MACSA CALENDAR

Friday, October 8  Dan Kunene will speak on "Independence for the Transkei: A New Sham", 8 pm, Pres House Lounge, 731 State Street

Wednesday, October 13 to Sunday, October 17 Numerous events with Ruth and Bill Minter; see page 2 for a complete listing.

Sunday, October 17  MACSA general meeting, 3:30 pm, Pres House, 731 State St.

Sunday, November 7

Sunday, November 21

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BILL AND RUTH MINTER VISITING MADISON

Former MACSA members Bill and Ruth Minter are returning to Madison for a brief visit. They are just returned from Mozambique where they have been working for FRELIMO. They will be giving presentations on campus and in the community. The public is invited and all interested MACSA people are urged to attend. Bill and Ruth have been teaching and preparing curricular material for use in schools in Mozambique. They had been with the Mozambique Institute in Tanzania before the liberation of Mozambique. The school then moved into Mozambique and Bill and Ruth worked there. They have much to tell us about the post-independence spirit and challenge of one of Africa's newest independent nations. Their schedule is as follows:

Oct 13 Wednesday
Noon: African Studies Sandwich Seminar-Bill speaking on "Present Situation in Southern Africa: View from Mozambique" 1418 Van Hise Hall
5:30 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Center for Conflict Resolution - Ruth speaking on the "Women's Role in the African Revolution" Pres House, 731 State Street. Potluck supper followed by talk

Oct 14 Thursday
8:00 African Studies Program Public Lecture-Bill speaking on "The Peoples' Republic of Mozambique: Directions of the Mozambican Revolution One Year After Independence." Wisconsin Center, 702 Langdon St.

Oct 15 Friday
Noon-Ruth speaking to United Religious Workers Call Joyce Manson, Pres House, MCM office for details.

Oct 17 Sunday
9:00 Bill at First Congregational for breakfast and talk, 1809 University Avenue
9:30 Ruth at Pres House for MCM worship service

11:00 Ruth at First Congregational Church for sermon
2-3:00 Back Porch Radio Call-In program WORT-FM, 89.7 kc
5:30 Dinner with Methodists and Lutherans at University Methodist Church. Bill and Ruth.
COALITION STEERING COMMITTEE MEETS

The steering committee of the Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa will convene Sunday, October 10 to discuss MACSA's mass action proposal and to prepare for the 1977 conference of North American support groups.

This will be the third meeting of the steering committee since its inception a year ago. The Coalition itself was formed among forty groups from throughout North America which met in Madison in October 1975 to build a continental network of communication to facilitate lobbying efforts. During its first year the Coalition has established a national "telephone tree," prepared information packets on respective liberation efforts in southern Africa, organized a film clearinghouse, and confronted the major U.S. Presidential candidates on issues of concern to the cause of freedom in Africa.

The steering committee meeting this upcoming week is significant in that it hopes to lay the foundation for the first mass action effort to be coordinated by the Coalition. The main proposal being considered is one MACSA submitted at the last meeting in Chicago.

KISSINGER BUYS APARTEID

Henry Kissinger returned from southern Africa last week after unsuccessfully attempting to satisfy black African aspirations in Zimbabwe. Dr. Kissinger surprised the world community when he offered to compensate white Rhodesians for decades of oppressing the black majority of the illegally administered country.

Presidents of five neighboring nations were unanimous in rejecting the Anglo-American plan to transfer power from the Ian Smith regime to Western-backed black leaders in Zimbabwe. In Salisbury, Rhodesia, Prime Minister Smith reacted tersely to the rejection, saying, "It looks as though the Communists are calling the tune in those parts." Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere jokingly responded to this charge by observing that the decision by the five African leaders was so quick there was no time for anyone to call Moscow.

The presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, and Botswana said Kissinger's proposal for an interim government divided between blacks and whites was "tantamount to legalizing colonialist and racist structures of power."

The plan calls for a legislative council shared equally by blacks and whites, with a two-thirds majority required on votes. That would allow either side to block decisions. A lower ministers' council led by a black and with a black majority would carry out the higher council's orders. However, the plan calls for the Defense and Law and Order ministries to be held by whites.

Rhodesian Foreign Minister P.K. van der Byl said the rejection by the African leaders demonstrated their "unreliability and irresponsibility" and it is now "up to the Western powers, America and South Africa in particular, to sort it out."
CORETTA KING FEARS CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Coretta Scott King says the conflict in southern Africa is 'explosive' and could bring the United States into a war and mean a black insurrection at home.

The widow of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said at a news conference recently, "The fact is that here is a situation that is so explosive that it could bring us into a war which, I think, could cause an insurrection, a rebellion here because blacks are not going to fight blacks."

Ms. King said some of the tactics followed by her husband in the civil rights movement, such as economic sanctions against businesses, could be used to help resolve the conflict.

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN DETAINED FOLLOWING 'SOWETO'

According to the Pittsburgh Courier (9/25/76), on September 8, a telephone call from Durban, South Africa was placed from the studios of Radio Station WBBM, Channel 78, CBS-Chicago, by Andrea Wiley (WBBM producer) with the intention of reaching Ms. Fatima Meer, a sociologist and professor at the University of Natal.

According to an unidentified person answering the phone, Ms. Meer had been detained by white South African authorities and held under the Internal Security Act along with Ms. Winnie Mandela and ten other prominent women in the Johannesburg prison. It was reported that no charges had been placed against Ms. Meer and that she will be held for an undeterminate time; her initial period of detention expires December 31 but her internment may be renewed at that time.

The unidentified source revealed that Ms. Meer is presently being held in solitary confinement and that at least 800 people had been arrested in the recent round-up. Some of these are being held in Cape Town. As details of the police raids were being described, the phone call was cut off.

The Courier lists Ms. Meer's present address as: Ms. Fatima Meer, c/o Commanding Officer, Fort Prison, Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa.

MACSA GIVEN NEW RADIO SHOW

WORT-FM (89.7kc) in Madison has agreed to allot a one-hour time slot for a monthly Africa News presentation by MACSA. Backporch Radio, a community-sponsored radio station, had been giving MACSA a bi-monthly half-hour show during the last six months but altered their programming schedule to facilitate more in-depth coverage of African affairs. The October 31 show is tentatively slated to examine the Third World views of the presidential candidates.

MACSA members Jeff Engler and Allan Cooper will continue to prepare the broadcast, which is aired the last Sunday of the month at 1:30 pm. Suggestions for the show can be offered by calling Jeff at 238-5456 or Allan at 256-0944.
Among other projects this summer, MACSA successfully introduced a resolution in the Madison City Council protesting the recent killing of Africans by white South African police. Authored by MACSA convener Allan Cooper, the resolution was submitted by Alderperson Rich Gross and was co-sponsored by Alderpersons Sack, Sorensen, and Weidenbaum. Besides condemning the slaughter of Africans in Soweto and other urban areas the resolution urged economic and diplomatic means as agents for social change in southern Africa.

Resolution 29,355 in its entirety reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The Republic of South Africa continues to maintain its apartheid policy separating races in which non-whites have no voting rights, no job security, no property rights, no labor unions and virtually no say in their own community affairs,

AND WHEREAS, the white minority regime continues to resort to mass violence whenever the African majority congregates to express humiliation at the absence of these basic rights,

AND WHEREAS, economic and diplomatic means are preferred as agents for social change,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the City of Madison expresses deep shock over the large-scale killings and woundings of Africans in recent weeks by white South African authorities,

AND BE IT ALSO RESOLVED, that the Madison community extends its sincere sympathy to the African majority of South Africa and to their efforts toward the attainment of equal rights in their country.

The resolution was approved overwhelmingly by the City Council with Alderperson Wexler providing the sole opposition. Wisconsin Congresspersons Kastenmeier and Nelson, among others, praised the successful passing of the resolution. Alderperson Rich Gross is to be complimented for his commitment and skill in successfully bringing forth this issue to the Madison community.

MACSA MEMBERS LEAVE FOR JOBS

MACSA lost three members this summer to the (expanding?) job market. John Hunter received a teaching job in the economics department at Ohio University and Wandile Kuse is now teaching African literature at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Wendy Simmons is now African cataloger at Boston University and has just had a bibliography on Namibia accepted for publication by the prestigious journal, Current Bibliography of African Affairs.
No black may own land or a house in Soweto or in any other town or city. Nor are they allowed to develop any economic independence; they must simply serve the white economy.

Some argue that economic growth and industrialization will automatically bring in their wake an improved life for black people. This argument is popular with U.S. investors, who now have a $1.5 billion stake in preserving stability in South Africa. In fact, time has exposed the fatuousness of any argument could. There is intense poverty in Soweto. Authorities estimate that the current minimum income necessary for a family of six for bare survival is 119.69 rand ($35) a month. The average wage a Soweto worker takes home every month is 80 rand ($2). White workers' wages, in contrast, average at least six times more.

The gap is not closing, for as black wages climb so do white wages. An 18 per cent inflation rate eats up the value of the increases.

If economic growth has done little to improve the relative position of blacks in the pyramid of South African society, it has done nothing at all to eradicate their political powerlessness. In fact, the tensions created by changing economic needs (the necessity, for instance, to allow black workers to acquire some technical skills) has brought with it intensified controls on the black population and an escalating attempt to oppress their demands for equality by a process of "retribalization." Current government policy is depriving Africans of the last few rights they had in "white" society as it pushes for the adoption of the "independent Bantustan" concept.

White towns in South Africa have independent elected municipal authorities as of 1976. But Soweto and other urban ghettos near Johannesburg are all controlled by the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, a policing agency of the government's Bantu administration department. All blacks have to have permission to live in Soweto; a wife may not automatically join her husband, nor a child its mother. Loss of a job usually means loss of the "right" to stay in the area, as does anything that causes one to lose favor with the local authorities. People are continually "endorsed" out of the area, back to the Bantustans. Every black person in Soweto is constantly threatened by a network of apartheid-enforcing laws and every year one in four adults is arrested for some contravention of the pass laws.

The mass uprisings beginning in June belong in that context. The South African government has blamed "outside agitators" and "Communists" for the violence. The press talks of "tsetis" intimidating the general population into joining the crowds in the street. But the real causes of the confrontation lie elsewhere in the intensifying oppression of the blacks by white South Africa and in the spreading militant mood of the black population.

There can be no doubt that the struggle for freedom will be a long and harsh one. The blood spilled in Soweto will not be the last. The South African government has armed itself physically with tremendous weaponry -- guns, aircraft, etc. -- and politically with a system of security laws that allows it to arrest and detain anyone, on any suspicion, for as long as it likes. It will use all these weapons in its attempt to crush the people as they seek the right to control their lives; the wealth they produce and the future of their country.

Those on the outside must do more than watch and wait; now is the time to ensure that the U.S. does not once again embroil itself in giving increasing support to a government rooted in reaction. There is no way to improve apartheid; it must be abolished.

(Jennifer Davis, research director of the Africa Fund, is a political exile from South Africa.

The above is adapted from an article by Ms. Davis which appeared in the July 19 issue of "Christianity and Crisis." The full text is available from the American Committee on Africa, 305 East 46th St., New York 10017 on receipt of a self-addressed stamped envelope. An extensive list of reading materials on southern Africa will be included.
September 24, 1976

TO: People concerned about U.S. policy toward South Africa

RE: Policy on the Transkei

On September 21, the House failed to pass H. Res. 1509 urging the President not to grant diplomatic or other recognition to the Transkei, by a vote of 245 for, 156 against. This vote shows that 61% of the House - a substantial majority - favors non-recognition. This is an important sign of opposition to apartheid in the House, where there have been no votes on South Africa in the last two years. However, the bill came to the floor under the suspension rule which requires two-thirds affirmative vote for passage, so the bill failed because of this technicality.

Congressman Solarz of New York introduced the measure on August 31 following his recent trip to southern Africa. The House International Relations Committee passed the bill unanimously by voice vote September 1st. When the bill came to the floor, Solarz delivered a strong opening statement against the bantustan policy of South Africa so integral to the apartheid system, which denies blacks all political rights in the 83% of the land "reserved" for whites. Several members of the Black Caucus spoke for the bill; Representative Andrew Young argued that it would enhance U.S. credibility in the eyes of African leaders at the time of Kissinger's negotiations. At least one official at the State Department, however, was displeased that the Solarz resolution was brought to the floor during Kissinger's southern Africa shuttle diplomacy, on the grounds that Kissinger would just as soon remain publicly uncommitted on specific issues so all sides can think he might support their view.

The technical failure of the bill was a clear result of South Africa's lobbying on the Hill. One member - Phil Crane of Illinois - read a South African Embassy memorandum against the bill into the Record, delivering it as his own speech. Opponents claimed that non-recognition constituted meddling in the internal affairs of South Africa and the Transkei (although they didn't seem concerned about U.S. "meddling" in Angola or Vietnam), and ran down the South African arguments asserting the legitimacy of the Transkei's independence. They also said the passage of the resolution at this time might hurt Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy.

More significantly, of the five members of Congress who spoke against the resolution, four - Phil Crane, John Dent, Clair Burgener and William Ketchum - have traveled to South Africa in the last 18 months. Their trips were organized in large part by the South African government, although they were officially paid for by the Foreign Affairs Association of South Africa. The South Africans' $12,000 payment for the four trips (using Business Week estimates) was a cheap investment for friends to argue their case and organize support for it in the House.

An analysis of the 245-156 vote shows a common pattern and a few surprises. The main supporters of the Byrd Amendment, of course, opposed the Transkei resolution as well. Many of the 159 negative votes were the conservative Republicans and some southerners who oppose automatically any bill which can be described as liberal. Some of the southern states were a surprise, however; most of the South Carolina Representatives and several members from Georgia and Tennessee voted for the resolution.
It is unlikely that there will be further Congressional action on the resolution. Congress is scheduled to recess on October 2nd, so the chances of bringing the resolution to the House floor under normal rules are very slim. Senator Clark does not intend to bring the resolution before the Senate, we understand. He assumes that Senator Allen and others would simply filibuster it, as they have done other bills on southern Africa recently.

We should be on the lookout for signs from the Administration that U.S. recognition of the Transkei might be part of a quid pro quo for South Africa's putting pressure on Smith in Rhodesia and making some concessions on the future of Namibia. There is already one reason to be concerned about this possibility: an article in the June, 1976 Military Review by U.S. Army Major Wesley A. Groesbeck argued for establishing a U.S. naval base in the Transkei. This article could be a "trial balloon." Also, the South African Government is already preparing to press for Transkei's membership in the International Monetary Fund. If the Administration begins to move in this direction, it will be important to show public opposition to the bantustan scheme and to recognition of the Transkei, to supplement the expression of House opinion this week.

The vote on H. Res. 1509 follows. The debate is on pages H10636 - 10642 of the September 21 Congressional Record. The vote appears on page H 10714/...
KISSINGER'S RHODESIAN "SETTLEMENT"

Secretary of State Kissinger's meetings with John Vorster of South Africa and Ian Smith of Rhodesia are an attempt to stall for time so that their regimes can regroup against the liberation movements which are on the verge of ending Smith's and Vorster's reign of oppression. The racist implications of asking these two men to bring democracy to Rhodesia present new threats to world peace.

The real question Kissinger is addressing is how to keep the natural wealth of Rhodesia from falling into the hands of the people of that country. Mobil Oil and Union Carbide are two of the U.S. corporations with big stakes in this wealth, and their interests are endangered by Mozambique's closing of its borders with Rhodesia a few months ago. The effect on the economy was so strong that splits developed within the white minority group. Realizing that a change in government is inevitable, Kissinger hurried to ensure that any new regime would be one that would be friendly to U.S. financial interests. It is in this context that Kissinger met with Smith and Vorster and put together a plan for Rhodesia's future.

On September 25 the news media announced that leaders of the "front-line" nations had agreed to a plan to bring majority rule to Rhodesia in two years. On September 26, the leaders—heads of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola—rejected the plan for its blatantly racist provisions. One was that white Rhodesians should be paid up to $2 billion for the favor of not leaving what they consider their own country. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania countered this (on ABC-TV's Issues and Answers, September 26) by saying that the concept of payment was acknowledgement of the arrogant idea that whites shouldn't have to live in a country where Blacks rule. Payment would make sense if it were for black Africans as compensation for all that had been stolen from them in labor, lands and wealth.

Nyerere said that Kissinger's call for "peaceful change" in Southern Africa in order to "stop Communism" sounds like South Africa's labeling support of human rights a "Communist threat." He said it is too late to talk about a peaceful transfer of power after hundreds have died in the liberation struggle in the last few months. The U.S. should understand that African nations are as committed to the freedom of their continent as Americans to the freedom of their nation in 1776. He asked why African nations should not accept arms from the USSR and Cuba when Western nations have armed South Africa, and he wondered whether Africans are supposed to defend themselves with spears.

Nyerere spoke of the racist assumption that when political divisions exist among and within African nations, they are considered incapable of self-rule, whereas such differences are considered evidence of democracy when they occur in Western countries. The strange alliance between South Africa and the United States makes him uncomfortable, and he would hope it does the American people too.

Rep. Charles Diggs (D.-Mich.) pointed out that the case of Rhodesia cannot be isolated from the struggle against apartheid in South Africa because South Africa holds the key to majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia. The Congressional Black Caucus called for the U.S. to sever diplomatic relations with the regime in South Africa until the "separate development" policy is abolished. Since Kissinger's first visit with Vorster, there has been a great escalation of white violence against blacks in South Africa in response to the blacks' demonstrations against the government's policies. In Zambia, South African planes strafed a village in hot pursuit against Namibian nationalists, and Rhodesian troops disguised as Frelimo soldiers entered Mozambique and massacred more than 100 civilians. Another raid has been reported in Mozambique recently in which 500 Zimbabwean refugees were killed.
History repeats itself. In 1960 it was American capital that rescued South Africa from total economic collapse after the Sharpeville Massacre had shaken the apartheid regime to its foundations. Today, because of the blacks' resistance to oppression, South Africa is experiencing an economic recession for the first time in 15 years and there is a new need to protect the corporate investments (16% of the total private investments in South Africa) of Wall Street. A major propaganda campaign has been designed to give the Republic of South Africa a liberal image to justify the flood of investments made to support the shaky regime. The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid reports (Notes and Documents 11/75) that "the role played by foreign capital in South Africa is not purely economic, but has deep political, military and strategic implications. Foreign investment helps reinforce apartheid and impedes United Nations efforts to secure the eradication of apartheid."

In the tragic bloodbath in Lebanon we can see what Kissinger's step-by-step diplomacy has brought to the Middle East. His strategy is to split the progressive forces (as Syria and Egypt were split away from the progressive camp) and to buy off local leaders who look with a friendly eye on liberation movements. This strategy in Southern Africa is one of step-by-step movement to war. The peace forces in our country have a special responsibility to prevent this from happening.

- Maggie Kailin