the war effort requires the expenditure of scarce economic resources also. Angola spends 30% of its national budget on defense. This figure is astoundingly high for an underdeveloped country.

The most painful evidence of the war in Angola resulted from a visit to a school for dislocated children in Benguela. The U.S.-South Africa backed war has taken an especially heavy toll among Angola's children. According to a January 1987 UNICEF report entitled: Children on the Frontline:

Infant and child mortality rates in Angola...are estimated to be the highest in the world. The underlying cause is underdevelopment compounded by war and economic destabilization and the resulting setbacks and dislocations. The tragic consequence is that every four minutes, a small child who would have lived is dying in Angola...

...a reasoned estimate is that in 1986, some 140,000 children died in Angola and Mozambique alone from war and destabilization-related causes.

The members of our delegation were moved by the dedication of the staff of the school who obviously were trying their best to satisfy both the educational and emotional needs of the dislocated children, many of them orphans. However, the teachers were working without adequate facilities or supplies. We visited the school at lunch time and saw the children in the lunchroom, many of them missing an arm or a leg, with several groups of three or four children eating from a single plate—because there weren't enough plates to go around. The staff of the school made an appeal to the people of this country, especially to teachers and educators, that they consider organizing material relief programs to help alleviate some of the suffering caused by the war.

It is important to underscore that, despite all the difficulties caused by the U.S.-South Africa backed war, Angola is playing a tremendously important and positive role in the southern Africa region, both in terms of economic development and in the struggle to end apartheid. Angola is a member of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), a regional economic development association formed in July 1980 by the nine majority ruled states of southern Africa: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Each member country is responsible for coordinating SADCC's work in a particular area. For example, Angola is responsible for coordinating energy conservation and development. One of the main purposes of SADCC is to reduce the economic dependence of its member states on South Africa. Of course, the efforts of SADCC are being met by hostility from South Africa. For example, on June 5th, in the province of Namibe in southern Angola, a South African commando team damaged three ships docked in the harbor of Namibe City and blew up several oil storage facilities. The U.S. response to SADCC has been ambivalent; the Congress has passed a bill that authorized development assistance to

SADCC, but the language of the bill limits Angola or Mozambique from receipt of any of the aid.

Our delegation met with leading members of the African National Congress (ANC) personnel in Luanda, as well as a member of the Central Committee of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Representatives from each of these organizations were very expressive in informing us of the vital assistance given by the Angolan people to their efforts to end apartheid in South Africa, as well as terminate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. To give an idea of the support that the Angolan people are providing to the Namibian people, according to Moses M'Garob, a member of SWAPO's 55 person Central Committee, approximately half of Namibia's 3 million person population is in exile as a direct result of South Africa's illegal, colonial occupation of Namibia; over 75% of these refugees live in Angola.

In the refugee camps and stations in Angola, refugees are not only provided a safe place to live, but are also provided with health care and schooling. We were provided with a particularly inspirational example of cross-generational dedication to the anti-apartheid struggle when we visited a health clinic-school for ANC refugees near Luanda. There we met among the school staff, the director of the school, her husband—who was an instructor at the school, and their daughter—a civil engineer who was inspecting the most recently built additions to the school. We also learned that the director's son was an ANC representative abroad.

The overall message we got from both ANC and SWAPO representatives in Luanda was that Angola and the survival of the Angolan government was key to their struggles. The message we got from the Angolan government with respect to Angolan support for ANC and SWAPO was that support for these two movements was a matter of basic principle for the Angolan people and would not lessen until apartheid is ended and South Africa withdraws from Namibia.

...U.S. policy support for UNITA is wrong...

Our visit to Angola also included meeting with workers and management of a textile factory, as well as meetings with important Angolan mass organizations such as the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA) and the Angolan Women's Organization (OMA). After explaining to us the work of each organization and giving us a description of the successes of each organization, we were told by both the UNTA and the OMA representatives that their organization was deeply interested in correspondence and exchange visits between U.S. and Angolan trade-unionists and Angolan and U.S. women. Generally speaking, the Angolan people that we met firmly believe that if more people-to-people contact and exchange between Angolan and U.S. citizens took place, the U.S. public would realize that U.S. policy support for UNITA is wrong because it promotes suffering, dislocation and death. The Angolans believe that an informed U.S. population, knowledgeable of the Angolan reality, can organize themselves to bring about an end to aid to UNITA and a more positive policy toward Angola.

Apart from the fact that the U.S. policy of imposing economic and military destabilization measures against Angola has produced untold social and economic disruption, U.S. policy on Angola complements South Africa's policy toward that country and puts the United States into a de facto alliance with the apartheid regime. It is ironic that while the U.S. is funding contra-style groups that destroy Angola's economic infrastructure, Angola is one of the United States' major trading partners

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NAMIBIA

Just when the South African government was on the verge of predicting a military victory over SWAPO's armed forces, 3 of Namibia's most significant copper mines were hit by the largest labor strike in over a decade. Thus, another chapter is written in the many sided, 27-year struggle for liberation in Namibia, the "forgotten colony."

Namibia, without a doubt, is home of one of the least publicized liberation struggles in the world: least known, despite Namibia's brutally cruel colonial history of domination, genocide and exploitation, first by Germany and now by South Africa; obscure, despite numerous international and U.N. declarations calling for South Africa's immediate and total withdrawal from Namibia. How is such a clear-cut, righteous struggle for self-determination, such a vitally strategic key to the entire region of Southern Africa as Namibia placed on a back-burner?

Because South Africa understands the repercussions of a liberated, SWAPO-led Namibia, both on its own security and on the region, the racist regime often turns to manipulation of the press to paint its own picture of this situation to the world.

It was with such cunning deception that South Africa used the July 22 edition of the Los Angeles Times to announce that its troops had reduced SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) to little more than 'insignificant' hit-and-run attacks. Further, they estimated that PLAN's forces were about half of what they had been 10 years ago. The announcement was clearly aimed at SWAPO's supporters, as an attempt to discredit and undermine the organization. Well aware of the internal following and international posture SWAPO maintains as the most legitimate expression of the Namibian people's long struggle for independence, the Times article allows a South African officer to explain how without the ongoing war, SWAPO would be no different than the other 41 registered political parties in Namibia.

Yet, it was precisely SWAPO's forthright understanding of the many forms and stages of struggle that originally led the organization to add the armed component to the political, economic and social forms of struggle it was already employing more than 20 years ago. No mention is made of the fact that it is SWAPO's history, reputation and tirelessness that brings the pressure on the South African regime. It is PLAN's hit-and-run monthly bombings that continually spur the Namibian people on, and it is PLAN that ends up costing the South Africans more than \$1.5 million per day.

Both sides admit that the war is only a small aspect of the overall liberation question. Meanwhile, SWAPO is shifting more emphasis to organizing and building its ranks inside the country.

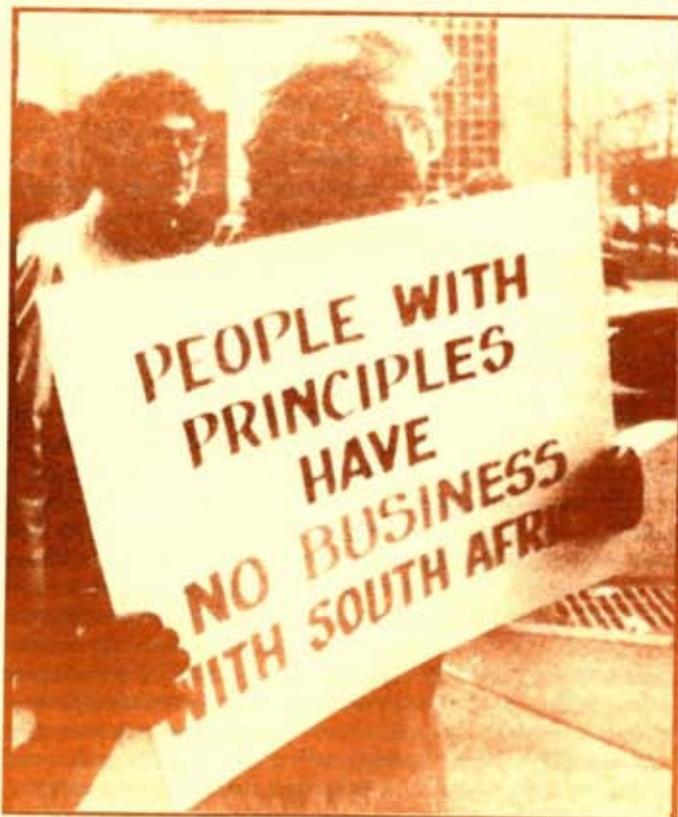
In this case, however, South Africa's media tactic obviously backfired when 5 days after the L.A. Times article, more than 4,000 Black Namibian copper miners sent an unmistakable message back to Pretoria and the international community by launching a strike against 3 Western owned mines in northern Namibia: Tsumeb, Kombat and Otjithase. Taking a page from the recent explosion of labor union activity in South Africa itself, these miners were members of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN), formed only months earlier. They demanded "...a 120% increase over the 51 cents per hour base pay, an end to the hated contract labor system, improvements in the workplace and, significantly, an unequivocal statement from the mine's management, Tsumeb Corp. Ltd., about South Africa's continuing illegal administration of the southwest African nation."

South Africa's desire to report a military victory is further discounted as a media ploy when it is understood that the entire year of 1987 has been a most active one in terms of aggressive labor activity in Namibia. Earlier in June, miners at the jointly British and U.S. owned Tsumeb mine launched a devastating boycott of white-owned stores. They demanded lower prices, repeal of the 9% sales tax and pressure from white businesses to end South Africa's brutal counterinsurgency campaign against SWAPO guerrillas.

Even earlier in May, the Namibian Food and Allied Union (NAFAU) won a victory by forcing SWA Vleis to reinstate more than 600 NAFAU members who were fired in a dispute over low wages. But one of the strongest indications yet that Namibia's labor movement is growing incredibly fast came on May 1 when the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) marked International Workers Day for the first time in its history. Over 30,000 workers celebrated with marches and rallies all across Namibia.

These actions, coupled with the Namibian people's total discontent with South Africa's puppet Interim Government (IG), are clear indicators that the racist regime is quickly losing ground with the Namibian people. On the other hand, SWAPO is deeply rooted in Namibia, with its leaders tracing their starts in worker struggles. Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO, was involved with railroad workers as far back as the 1950's and Toivo ja Toivo, secretary general of SWAPO got his base in farmworker struggles in the 60's. Further, SWAPO itself helped establish NUNW in 1970.

So, contrary to South Africa's media statements, it appears that SWAPO is alive and well and following the lead of its sister organization in South Africa, the ANC, staying one step ahead by concentrating on grass-roots organizing. No less committed, SWAPO continues to occupy a frontline position in the international struggle against apartheid and racism.



MINER'S STRIKE

In the history of the struggle against Black oppression in South Africa August, 1987, will mark a critical juncture. For three weeks 340,000 miners defied years of threats and intimidation and struck 46 gold and coal mines, the very heart of South Africa's economy. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) represented the workers in demands for a 30% wage increase (owners granted 15-23%), increased death benefits, and establishment of vacation and danger benefits, now accorded to whites. Although wages for Black workers had risen and, it was argued, were better than those in other industries, they remain one-fifth those of whites. In the course of the strike 40,000 workers were fired; at its end the owners planned to fire many thousands more. Violent confrontations resulted in deaths and hundreds of injuries. Despite the power of the opposition, the workers rejected the owners' offers until the NUM felt that a settlement would prevent great losses which would outweigh any gains. At the end of the strike the union won provisions for vacation pay, increased death benefits, and the reinstatement of fired workers. The mine owners refused to budge on the central demand of wages despite a threat by COSATU to call a national strike in support of the mine workers.

How do we assess the outcome of this action? Some journalists sum it up as a setback, a political retreat for Black South Africans. Perhaps they can see only the wage demand as the issue. Mine owners prepared for this strike by stockpiling gold and coal for months. They had a large reserve of labor and, although untrained, readily available. South Africa's largest union sustained the walkout for longer than the owners, the government, and even the NUM leadership thought possible. In the context of apartheid, that means everything. What we witnessed was a political showdown, a battle to affect the future balance of power between white supremacy and increasing Black politicization and resistance.

It is necessary to separate the economic from the political goals. The length of the strike allowed politics to emerge so that it was not seen as workers versus owners but the state versus the Black majority. The NUM was not defensive about its tie to the ANC and its adoption of the Freedom Charter, but instead consistently drew the link between the union movement and apartheid. The strike gave workers a sense of their collective strength and laid the basis for future economic gains. The international media gave full expression to the political nature of this event and gave credit to the NUM as power brokers. Anglo-American, the largest mine owner and a major international conglomerate, was confronted by the contradictions in its "liberal" philosophy. In the past it has taken pride in promoting unions and supporting apartheid reforms. Under this pressure, however, it unequivocally protected its own interests and the falsity of the liberal veneer was exposed. Anglo-American was prepared to fire workers until they were brought to their knees. However, in recognition of the need to negotiate with the NUM they plan housing reform for their workers - a major advance given the impact that separation of families and inadequate housing has had for Black workers.

The miners' strike of 1987 will be seen in the future as a watershed in the struggle against the apartheid regime. The short-term losses pale in the light of the long-term gains. It has certainly paved the way for more actions that show the strength of Black South Africans.

ATTACKS ON COSATU

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed in November, 1985, during the State of Emergency. It is a federation of

unions with a membership of over a million that promotes militancy in the workplace as a means of improving the conditions of Black South Africans. It draws upon the power of a united workforce to create fundamental political change in South Africa. In its brief history COSATU has contributed to the growth in numbers in trade unions, developed a democratic structure for shop stewards that helps them stand up to brutal treatment by the state and by employers, pushed for consolidation of smaller unions into larger organizations with more power ("One Industry - One Union"), and initiated or supported tremendously increasing numbers of work stoppages and strikes (1985: 389 strikes; 1986: 643 strikes and 150 work stoppages). Despite the fact that almost all strikes in South Africa are technically illegal, the possibility of strike action has become a part of industrial bargaining.

COSATU has been at the forefront of organizing workers and tying their immediate demands to the needs of the Black community as a whole. It has focused not only on the discrepancy between wages and benefits of white and Black workers, but also how these differences are maintained and reinforced by apartheid and the policies of Botha, regardless of any conciliations he appears to make. Major gains have been made with domestic, food, construction, retail (who conducted the longest strike - 10 weeks in 1986), and mine workers. The conditions for the increasing strength and unity of workers within and across industrial sectors are more favorable due to the work of COSATU in developing councils for shop stewards and pushing for union mergers. This poses an obvious threat to the state: 1. with more strikes workers are more politicized and therefore readier to accept the sacrifices necessary in a strike situation; 2. the parallels between the needs of Black workers and the oppression of Black South Africans as a whole have become blatantly apparent; 3. workers experience the power of solidarity. COSATU's tie to the ANC and adoption of the Freedom Charter are indications of its political role.

COSATU's effectiveness has given rise to ongoing harassment and a rise in right-wing attacks. These have been primarily in the form of firebombing shop stewards' and workers' homes, vigilante attacks, killings of COSATU members, and recently the firebombing of its headquarters with vicious attacks on those fleeing the building. These incidents have led the federation to taking a defensive position - the "Hands off COSATU" campaign. Whereas this impacts the gains to be made, they have continued to fight - as was shown by the militancy of the NUM.

SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL

South African president P.W. Botha introduced legislation in September that would bring Blacks into the parliamentary process through a National Statutory Council. The regime envisions the national council as a forum in which government representatives and "homeland" and moderate Black leadership discuss a new constitutional set-up for South Africa. Botha is attempting to woo the African National Congress as key participants, angering some members of his cabinet, who denounce the ANC as terrorist, while others implicitly accept the ANC's centrality in any negotiations, acknowledging that any talks without the participation of the ANC supporters would be fruitless. The United Democratic Front confirmed that it would not participate: "The National Council is a government-created structure consisting of essentially government officials or those sympathetic to the government...it is farcical to talk of elections when the real leaders, already chosen by the people, are detained, imprisoned or in exile."

Overtures had been made by the S.A. regime for secret talks with the

A.N.C. Oliver Tambo, ANC President declared they would never negotiate in secret: "when and if the time comes that the apartheid regime feels compelled to talk to ANC it will have to come to us openly, and not in secret. We who represent the majority of the people of our country...would have to ensure that these masses know what the racists are saying and to ensure that these millions participate in any activities designed to shape their destiny." Any negotiations from the outset, Tambo said, must be aimed at "the transfer of power to the people through a system of one person, one vote in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa."

Meanwhile the government told newspaper editors that they will use new powers to censor the press. Botha said a new government directorate is being set up to monitor news media coverage with the assistance of lawyers, psychologists and journalist.

DAKAR MEETING

In July, 1987, 50 prominent South African businessmen defied their government and met for three days with the African National Congress in Dakar, Senegal. The whites said they wanted the meeting to discuss "alternatives to the brutal catastrophe unfolding inside our common fatherland." Alex Boraine, one of the Afrikaners at the meeting, said that the ANC was in the townships and the cities "and this growing force cannot be ignored, and that's why the meeting was held." A Dakar Declaration was issued, intended as a starting point for a major effort to broaden the anti-apartheid movement.

DEATH SQUADS

Death squad activities have been stepped up inside and outside South Africa. UDF supporters have been attacked with some killed, especially in the Durban area, including 13 UDF members killed at Amanzimtoti, outside Durban. In the last 9 months, 13 known or suspected members of the ANC were gunned down in neighboring Swaziland. Mozambique, and Lesotho have also seen attacks on anti-apartheid activists. In Botswana, a British passport holder is being charged with the attempted murder of South African anti-apartheid activist Ronnie Watson, and in Britain, four men are facing allegations that they planned to abduct British based ANC exiles.

SANCTIONS

U.S. President Ronald Reagan concluded that U.S. sanctions had done more harm than good, and gave as evidence, damage to an unknown "fair labor standards program." Rep. Howard Wolpe of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee was joined by 32 other House members in accusing the Administration of riddling the sanctions with loopholes that sapped their effectiveness.

CROSSROADS, A YEAR LATER

In South Africa Black squatters who blame police for the destruction of thousands of shacks in a settlement near Capetown have taken the South African government to court in one of the nations's largest legal actions ever. Some 3,200 separate suits, seeking more than 5 million Rand (\$2.5 million) have been filed by families burned out of the Crossroads squatter camp in May and June 1986.

MOZAMBIQUE

The FRELIMO government and the people of Mozambique have been holding out under extreme terror and pressure from the South African backed MNR. The MNR, or Renamo, has destroyed 400 health posts, left 300,000 children without education by burning down their schools and killing their teachers, and have cost \$6.5 billion in the last 6 years. Early in the morning on July 18, 1987, an entire town of 400, Homoine, was butchered by the MNR. An American agronomist who saw the attack said they wore uniforms and had many sophisticated weapons. The attackers killed everyone they found, and even went through a hospital and killed the patients and staff. They intended to leave the town lifeless. Another witness said the attackers were shouting in the Ndaul language "We want to finish off the people of President Samora Machel."

Carlos Cardoso of the Mozambican Information Agency (AIM) said, "Renamo claims to fight socialism. It destroys schools and hospitals. Do you know what happens? Humble people, in their wisdom simply identify such buildings with socialism." But some things have changed for the better. Shops that were empty a short time ago are now full of vegetables and fruits grown in the "green zones" (areas protected by FRELIMO troops) surrounding the cities. The Beira Corridor rail system is open with the help of Frontline troops. Production is grinding slowly forward and the economy is slowly improving but the obstacles, because of the destabilization attempts, are enormous.

WHY HE DIED

The document "Why He Died" is a compilation from the daily telex service of the Mozambican News Agency (AIM). It begins with an article reprinted from the October issue of the AIM monthly bulletin and then goes on to the telexes from early October, carrying the story through to Samora's funeral and shortly afterwards.

Early in October, S.A. Foreign Minister Pik Botha threatened to use food and transport as weapons in the region in response to U.S. sanctions, and Mangus Malan, S.A. defence minister accused Mozambique of responsibility for a land mine explosion near the Mozambican border with South Africa. He threatened "Strong reactions from South Africa in an attempt to defend itself from the ANC."

Telexes for the next several days show an increasingly aggressive stance of South Africa against Mozambique, to the extent that a large-scale invasion seemed likely. Signs of aggression became so blatant that leaders of the six Frontline States met in Maputo on Oct. 12, 1986, to try to find ways to defend Mozambique. South African threats began to speak less of attacking FRELIMO, the government, and more of the person of Samora Machel. Mangus Malan named President Machel as the one responsible for ANC bases in Mozambique and declared "Mozambique is on the brink of collapse." There were disinformation reports that the FRELIMO government was rife with infighting and power struggles. On Oct. 19th, three leaders of the Frontline States, President Machel, President Kaunda of Zambia, and President dos Santos of Angola met in Kasaba Bay Zambia to discuss questions of cooperation and stability in Southern Africa. The next telex on Oct. 20, described the investigation of a plane crash in South Africa on the Mozambican border. President Machel and 33 others, including most of the FRELIMO cabinet, died in and after the crash. Survivors and local people from the crash site said that the South African police arrived shortly after the crash and instead of attending to the injured, went through the plane collecting papers and diplomatic bags. Many people bled to death on the ground ("there were people who died for lack of

assistance") it is not known if President Machel was among them, or if he died on impact. The South African media put out that the plane crashed due to pilot error and bad weather. In fact, the Soviet pilot was experienced with many years of flying and satellite photos showed good visibility in the area at the time of the crash. It has been speculated that, based on transmissions received in the plane and on-board instruments, that a decoy navigational ground beacon was set up that directed the plane into the side of a mountain. The black box was taken by South African authorities when they arrived on the scene, and for several weeks they refused to give it up to an international commission of inquiry. (After the release of the document described, there was, and continues to be, questions and controversy surrounding the black box.)

There is no irrefutable "smoking gun" type of evidence to prove South Africa responsible, but the aggressive anti-Machel campaign immediately before the crash, troop movements, and media disinformation construct substantial circumstantial evidence. The statements of the Frontline States, both their leaders and the people who held anti-South African demonstrations throughout the region, upon hearing of the death of Samora Machel, express a common conclusion.

In Mozambique the FRELIMO government in solemn dignity joined with the people and representatives from throughout the region in honoring their president at the state funeral. Joaquin Chissano was chosen as State President. At the funeral, FRELIMO Political Bureau member Marcilino Dos Santos spoke of the destructive campaign waged by South Africa and its surrogates, the MNR, and pledged: "Victory will be achieved because we are a people whose unity has been consolidated by your blood and strengthened by your memory. Those who come after us will be able to take pride in these heroic years. The light of your example shall remain a source of inspiration."

ZAMBIA

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, newly elected chairman of the Organization of African Unity, has rejected International Monetary Fund prescriptions for economic recovery. The government attempted to implement an IMF adjustment late last year, sparking the worst riots since independence as food prices sharply rose. In rejecting IMF measures Kaunda said that Africa's rising debt was a result of the "exploitative measures" adopted by the West. "The same big powers pay little for our products and charge us higher on their products... The economic order is upside down. Everything we are producing is going away to the developed countries." Over-reliance on copper has increased the vulnerability of the Zambian economy and the government is now attempting to diversify by developing agricultural commodities such as cotton, ground nuts and tobacco; and increasing textile manufacturing and mining of other mineral resources such as cobalt, zinc and manganese.

In the short term, the growing regional conflict is impeding economic development throughout Southern Africa by disrupting transport, creating millions of refugees, and forcing increased military spending.

ZIMBABWE

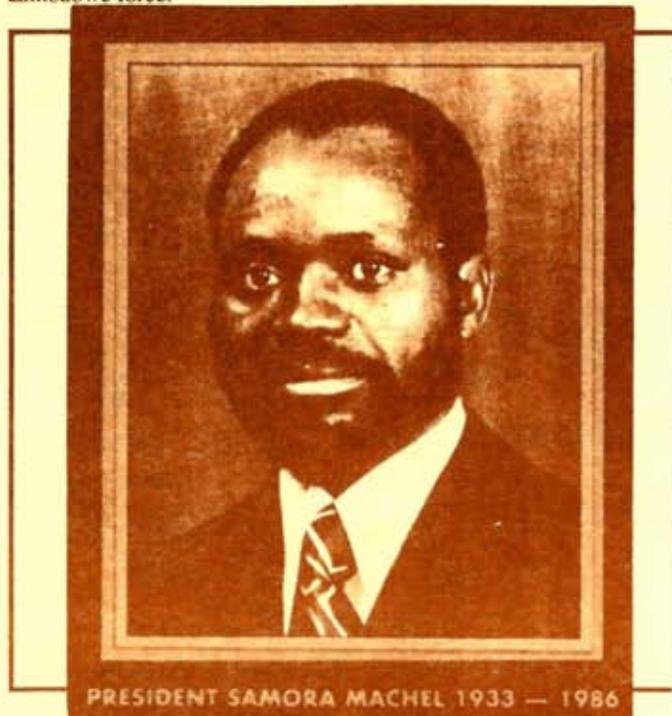
99 years after Cecil Rhodes formed a legislature in Rhodesia and seven years after that nation became independent as Zimbabwe, the abolition of mandatory parliamentary seats for whites was announced. This racial representation was established for a seven year period as part of the

British-sponsored constitution of 1980. Currently there are twenty white members of the 100-seat National Assembly and ten in the forty-member Senate. These legislators are supporters of Ian Smith, the previous prime minister.

The planned constitutional reform will be proposed in three bills: the first will eliminate the "white seats" replacing them with members selected by Parliament; the second will establish an executive presidency (Robert Mugabe, the prime minister, will assume that position); the third will abolish the Senate leaving a single-chamber parliament. This is targeted as a three-year process but is not without controversy. The goal is to maintain a nonracial society (one in which representation is not based on race but is reflective of it, i.e. a Black majority population would not have all-white representation) by creating a mechanism to ensure ethnic minority representation.

This change has been expected and there is little white opposition. There is cynicism among whites regarding the effectiveness of minority representation because whites elected by Parliament will depend on support of the ruling party and are unlikely to be an opposition force. However, other reactions from whites indicate a minimal sense of threat due to their power base as major landholders. They have security in the fact that they are pivotal in the relative stability of the nation's economy.

In external relations the major issue is the ongoing tension with the MNR in Mozambique. Zimbabwe has committed 10,000 troops to guard the Beira Corridor, a strategic transportation route to this landlocked country. The MNR has launched attacks on numerous towns in Zimbabwe along the border with Mozambique. The defense costs to Zimbabwe are high in several respects: the loss of laborers who must make up the military; the huge financial cost, estimated to be \$1/2 million a day; and the burden of housing 80,000 Mozambican refugees. In addition Mozambicans comprise a large and vital part of the agricultural workforce, a problem in trying to contain them in refugee camps and also because there is fear that Renamo is infiltrating the civilian population as part of the seasonal workforce. Zimbabwe is committed to the support of the government of Mozambique and recognizes that ultimately, if not defeated now, the South Africa-backed MNR will become an anti-Zimbabwe force.



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in Africa. Most of the 300,000 barrels of oil produced daily in Angola's oilfields is sold to the United States.

Support for justice and social and economic progress in southern Africa, and an end to apartheid, requires a change in U.S. policy toward Angola. Congressional representatives must be contacted and a demand made that the United States immediately cease all funding, both direct and through intermediary countries, for UNITA and enter into good faith negotiations with the Angolan government toward finding a diplomatic

solution to the differences between the two governments. Also, people concerned with bringing about a change in U.S.-Angola policy should oppose all legislation designed to put further economic or military pressure on Angola. The Washington Office on Africa has a legislative hotline and monitoring service that follows legislation related to U.S. policy on Angola and can be contacted for information on such legislation. The address of the Washington Office on Africa is: 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002. Tel. 202-546-7961. For more information on the U.S.-Angola Friendship Society, please contact: 6569 So. Vermont Av., Los Angeles, CA 90044. Tel. 213-778-5602.

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