

**FIGHTING FOR ZAPU:
SEE CENTER PAGES**

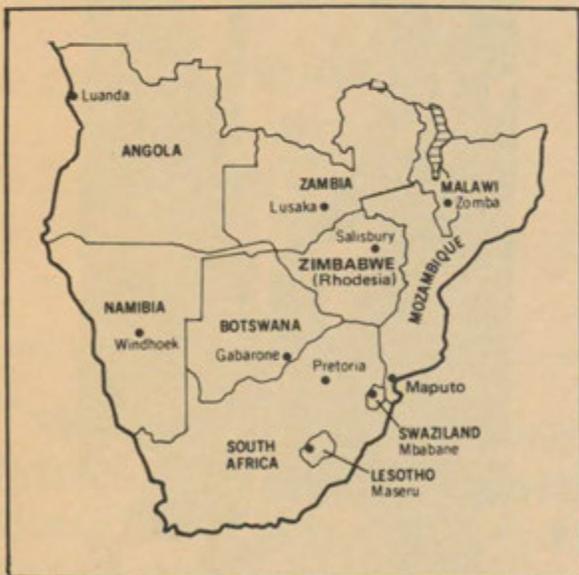


Southern Africa Solidarity

no.4

spring '79

25¢



SOUTHERN AFRICA UPDATE

Introduction

"We have had problems with our Africa policy," Andrew Young told a U.S. audience recently. You can certainly see his point. U.S. foreign policy in southern Africa has been as successful as it was in Iran.

A large war in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the decline of the U.S.'s influence abroad in general, and the growth of a solidarity movement in this country are just some of the "problems" for makers of U.S. foreign policy in regards to southern Africa.

All of this is, of course, exciting for activists in this country. This issue of Southern Africa Solidarity is addressed to these activists, and people interested in the struggle for freedom in southern Africa.

Included in this issue is a description of fighting in Zimbabwe, an article on GM's role in South Africa (and whether it plays a progressive role), reports from regional organizations, and more. This newsletter is produced by members of the International Socialist Organization. Subscription rates are \$1 for 4 issues. Write to us c/o Boston ISO, P.O. Box 14, Kendall Sq. Station, Cambridge, Ma.

02142. Or call us at: (617) 876-7529. We welcome all comments, articles, reports, and complaints.

This update is going to be a feature of Southern Africa Solidarity, reviewing events in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and in the solidarity movement in the U.S. The update will also offer our political perspective on these events.



Zimbabwe

The war in Zimbabwe continues to escalate. Racist hysteria about the freedom fighters has become more prominent in the western press. The guerrillas, who have the support of the majority of black people in Zimbabwe, are being labeled "terrorists". To back up this claim, there is continuous reportage of incidents where black guerrillas have allegedly massacred white missionaries.

"The missionaries help us. They give us medicine and clothes. Why should we kill them?.. These massacres are carried out by Smith and the selous scouts to discredit us and turn whites against us," relates Josiah Magama Tongogara, Zanu Defense Secretary.

Large portions of the countryside are now controlled by ZANU (and, to a certain extent, ZAPU).

According to Justin Nyoka, a well known black

journalist in Zimbabwe who for three months visited the liberated areas, missionaries have been "pouring aid into the liberated areas ". He said that the "rank and file of missionaries" are "absolutely dedicated" to the struggle of the freedom fighters.

Dissolutioned whites continue to leave the country at a rate of 3,00 per month. In an attempt to beefen up their beleaguered forces, the Smith Regime have raised the age limit for the draft, and have made an attempt to enlist more blacks into the army. The response from blacks has not been altogether positive. In the first week, only 300 out of 1544 blacks registered for the draft that were required to. 100's of youths have been brought to court for demonstrating against the induction.

Unrelentless air attacks on guerrilla bases in Angola and Zambia continue (in "retaliation" to guerrilla

"Without them (whites) Rhodesia just becomes a jungle, with chaos, the same as any country around us." Ian Smith, 3/4/79

attacks against the military), parallel with attempts by Smith to appease his opponents. Smith is doing a tight-rope act; retaining support from the white minority, fighting off the guerrillas, and giving small concessions to the black middle-class.

On February 28th Smith held an all-white referendum (which was basically a vote-of confidence for Smith's policies) in which whites were asked to dissolve the present cabinet in favor of one that would include more blacks. They did this.

In April, elections are planned ("one man one vote") that will give blacks an limited control over the country.

The freedom fighters are aware that the elections are a sham. They have vowed to disrupt them. They know that politically and economically, whites will remain the controlling interest.

Meanwhile, the black collaborators continue to sell out. Foreign interests are buying up black politicians left, right

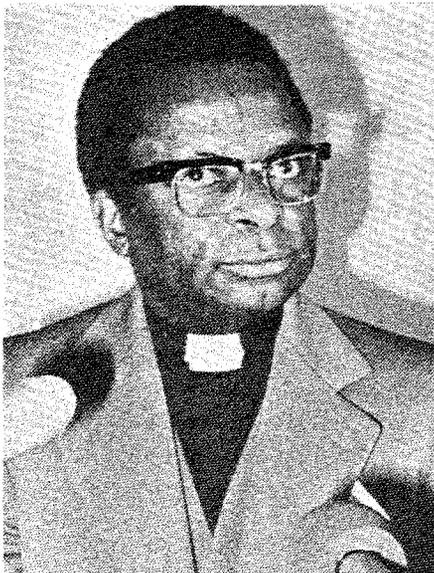


Ndabangingi Sithole

and centre. Lonrho is the most notorious example - Tiny Rowlands has long-standing links with Joshua Nkomo, and was instrumental in arranging the meeting between Smith and Kaunda last December and between Smith, Kaunda, and Nkomo in August.

The huge South African multinational Anglo-American is also generous with its hand-outs, and it is rumored that Sithole is receiving money from the South African Bureau of State Security.

Sithole and Muzorewa are also receiving help in the training of their own private armies- reportedly from Amin of Uganda and Gadaffy of Libya respectively!



Bishop Abel Muzorewa

South Africa

One important event in South Africa is the trial of the "Soweto 11"; 11 black militants who took part in the Soweto uprising two years ago are now on trial for "sedition and terrorism." All eleven are members of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council, or SSRC.

If convicted, the activists face a certain death sentence. The South African regime is trying to say that these militants were the "ring leaders" of the uprising.

The trial is, of course, a sham. The defendants are all black, and the jury is all white. The prosecution has so far relied on tortured witnesses to "prove" that the uprising was the product of "intimidation by pamphleteering."

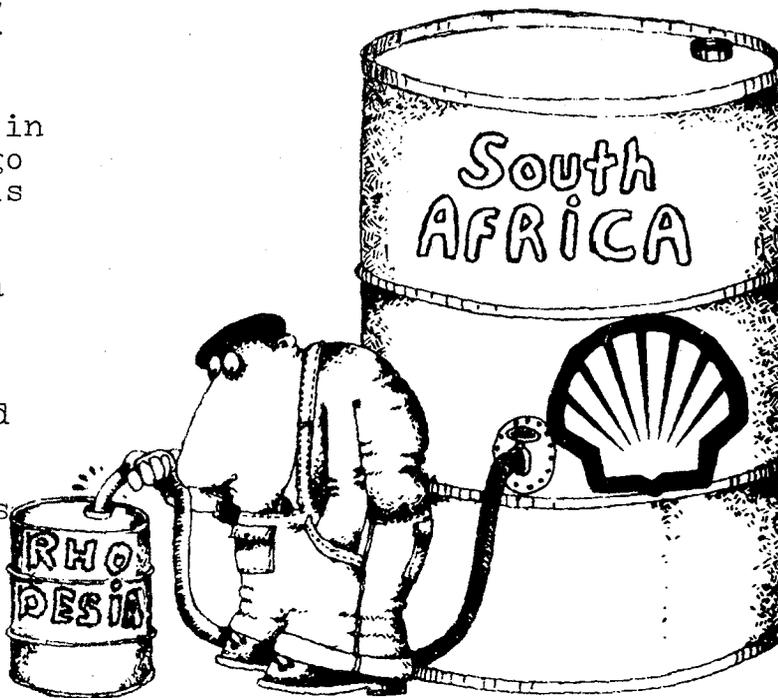
The trial began way back in September, but may well go on into 1980. The trial is only one of more than 60 political trials being conducted in South Africa at the present time.

Another aspect of the difficulty that Botha and the entire apartheid apparatus is having in maintaining white rule is the continued unrest of blacks. Two attempts at elections, for instance, in Soweto, only drew 6% of the voters.

Squatters in homes on the Cape continue to defend their homes from bulldozers.

The new Prime Minister, Botha, is having to contend with a slipping international prestige. Investments in South Africa from abroad are increasingly of a short-term nature. The scandal of the Department of Information's use of millions of Rand to buy favorable press abroad is proving embarrassing to the new Prime Minister.

Recently, the U.S. press has mentioned the strikes in the mines on the part of white workers demanding an end to the promotion of black workers, meager as those promotions are. There is a contradiction in the political setup of apartheid between



the Africaaner support for racist Christian Nationalism, and the multinational companies thirst for profits, pure and simple.

The Iranian revolution, finally, has threatened South Africa's (and therefore Zimbabwe's) supply of oil. Iran provided over 80% of South Africa's oil needs. The South African economy is, of course, highly industrialized, and therefore dependent on a regular flow of oil.

The Iranian Government is, however, selling oil to the West, and it seems likely that some of this oil will find its way to South Africa, who then sells some of it to Zimbabwe.

Solidarity Movement

It is the perspective of Southern Africa Solidarity that we give unconditional support for all the genuine liberation movements in southern Africa. We reject the forces that compromise with the white regimes - Sithole, Muzorewa, Chirau in Zimbabwe, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia, and Buthelezi, Leon and Chinsamy in South Africa. We follow the people of southern Africa in recognizing as legitimate liberation movements the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe (ZANU & ZAPU), in Namibia, SWAPO and in South

Africa, the ANC, PAC, and the Black Consciousness Movement (which includes the Black People's Convention, the South African Student's Organization, and the Soweto Student's Representative Council). We use the blanket slogan so we don't have to carry block long banners to get our point across.

Our unconditional support does not mean that we are uncritical of their strategy and politics. The Patriotic Front and SWAPO are essentially peasant armies led by intellectuals. They have contacts in the small working classes of their countries, but the focus of their organization is not the working class. The ANC has long and deep ties to the South African Communist Party. The PAC looks to China. They both now believe in a strategy of urban guerilla warfare. All of these groups share a conception of national development on the Russian or Chinese model- the politics of Mao or Stalin.

The Black Consciousness movement is fundamentally different. It represents a break with the conservative traditions of the ANC and PAC. It is a mass movement of students centered in the black working class townships of Soweto. Its politics are undeveloped, but it is clear on one point - black power.

Future Updates, and future issues of this newsletter in general will go into more detail on these points. The last issue discussed the vital role that black workers will play in future developments. The important point is, however, that all of these organizations are fighting to achieve self-determination in southern Africa. That is, they aim to destroy the current white minority regimes and create a society in which Africans decide the course of their future.

Events in southern Africa will, we feel, have a tremendous impact abroad. The economy of the U.S. is probably more dependent on South Africa than they are on our economy. The key to this dependence is minerals. A recent Business Week article (1/29/79) stated that it was "no exaggeration" to call South Africa the "Saudi Arabia" of the "Persian Gulf of minerals" of southern Africa. It went to quote a National Research Council report which stated that the "U.S. long-term vulnerability in chrome is greater than in petroleum." According to the U.S. Bureau of Mines, Zimbabwe & South Africa hold 96% of the recoverable chrome ore in the world (it has no substitute as an alloy in a wide range of steel production). It is now estimated

that South Africa's uranium reserves are 1/3 greater than the entire rest of the west.

What this has meant is increased U.S. support for apartheid. It is this dependence that underlies U.S. support for apartheid, despite Carter's Human Rights, or Andrew Young's call for black majority rule. It is clear, therefore, that it will be the black masses of southern Africa that will be their own liberators. Thus the importance of supporting the liberation movements in those countries.

The conclusion of this argument is that we cannot limit ourselves to the demand "U.S. Out of South Africa." As we wrote in Southern Africa Solidarity #2, "the growth of the movement can raise important questions about the role of U.S. imperialism, the importance of national liberation struggles, and the nature of racism at home and abroad. In these ways the movement can challenge Andrew Young, and the capitalist system he represents." Given this perspective, discussion of the liberation movements is vital.

by PAUL D'AMATO,
KENT WORCESTER, BEN BLAKE

ZIMBABWE VS. RHODESIA:

This year 300 freedom fighters will die of starvation in the camps in Nambia...

A Huge Gulf Separates The "respectable" and suited African leaders who parley on the conference tables of London and Geneva and those who are fighting and dying in the villages, towns, and countryside of Zimbabwe. They brave the searing heat of the lowlands and the bitter cold of the mountain plains. They bridge gorges, ford rivers, and cross rapids.

On the barren lands unto which the African people have been herded, the fighters survive for months without returning to base. The history of the black struggle, both now and earlier, may never fully be known. The following is a personal account of a freedom fighter in a ZAPU platoon. It is reprinted from Socialist Review, P.O.Box 82, London, E2, England. We feel it gives an insight into what the real situation is now, in Zimbabwe, fighting for liberation.

"Crossing the Zambezi was nearly fatal for the entire platoon. The 10 men were all

tied one to the other by rope. With rain pouring down heavily we propelled the canoe precariously to an island about 2/3 the way across. At this point there was 70 yards of rapids separating us from the bank.

"The Commander fired a specially treated bazooka shell across the water, tied to a long rope with a metal hook on the end. The first time they pulled the rope in the hook failed to attach itself to anything on the bank. The second time he succeeded. The roar of the river drowned out the sound of the bazooka.

"By the time we were in the river the rope was stretched out taut like the string of a drawn bow. We hung on desperately, shifting hands along the rope as they were hanging from the branch of a tree. Each man was loaded with a sub-machine gun, a carbine, seven hundred rounds of ammunition, two grenades, one land mine, and a kitbag with civilian clothes, some food and boots.

"After crossing the river, we rested. At sunset we began a 250 mile journey to Matopos, the Tribal Trust Land near Bulawayo. We didn't take the shortest route, directly south, because we wanted to avoid the Wankie Game Reserve. That area is not adequately mapped

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

and is totally unhabited.

"Water was a great problem and soldiers can waste days wandering about and getting lost in search of water holes. The security forces have a habit of surrounding the good water holes, and trapping the guerillas when they came for drink.

"For several days the platoon stayed in the hills, living off the berries of roots, and what remained of their supply of glucose tablets and vitamin pills. Then we decided to risk sending off a team of two men to seek supplies. John Sibali was shot in the stomach and soon died afterwards, as the team was captured by the security forces. Edison Maleme was injured and tortured until he promised that he would lead the security men to where we were hiding.

"As the column of Rhodesian soldiers advanced down the steep slopes of the hills a helicopter began patrolling the valley. But we were too far into the depths of the valley to be seen from the air. The column came within two hundred yards of our hidout.

"Because of his white shirt, Edison stood clearly in front. He was marching the security forces straight past us - in order to give us the

opportunity for an ambush! The soldiers were passing by like sitting ducks!

"The commander shouted the order to fire. The column was so exposed most were killed in the first twenty seconds as 7 AK 47s emptied their magazines at the rate of 600 rounds per minute.

"The helicopter swooped low and dropped several grenades onto our position. But the cover was so sound that no one was injured. By firing at the helicopter we forced it to move away until it was out of range.

"The platoon withdrew quickly under the thick trees. We hadn't covered more than a few hundred yards when a Vampire jet swooped into the valley and bombed our original position. The platoon finally reached Botswana 3 months after crossing the Zambezi. The mission had been useless. We had entered Rhodesia at one end and come out the other, travelling 450 miles on foot.

"Once over the border we changed into civilian clothes and buried our weapons. We caught a bus into Francis town. Here we surrendered to the authorities who threw us straight into prison. It took five months for the Botswana Government and the ZAPU leaders in Lusaka to arrange for our transfer"

GM & APARTHEID

by BEN BLAKE

There is mounting evidence that General Motor's \$220 million operations in South Africa have consistently reinforced that country's policy of general racial discrimination: apartheid.

G.M. claims that it "does not endorse" apartheid and that it "will remain in South Africa and will continue to be in the forefront of progressive change."

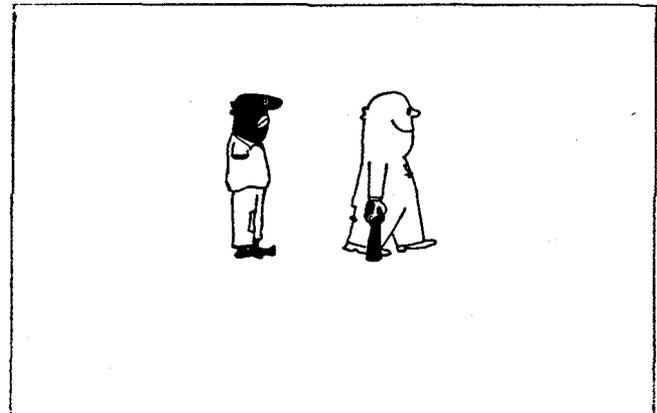
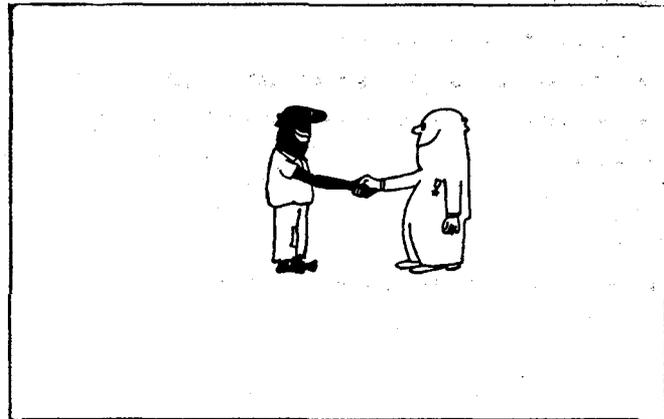
The cornerstone of G.M.'s "progressive" stance in South Africa is a set of principles formulated by the Reverend Leon Sullivan (who sits on G.M.'s board of directors) and endorsed by 103 U.S. corporations with operations in South Africa, and by the regime itself.

Sullivan originally advocated a complete pullout of South Africa, but by 1975 he had changed his mind and in 1977 he authored a code for U.S. corporations in South Africa which includes a call for "Nonsegregation of races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities," equal and fair employment practices, equal pay for comparable work, and support for unionization efforts by "non-whites."

The "Sullivan principles" basically represent what G.M. claims its policies have been since at least 1972.

Results, however, have been less than spectacular as shown by data released by the company itself. In 1976, for example, black South African workers at G.M. earned an average wage of \$224 a month. Whites averaged \$595 a month, over $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the average black wage. Only three Africans were salaried employees out of a total of 1300.

When questioned before a U.S. senate subcommittee about these inequalities, A.A.Cunningham, G.M.'s Vice



President for Overseas Operations argued that South African blacks were genetically inferior, "you have to understand, Mr. Chairman, that these employees have only recently entered the work force (only 30 years ago!) and that the white employees have been there hereditarily and have been progressing up through the organizing."

In line with G.M.'s racist policies in South Africa is its opposition to black workers being in unions.

The Fraud of Liberal Profits

Last summer, 278 blacks signed papers to have union dues deducted from their pay. Most of the workers were subsequently intimidated into withdrawing their request.

G.M. South Africa personnel director, Rodney G. Ironside, explained the companies opposition to the dues deduction in these words: "There are 114 ways a black can be relieved of his money and G.M. is not going to be one of them."

One example of what this program involves was the replacement of "Non Whites only" and "Whites Only" restroom signs with color coded signs - blue for whites and orange for blacks.

Under continuing pressure, G.M. announced on August 30th

last year a \$4.5 million program to "desegregate" some of its facilities in South Africa.

One G.M. executive in Detroit explained to Fortune magazine that this was aimed at "lessening the insult" of apartheid.

G.M.'s repeated violation of its code shows that the idea of reforming apartheid at a "step at a time" is a complete fraud.

The black liberation movement in South Africa realized this long ago and has advocated a complete boycott of the apartheid regime since the 1950's.

Today, every major black South African political organization calls for the cutting of all ties the U.S. has with apartheid. In "A Letter to the Workers of America" written in 1971, Mark W. Shape, General Secretary of the banned South African Congress of Trade Unions explained the role that anti-apartheid activity can play in bringing about an end to apartheid.

"The American workers can, through direct action against American companies investing in South Africa, participate directly in the destruction of a socio-political system that is fundamentally and essentially racist, brutal and immoral and inimical to every decent and human value."

REPORTS FROM AROUND

NORTHEAST

Right now, a number of campuses are preparing some sort of activity around the week of actions approved at the NorthEast Coalition For The Liberation of Southern Africa conference at NYU in November. This week is from April 4 - 11th.

There has been a wave of tuition hikes at a number of campuses, which obviously takes away people's energy from southern Africa work, and it seems that the energy level is lower generally than it was this time last year.

At Hampshire College, however, students successfully got their Board of Trustees to sign a pledge to not reinvest in stock in companies doing business in apartheid, after 300 students protested the College's decision to reinvest in GM, SMC, and RAND stock.

The demonstration took place a short while ago - 3/9/79, and it is thought that this success will help students at other colleges in the area, which includes Smith & Amherst, both of which have a lot of ties to southern Africa.

On March 9th, Dartmouth College was closed down due

to the protest against the racist and sexist policies of the University. The students were demanding divestment, as well.

In Boston, confusion ruled when two meetings were held on the same day - meetings of the same group! What developed in the course of the day was a manouever on the part of the Young Socialist Alliance to have Boston NECLSA hold a "broad-based" rally that would be pulled together in a couple of weeks! Students from Harvard, Boston University, Boston College, UMass-Boston, and Brandies all supported the counter proposal, already in the works, of a Liberation Disco. It was felt the later was less ambitious. Also, money raised at the disco could go to ZANU in Zimbabwe.

In Philadelphia, a Comm. for Divestment formed at the University of Pennsylvania early this semester. The University has over \$29 million worth of holdings in South Africa. The Comm. was also host to a Delaware Valley S.A. Conference, in February. Eight groups participated in the conference, which attracted over 140 people. Planned is a demonstration at Provident Bank branches during the week of actions.

THE U.S.A. (well, nearly!)

The People's Front for the Liberation of Southern Africa is sponsoring a day-long statewide conference on racism at home and abroad during the week of actions.

A large number of campuses are planning to participate in the arm-band day April 11th.

Earlier this month (March), the President of Harvard, Derek Bok told the press that taking investments out of

in companies doing business in apartheid, so perhaps divestment is rash.

MIDWEST

In terms of the national week of actions, over 15 campuses in eight states plan demonstrations and/or educational during the week. Advertised here is an excellent pamphlet put

**African Liberation & Divestment
New! Only 25¢, from the
Bloomington S.A. Committee,
P. O. Box, Bloomington, IN. 47401**

out by the Bloomington Southern Africa Comm., just in time for the week of actions.

The Midwest Coalition for the Liberation of

any companies, for any reason, i.e. South Africa, Infant Baby Bottle deaths, etc., is "limiting free speech!" Funny how those who would quickest shut us up are the loudest defenders of free speech!

The Board of Trustees at Tufts, dealing with the issue for the first time, told students that they, too, were against apartheid, but considered the Sullivan Principles adequate. Tufts own \$6 million worth of stock

Southern Africa is sponsoring a demonstration in downtown Chicago April 7th, at 12.00am.

The main slogans are going to be: Victory to the Freedom Fighters, and U.S. Out of Southern Africa Now!.

The next meeting of the coalition is April 28th, 10.30am, at the University of Ill., Chicago. For more details about the coalition, write to P.O. Box A3423 Chicago, Ill. 60690.

During the week of

actions, the Indiana Southern Africa Coalition will conduct a statewide clothing drive. On April 4th, different campus groups will picket coin shops that sell the Krugerrand gold coin.

At the University of Chicago, the 27th of February saw the biggest anti-apartheid activity in the Midwest, and the largest political event in the history of the University. More than eight hundred people attended a debate between the Action Committee on S.A., and the President of the University, Hanna Gray.

The U of C has over \$74 million in stock in companies doing business in South Africa. The trustees have repeatedly refused to talk to the Committee. Not surprisingly, 24 of the trustees hold directorships in corporations involved in southern Africa.

The debate was an overwhelming success for the Action Committee, and the debate won the group many new supporters. The school newspaper's editorial after the debate was entitled:

"Do You Think We're Stupid?"

Ten days after the debate, more than 100 students took part in a torch lit march to Hanna Gray's house.

The upsurge of activity at U of C has been a big boost for the Mid-west coalition, and its plans for the

week of actions, April fourth to eleventh.

WEST COAST

Students at the University of California, Berkeley, have planned a rally on April 9th, at the school.

The Berkeley coalition, Students for Economic and Racial Justice, or SERJ, split only last January, so now there are two different groups, with the same name.

One part of the group



is spending their time encouraging support for an upcoming referendum in the city of Berkeley. The rest of SERJ is picketing banks who loan money to South Africa, are showing educational movies in dorms, and are fighting against cutbacks in ethnic studies.

The split seems to have seriously weakened both efforts, and it is unclear what will happen after the referendum is over.

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