

SHOOTING STRAIGHT -- A REPORT STRAIGHT FROM ZIMBABWE

In 1957, when the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe were just beginning to organise themselves, Edison Zvoghbo visited his grandfather, a veteran of the 1896-97 war against the first British settlers, and asked him to join the new movement. The old man, who felt he had heard it all before, eyed him ironically. "Revolution, eh?", he said, "Forget it, young man, get married instead!" But, Edison protested, the cause was bound to triumph. "We have justice on our side!" "Justice, eh?", replied the old man, "Never mind justice. Learn to shoot straight."

Seventeen years later, it is evident that the Zimbabwe liberation movement: has heeded the old man's advice. It has long ago stopped talking reason to the unreasonable and justice to the unjust, and turned to armed struggle. Unfortunately it has not been easy for the ordinary American to get accurate information on the progress of the struggle, for several reasons. The liberation forces are obviously unwilling to release sensitive information. The Smith Regime and its media allies succeed to a large extent in suppressing news which might cause the flight of settlers --and foreign capital--from the country. Above all, local newspapers seem to find it impossible to believe that news from outside the White West could be of interest or importance.

In these circumstances, the people of Madison were fortunate to have the opportunity of hearing in person Mr. Edison Zvoghbo, who has spent seven years in Smith's jails and is now Deputy National Chairman of ZANU. It was immediately apparent that it is not only on the battlefield that he shoots straight. Both his speech and his answers to questions were concise and direct. There were no wild claims, inflated hopes, exaggerated rhetoric or rambling disquisitions concerning matters with which the audience was already familiar. Instead there was the quiet and confident tone of a man--and a movement--which knows where it is going, spiced with an occasional flash of humour. What was particularly impressive to this observer, however, was the open self-criticism, the recognition of past mistakes and the willingness to learn from them, that is the hallmark of the realist. It is impossible to summarise such a speech, but here are some items from it which might not be already known to our readers.

(1) Current operations in the field: The current campaign commenced in December 1972, after three years' preparation. The primary aim is not to defeat the Rhodesian Army in pitched battle, but to demoralise the settlers into accepting the inevitability of defeat. The primary targets are white farmers, because this is a target meaningful to ordinary peasants, who appreciate that the farmer has stolen their land and is exploiting their labour. Farmers are not attacked at random; the ones selected are those who have been particularly vicious: the example was given of a farmer (since executed) who threw one of his black employees into a kiln. Repressive counter-measures by the Smith regime (such as collective responsibility) turn dormant peasants into activists. Forced removals have only succeeded in spreading ZANU guerrillas throughout the length and breadth of the country. Great progress has been made in logistics: there is no longer the problem of what to do about supplies. The ZANU intelligence network extends into the Rhodesian Army camps, and into every farm in the main theatre of operations.

(2) Impact of the coup in Portugal: There is no guarantee that Spinoza will be more pro-independence than Caetano, but the coup is a sign that the anti-colonialist party in Portugal itself is gaining momentum. Mozambique is particularly important to ZANU since it is easier to cross into Zimbabwe via Mozambique than over the Zambezi, which can only be forded in fourteen places.

(3) Role of the U.S.: The Union Carbide lobby is still strong. Attention was

called to the Defense Department's list of 22 "essential items" to be imported from "Rhodesia" which includes not only chrome, but feathers. The fear was expressed that the President's increasing dependence on the extreme Right might lead him to become increasingly pro-Smith.

(4) ZANU-ZAPU relations: These have never been better. "When I speak here in America I feel I am speaking for both movements, not only ZANU." The arrangement worked out in the OAU (that ZAPU would chair the political front, and the military forces would be under a ZANU commander) has not yet fully taken effect, mainly because ZAPU is understandably nervous about giving up control of its military forces. But these difficulties are being ironed out. "There is no room for two separate military operations in Zimbabwe, and both sides realise this."

(5) Role of women: It was pointed out that a woman had recently been elected battalio commander of a ZANU unit "not because she is a woman but because she has proved herself in the field." The fact that the women were fighting side by side with the men of necessity led to a breaking down of old chauvinist stereotypes. "After you have spent a day together in the field, and felt the bullets whizzing past your ears, and hiding in the bushes from the aeroplanes flying overhead, it is very difficult, when you finally get back to base, to say to your comrade; "Margaret, go and make me some tea."

(6) Socialism in Zimbabwe? Professor Finley Campbell of the U.W. Afro-American Studies Department had made a hard-hitting speech, citing the late Kwame Nkrumah's reconsiderations--that his biggest mistake had been to have concentrated on the expulsion of the colonialists and allowed the (African) bourgeoisie to take their place, thus allowing politically independent Ghana to fall into the hands of the neo-colonialists. Mr. Zvogbu said that there were few members of the bourgeoisie in ZANU, and that these were all men who had forsaken personal advantage to fight in the bush with their peasant brothers. One good thing about a guerrilla war is that it permits the leadership to be taken over by those of character and ability, regardless of their social origins or degree of formal education.

Aldersperson Eugene Parks of Madison, now candidate for state-wide office in Wisconsin, brought a message from the Black Political Caucus which met recently in Little Rock. American blacks, he said, had finally realised the importance of throwing their political weight behind African liberation. "If ten million Jews can make the U.S. support Israel," he said, "surely 27 million blacks can do something for Africa."

In short, the meeting was a revelation for those who have swallowed the line that white South Africa and its racist hangers-on in "Rhodesia" and elsewhere are militaril invincible. The struggle is an uphill one, but the liberation movements are shooting straight.

Updated report on the Zimbabwe Fund: Additional contributions to the Zimbabwe Fund bring the total to over \$1610.00. Readers who have not yet contributed are urged to send in their support for the liberation struggle to MACSA very soon; before the money is sent to the Lusaka office.

LIBERATION STRUGGLE: New Front. Opens

The Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union claimed responsibility for the March 8th raid on a South African Police patrol near Victoria Falls. The attack coincided with a visit by South African Police Minister, Louwrens Muller, who was presenting a swimming pool to South African police stationed at the Falls. The action, in which nine South Africans and Rhodesians were killed, was the first activity in the northwest for a long while. ZAPU said a South African claim of five dead discounted four Rhodesians who were also killed. Observers in Salisbury believe that guerillas are planning to open a new military front in the northwest and that this is not an isolated incident. It had been anticipated that ZAPU would work in the northeast while the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) forces would move southward along the eastern border with Mozambique.

The Rhodesian authorities fear that tourism will be hard hit in the area. South African radio has cautioned against reprisals against Zambia, where the guerillas may have fled after the attack. ZAPU denies this, however. Soon after the incident, Ian Smith said he had received assurances from the Zambian Government that direct incursions into Rhodesia would not be permitted. (Guardian, London, Mar. 11, 16, 1974; Times of Zambia, Lusaka, Mar. 13, 1974; Nation, Mar. 14, 1974)

Villagers Held for Collaboration

Approximately 200 villagers from the Madziwa Tribal Trust Lands in the northeastern war zone in Zimbabwe are being interrogated, along with a chief and a Salvation Army headmaster, after being accused of giving food and shelter to guerillas. Reports of widespread collaboration between villagers and guerillas in the Madziwa area were highlighted in January by the killing of a district assistant, an African government official. Villagers openly aided the freedom fighters capture the man and watched as he was executed. Approximately 110 villagers in the area have been moved from their homes to Bindura police station. Others not being prosecuted will be resettled for their own protection and rehabilitation, according to the Rhodesia Herald. In order to deny the guerillas food and shelter, the crops and homes of the Musiwa Kraal have been destroyed by Rhodesian security forces (Rhodesia Herald, Salisbury, Feb. 16, 1974)

The Rhodesian Front Party is pressuring the government to introduce a mandatory death sentence for acts of "terrorism" or for aiding guerillas. Lardner-Burke, the Rhodesian minister of justice, opposes such pressure, "I could never support such a measure. I can understand the emotions of the people pressing for it. But we will not look at this with emotion. Do you hang a woman who hands over a handful of beans to a terrorist at the point of a gun?" (Guardian, London, Mar. 16, 1974)

Torture Claimed

Mr. R. Sadomba, an African Member of Parliament in Salisbury, accused two South African police of murdering the baby of a woman who refused to give police information regarding guerrillas. He said other African had had their heads placed in buckets of water and were threatened with death, or were tortured with electric shocks while under interrogation by security forces. Mr. Sadomba stated that these practices were well-known by Africans in the area. Lardner-Burke refused to set-up a commission of inquiry on the subject.

A Roman Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace has said that a mere denial of the charges made by Mr. Sadomba is totally inadequate. The commission has long been aware of charges of brutality by members of the police and army against African civilians. (Star, Johannesburg, Mar. 30, Apr. 6, 1974)

Settler '74 Campaign

The contradictions of the racist strategies of the Rhodesian white settler regime manifest themselves in many ways. The Financial Mail (Feb 8, 1974) notes that the current attempt to attract large-scale white immigration will make current inflationary pressures in the Rhodesian economy worse and will be a drain on foreign currency reserves. New immigrants demand housing, cars, and consumer goods which comprise up to 80% import content. The government would have to release extra reserves to enable industry to cope, which means cutting allocation for infrastructure, or it would have to maintain sharp curbs on foreign exchange releases to the private sector, further raising the danger of inflation.

Racist apologists argue that white immigration increases jobs for Africans. This argument does not hold up under scrutiny, however. The biggest net gain in employment of economically active whites last year was in precisely those job categories of traditionally African employment. In short, to no surprise, Africans are being displaced by the white immigrants. Roman Catholic Bishops have attacked the settler campaign as a "notable example of insensitivity to the feelings of African people, who deeply resent it."

The Rhodesian Government claims that its policy's aim is to maintain racial parity in the face of "uncontrolled" African population growth. (Rhodesia Herald, Salisbury, Jan. 9, 1974) The Zambian Foreign Minister has shed more light on the subject, however. Vernon Mwaanga said that his Government had information that the new immigrants would be engaged as mercenaries along the Rhodesian/Zambian border where they will be given land to farm. (Times of Zambia, Lusaka, Feb. 19, 1974)

Zvogbo Addresses Madison Audience on the Struggle in Zimbabwe

On April 27th, Mr. Eddison Zvogbo, Deputy National Chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union headed a program devoted to the African liberation movements. Also featured were Prof. Finley Campbell, Chairman of the UW Afro-American Studies Department, and Mr. Eugene Parks, Madison alderman.

For the benefit of those in the audience unfamiliar with Zimbabwean history, Mr. Zvogbo pointed out that the present liberation struggle is only the latest manifestation of a continuing 400 year armed opposition to foreign domination. This began when the Portuguese attempted to subdue the Empire of the Monomatapa and force it to trade with the coast via Portuguese traders, and to allow its mineral wealth to be exploited.

The present struggle emanate, of course, from the British takeover of the country in the 1890's. The initial resistance was only put down after two years of fighting. Mr. Zvogbo noted that this war had had profound psychological effects on many older Zimbabweans. Their fatalistic attitude has had to be overcome by the work of the liberation movements.

For seven years, from 1957 to 1964, the nationalists attempted the parliamentary route to independence. By 1964, it was clear that armed struggle would have to be launched in the face of white intransigence. The speaker candidly noted that the first few years of this new phase were not very successful. ZANU was able, however, to learn much from its failures as to strategy, tactics, and the nature of the political struggle. Many of the fair-weather bourgeois supporters dropped out and the movement became increasingly a revolutionary one of peasants and workers. Of inestimable aid in this regard was the nature of the counter-revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Smith regime, itself. By employing massive reprisals against villagers, creation of strategic hamlets, and forced removal of Africans from their land, as well as expropriation of their cattle and means of livelihood, the regime indelibly identified the nature and goals of the struggle

for the peasants and aided the recruiting drive of the freedom fighters. Also helpful were the segregated land policies. These allowed the liberation movements to establish bases and engage in political activity without being detected.

Following a brief lull in fighting, during which time the movement regrouped and evaluated its strategy, the armed struggle was rejoined on Christmas, 1972. Since that time, the liberation forces have been successful in winning more converts in more widely dispersed areas of the country and thereby extending the conflict. They have also proven to be resistant to neutralisation and expulsion by the Smith regime and its South African allies.

In response to a question concerning the possible implications of the Portuguese coup, Mr. Zvogbo claimed that the only thing that could be considered reasonably certain was that the 300 mile Mozambique-Rhodesian border could now serve as infiltration points for the liberation forces.

Relating the struggle to the United States, the speaker pointed out that the Nixon Admin., in an effort to shore up its conservative support was intensifying its aid to the white regimes in So. Africa. This was being accomplished via the breaking of trade embargoes (e.g. chrome) and by increased covert aid in the form of small arms and other military material. Noting that the Black American community was second only to Nigeria in size, Mr. Zvogbo looked forward to its becoming a more active and forceful pressure group for African interests, just as American Jews have been for Israel.

Replying to a question, Mr. Zvogbo explained the process of ZANU-ZAPU coordination. The stipulation that ZAPU would chair the joint political council has engendered no friction since both groups are able to retain their separate identities. The proviso that the armed forces would come together under the ZANU commander has proven to be more thorny. ZAPU is afraid that by surrendering its arms to ZANU, it will also be surrendering its voice, becoming but little more than a political faction. Mr. Zvogbo felt that the groups were successfully "leap-frogging" this difficulty, however, to get on with the more pressing concern of liberating the country.

When questioned about the political and ideological posture of the liberation movement, Mr. Zvogbo was somewhat ambiguous. He did state that the national bourgeois elements were largely gone and that some sort of socialist solution was inevitable. His discussion of the role of women in the revolution was an illuminating commentary on the nature of the social revolution in process which is aiming at a total transformation of society. Much had been learned by ZANU from FRELIMO and women and men were fighting side by side and sharing the tasks of revolution. You can't participate in this manner and face bullets together, he stated, and then come back to camp at night and say "Margaret, will you fix me a cup of tea?"

Prof. Campbell's remarks were directed to an analysis of and expansion on Nkrumah's book The Revolutionary Path. He examined the mistakes of the early post-war popular front national independence movements and noted that independence was achieved without social revolution. Contradictions remained and the newly independent countries soon found themselves neo-colonial satrapies of the former colonial powers, presided over by their imperialist trained elites.

This phase of the liberation struggle was drawing to a close. The second phase would have to be internationalist in perspective, with worker and peasants in the vanguard of the movement. Prof. Campbell saw the wars in Southern Africa as providing the spark to the initiation of this second phase.

John Hunter

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Abbreviations Used in MACSA Literature Order List

AAM Anti-Apartheid Movement
ACOA American Committee on Africa
ANC African National Congress of South Africa
ANC:(Rhodesia-Zimbabwe) African National Council
ARG Africa Research Group

CCLAMG Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinée
CFM Committee for a Free Mozambique
CRMAG Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinée
CIC Corporate Information Center
CRV Committee of Returned Volunteers
CCSA Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
CSPP Center for the Study of Power and Peace

FRELIMO Front for the Liberation of Mozambique

GBC Gulf Boycott Coalition

IDAFSA International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa

LRD Labour Research Department
LSM Liberation Support Movement

MACSA Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa
MPLA People's Liberation Movement of Angola
MR Monthly Review Press, "Modern Reader"

OMA Organization of Angolan Women

PAIGC African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau & Cape Verde Islands
PRWM Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement

SAC Southern Africa Committee

UN/PSCA United Nations Department of Political and Security Council Affairs,
Unit on Apartheid
WCC World Council of Churches
WSCF World Student Christian Federation
ZANU Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU Zimbabwe African People's Union

ALBIE SACHS: JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

On April 25th, as a part of the Week of African Culture at the University of Wisconsin, Mr. Albie Sachs, a lawyer from South Africa, spoke about justice and injustice in his native land.

"There is an idea around that the more lawyers you have in a society, the more courts you have, the more laws you have, the more justice there is--as though there is some kind of direct relationship between law and justice. And one advantage about speaking of South Africa when one comes abroad is that one is able to show that there isn't necessarily any correlation between the two at all." And so Sachs proceeded to document the kind of justice that exists in South Africa: the broadening of the legal strictures on African peoples and communities, the pass laws, Suppression of Communism, the "treason trials," the utter dominance by white people and white laws of every aspect of a black man's life. Sachs: "...it is possible to use the courts and to use the legal system to deny individual liberty and to keep whole communities down just as effectively as one can do it outside the legal system. And this is what became immediately apparent to me as soon as I began my practice as a lawyer in South Africa...." He detailed the results of his own deepening commitment to civil liberties in that country. "How," he wondered, "does a person who regards himself as a radical, someone wishing to see radical change in a society, operate within the institutions of that society?" And how does a lawyer, committed to principles of non-racism, to the participation by everyone in a society, how does he conduct himself in courts where, in defending a black man, he must implement laws made by white people, by legislators who were elected by white people? Many lawyers simply move into areas of the law which do not come into conflict with the authorities. Others, like Sachs, operated "within the very narrow framework of what was legally permissible, observing all the forms and etiquettes and so on, and still bringing out things...."

Nelson Mandela, the black South-African lawyer, reacted to the institutions of a repressive society by refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of the white court over his activities. He paid for this: "He has now spent twelve years on Robben Island, breaking stones, working in a quarry, carrying seaweed, doing the heavy physical labor to a quota, under oppressive conditions designed to destroy people's spirits, to humiliate them, designed to punish them in the old-fashioned sense." And there was Bram Fischer, a white South African lawyer, from a distinguished Afrikaans family; he defended Mandela in the courts. Then he decided that "he could serve justice best by going underground." He could no longer continue to serve justice in the courts. He was subsequently arrested, and is now in a South African prison, doing "degrading work..., sweeping the floor with a broom with only a few bristles." He is despised by his fellow Afrikaners: they consider him a white who betrayed the cause of white supremacy.

Then Sachs found himself in trouble because of his own decisions regarding his role in South African justice. He was twice arrested: the first time, he was in jail for 168 days. He was never given a reason. Two years later, he was back, this time under constant interrogation by teams of inquisitors.

Finally, he left the home of his birth, a lawyer who believed in justice, and who was harassed by a system of laws which is quite blind to justice.

ALBIE SACHS' ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST IMPRISONMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

...as I was about to enter my chambers one day, there was a tap on my shoulder, a policeman said, "I'm detaining you under the 90-day law." Several other policemen emerged from where they had been lurking, they went up into my room, went through all my briefs. When I protested that they were privileged, they laughed and said they were the judges now, they would decide what was privileged.

And half an hour later I was in a cell, the door slammed to, and I was alone. In a concrete box. Walls to look at, a floor to sit on. Nothing else. No window to look out of, just a very high section through which light came. And nothing to do. Time passed slowly. Look at the wall, look at your hands, your feet, your knees. You look at your hands again, you look at the wall, you look at the other wall. And three minutes have passed. You look at your toes, you look at your hands, you look at the wall, and think. And your thoughts just float away. And you can no longer organize in your mind what's even happening to you...and you sit there and say to yourself, "I'm sure I was thinking something very important a minute ago. What was it?" And you can't even remember what it was that you were trying to think of. You no longer have control even over your own fantasies. And the only people with whom you have any contact--there's no movement here, sound, color, nothing's happening--the only people with whom you have contact are the police. You're dependent on them for your food, to hear a human voice, to see something happening. And they're telling you all the time, "There's the key! Anytime you want to get out, all you have to do is cooperate with us. Everybody else is cooperating. Then you can get out."

And you sit there. On a good day, a day when things are really going well, you're simply depressed--if you're depressed, you know that you're okay--the ordinary thing is to be in a state of total feeling like suicide all the time, you wonder why you were born, why did human beings come into the world, to suffer this kind of thing, and you wonder why did you as an individual--why did I get into this? And all the ideas and slogans and theories which meant so much to me outside suddenly became as remote as ice cream--they belonged to another world, they had nothing to do with the pain, the misery, the suffering, the strange feeling of being disoriented, of being in there...and I felt driven back onto very primitive notions of honor, self-respect, rather than just solidarity, just to keep me going. And a kind of vanity not to give in to them, a kind of egotism in a situation; where outside I would have said that solidarity and concern for comrades would be my highest principle, inside you're just totally on your own, and you're driven in onto some very deep, some inner resources. And you just keep fighting, day after day, just to get through the days. And the time-honored fashion of a scratch on the wall--single strokes, cross them through--do it either in series of seven for the days of the week, or ten, going through a ninety-day period, nine tens. Ten days...twenty days...thirty...forty-five, I was half-way there...sixty...seventy...eighty...and then I was wondering, Will they release me when the ninety days are up? Eighty-one...eighty-two...five...six...seven...eighty-nine, it's the last day. It was a Sunday, it was hot, the police came into my cell, unlocked the door, all very cheerful. "Hello, Mr. Sachs!" very sort of breezy. I was privileged, I should tell you, being white, a lawyer, so I didn't have torture, I didn't have electric shock torture, I didn't have what other people had: canvas bags put over their heads, being hung out of a window by their legs, things like that to make them talk. "Hello, Mr. Sachs!" they said. "You can go now, you're free!" They showed me my liberation warrant. I picked up my few things...went out the door...to the Charge Office.... Then I was free. "You can go now," they said. I was very distrustful. "You can go," they said. I was walking towards the door, a policeman came up to me, his hand outstretched, and he said, "I place you under arrest under the 90-day law."

BRAZIL SUPPORTS PORTUGAL IN CRUCIAL U. N. VOTE

(Havana) The Brazilian military regime recently defined its African policy when it voted against a United Nations resolution which applauded the independence of Guinea Bissau and the creation of a new African republic.

The motion, passed by 93 countries with 30 abstentions and 7 votes against, condemned Portugal's illegal military occupation of certain sectors of the country and its acts of aggression against the Guinean people. Along with Brazil voting against the resolution were Portugal, the United States, Greece, Spain, Paraguay, and Bolivia. (Muhammad Speaks, Apr. 5, 1974)

EXIMBANK TO AID SALE OF TWELVE MORE GE LOCOMOTIVES TO ANGOLA

The U. S. Export-Import Bank announced on Feb. 4, that it had authorized a direct loan of some \$2 million to the Benuela Railway in Lobito to finance 45% of the U. S. costs of the sale of 12 General Electric locomotives to Angola and guaranteed a loan of an equal amount from the Chase Manhattan Bank. An almost identical transaction, except for the number of locomotives, was announced by Ex-Im on March 14, 1972. (Southern Africa, Apr., 1974)

NATIONAL LIBERATION: The Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism, Document prepared by the Commission on National Liberation of the World Congress of Peace Forces

The Commission on National Liberation--The Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism, in which over 33 delegates participated, agreed that colonialism, racism, apartheid national oppression and neo-colonialism represent a major source of international tension and conflict at the present time. The attainment of world peace and security requires the total elimination of all these aspects of imperialism.

The struggles for liberation waged by the oppressed peoples are not only just and legitimate struggles for their inalienable rights, but valuable contributions to the promotion of international peace and security and the development of international cooperation. They deserve the most active support of all peace-loving peoples--especially in view of the support received by the colonial and racist regimes from certain governments and multi-national corporations intent on profiting from the oppression of peoples.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems creates favorable conditions for the liberation struggles and enables the fight for national independence to be successfully combined with the effort to prevent another world war, by neutralizing the most aggressive forces. Peaceful coexistence opens up broad possibilities for the ideological struggle against colonialism and in particular against racism, which presents a serious threat to the independence and unity of many states today.

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE

The United States Postal Service is pleased to announce the issuance of a new African Republic postage stamp.

The stamp, featuring a portrait of a young African child, is available in 3-cent and 7-cent denominations. It is a fine example of the artistry and creativity of the United States Postal Service. Along with the stamp, a special cancellation mark is provided for use on the stamp.

EXHIBIT TO AID SALE OF TWENTY MORE DE LOCOMOTIVES TO ANGOLA

The U.S. Export-Import Bank announced on May 14 that it had authorized a direct loan of some \$2 million to the Angola Railway in order to finance the purchase of 20 more of the U.S. General Electric locomotives to Angola and East Africa. An equal amount from the Congo-Matadi Bank. An equal amount from the number of locomotives, was announced by the U.S. Export-Import Bank on May 14, 1976.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION: The Strategic Studies Institute and Center, Document prepared by the Commission on National Liberation of the World Congress of the Communist Party of the United States of America. The Strategic Studies Institute and Center, Document prepared by the Commission on National Liberation of the World Congress of the Communist Party of the United States of America. The Strategic Studies Institute and Center, Document prepared by the Commission on National Liberation of the World Congress of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

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