

LSM NEWS

17
Winter 1978
\$1.00

Quarterly Journal of Liberation Support Movement



Namibia Is Up For Grabs

Inside Timor

Family Planning in Mozambique

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LSM Annual Meeting LSM News to Suspend Publication

At the end of September 1978, members of Liberation Support Movement held our Annual Meeting to make major decisions charting the organization's work over the coming year. At the meeting we discussed LSM's strengths and weaknesses, evaluated the changing conditions in North America and the world, and made some important decisions.

For some time we have been dissatisfied with the small audience reached by *LSM NEWS* and our other publications. We discussed three possible alternatives: the first is to radically improve the journal. This solution would mean larger and more frequent issues, a more popular writing style, and reconceiving the journal as a voice of the larger internationalist solidarity movement and not merely of our organization. But LSM now lacks the capacity for such a bold venture; we do not have enough trained writers and editors or enough capital to launch a viable magazine.

The second alternative is to combine our resources with others. We are open to this possibility but initial investigations show this solution to be more likely in the long term.

The third alternative is to cut back on our publishing work, aim to build the necessary re-

sources for a stronger journal in the future, and suspend *LSM NEWS*. This is the decision we made.

There are other factors in the decision. In the coming year two of our writers will go to Africa and tour North America afterwards. Others have heavy responsibilities completing book manuscripts. LSM's writing capacity will be severely strained even without the pressure of meeting *LSM NEWS* deadlines.

As you will see elsewhere in this issue, two SWAPO members are now training at our printshop. This is an important responsibility; we are completing the last phase of the SWAPO Printshop Project which many of our readers made possible with their contributions.

The Annual Meeting made other important decisions as well. One is to step up our participation in the growing solidarity movement with Southern Africa. We have already begun by working in the newly-formed Bay Area Southern Africa Coalition which hopes to build a strong, united movement around a series of activities in the San Francisco area. We hope to link this type of practice with our writing and publishing work more than in the past.

FINANCES AND *LSM NEWS*
SUBSCRIBERS

Though the political considerations mentioned above were primary in our decision to suspend publication of *LSM NEWS*, there are also compelling financial facts we had to face. With its circulation of less than 2,000, we found we were subsidizing our journal even though all labor - writing, production, and distribution - was unpaid.

We recognize an undischarged obligation to *LSM NEWS* subscribers. But we cannot afford to

just send out cash refunds for all unfilled subscriptions. There are three ways we can square our accounts. First, you may donate your credit. Second, you may use your credit to purchase LSM publications: back issues of *LSM NEWS*, the 1979 Africa Liberation Calendar, or other books and pamphlets. Third, those who have no choice but to ask for a cash refund, please let us know. You can figure out how much you are owed by looking at your subscription label to see how many issues are left in your subscription.

Leading Edge

Welcome to the 17th and final issue of *LSM NEWS*. Liberation Support Movement has learned much about ourselves and the world we are trying to change in four years of publishing the News every three months or so. Both LSM and the world have changed a lot since 1974.

We do not feel our work has been wasted. Though we have reached only a small number of people, we believe some have been inspired, some have been moved to action, and many have critically reexamined their own ideas as we have tried to do ourselves. And though we have decided to suspend this publication, we are confident that LSM's writing and publishing skills can continue to make an effective contribution to internationalist solidarity work and the fight for socialism.

The coming period is one of experimentation for our organization. We will be testing the waters of the larger solidarity movement and attempting to reach much broader audiences by channeling our writing through larger publications. But as our practice changes, we hope to maintain contact with the

readers of the News.

* * * *

This issue begins with a series of short articles under the heading, "Namibia is Up for Grabs." SWAPO's fight to win freedom for Namibia is at a crucial stage. Recent developments, such as South Africa's unilateral decision to hold its own elections in December and Western diplomatic support for this South African move, compel the solidarity movement to increase pressure both on the apartheid regime and on the Carter Administration.

* * * *

When two of us were assigned to do a profile of La Pena, Berkeley's combination restaurant/cultural center, we immediately knew that one visit would not be enough. Our research required us to return again and again to soak up the atmosphere and the beer, to sample the wide variety of political and cultural programs, and to try a Brazilian, Argentinian, or Peruvian dish.

We finally interviewed two La Pena workers, Eric and Niva, the day of the center's third anniversary. Music by Pan Fever, a steel drum group giving an afternoon concert, blared from the speaker over our heads. We are publishing this article because we believe La Pena is a very important unifying institution for the left community in the San Francisco Bay Area; it provides a place for political events, relaxation, and cultural performance free of much of the sectarianism and isolation which plague the North American left.

* * * *

Portugal's African colonies attracted so much attention that its Asian possessions have largely been overlooked. But

tiny East Timor has refused to quietly disappear into the ocean between Indonesia and Australia. After the Portuguese pulled out in 1975 Indonesia thought it could annex the territory with little fuss. But the Indonesians miscalculated the determination of the young but resourceful liberation movement, FRETILIN.

In a cramped office tucked away in the back of our printshop, Jose Ramos-Horta, FRETILIN's representative to the United Nations, discussed the East Timorese liberation struggle, the affairs of his party, and his personal history with refreshing candor. We met him as a comrade but soon came to regard him as a personal friend.

Wheeling and dealing Western foreign ministers fly in and out of South Africa trying to shape a solution to the problem of Namibia, the mineral-rich colony ruled by South Africa. The South African government recently issued an ultimatum: the apartheid regime will hold elections in December 1978. Then the South Africans say they will "advise" the winners to permit a UN-supervised election later. This plan excludes SWAPO, the internationally recognized liberation movement that has fought for independence for the last twenty years. SWAPO is now fighting a widening guerrilla war. The Big Five, the Western countries with large investments in Namibia, seek a compromise "moderate" regime that will protect their interests and end the war.

The following series of articles highlights basic features of the battle for Namibia. "Apartheid Won't Budge" gives a nutshell history and an overview of recent diplomatic maneuvers. "Who Gets the Diamonds?" discusses the foreign grip on Namibia's natural wealth and tactical differences between the plans of South African and Western capitalists.

"Day of the Chameleons" unravels the complex scramble for the post-independence spoils. West Germany, for instance, is already seeking a key role in the upcoming phony elections. "They Went to Windhoek" is a remarkable account by a visitor into SWAPO-controlled parts of northern Namibia where firmly entrenched SWAPO guerrillas prepare to prove that any South African-directed independence is a sham. _____

Namibia is Up For Grabs



Namibia Is Up for Grabs

On the southern fringe of the "Ovamboland Expressway," units of the South African army poise for another round in their increasingly bloody war against Namibian guerrillas. The "expressway" is a cleared strip of land one kilometer wide - a "free fire" zone that marks Namibia's border with Angola. South of the five-strand barbed-wire fence marking the border, the tall, lush grass should make ideal pasturage. Yet no life can be seen because the edgy South Africans are likely to blast away at the smallest movement in the grass.

The well-equipped soldiers of apartheid outnumber the guerrillas by five to one, and the war costs the Pretoria government \$2 million a day. But containing the enemy is a frustrating task. Many of the freedom fighters are not across the border in Angola, but well established in forests and villages behind South African front lines. The Namibians "are more aggressive, better disciplined and know how to use their weapons better" than any other African liberation army, admits one well-known South African military writer.

Colonial Beginning and Namibian Resistance

South Africa began administering Namibia - then called South West Africa - in 1919 under a mandate from the League of Nations. Following World War II the United Nations, the League's successor, urged South



SWAPO

"Ovamboland Expressway"

Apartheid Won't Budge

Africa to move Namibia toward independence. When the apartheid government instead proceeded to annex its northern neighbor, the UN terminated the mandate in 1966 and officially assumed jurisdiction over Namibia.

But the UN lacks the power to enforce its decision, and the South African occupation continues. So the actual liberation of Namibia has been left to the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) which,

since its formation in the late 1950s, has challenged South African rule. When years of peaceful protest proved useless, SWAPO finally opted for guerrilla war in the mid-1960s, though the movement also continued legal political work within Namibia. With support from all corners of the country and weapons from a wide range of socialist and African states, SWAPO fighters are now pushing their South African antagonists hard.

Because of South Africa's great economic and military resources, as well as Namibia's geography and sparsely distributed population of about a million, SWAPO cannot win Namibian independence by military means alone. Therefore SWAPO's strategy includes negotiations and international diplomacy, though it is the guerrilla campaign which gives SWAPO its political clout and forces the South Africans on the defensive.

But SWAPO and the Pretoria regime are no longer the only participants in the dispute. The struggle for control of the mineral-rich country intimately affects the whole of Southern Africa, and thus it is part of the worldwide conflict that pits crude capitalist domination against economic independence for Third World countries. Namibia's African neighbors - the so-called Front Line States - and Western powers with large economic and political stakes in the subcontinent, have therefore joined the UN in the campaign to

bring majority rule to Namibia.

The Balance Shifts

The white colonial stranglehold on the region was broken by the 1974 collapse of Portuguese colonialism. By the end of the following year, SWAPO's ability to use independent Angola as a base improved its position tremendously. At the same time, African and socialist countries pressed the UN to step up its activities; Security Council Resolution 385 called for complete South African withdrawal from Namibia and for free, secret elections after a transition period controlled by the UN itself.

The UN, of course, is anathema to all right-thinking white South African Nationalists, and their dour denunciations of the world body were predictable. South Africa's Western allies, on the other hand, saw the long-range effects of Pretoria's intransigence: growing hostility from African and Third World countries toward the West and the escalation of the Namibian war. The US, Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada (exactly those countries which control Namibia's economy together with South Africa) consequently launched their own campaign to bring some sort of independence to Namibia.

Discreet discussions aimed at bringing SWAPO and South Africa to the negotiating table alternated with tougher methods. Near bankrupt Zambia, for in-

stance, is so deep in hock to the IMF* that it has little room left for political maneuvering (as the reopening of the border with Rhodesia demonstrates). Angola, which desperately needs peace to reconstruct its economy, was openly threatened last summer when President Carter's adviser Brzezinski attempted to resume American support for the anti-communist groups waging war on the MPLA government. South Africa, too, was coaxed to modify its stand. But "the Five" carefully avoided applying economic pressure on their recalcitrant ally, nor did they interfere with its stepped-up repression and military build-up within Namibia.

SWAPO certainly received its share of Western pressure, but rejected the Five's early proposals which would have left the South Africans in effective control. "We are willing and prepared to take political risks inherent in negotiations," SWAPO President Sam Nujoma told the UN General Assembly last April. "What we will not do, however, is to commit the crime of national suicide." Nujoma spoke of the dangers of a large South African presence during the transition period and of South Africa's insistence on keeping Namibia's only port, Walvis Bay, which is vital to the country's economy.

Eager to isolate SWAPO vis-a-vis the West, South Africa expressed agreement with the Five's plan. Then, last June, the

*International Monetary Fund.

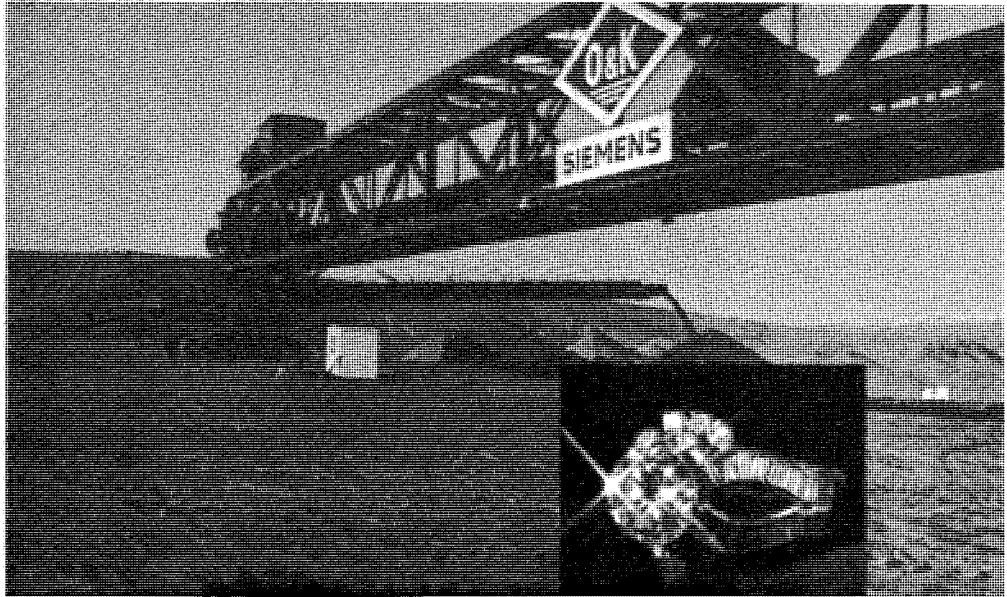
tables suddenly turned when the Front Line States and SWAPO jointly accepted a modified version of the Western plan - despite its falling short of Resolution 385 on several points. The UN Security Council immediately dispatched a delegation to Namibia to work out a plan for elections and the transition to independence.

That plan was approved by the world body and by SWAPO. Now South Africa, caught unprepared by SWAPO's diplomatic flexibility and fearing the movement's election victory, suddenly refused to accept its allies' mediation. "We will negotiate with the West and the UN Secretary-General," said newly elected Prime Minister Pieter Botha, "but we refuse to negotiate on any possible handover to Marxists and subsequent chaos."

That, apparently, was good enough for the Five whose foreign ministers accepted, in mid-October, the South African plan in return for the possibility that South Africa and Namibia's government-to-be might hold UN-supervised elections next year. After all, the West's common economic interests with South Africa and its fear of a radical government in Namibia count for more than any obligations to a small nation.

With SWAPO and the Front Line States' rejection of this "compromise," the Five's diplomatic campaign is likely to lose the momentum of the past year. The people of Namibia are already bracing themselves for another escalation of the war.

Plunder of a Colony



UN

Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund

Who Gets the Diamonds?

The diamonds, uranium, and other minerals buried under the Namibian desert make this country one of the richest in Africa. If each of the one million Namibians shared equally in the wealth they produce each year, their income would be four times that of most other Africans. But two-thirds of this wealth leaves Namibia, exported by a handful of giant corporations whose stockholders - South Africans, Britons, and Americans - receive greater profits from

Namibia than do all the people who live there. Neither the corporations nor their governments want Namibia's independence to interfere with this arrangement.

The South African regime cannot afford the breakaway of its colony either. Namibia has been made dependent on the colonial power's goods and administration. South Africa, on the other hand, depends on the natural riches of the "South West" and the revenues they

bring on the international market. Namibia's exports generate huge amounts of foreign exchange to help the hard-pressed South African economy.

In 1973, a typical year, Namibia's \$190 million surplus more than counterbalanced South Africa's own \$52 million balance of payments deficit.

In 1973, a typical year, Namibia's \$190 million surplus more than counterbalanced South Africa's own \$52 million balance of payments deficit. The South Africans also make considerable profit by investing Namibia's surplus tax revenue in South Africa. By 1970, \$100 million had been used this way.

More important still is trade. Namibia imports ninety percent of its goods - from pins to locomotives - from the South. The South Africans, of course, do not like the idea of their trains returning empty, and so they oblige Namibia's white settler farmers to send their cattle to be slaughtered in Cape Town or Johannesburg. The South Africans pay for the meat at fixed prices based on the animals' weight on arrival in the South, ten days after their last feed. The farmers pay the transport. Meanwhile, Namibia's own three slaughterhouses work at half capacity.

In addition to its economic contribution, consider Namibia's strategic importance as a buffer between South Africa and independent black Africa. It be-

comes obvious why the Pretoria government spends \$2 million a day to wage its war against SWAPO.

The African Economy

Ninety years ago the Namibians, from the Ovambo tribespeople in the north to the Namas in the south, lived off their cattle and their fields. The German occupation at the turn of the century decimated the southern peoples, killing over 150,000 people or more than half the population in the south, and forced them into barren "reserves" where even subsistence farming was impossible. In order to survive, African men migrated to work in the Police Zone, the vast and rich area expropriated by the European masters.

The South Africans, who took over in 1919, continued what the Germans had begun. The Boers destroyed what was left of the independent African economy because the opportunity for self-employment merely "affords these vagrants and loafers an easy means of livelihood which relieves them of any need to work," according to a 1921 government report. Using political and economic pressures, the new regime then set out to strangle the self-sufficient regions in the north.

During recent decades, at any given time about half of all Ovambo men were working "on contract" in the white-settled Police Zone. By the mid-50's all of Namibia's African "homelands," including fertile Ovamboland,

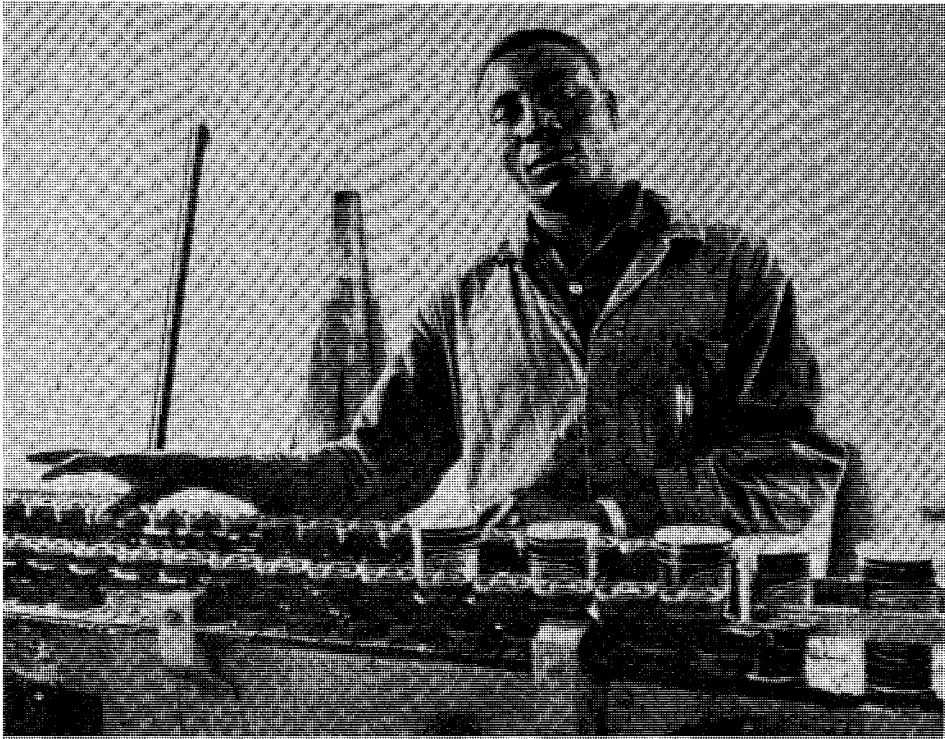
had to import food. Their contribution to the official 1967 Gross Domestic Product was 3 percent, compared to the 70 to 80 percent earned by the foreign-run export sector. African commercial activity is now monopolized by the government's Bantu Investment Corporation whose biggest project to date is a soft drink factory!

But though Namibians were reduced to cheap labor and marginal consumers in their own country, even the white economy did not immediately flourish. The Germans dug out many gem diamonds but did little else. The South Africans suppressed the South West's mining activity to protect their own from competition. And though the government encouraged Afrikaners to settle in the new territory, agricultural production grew slowly for the first 20 years. In fact, agriculture - mainly raising cattle and karakul sheep for fashion clothing - remains a neglected sector of the economy. Equally important is the fishing industry, which since World War II has harvested the sardines and crayfish that thrive off the ports of Walvis Bay and Luderitz. A half dozen South African companies control fishing and canning operations which, like agriculture produce almost entirely for export. In the US, Namibia's fish are marketed by Del Monte. While Walvis Bay's cannery workers live on corn meal, the protein-rich sardines they process are shipped overseas as delicacies or animal feed.

But it was riches from the mines which propelled Namibia out of its prewar backwaters. Rapid economic expansion in South Africa and throughout the capitalist world multiplied demand for the country's minerals. The South African government built roads and gave generous land concessions to mining companies. Tax rates were low and restrictions on profit repatriation few. Super-cheap labor was an added attraction for the Western corporations which rushed in to tap the wealth. Until recently, Namibian contract workers earned only half as much as their South African counterparts. By the late 1950s, mining had become the country's largest economic activity and in 1975 mineral production was worth twice that of fishing and agriculture combined.

Namibia's mining industry is remarkable for its concentrated ownership, its complete control by foreign companies, and its great profitability. Of the fourteen concerns - South African, American, British, Canadian, French, and West German - that take part, the three or four largest take more than half the total profit.

Their traditional leader is the South African-owned Anglo-American Corporation which mines Namibia's high-grade gem diamonds through its De Beers subsidiary. Each year its net profits "exceed investment capital by far" in the estimation of a West German economist. Profits for 1974 were \$96 million, none of which was distributed or re-



Cannery worker

invested in Namibia. Starting wage for black workers in the diamond fields is \$3.50 a day.

Anglo-American also controls the SWACO company which mines zinc, lead, tungsten, vanadium, and tin in its Berg Aukas and Brandenburg concessions. In anticipation of Namibian independence, Anglo-American is reportedly stepping up production everywhere. When the firm considered buying into the Tsumeb Corporation a few years back, management looked for a 20 to 25 percent annual return on investment. "It was felt that a quick payback would be desirable in

view of the general uncertainties," their report stated. The same approach is taken by the South African owners of the Klein Aub copper mine. They recovered their initial \$6 million investment in two years!

Copper, as well as zinc, lead, silver, arsenic, and cadmium, has brought wealth to Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax (AMAX), the American owners of the Tsumeb Corporation, who bought their Namibian property, the famed "Jewel Box" mine, for \$3 million at a government auction in 1945. With total capital investment at \$70 million,

Tsumeb's 1974 net earnings were \$19 million - a profit rate of nearly 30 percent. Its high dividends were distributed in the United States, Britain, and South Africa - not at the mines, where the starting wage is \$1.25 a day, rising to \$3.50 after four years.

The attraction of diamonds and copper has been dwarfed by the recent discovery of uranium in the desert sands near Walvis Bay. The scarcity and growing demand for the strategic element in the Western market drove prices up four-fold between 1974 and 1976, with the three main producers - Canada, Australia, and the United States - using their uranium exports for political purposes. By 1980 Namibia will be able to supply enough uranium to supply 10 to 15 percent of the Western countries' energy requirements.

The first company to sniff the uranium scent was the British Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), which now, together with a French firm and a South African state company, operates the Rossing mine. RTZ has wasted no time; in February 1978 the first load of Namibian uranium ore was air-freighted to Britain for processing and re-export by the British government. Other buyers include French and West German private companies. Rossing will reach full operating capacity by the end of this year; shortly thereafter it will have paid back the undisclosed, though necessarily huge, initial investment. Black workers' wages range from \$2.25 to \$14 a day.

The West Enmeshed

By this open door policy, the Pretoria government has involved the major capitalist countries in the struggle for Namibia, much as in South Africa itself. But while both South Africa and its Western allies want a Namibia friendly to private enterprise and foreign investment, they differ on important questions. For reasons of self-preservation, the Afrikaner Nationalists insist on continued *political* control of the conglomeration of economically impotent "homelands" they plan for the future Namibia. Tribal administrations would be guided by Boer bureaucrats, police, and troops until a class of African officials and businessmen has been reared in the master's image. South Africa would retain the power to intervene politically and militarily in the new nation if the South African government feels its national interests threatened.

Western governments and corporations, supported by a few "liberal" South Africans such as Anglo-American boss Harry Oppenheimer, have more confidence in *economic* power. They argue that a Namibian government, regardless of political orientation, will be in no position to make revolutionary changes. How will it replace South Africa as a source

"The sooner the fighting stops and the trading starts, the quicker we win." - Andrew Young

of imports? Who will provide jobs if not the giant corporations? "We don't have to fear communism in the area of economic competition," Andy Young said last year, speaking of Southern Africa. "The sooner the fighting stops and the trading starts, the quicker we win."

Corporations such as RTZ have even sought out SWAPO in attempts to come to an understanding with the liberation movement. Having failed to do so, they simply shrug it off and wait for another opportunity.

The United States and the European countries feel that peace and political stability will promote, not obstruct, their long-range interests in Namibia. It is time for South Africa to relax the reins. For instance, a policy paper from the corporate-sponsored (West) German Development Institute of Berlin concludes that "the ties of the Namibian economy to South Africa obstruct the development of the former." What independent Namibia "requires," the re-

port goes on, is a government which, "rejects any political experiment aimed at altering the economic order" since this would "scare off private economic initiative . . . and overseas capital." The future Namibian government must also "prevent rises in the factor costs - especially rises in wages and salary costs - which endanger the competitiveness of Namibian products." National independence is inevitable - but it must be kept within bounds.

Rich and diverse natural resources do not guarantee the Namibian people a better future. South African-imposed and controlled "independence" would not much alter the lives of the majority of peasants and migrant workers. For SWAPO, the nation's wealth does lend hope to the vision of "building a classless, non-exploitative society." To return Namibia's wealth to Namibians is the towering challenge of the country's liberation.

Namibia: SWAPO Fights for Freedom

In the mineral-rich colony of Namibia, apartheid rule is being viciously defended by 50,000 South African troops. But 5,000 guerrillas are winning the war with the support of the Namibian people. Interviews, articles, and documents about and by SWAPO's president, Central Committee, guerrilla commander, women militants, and labor organizer provide the most current in-depth information on the war in Namibia. Map, photos, 124 pp. 1978. \$2.95

Namibia:
SWAPO Fights
for Freedom



Edited by
LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT



Turnhalle Constitutional Committee led by Dirk Mudge.

Namibian Politics: Day of the Chameleons

Cheering throngs greeted United Nations Commissioner for Namibia Martti Ahtisaari last July as he arrived in Windhoek, capital of Namibia. Thousands of SWAPO supporters, sporting red, blue, and green T-shirts and slogans such as "Black Power" and "We Stand Behind Nujoma," lined one side of the street, facing off against Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) sympathizers, dressed in black and white, on the other. Though a carnival atmosphere prevailed, armed white policemen with dogs

nervously patrolled the street separating the rivals.

Confrontation between these two groups has not always been so peaceful. After the shooting death in March 1978 of DTA leader and Herero chief Clemens Kapuuo, bands of DTA members with old British .303 rifles attacked the contract workers' quarters in Windhoek's Katatura township, a SWAPO stronghold. Forty people were killed. "At the moment it's too risky for us to start campaigning," said SWAPO's Lucia Hamutenya. "DTA supporters have

threatened to shoot one of us in revenge for Kapuuo."

In northern Namibia, South Africans command the black troops of the Owambo bantustan army fighting against SWAPO guerrillas. Owambo Prime Minister and tribal chief Cornelius Ndjoba welcomed South Africa's May attack against SWAPO bases in Angola. Ndjoba is also a member of the DTA Executive Council.

Is civil war brewing in Namibia? South Africa intends to let the blacks of the bantustan governments increasingly take the front lines in the war against the liberation movement. In this way, the 50,000 South African troops and police in the country will appear to simply maintain "law and order" amid bloody infighting between black Namibian factions. South Afri-

SWAPO's political and military strength dwarfs that of any other Namibian organization.

ca's problem, of course, is that SWAPO's political and military strength dwarfs that of any other Namibian organization. Thus South Africa is forced to stay on as occupying power. The "elections" planned for December will not change this reality.

Turnhalle Turncoats

Ruling Namibia is no longer easy for South Africa. Popular resistance, international pressure, and changes throughout Southern Africa following the collapse of the Portuguese em-

pire have all contributed to the Pretoria government's admission that the old form of control will no longer work. The Turnhalle Conference was launched in 1975 to prepare the ground for some form of South Africa-directed self-rule. The Vorster government appointed delegates from Namibia's eleven population groups, including whites, to the conference.

The Turnhalle Conference was to implement South Africa's bantustan policy in Namibia. This policy was to set up "self-governing homelands" for each black "nation" on a total of 40 percent of the land, while reserving the rest - the most fertile and mineral-rich parts - for white control. Investments were to consolidate the scheme. "The Republic [of South Africa] has much interest in all the schemes for great developments there [Namibia], because it will benefit from them, both economically and politically," stated then Prime Minister Verwoerd.

The Turnhalle delegates bickered among themselves for two years before South Africa demanded a conclusive independence proposal. The final plan recommended a weak multiracial central government, designed to please the Western powers. Most administrative and legislative powers would be divided according to "ethnicity"; i.e. each racial and tribal group was to be responsible for its own affairs with little say in the development of the country as a whole. The tribal leaders would maintain their authority and

privileges, while the tiny white minority together with the foreign corporations would continue the extraction of Namibia's natural wealth. Independence day was set for 31 December 1978.

To oversee Namibia's political emasculation the Vorster government appointed a South African judge, Marthinus Steyn, as Administrator-General. Steyn was given dictatorial powers which he has since zealously applied. Scores of SWAPO members have been jailed without charges; prison terms of three years plus \$4,000 fines have been set for anybody who "discourages" or "intimidates" voters in the upcoming election.

Responding to Roman Catholic Church complaints of violence by police under his command, the judge lamented: "A few cases of torture against prisoners will unfortunately happen from time to time; human beings are what they are."

Campaigning in Style

South Africa's search for indigenous caretakers for its Namibian estate opened the floodgates to self-serving and opportunist politics. Overnight the rush for collaborators' crumbs was on as scores of ambitious petty bourgeois, black and white, each gathered a few friends and formed a political "party." Between them they covered the range from the white-supremacist right to SWAPO defectors now weary of the liberation struggle. Some of these parties lasted no more than a

week; others joined together in blocs to stay in contention.

Luxuriously appointed aircraft for in-flight conferences, helicopters and light planes for fast cross-country travel, a fleet of trucks with mine-detecting equipment, a bullet-proof Mercedes and flak jackets to protect top officials, closed-circuit television in the main shops of the capital: are these the resources of a government or a multinational corporation? No, just the campaign accessories of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the prime contender in the planned elections. If Namibia had more rivers and lakes, the joke goes, the DTA would certainly have submarines at its disposal.

The DTA was formed in late 1977 as an alliance of the Turnhalle delegations. Strongly pro-South Africa and in favor of racial and tribal separation, the alliance nevertheless "planned to reach across all racial barriers to keep SWAPO out of power," wrote the *Johannesburg Star*. Its leaders include Dirk Mudge of the white Republican Party, Owambo head Ndjoba, and Herero chief Kuamina Ruruako, who recently left his home in the US to take the position left vacant by Kapuuo's death.

In rural areas the DTA relies exclusively on South African-financed tribal administrations to drum up support. Huge amounts of money have been spent - on planes, cars, and fancy parties - to sell the bantustan idea. In the towns, those whites of South African descent who suddenly see



Cornelius Ndjoba

the need to establish some kind of "Namibian" identity are now joining Mudge's party, as is the powerful Interessengemeinschaft, the German-speakers' Representative Committee.

Through the German-language committee the DTA has close ties with the conservative West German CDU-CSU* political parties which have opened an office in downtown Windhoek. The function of this office, says one of its staff, is to "give political and technical training" to the DTA groups and to "join in the politics of the country [Namibia] by financial aid and political advice in the election campaign." CSU election posters, models for local adaptation, are stacked high in DTA offices. The West Germans have large investments in Namibia and close ties to the

*Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union.

approximately 20,000 German descendents there.

CSU leader and big-game hunter Franz Josef Strauss had this to say during his recent visit to Namibia: "I've heard nothing to indicate that the South African security forces interfere in the domestic politics of the country. On the contrary, their task is to provide law and order, to prevent the population from being terrorized." And who does the terrorizing? Strauss describes "an organization led from abroad, namely from Moscow" whose goal is "to establish a police state largely dominated by the Soviets."

Not all the West Germany money flows through the overt CDU-CSU conduit. Six months ago an obscure Westphalian publisher suddenly bought Namibia's two largest daily newspapers, the German-language *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the English-language *Windhoek Advertiser*, and promptly turned them into straight DTA mouthpieces. "I take my orders from Bonn," the German blurted out when criticized for the heavy-handed takeover.

Though the DTA is the strongest of the anti-SWAPO parties, observers predict it could win no more than 20 to 30 percent of the vote in an open election (with SWAPO winning more than 50 percent). To strengthen its position, the alliance has resorted to intimidation. Two Finnish researchers who visited Namibia last May observed the following: "Outside the Onandjokue missionary hospital DTA men distributed

membership cards to incoming patients, saying that they would not be treated unless they took the cards. In other places people have been threatened with the loss of their pensions, cattle, jobs, etc. unless they take DTA cards. When we visited some very poor families on a farm near Windhoek, the people showed us DTA cards saying that the farmer compelled them to take the cards. Those people actually thought that they had already voted." Some Namibians who objected to the cards were told: "Go ask SWAPO for a job."

With a DTA ballot victory, South Africa and the giant corporations will have set up their Namibian front. On the other hand, the alliance's close association with Pretoria serves to undermine its popularity with most Namibians. If it formed a government would it be any more capable than Rhodesia's "Internal Settlement" regime of ending the guerrilla war?

SWAPO's Program

In contrast SWAPO's goals and methods are clearly enunciated in the movement's program. Its tasks are outlined as "(a) The liberation and winning of independence for the people of Namibia, by all possible means, and the establishment of a democratic people's government and (b) The realization of genuine and total independence of Namibia in the spheres of politics, economy, defence, social and cultural affairs." SWAPO

pledges to battle exploitation and "ensure that all the major means of production and exchange in the country are owned by the people."

By offering this striking alternative to South African rule and foreign economic domination, SWAPO has won the majority of popular support even in the view of most neutral observers. Many small parties, from all ethnic groups and all parts of the country, have allied themselves with the movement.

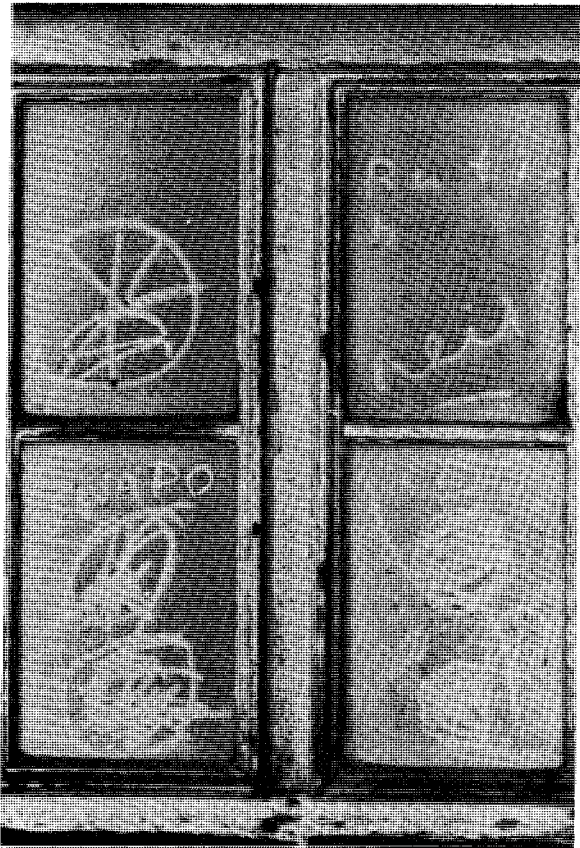
But though SWAPO has been able to work legally aboveground inside Namibia at the same time as it prosecutes the military struggle, this situation will not likely last for long. Harassment, arrests, and murders of SWAPO militants are on the increase - one price paid for legal political activity. And

The liberation movement has no choice but to step up its guerrilla war.

many expect that immediately after the South African election, from which SWAPO is barred from participation, the winners will immediately outlaw SWAPO. Thus the liberation movement has no choice but to step up its guerrilla war.

Room in the Middle

With the advocates of revolution and reaction locked in battle, a "third force" inevitably sees its chance. The Namibian National Front (NNF) is a loose alliance of liberal whites in



SWAPO's initials scrawled on a window in Swakopmund.

Bryan O'Linn's Federal Party, a few returned exiles calling themselves SWAPO-Democrats, and the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), a small group of black intellectual radicals-turned-moderate.

The NNF presents itself as the reasonable alternative to right and left extremism. "We are opposed to anything that smacks of racism and ethnicity," says SWAPO-Democrat Othilie

Abrahams, just returned after fifteen years in Sweden, commenting on the DTA. On the other hand, according to lawyer O'Linn, who serves as the front's secretary-general, SWAPO will only substitute a black dictatorship for the present white one. The NNF partners also stress the need for individual liberties and a "mixed economy."

The NNF hopes to rally much-needed support through the prominence and gregarious personality of Andreas Shipanga, head of SWAPO-Democrat. Shipanga is one of the founders of the Namibian nationalist movement and during his early years as a SWAPO organizer traveled a great deal in the country. As a member of SWAPO's leadership abroad, he later established wide-ranging contacts throughout Africa and Europe, contacts which he used in his 1976 attempt to undercut SWAPO's guerrilla war and take the movement into a compromise with South Africa. Expelled from SWAPO and jailed for two years in Tanzania before returning to Windhoek last August, he now pursues this same course in the NNF. "It's dangerous nonsense to believe that the South African army can be defeated militarily," he told a Swedish journalist. "If we today can achieve the same by diplomacy as by armed struggle, then why not?"

According to some reports, Shipanga has been in touch with UNITA to "borrow" some guerrillas to be presented as SWAPO

defectors who have rallied to the NNF. (UNITA is a South African-backed rebel group fighting the Angolan government.) "His sole aim was to come and split SWAPO, but he doesn't stand a chance," said the movement's vice president.

Trying hard to find its place between SWAPO and the DTA, the NNF has been careful not to alienate South Africa and Western economic interests. A Front delegation visited West Germany last July while the leader of the German-South African Association promised funding for the NNF as well as the DTA because "the outcome of the forthcoming struggle between liberal democracy and marxist dictatorship [in Namibia] will have a bearing on the destiny of Southern Africa as a whole."

Heavily dominated by intellectuals and without an apparent mass base, NNF's domestic support remains untested. The Front needs more time to organize and says it will boycott the South African-organized elections set for December. The South African plan "will certainly lead us to another Rhodesian, Angolan, or even Vietnam situation in this country," O'Linn warned in September.

But whatever NNF's approach to elections, the main question remains: In a country run by foreign capital and internally polarized by civil war, how much middle ground is left?

SWAPO Perserveres

While the DTA, NNF, and others jockey for positions through the ballot show, Namibia's main political force - SWAPO - is everywhere and nowhere. Its official leaders are either in exile or in prison, locked up on special order from Administrator-General Steyn. "We'll beat them," he crowed after dispatching his security squads last April, "and we'll beat them again until they no longer have any power."

But the administrator-general may be beating little but empty space. Seemingly spontaneous workers' strikes, flash demonstrations, and a general air of contemptuous indifference toward those who play South Africa's game clearly show the liberation movement's omnipresence. With DTA cards in their pockets, SWAPO organizers move about the country, preparing the population for true independence, free of South Africa, the Western Five, and the multinational corporations.

Namibia is up for grabs

In March a Swedish TV film crew marched into Namibia with combatants from PLAN (SWAPO's army), filming their work among the people in SWAPO-controlled areas in the north. Per Sanden, who led the film crew, had been in the operational area before, in 1973-4. He writes of the developments in the war of liberation in the last four years.

The commander came in his red cap with the Lenin badge on it. He had just been to inspect the border. We were waiting for him, hiding in a ditch. Some miles away was Elundu, under heavy fire from a PLAN unit who had gone with the commander. He ordered our defence to take their positions. We were on our way into Namibia.

With Elundu under heavy attack, our unit expected to cross without any problems. We were given our positions in a line. In front of me was Comrade Peter Nanyemba, SWAPO Secretary for Defence, and behind me was Comrade Jesaya Nyamu, SWAPO Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity. In a wide circle around us were our defence - 250 well-trained and heavily equipped guerrillas of PLAN - the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

When I swam across the Cuando river into Namibia on the last day of 1973, there was no frontier to be seen - no fence, no guard towers and no sound of heavy artillery fire. This time, here in the Kaokoveld area of Ovamboland, there was all of that. We walked for some four

They Went to Windhoek



SWAPO

SWAPO Secretary of Defence, Peter Nanyemba, with Per Sanden.

hours. The blasts from the South African artillery and SWAPO mortars increased in strength all the time. We were definitely into the war of liberation in Namibia.

There is a stretch in the northern part of Namibia, close to the Angolan border, where the South African military presence is considerable. We were told that we would be safe as soon as we got through that area, and

into a SWAPO liberated area, further to the south. That became apparent to us ten hours later. But with 250 dedicated guerrillas from PLAN, the crossing of the border seemed no more dangerous than the crossing of any street in a crowded city in Europe - probably far less so.

We crossed the border in broad daylight. What the South African regime had planned to be a wall against "black Africa" is no longer in their control. The South African troops in the far north of Namibia stick to their bases. They dare not venture out into the Ovamboland countryside unless there are many of them, and they have the full protection of armoured cars, tanks and air-borne support. The day we crossed into Namibia, they must have thought that they were safe in their base at Elundu.

At the point where we crossed there used to be a South African base until November last year, when it was attacked and destroyed by SWAPO forces. Signs of the South African presence were still visible. Army food and Fanta cans glimmering in the sun. And the trees and bushes around us were all distorted by bullets and grenades. Comrade Petrov, one of the PLAN guerrillas accompanying us was there that day in November when PLAN decided to clear the area of the occupying forces. He knelt down beside me and said: "I aimed at that tree with my bazooka," pointing at a stump in the middle of the former base. That became a signal for the rest of the PLAN unit to open fire. Cartridge

shells were lying all around. Many of them had been fired by FAR automatic rifles, weapons used by the South African troops, supplied to them by NATO-member countries. Something else was also noticeable in the area of the former base - ant-heaps where the ants were tunnelling down into the earth. They marked the spots where there were graves. The South Africans bury their dead on the spot. It would be too embarrassing and demoralising for them to take back to South Africa all their men killed in action. Their numbers are in the hundreds.

Walking along, I noticed an open tin, and reached down to check what it had contained. A comrade from PLAN hastily grabbed my hand to stop me, explaining to me that the tin was a trap. It was a grenade that would have exploded as soon as someone picked it up. The South Africans have long been using this kind of warfare against the local population - tactics which they themselves describe as terrorism, and blame on SWAPO. As well as planting anti-personnel mines, they poison the water supplies.

We crossed a major road linking Oshakati with the Angolan border. The fighting at Elundu had died out. Two days later, we met the captured Boer soldier, Johan Van der Mescht. He was lucky. He survived the attack at Elundu and became the first white South African soldier to become a prisoner of war in the Namibian war. He had served guarding the water supply

to the base of Elundu. All his fellow soldiers at that post were killed. With three slight wounds, he had laid down his rifle and given himself up to the unit that had gone with our commander the night before we crossed into Namibia. Johan Van der Mescht is 24. When his base was attacked, he did not expect to become 25. Even after he was captured, he thought he was finished. But SWAPO recognises the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war. Van der Mescht had his wounds attended to by a SWAPO doctor, and he was brought out of the war zone. We later met him in Luanda, where he was presented at a press conference, looking very much at ease. He had been given facilities to communicate with his wife and family in South Africa. If and when he is released is up to the South African government. A prisoner of war is freed in exchange for other prisoners of war. But will South Africa give up SWAPO militants in South African prisons?

Continuing our journey southwards after the border crossing, the African night swallowed us up, and we had not yet reached the SWAPO base that was our goal the day of our crossing. The rain came, welcomed by the farmers in Ovamboland, but not so welcomed by us. When it rains in Africa, it rains a lot. But we had to proceed. Would we find the base? Could we avoid getting trapped and ambushed? I did not feel my best as we made our way through the darkness. Not so our defence. They were

very much at home - they probably knew every tree and bush in the area. I walked into a thorn, the kind the Boers call "wait a minute." There was no time to wait! It went into my eye, which I covered with my hand, only to notice no difference. I closed the other eye, and found that whether I kept my eyes open or closed, there was nothing to see. It was completely dark in Ovamboland that night. A guerrilla soldier took hold of my hand, and holding it we marched for another five hours. I came to think a lot, holding his hand.

I come from Stockholm in Sweden, one of many industrialised countries with electricity, flashlights and all other kinds of commodities. Here, in the bush of Ovamboland, I of course could not switch on my flashlight. But neither could the South Africans. They must feel even more deserted in the world than I felt that night. I was with the guerrillas. And the night belongs to them. It made me even more convinced that this war will never be won by South Africa.

We did reach the SWAPO base. No search for it - we went right into it, passing into the liberated areas of SWAPO in Ovamboland. The base is not very far from Oshakati. Close enough for us to reach a shop selling beers - Windhoek lagers. Comrade Nanyemba bought it for me, and it was very welcome that night.

In 1973-74, we once approached a village in the Kalonga district of the Caprivi region. It was not far from a village that had



SWAPO

Namibian villagers greet SWAPO militants.

been burnt out by the South African troops, and 150 people massacred. The villagers of the still-existing village saw us coming. They saw two white men, and even though we were accompanied by black people, they fled, as white people in that area meant terror and bloodshed. After a while, the SWAPO officials who were with us calmed them down and they returned to the village. I noticed one of the small children staring at me. He said something and everyone laughed. He had asked his mother: "Does it hurt?" The mother asked what, and, still staring at me, he replied: "to be without skin."

In the village that we stayed in this time, the villagers had been warned that we were coming and the children were used to white people. But a similar incident did happen in another village. The South African troops had just made a raid outside one of their bases, with armoured cars and artillery, on

a village near Kongo in eastern Ovamboland. It was not completely destroyed, but five people were killed and all the crops burned. We arrived at this village the day after this attack. The villagers first made an attempt to flee, until they realised that we were with a PLAN unit, and then they stayed on. Indeed they gave us a very warm reception, which included omaongo, a very tasty drink made from Marura. Omaongo is served at most of the PLAN bases in Ovamboland. Wheat is grown at SWAPO agricultural schemes all over the north of Namibia. Today, PLAN are so many that they cannot possibly rely on feed supplies from the civilian population. So they grow their own crops and raise their own cattle. It is probably more common for PLAN to provide the local population with food than the reverse.

Where SWAPO is operating militarily, in northern Namibia, is also the area that is most

densely populated. This is a significant fact. A guerrilla war must rely on intimate relationships between the people and its armed forces. Where there are many people living is where PLAN is strongest and SWAPO politically well-rooted. The task of PLAN, as the military wing of SWAPO, is primarily to defend the people against terrorism of the occupying South African forces. This is most important in the north since that is where the majority of the Namibian people live, and also where the majority of the South African troops are. It is where SWAPO has created large liberated areas, and succeeded in its first task.

A PLAN officer, Comrade Pondo, who had just joined us at the base where we were, pulled a packet of cigarettes from his pocket. Lexington. Where did you get those from? I asked. "From Windhoek," he replied matter-of-factly. "That is where I spend a lot of my time! You see our enemy still fight in our territory (the north) and then return to the safety of the cities. We cannot allow him any rest wherever he goes in our country. We have to follow him where he does not expect to hear about the war. And that is right there, in the beer halls of Windhoek. If our land, our trees, our waters are destroyed during the course of this year, it will have a crucial effect on the future free Namibia. But if we move the battle into the beer halls and the streets of our enemies, that is better. The Namibian people can do without beer halls after independence,

and we can rebuild our own streets. I only return to these areas from time to time to replenish our ammunition supplies."

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma said to me in 1973-74 that "this will be a long and bitter war, but we will go on fighting for centuries if necessary to achieve our independence from fascist South Africa." In 1974 in the Caprivi, he asked me my impressions. I said, "you will not have to fight for centuries, one generation will do." Now, in March 1978, right in the centre of Ovamboland, the night before President Nujoma had to start his journey out of Namibia to get to Lusaka for a meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia, he asked me if I still believed it would take SWAPO a generation to achieve their goal. I said I felt ashamed for what I had said only four years ago. He replied: "Don't feel ashamed. Sometimes progress is made very quickly, sometimes progress takes a long time. But what is important is the people's willingness to sacrifice for freedom and independence. And this I think we are, so the end will be what we want it to be." I could only say "Yes, I think that I have to hurry back to Sweden to complete our film before you are already in Windhoek.

Next morning he had gone. So had Comrade Pondo. "Where is Pondo?" I asked.

"He went with Comrade Petrov and his unit."

"But where? I would like one of his Lexingtons."

"They went to Windhoek."

SWAPO Printshop Training Begins

LSM is pleased to announce that two comrades from SWAPO arrived at our printshop in California in October and have begun training in graphics skills. This project would not have been possible without the support of many people, including our readers; we know those who have contributed to the printshop project share our excitement and enthusiasm.

As much as possible, training will be done on publications prepared by SWAPO. Areas of training to be covered include design and layout; litho camera; stripping; plate burning; printing; and the final stages of folding, binding, and trimming. The objective is to develop two cadres capable of running a printshop on their own, producing complete books, and training others.

LSM and SWAPO had determined that LSM's printshop would be the best place for the training to take place. The process of obtaining visas was time-consuming, but the visas finally came through in September.

MORE FUNDS NEEDED

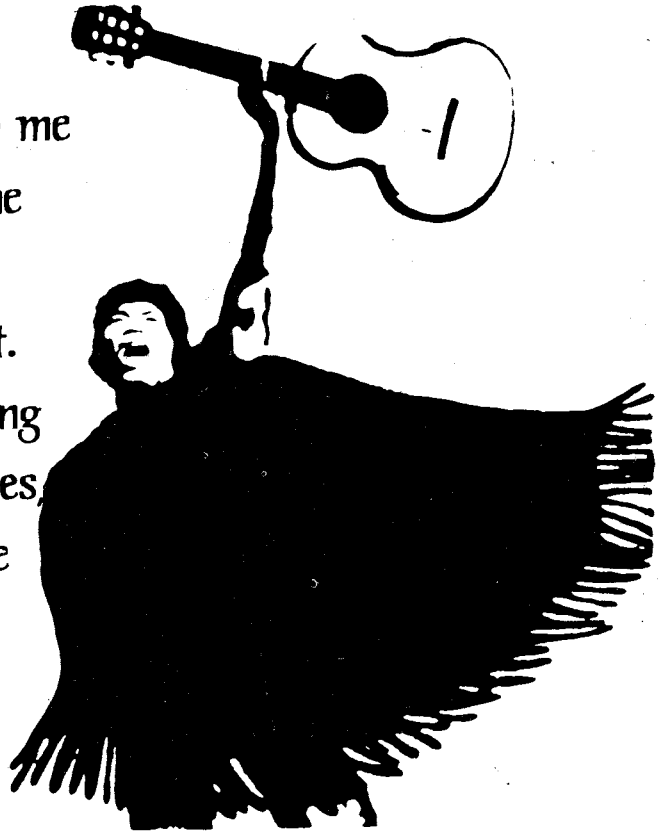
We slowed fundraising work while we waited for the visas. Enough money had already been raised for supplies, airfare, and the equipment for SWAPO's printshop which is waiting to

be set up in Luanda, Angola. Now that the training is underway, we need your help to raise additional funds to cover subsistence for the two trainees while they are in the United States. You can help in several ways. LSM will be organizing benefits. Groups can organize their own events and publicize the renewed fundraising campaign. But we also need an increased flow of contributions; we would like to revive the idea of donating one day's pay per month, perhaps for six months. You can also help by purchasing and distributing SWAPO posters and T-shirts; proceeds go directly into the project. Your support now will help push the project over the top.



Winds of the People

Winds of the people speak to me
Winds of the people carry me
They scatter my heart
And blow through my throat.
So the poet will go on singing
As long as my spirit breathes,
Down the roads of the people
Both now and forever.



Victor Jara

LEFT PROFILE:



Where the Americas Meet

Burned out by long meetings and politics drained of their human content? Tired of sitting on your butt thinking only of abstractions? Then why not try tonight's program at La Pena Cultural Center. It could be salsa or reggae music, the San Francisco Mime Troupe, a Nicaraguan poet, or a forum by an anti-nuclear power group.

La Pena shows one creative way of injecting life back into flabby politics. Arise from your overstuffed armchair; go out into the street among the people toward whom our politics is directed. Join us on a visit to La Pena.

La Pena From the Outside

Walking down the block to La Pena's converted garage, you pass the Aquarius Massage Parlor, Clint's Liquors, and Ned's Bar-B-Que. It is a rundown neighborhood on the edge of Berkeley next to Oakland - home of the Black Panther Party whose national headquarters used to be across the street. The Bay Area's large leftist and ethnic populations and Berkeley's 30,000 or so University of California students provide a natural constituency for La Pena.

The front of La Pena's building is covered by a huge wall

painting. The focus of the recently completed mural is a raised relief portrait of the severed hands of Victor Jara, father of the Chilean New Song Movement and martyr of the 1973 coup. His hands continue to strum his guitar.

The message of the mural and the overall atmosphere is clear: the Americas meet here. La Pena consists of a restaurant and a large hall for dances, films, music, theater, lectures, and penas. The restaurant serves inexpensive Latin American meals plus wine and beer.

La Pena's Activities

From the outset the focus of the center has been solidarity work - especially supporting resistance to the Chilean junta. The center is available to all progressive community and political groups. In addition to informational programs, dances, etc., La Pena provides facilities for benefits once or twice a week for groups such as AIM, the Black

"We don't want to fall into the common problem of isolation where people on the left talk only to each other."

Panthers, ZANU, etc. Some 150 groups have raised over \$50,000 in this way since La Pena opened its doors three years ago.

La Pena is one of the few places in the San Francisco area where people from different backgrounds feel comfortable together. In the restaurant, only decorative hats and blankets hang on

the walls; political art and posters are displayed in the cultural hall. The intent is to avoid an environment in the restaurant which might intimidate some people. "We don't want to fall into the common problem of isolation where people on the left talk only to each other," says Eric, one of La Pena's collective members.

Eric is a stocky, balding man in his early thirties who looks the serious organizer type. He talks in a long rapid flow of words which is partly his style and partly because of his intimate knowledge of and enthusiasm for his subject.

"Lots of people who have never been interested in Latin America or any progressive issues are attracted by the restaurant," adds Niva, another member of the collective. "Then they look around and see something else taking place - political programs and cultural events. So they start attending and some become involved."

Niva is a delicately boned man with a thick shock of graying hair. His voice contrasts Eric's; it flows more softly and slowly through a Brazilian accent.

"One mistake most political organizations make is to separate politics from other aspects of human life," he continues. "I also had this experience in Brazil. It is important to relate political work to culture. Our presentations, music, films - even food is a part of culture - are important for the people who come here. Some programs may

not seem political because no one sings a song with a clear political message or comes to the microphone and makes a speech. But they show a different reality and help to destroy

"Latin America is not some place far away which has nothing to do with what's happening here."

some of the stereotypes that people have of Latin America. We've had Cuban and Brazilian folklore programs which showed the struggle of black peoples in Latin America to keep their identity and to survive as a community, as a culture, in spite of Spanish colonialism and US imperialism."

La Pena is a cultural bridge between North and South America. Not exclusively Latin, it embraces a political and ethnic-cultural diversity. La Pena also attracts Anglo and black people and has become an important outlet for progressive black cultural expression in the Bay Area community. Different international and local concerns are linked together in a way which shows that "Latin America is not some place far away which has nothing to do with what's happening here . . . so people can see the relationship between here and there," says Eric.

Starting a Pena

"Penas" began in the countryside of Argentina and Chile where peasants made communal huts, "penas," for their fiestas and



holidays. Even though capitalism forced many off their land and into the cities for jobs, they brought their penas with them. Old homes were converted into social centers where people met to drink wine, eat empanadas, and play and listen to music. During the 1960s and early 70s, penas in Chile provided a forum for artists such as Victor Jara to address the needs and problems of the people through folkloric songs, synthesizing ideas of social change through popular music.

"The coup in Chile was a tremendous stimulus for solidarity work," says Eric. "People who were active around Latin America began having political-cultural events to denounce the military government. But they also communicated the flowering of cul-



KSM

ture which took place in the early seventies; the new music by artists such as Victor Jara, Quilapayun, and Inti-Illimani, and the role they played in Chile's economic-social transformations. These events were very popular and many kinds of people from different ethnic backgrounds came. But instead of one or two events, here and there, we needed a more perman-

"Before La Pena there was no place in the Bay Area where people from Latin America could go to enjoy their music and their own culture."

ent place to maintain this interest in Latin America."

Berkeley's La Pena was founded by Chileans, Argentinians, and Brazilians as well as North

*Behind the scenes
in the kitchen of La Pena.*

Americans such as Eric, who had studied in Chile during the Allende government, and Janice Teruggi, whose brother Frank was murdered by Pinochet's troops in the football stadium-prison.

"Before La Pena," says Niva, "there was no place in the Bay Area where people from Latin America could go to enjoy their music and their own culture."

"We knew that we couldn't duplicate exactly what was going on culturally in Latin America," says Eric, as Niva rocks his tiny baby on his knee. "We live in a different reality and had to integrate this concept with

the struggles of our own community."

"When this place became available," Eric admits, "we shook our heads a lot and wondered: 'It's so big - can we ever fill it up? Will it work?'" The original idea for La Pena was a small folkloric cafe with guitar music and beer and sandwiches. Three years ago, with \$10,000 borrowed from friends, they made the leap to their restaurant and huge hall in Berkeley, the community they knew and lived and worked in. Two of the Chileans in the group, Hugo and Patricia, were professional cooks who chose La Pena over job offers from top restaurants. In the beginning the restaurant enabled La Pena to become self-sufficient, paying minimum wages to several full-time staff people. Recently, however, the restaurant was legally separated from the cultural part of the operation and renamed Cocina de los Andes. This was done so that La Pena could obtain non-profit status for its educational activities.

Facing the same economic laws as other restaurants (three out of four fold in their first year), the odds for success did not favor La Pena. But community and volunteer support made the difference. Every night eight people contribute their labor; they work in the kitchen, run the bar, and wait on tables. The average stint is six to eight months, though some people have been working as volunteers since La Pena opened.

"Everyone who works here is interested in what La Pena is

doing, but not everyone is gung-ho-support-liberation-movements or have-solidarity-24-hours-a-day-with-people-all-over-the-world," says Eric. A lot of volunteers are not leftists at all, but their work at La Pena is a good introduction to progressive politics. The work is interesting, often fun, and people work in cohesive volunteer units getting involved at all levels. To help develop discipline and understanding there are frequent discussions within these work units.

Many activists in other progressive groups around San Francisco got their start at La Pena. But some volunteers are politico-types who are "burned out by long meetings, theoretical work, or sitting on their butts thinking out things without a lot of human content. La Pena is a space for mellowing out, getting to know people - a different kind of environment," Eric explains.

In early 1978 the building which houses La Pena went up for sale and La Pena's lease was threatened; but in one month thousands of small contributors, listener-supported radio station KPFA, and progressive Berkeley merchants helped La Pena raise over \$20,000 to buy the La Pena building.

Pragmatism guides most business decisions because the Pena staff is convinced that economic stability is important to the politics of the pena. But knowing when to make the exception is part of the challenge. For example, La Pena does not carry

cheap draught beer because that would compete with the progressive Irish pub on the corner and counter efforts to create a community spirit in the neighborhood. And they refuse to carry Chilean wine. When customers ask for Chilean wine, it creates an opportunity to explain the reasons for boycotting Chilean products.

And business relations can be used to apply political pressure, as happened when La Pena pointedly informed Pepsi that they would substitute Dixie Cola for Pepsi after the revelation that Pepsi president Donald Kendall was involved with Kissinger's 40 Committee in Chile.

La Pena must operate within the bounds of capitalist economics but, as Eric ironically observes, "companies and distributors deal with us the same way most corporations and capitalist states deal with socialist countries: as long as they make a profit, they sell to us. Another way to look at it is that they sometimes finance us. Because we built up a decent credit rating, they have at some times extended us lines of credit which is more money than La Pena started with."

Pena Plans

La Pena has become so well known in the US and Latin America that Cuban and other Latin groups ask to play La Pena when they come to California. Yet

after three years, La Pena's potential is just beginning to flower. Plans include reaching out into the multiracial, but predominantly Chicano, communities in East Oakland and the San Francisco Mission district for special fiestas. La Pena will not only provide space for outside programming but will move into cultural productions themselves. Popular music with socially relevant lyrics, multimedia presentations, community mural projects, children's programs, and daytime music or salsa dance lessons are some of the planned ingredients of La Pena's strategy to promote the development of popular culture within the Bay Area.

Spirits were understandably high following the huge wave of community support which saved La Pena's building, and the third anniversary celebration was extra special. Balloons, strung through the bar and restaurant, reflected the golden evening sun streaming through the skylight and windows.

A "Marxist magician" performed dialectical tricks for a family eating dinner. From his top hat he pulled lessons in political economy. Savoring eggplant with tomatoes, mushrooms, and cheese, this reporter thought about the tremendous contribution to the Bay Area left community packed into the rich experience of La Pena's 1000 days.



Family Planning in Mozambique

The light of the lingering African sun paints the raw wood of the village clinic in long red rays. Inside a doctor works to complete his notes in the dimming light. Periodically dipping pen to ink, he writes about the child who came to the clinic that morning. She was eleven years old, much too young for her body to support a pregnancy. There had been no choice but to induce an abortion. At least she had come in time. Normally, women, and often girls, came only when complications arose from inducing labor sec-

retly at home.

So many abortions occur outside the hospitals; the doctor has no way of knowing just how many. But he does know that the number of abortions have sharply increased since independence. And he is concerned that the option of abortion is being misused both by those who induce it with crude methods and by those who endanger their future fertility by using it as a substitute for birth control. Of course, he realizes that those who know about birth control in his country are exceptions and that

the abortion problem is only symptomatic of the need for a national program of sex education and family planning.

But for a society in which sexuality is wrapped in myth and taboo, the solution is not simple. And some 500 colonial years did not leave behind the economic resources needed for such a campaign.

Transforming Mozambique into a developing society which can provide its people with a better life will be a long intensive effort, requiring both women and men in the labor force. But before women can take their places in schools and jobs, the first steps toward emancipation must be taken. Fathers must be stopped from selling their daughters, sometimes less than twelve years old, into marriage. The economy must have jobs for women who want to leave polygamous husbands. Women's lives must no longer be dictated by their biological functions, and the giving of life must no longer be a burden but a desire.

In North America the struggle for women's access to abortion entails a quite different set of problems than the situation in Mozambique. But, as a dimension of the larger struggle by women for control over their reproductive systems, and hence their lives, "Why Abortion? The Need for Family Planning" is of interest to us. This article, prepared by Calane de Silva for the Mozambican magazine *Tempo*, concerns the political and social aspects of the abortion procedure. Based on interviews with medical

workers, representatives of the Mozambican Women's Organization (OMM), and women who have decided for abortion, the article provides insights into some of the particular problems of women in Mozambique. "Why Abortion?" was translated and edited by LSM with assistance from Dennis Mercer.

Why Abortion? The Need for Family Planning

Since independence, the number of abortions, whether spontaneous or induced, has risen substantially in all hospitals. But most induced abortions are still done "secretly at home," and the woman comes to the hospital only when there are complications. For this reason Mozambique's statistical information is incomplete.

Induced abortions are costly for society, whether in surgical resources, human losses, or family trauma, especially when these could have been prevented by sex education and a program of family planning. These programs should not be confused with state-directed birth control. Nothing of the sort! Mozambique is still an underpopulated country and needs more people; family planning instead aims at furnishing couples, and women in general, with the ability to have the number of children they want, when they want!

The Need for a Preventative Strategy

"I had to have an abortion because I'm young and single, and I don't know what my parents

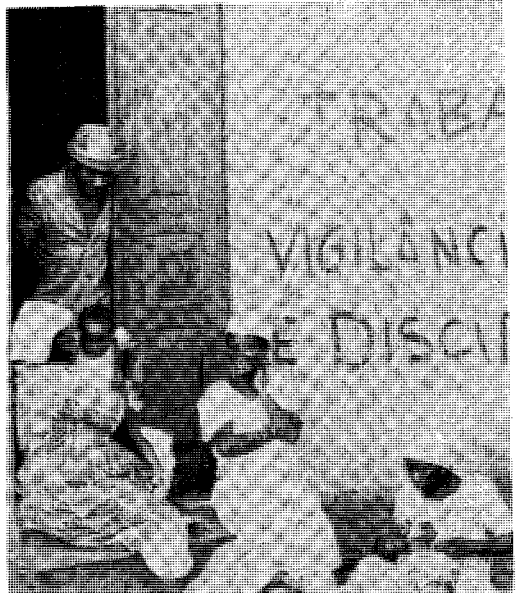
would do to me if they saw me pregnant. They don't know I have a lover, and my lover and I can't afford to marry yet," declared an eighteen year old student who was prepared to speak out once we agreed to respect her anonymity.

"I haven't been lucky with the men I get," explained a young single mother. "The first got me with child and left; the next one did the same thing. That's why I had an abortion when I got pregnant the second time." Before coming to work in Maputo, she had known nothing of avoiding pregnancy. When her parents, who live in the interior of their rural province, tried to marry her to an old man who already had one wife in exchange for *lobolo* (bride price), she ran away to the city of Manhica and then on to Maputo.

This young student and the single mother represent the upheaval in Mozambique where traditional, feudal, and colonial-capitalist ways of life are being transformed into a totally different type of society. Youth are renouncing traditional taboos and prejudices and the family of the past is disintegrating.

This has created an urgent need to accelerate sex education in the schools, adult literacy courses, and *bairro* (neighborhood) discussions. To avoid offending and alienating parts of the community, these forums are guided by health and social workers.

"I have five children already and my husband always wants more. Whenever I'm preg-



LSM

Family scene in a workers' quarter.

nant, I get sick and suffer a great deal. In my last pregnancy I thought I would die. I didn't know there were ways of not getting pregnant," said a twenty-five year old peasant woman.

Sex education should begin by providing women with the means of spacing or limiting the number of children. But even many health personnel, who are either inadequately trained or rooted in tradition, have refused to counsel women about birth control.

Mozambique does not yet have the economic capacity to launch a massive family planning campaign, but it could begin moving in this direction by providing counseling and contraceptives to couples or women who desire it. The concept of preventive medicine also ap-

plies to abortion. Unlike some capitalist countries, in Mozambique abortion is not a legal or moral question. However, a health strategy is needed which will seek out and eliminate the roots of the problem.

Day Care Centers

Inadequate day care facilities could be a factor in the traumatic decision of many single women who, uncertain of their ability to raise children alone, choose abortion. Juvenile courts will also influence their decisions as they require fathers to share responsibility for their children's development.

In socialist countries day care fills a great social need. Centers provided by the state for a minimal fee care for orphans and children of working parents and single mothers. This is a significant accomplishment by peoples who have chosen to set out on the socialist road. Yet Mozambique, poor and underdeveloped, has a long way to go in creating enough facilities to meet the needs of its people.

Day care is still something new for most Mozambicans and some people are hesitant to use it. Previously only people in zones liberated during the armed struggle benefited from day care centers. But as these facilities improve in number and quality, people will begin to shed their reservations. As Mozambican women become increasingly involved in the country's productive work, the necessity for

day care will become clearer.

Taboos and Traditions

The increasing participation of both men and women in the productive process will provide the basis for destroying the whole complex world of ancestral, anti-scientific traditions and customs - impediments to human development and freedom. Traditionalist sentiment and practices have their greatest strength among the peasants who still work their small isolated plots making just enough to get by. Outside the development of industry and agriculture, they see no need for change.

A peasant who lives with his three wives and twelve children typifies this attitude: "We go get a woman to give us many children. And we like to have more boys than girls. The girls go to other houses, boys bring more family to ours, and so, when a woman can't give many boys, we go fetch another woman."

Many of the women and medical workers interviewed for this article discussed the widespread negative attitude toward birth control among men. "Many mothers have come to me for birth control," a doctor from Sofala reported, "but they insist that their husbands must not know about it."

One thirty-two year old mother explained how this problem has affected her: "I asked the doctor to help me stop having children. I have seven children already and don't want any more. But I had to lie to my husband

because, if he suspected, he would probably become very angry and abandon me."

Although it is still common for husbands to be more concerned with having many children, "especially boys since they bring home wealth," than with their wives' well-being, this attitude has begun to wane. Increasingly women are accompanied by their husbands in seeking birth control counseling. However, the prevailing practice of limiting births continues to be induced abortion with all its negative consequences.

Breaking Down the Taboo

If the abortion problem is to be solved, the many taboos around the question must be broken. This question involves thousands of couples and women in general, but it continues to be a forbidden subject of discussion. "No one ever raises this problem," reported Joaquina Arauljo, the Mozambican Women's Organization representative at a clothing factory on the outskirts of Maputo. Co-workers, she explained, are aware of abortion-related problems, but no one ever raises these at factory discussions on social problems.

Albertina Mondlane, an OMM cadre from Maputo Province, reported that the organization is aware that there are many cases of abortion. Yet the question has never been raised in the social affairs section meetings or in seminars on social problems. Even though many people

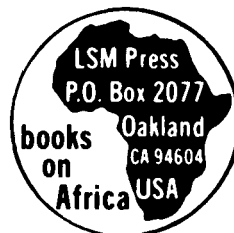
are preoccupied with this problem, the only concerns raised by women for discussion are those related to *lobolo*, separation, or divorce.

Recently, *Tempo* was able to show that not everyone hides in their own little world. A round-table discussion on abortion was held with men and women workers from a manufacturing unit. The subject was discussed at length and many other questions of social tradition were raised. Certainly the practice of abortion and the problem of sex education must continue to generate new and deeper discussions among the people.

Zimbabwe: The Final Advance

Interviews with co-leaders Joshua Nkomo (ZAPU) and Robert Mugabe (ZANU) probe the history of the Patriotic Front, political work in the liberated areas, and strategies for the new year. Map, photos, 50 pp. September 1978.

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United States Joins the War in East Timor

In 1973 five US intelligence agents visited a small island near Australia to make maps. Posing as prospective investors they hired a young journalist to travel with them for several weeks as a photographer. As they flew over the lush countryside and circumscribed the coastline in a rented airplane, he took thousands of photos of the mountainous terrain.

The island they visited was East Timor, then a Portuguese colony. The young photographer was Jose Ramos-Horta, now a leader of East Timor's liberation movement. The five agents turned out to be a scouting mission for US troops who have now joined Indonesian occupying forces.

Indonesia invaded East Timor on December 7, 1975, only nine days after FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor) declared independence from Portugal. Only a year before, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik had pledged Indonesia would respect East Timor's right to self-determination.

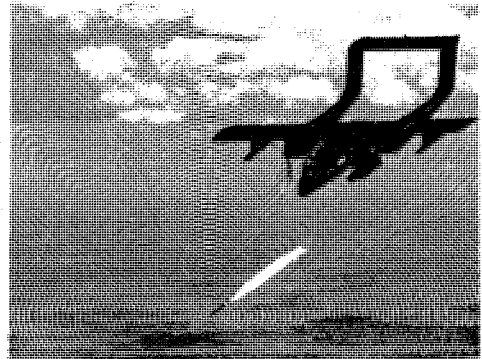
US forces joined the Indonesian army on the eve of Indonesian dictator Suharto's July 1978 visit to East Timor which was intended to demonstrate un-

contested Indonesian control of the island. But Suharto's first visit to East Timor lasted less than 24 hours and he went only to the capital city of Dili and to a border town from which the press was barred.

US military advisors (FRETILIN claims from the CIA) and pilots participated in two battles close to Dili in early 1978 according to Alarico Fernandes, Minister of Information and National Security of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET). In June 1978 Fernandes reported that two American military advisors had arrived in Dili in December 1977. Fernandes estimated that more than ten Americans were fighting in East Timor by June, and he charged that American pilots were flying OV-10 Bronco bombing missions.

US support goes much further. President Gerald Ford visited Indonesia the day before its

The Bronco "workhorse".



Thumbnail Sketch of East Timor

East Timor's tropical climate is the basis for its agricultural economy. The Portuguese first came to Timor in the early sixteenth century in search of its famed sandalwood. They later introduced coffee which the peasants still grow in the mountains. Between 1968 and 1972 coffee accounted for almost 90% of East Timor's exports; one third goes to the US.

When the Dutch arrived in the

invasion of East Timor began. As soon as he came to power, Jimmy Carter increased US military aid to Indonesia in March 1977. More recently Carter authorized the sale of F-5 jets to the Suharto regime. And during his May 1978 visit to Indonesia, US Vice President Walter Mondale announced the sale of a squadron of A-4 counterinsurgency ground attack bombers. The sixteen bombers were sold at the bargain basement price of \$3 million, well below their normal price and well below the \$7 million limit which requires congressional approval.

Only three years after the end of the long Indochina war, Americans may wonder what the US is up to in little-known, far-away East Timor. One person knows only too well: the young photographer, now FRETILIN's UN representative, Jose Ramos-Horta.

Horta told LSM that the US government considers an independent East Timor under FRETILIN leadership totally unacceptable because of the island's strategic

East Indies, they began to push out the weaker Portuguese. After centuries of war, the 1904 Portuguese-Dutch treaty defined the present boundaries between Dutch West Timor, now part of Indonesia, and Portuguese East Timor, now the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

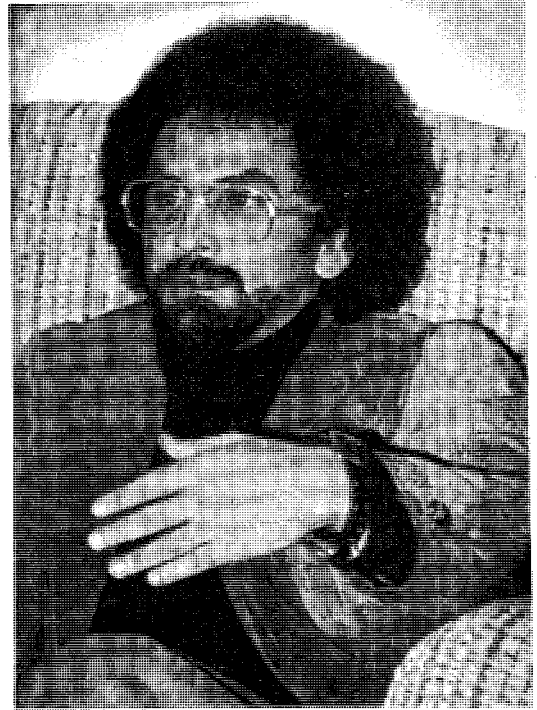
Under Portuguese rule the death rate for children under five years of age was 40%. The DRET government estimates the population at about one million of whom 95% are illiterate.

location near Australia, Indonesia, and their waterways. The channel just north of East Timor is the deepest, safest route for US nuclear submarines traveling between Guam and the US base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Giant oil tankers must also pass by East Timor on their way to Japan.

Indonesia claims East Timor would get Soviet facilities under FRETILIN. Horta explained that the Front's principles of nonalignment and sovereignty preclude such a step. Nonetheless, he told LSM that the US government has stated that a friendly anti-communist government in control of East Timor is the best guarantee of US interests.

FRETILIN believes the US is worried and displeased about Indonesia's handling of East Timor whose resistance shows that Indonesia cannot be relied on as a regional power. As Horta expressed it: "If Indonesia cannot cope with tiny East Timor, how can they cope with the entire region?"

"The War Is a Tremendous School for Everyone"



WST

Interview with Jose Ramos Horta of FRETILIN

In 1970 a thin young man with a bushy head of hair impulsively rose to speak at a large party in Dili, capital of East Timor. The Eastern part of the island was then controlled by the Portuguese whose dreaded secret police, the PIDE, had informants everywhere. In a long, rambling speech, Jose Ramos-Horta denounced Portuguese rule and predicted that East Timor would soon have a liberation movement like those in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Horta was slightly drunk and so he did not notice the steady stream of people leaving until he was sud-

denly aware that he was speaking to an empty room.

The fears of the party-going East Timorese were well-founded. The day after the party Horta was called in by the PIDE who had a transcript of his remarks. Horta was exiled for two years in Mozambique.

Despite the PIDE, Horta and his comrades built a liberation movement. Starting as a discussion group, they formed the Association of Social Democrats of Timor (ASDT) of which Horta was Secretary-General. The ASDT began by organizing strikes and sending Horta abroad to seek

international support for independence from Portugal. Horta's activities led to a second exile order but before he had time to leave, the 1974 Portuguese coup intervened and dealt a death blow to Portuguese colonialism.

In September 1974 the ASDT became FRETILIN and rapidly won the support of the East Timorese people with its firm stand for independence. On November 28, 1975, FRETILIN declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Jose Ramos-Horta became one of three Central Committee representatives functioning outside the country. Today he serves as FRETILIN's permanent United Nations representative.

LSM interviewed Jose Ramos-Horta during a visit to the West Coast in February 1978. Jose is unafraid to speak and act on his convictions but when he does speak it is with a modesty and lack of ego rarely encountered in the United States.

Horta's father was a Portuguese democrat deported to Timor in the 1930's. Jose's Timorese mother belongs to the Mambai ethnic group which has resisted Portuguese domination for almost 500 years. Jose grew up among the peasants in the mountains near Dili.

At the age of 14, Horta chose his career; he became a journalist with the Portuguese government newspaper. After his return from exile in 1972, he went to work for the government radio station but was fired because of his Timorese accent. In frustration he wrote an article,

"Open Letter to My Brother Maubere," which closed: "Maubere, my brother, the sun is rising; it's time to get up."

Fretilin's Unique Philosophy

LSM: WHAT IS MAUBERISM?

HORTA: Among the Mambai people of East Timor individuals have just one personal name of which the most common is Maubere. The Mambai are the largest ethnic group in the country, some 80,000 people spread throughout the central highlands. This area has been a center of traditional resistance to colonial domination for centuries. The culture, tradition, and religion of the Mambai people are uninfluenced by the Portuguese. Because the Mambai opposed all forms of cultural domination, the urban elite called them stubborn and ignorant.

Because the name Maubere is so common, the Dili elite began to call everybody who was ignorant and poor, "Maubere." The name became an insult. For instance, if I, an educated man from Dili, did something wrong, my boss would say, "You are Maubere."

But who are the Maubere people? They are the peasants who constitute 95% of the East Timorese population. They are those who cannot read and write. They are those with no access to medical assistance, those who suffer from malnutrition. They are exploited by the coffee plantation owners, by the cattle ranchers, by the government,

which forced them to work building roads, bridges, and houses without pay. They were forced to pay annual taxes which did not benefit them or help develop the countryside.

We of FRETILIN thought that a genuine East Timorese liberation movement must respond to these problems felt in the flesh, in

People do not fight for empty slogans:

They fight to improve life in their villages.

the daily lives of the Maubere people. In order to mobilize the people, we had to work out a philosophy, a theory that they could easily understand.

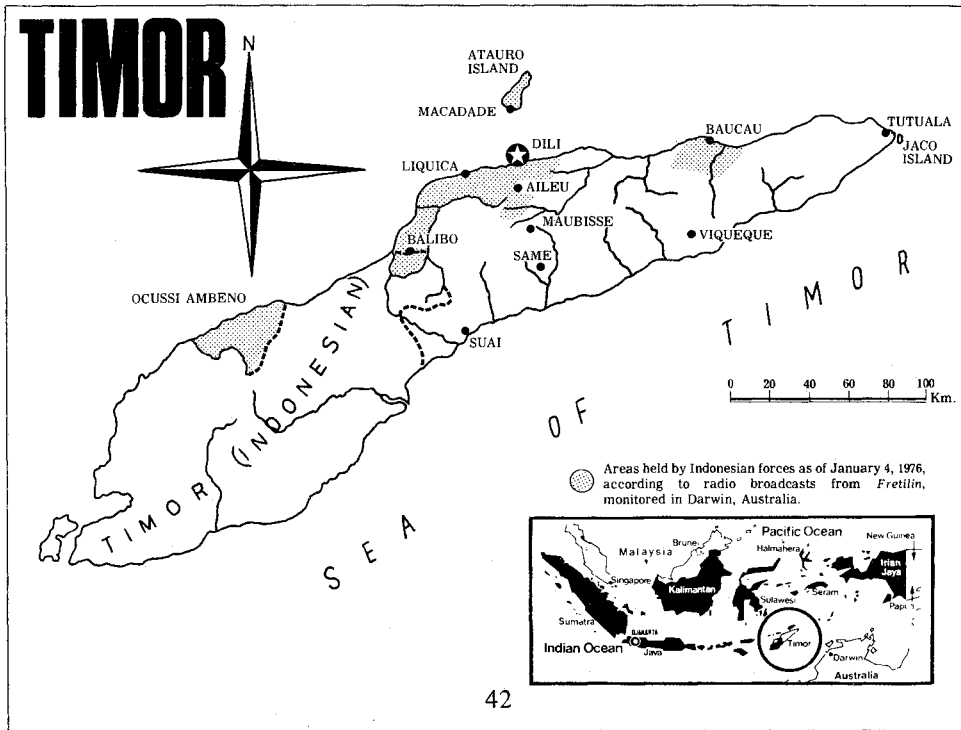
If we talked in terms of complicated Marxist-Leninist theories, they would not understand.

Our people want revolution, but people do not fight for empty slogans. They fight to improve life in their villages. They want schools where their children can learn to read and write. They want medical assistance, clean water, better housing.

Mauberism, then, according to our definition, is social, cultural, economic development of the countryside with strict adherence to the traditional cultural values of the people. It may sound very simple to sophisticated Western theoreticians, but from Mauberism we can go on to explain complicated economic matters.

Mauberism Means Socialism

We say that the Maubere suffer; they are hungry and lack



education. We must explain why, that it is the result of a decadent, colonial, capitalist system. So Mauberism cannot tolerate a colonial, capitalist system which is based on private ownership of land, of enormous herds of cattle, of coffee plantations, and so on.

In order to solve the problems of hunger and inequality in East Timorese society and respond to the aspirations of the Maubere people, these fundamental steps must be taken: expropriation of private ownership of cattle, of land, of every source of wealth in East Timor and their redistribution throughout the country.

And how will we redistribute them? You get a buffalo; you eat it for a month but what then? We have to have a plan, a substitute for the existing system. Property must be redistributed to the villages, but the people must be organized to produce and increase with it. So we establish joint ownership of land and cattle and cooperative production.

LSM: HOW DO YOUR COOPERATIVES COMPARE WITH TRADITIONAL METHODS OF FARMING?

HORTA: Cooperatives are not new. For centuries people worked together in the traditional way which included common ownership of land. No individual owned land in a village.

There was one exception, in the region near Viqueque, where in the past fifty years the traditional joint ownership of land was interrupted by the estab-

lishment of coffee plantations and the influx of Portuguese settlers who took over the land and disrupted the lives of the people.

We still have some difficulties in solving this problem near Viqueque. A very strong individualistic feeling persists; everyone wants their own piece of land, their own crop.

This is a very rich area, well-developed with good fields; it could completely feed East Timor. It is also strongly Catholic with some feudal relations. Chiefs were very powerful there. For this reason the Apodeti party* had some influence.

FRETILIN's solution was to establish cooperatives in the areas surrounding Viqueque. Slowly the people of the region saw the benefits. Before, the great majority of the people had not benefited from the wealth of the area. Through the peasants' experiences, the situation slowly changed.

The issues quickly clarified when the landlords supported the Indonesian occupation. We still have some problems in Viqueque, but Mauberism now extends to most of East Timor.

Timorese Women's Liberation

LSM: WITHIN THAT PHILOSOPHY, HOW DO YOU STRUGGLE WITH NEGATIVE

*Apodeti, led by a former World War II collaborator with the Japanese, is a pro-Indonesian party. It has failed to win much support in East Timor.

ASPECTS OF TRADITION?

HORTA: The principal negative aspect of tradition is the role of women. Throughout East Timor, women had a very important role in production; but they had no control of production, profit, or income.

Women were considered double slaves: slaves of the settlers, the colonial power, and slaves of the men, their own husbands and other relatives. They had to look after children and cook and during the day they also went to

Women were considered double slaves:
Slaves of the settlers and slaves
of their own husbands.

during the day they also went to the fields to work. Men worked in the fields too but that was all they did. It was a frequent sight to see a woman with a child on her back bent over the ground planting or weeding. Women had no voice in the decision-making process in villages, in solving problems, in elections.

How were we to solve this problem? In peaceful times, many years of political education would be required to make men realize that women are human beings who must have an equal share in the political process, in the economic and social sphere, and so on.

The war is a tremendous school for everyone. In our two years of fighting there are already valiant women, heroines of the armed struggle.

Women run most of our schools. Since the war started, the illiteracy rate has been lowered from 95% to 70%. Women also participate in campaigns of health, hygiene, and nutrition.

Women are especially active in fighting. Even before the Central Committee decided to set up a women's army, 100 women near the border went to a representative of the Central Committee in the region and demanded weapons. They said: "We do not need training. We just want weapons." Their first operation was successful; they captured the first Indonesian soldiers in that region. Now there are about 3,000 women fighters with their own officers.

Of the 519 members of our People's Congress, about 230 women were elected. In the Central Committee, 30 of the 67 members are women. In the near future we will have even more women cadres because we have a lot of women students abroad in Portugal and Southeast Asia.

LSM: HOW WOULD YOU COMPARE THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF EAST TIMORESE WOMEN AND MEN TO THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA?

HORTA: The struggle for women's liberation in capitalist countries, the United States, is much more difficult than the struggle in East Timor. For instance, what are the priorities here? Equal pay, equal opportunities for jobs, problems of abortion, divorce: these things do not exist in East Timor.

In East Timor we don't have

the complexity of the capitalist system. Colonialism has been dismantled, broken up by the war. We know our enemies and our friends; the situation is clear-cut. So it's very difficult to compare. Women make up about 55% of East Timor's population. And it's a small country so it's easier to solve such problems.

LSM: SOMETIMES GAINS MADE BY WOMEN DURING THE ARMED STRUGGLE ARE ERODED LATER. HOW DEEPLY ROOTED ARE THESE CHANGES?

HORTA: During the armed struggle, the women can impose themselves by force of arms. Not that they threaten to shoot the men; they have weapons and are also defending the country. So men are forced by reality to

learn to respect them and to give them equal voice in political affairs.

If during the armed struggle there had not been continuous parallel political education, there might be setbacks after the war. It is always easier to solve problems when everybody is concentrating on the enemy.

After the armed struggle a lot of problems will surface again. There will be crises over ideology, political line, the course of economic development, emphasis, and this question of men/women's relationship will inevitably come out.

So long as class contradictions persist, there will be class conflict and there will certainly be conflict over the question of women's emancipa-

A Woman Versus a Chief

The enclave of Oecusse is a FRETILIN stronghold. The other parties had only a half dozen followers. But the chief was very powerful. He was strongly backed by the Portuguese and had a lot of support from the Indonesians. Nobody dared expose him as a feudalist or a corrupt leader.

One day in March 1975, we held a big rally in Oecusse attended by several thousand people. A twenty-four year old woman took the floor. She was illiterate. Nobody knew where she was from but she was known in the village as a prostitute.

She spoke for about two hours denouncing the chief. She ex-

plained how the people of Oecusse were exploited. They had to grow rice and give 70% to the chief. She told them that she herself had been raped by the chief.

When she was through, the people marched to the Portuguese headquarters and demanded the replacement of the chief. The Portuguese had to fly in paratroops from Dili.

Later the chief was replaced; they elected a new one. But if it hadn't been for that single woman, the people would not have been mobilized. They were aware of their suffering. But it was necessary for somebody from their own ranks, a peasant, a woman, to articulate for them what they felt.

- Jose Ramos-Horta

tion. This conflict can be finally solved only when the question of class is solved. Some setbacks are expected, but there is no way we will return to the old ways.

Political Education

LSM: HOW DOES FRETILIN CONDUCT POLITICAL EDUCATION?

HORTA: In each of the over 400 villages in East Timor, someone leads a dynamization cell. Political education occurs every day through discussions of texts distributed by FRETILIN's political committee on various issues: agriculture, health, the role of the army, women. These are short texts, a page or so, written in very simple language.

We have a weekly newspaper, *East Timor*, printed in the countryside. We have complete printing facilities which we stole from the Portuguese. Some regional committees have mimeo machines to produce daily bulletins. Since the illiteracy rate is still high, the political commissar reads the newspaper aloud in the villages and discusses its contents. Our papers are printed in Tetum and Portuguese.

Our best means of political education is radio. Radio Maubere broadcasts three times a week. We have a broadcast in English for Australia and local broadcasts in Tetum and several other dialects such as Mambai. We also have radio programs in the Indonesian language aimed at West Timor and at Indonesian soldiers.



Learning to read and write

On our radio programs we not only have political education but also information about health, short programs to teach people the importance of keeping clean, how to prevent malaria and other diseases, how to look after babies.

We also have what we call revolutionary brigades, groups of five to sixty young men and women, mainly high school students, twelve to eighteen years old, who conduct political education, work with villagers in the fields, and help them build

schools and houses. This is one way of overcoming the differences between peasants and students.

Not only students do this. Our president, Nicolau Lobato, along with our other leaders, is all over the country working barefoot in the ricefields alongside the peasants.

The President works barefoot in the ricefields with the peasants.

Even after liberation, it is FRETILIN's program that, once a year, our president will have to travel around the country to live as the peasants live. He must not sit in a palace in the capital and forget that there are peasants in the countryside who fought for independence but still go barefoot. The cadres, members of the Central Committee, will do the same.

Our program also states that we will never have salaries for members of the Central Committee and members of the government. They will have enough food to eat and plain housing supplied by the state but are not entitled to luxurious housing of their own. The former Portuguese governor's palace in Dili will become a cultural center or hospital.

We don't advocate a return to primitive ways; but, if I am an engineer, I have to work in a proper place but with no unnecessary luxuries, no special privileges. If I need a car to get to my workplace, I can use one, but after work the car returns to the garage.

We explain these decisions to the people; they will remember after liberation. If the leadership falls short, the people will know that they are corrupted with power.

Over 100,000 people have already been killed; women and children die every day for our country. They follow the leaders. If, after liberation, the leaders start driving a Mercedes in the capital, live in nice houses, or wear nice shoes while thousands of people are still recovering from the wounds of war, this will be an outrage. But only when the people are educated and mobilized can they prevent this from happening.

Battlefront Report

LSM: WHAT IS THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE? DO YOU STILL USE GUERRILLA TACTICS? HOW MUCH TERRITORY DO YOU CONTROL?

HORTA: We can report, with figures confirmed by the Indonesians, that about 90% of the population live in our liberated areas. You must understand that the majority of our people are subsistence farmers who never lived in urban centers. The city names on the map are just small concentrations of a few thousand people at most. During peacetime the people would come to the towns only for marketing.

East Timor is a mostly mountainous country with peaks over 10,000 feet high. The entire territory controlled by FRETILIN

amounts to about 85% of the country. The Indonesians, for instance, control the town of Maubisse but don't go out more than one or two miles from there. They control Dili, the capital, but not the surrounding villages. From Liquiça to Dili, both of which are on the coast, they cannot move by land, they have to take a helicopter or travel by boat.

In general we use small guerrilla groups. But sometimes we are able to put columns of 100 to 500 fighters into the field. These larger units are becoming more standard. We have a well-trained, mobile army of 15,000 which operates throughout the country.

We also have a people's militia, between 20,000 and 30,000, not so well-equipped. They use World War II rifles, mausers, and even some World War I rifles.

LSM: IS DILI UNDER SIEGE?

HORTA: Our forces attack Dili regularly but it's hit-and-run. They have been able to destroy tanks inside the town. In fact

one of our best military commanders was recently killed in a six-hour battle in Dili. But our strategy is first to have complete control of the countryside, better weapons, operating schools and production; then we will have the final assault.

We have to be sure that once we attack Dili, we can hold it. The city is in a narrow valley surrounded by mountains on three sides. The Indonesians can escape only by sea. If they do not escape or surrender, they must be annihilated. This is some time off, but not very long. Once we have better equipment, a good group of saboteurs....

* * * *

East Timor Action Note

For more information and to find out how you can support the East Timor independence struggle and FRETILIN, contact the East Timor Defense Committee, P. O. Box 251, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10010.

East Timor: The Hidden War

by Richard Franke, Describes FRETILIN's (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor) war against Portuguese and Indonesian colonial domination. East Timor Defense Committee, 1976. \$1.50 (postpaid)

LSM Notes

ANC Needs a Mimeo

The Dar es Salaam headquarters of the African National Congress of South Africa recently wrote to LSM:

We have an acute problem here because our GESTETNER duplicating machine is worn out. We need one desperately. We have contacted a local dealer here who has one for 15,957 Tanzanian shillings. One US dollar is approximately 8 Tanzanian shillings (so the sum is about \$2,000). We ourselves cannot afford to pay for this because our Treasurer-General is channeling most funds toward our war effort inside South Africa.

Readers who would like to raise funds for this purpose can contact the ANC at P. O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Women Against Apartheid

Zoë Best, a progressive poet living in Massachusetts, is compiling an anthology of poetry and short works "written by womyn from wherever in the world that speaks in particular to the resistance against and the conditions within the apartheid

regions of southern Africa." In addition to Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the final section of the book "will be dedicated to peoples that suffer oppression from racist-apartheid practices in other societies, including the United States." The deadline for submissions for "FROM EVERY CONTINENT: WOMYN VOICES AGAINST APARTHEID" is January 1979. Write for more information to Zoe Best, P. O. Box 948, Amherst, MA 01002.

Resources

California Newsreel's Southern Africa Media Center has recently acquired three new films: *Six Days in Soweto*, a documentary reconstruction of the 1976 uprising; *Bullets Are Beginning to Flower*, a Dutch film on the educational system in Mozambique; and *Free Namibia!*, a 1978 United Nations film on the contending forces in South West Africa. A copy of the 1979 catalog is available without charge from California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103.

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MAGIC, the Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre, announces a new series of English translations of key state papers and party proceedings from MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC. The 1978 series includes one document from each. Subscriptions: Individuals, \$6 surface, \$10 airmail; Libraries, \$10 surface, \$15 airmail to MAGIC, 34 Percy St., London W1P 9FG, UK.

* * * *

Ba Ye Zwa the people live is a collection of sketches and prints, poems and news clippings, and commentaries on South Africa by Judy Seidman, an American-born painter who has lived half her life in Africa. Basil Davidson described the book as "memorable, urgent, and important." Available for \$4.50 from South End Press, Box 68, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.

* * * *

Ireland is the source of a very interesting new theoretical journal, *The Ripening of Time*. The journal mainly features articles on a strategy for Irish liberation and Marxist analysis of conditions in Ireland and the world with a strong emphasis on class analysis. Pamphlets are also available. A six issue subscription costs £2 or about \$4. Write to *Ripening of Time*, 5 Henrietta St., Dublin 1, Ireland.

* * * *

Africa News is a weekly digest of African affairs which publishes brief, up-to-date articles on the politics and economy of the entire continent from a progressive perspective. Subscription rates are \$20 per year for individuals with an introductory rate of \$15. To subscribe or for more information write to Africa News Service, P. O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702.



Judy Seidman



BOX 2077

Ethiopian Criticism

We have read with interest [the] *LSM NEWS* winter/1978 article entitled "Hurricane in the Horn." It is to our surprise to find such a prestigious journal which has dedicated itself in support of Liberation Movements especially in Africa to present such erroneous analysis on [the] Ethiopian Revolution, based on propaganda materials put out by anti-people, anti-Ethiopian Revolution and reactionary groups supported by American imperialism to undermine the struggle of the Ethiopian peoples and their achievements. . . . Though imperialism and reaction were humiliatingly defeated in the eastern and southern fronts of Ethiopia, they have now refocused their attention in northern Ethiopia with the objective of stifling the ongoing Ethiopian Revolution and making Ethiopia a weak and landlocked country. This imperialist aggression as well will meet the fate it deserves - *HUMILIATING DEFEAT* - for the Ethiopian masses have arisen in unison as one man.

While such is the reality, the imperialist mass media and

their lackeys (such as the so-called EDU, which are a group of feudal lords led by the once crown prince of Ethiopia, EPRP, whose members are by and large sons and daughters of the feudal and military aristocracy, ELF and EPLF - reactionary, secessionist groups who are bought by petrodollars) try to spread false and distorted propaganda in the capitals of the world to undermine the Ethiopian Revolution and misguide the progressive and democratic organizations and individuals.

Having read your article we came to the conclusion that *LSM NEWS* has fallen prey to the malicious propaganda of these reactionary circles. . . .

Dear Friends,

Our Center is always ready to help in providing information and clarity on issues when you may deem it necessary.

With revolutionary greetings,
Ethiopian Revolution Information Center, P. O. Box 2549,
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Whose Socialism

I enjoy reading *LSM NEWS* and I look forward to receiving it in the future. I must take

severe exception to the statement in point eleven of the LSM political platform in which you "support both the USSR and China as progressive social formations compared to capitalism." I do not feel that this posture is justifiable in view of the repressive state nature of both of these societies which have employed anti-working-class strategies that would do credit to the CIA. The imperialist foreign policies of these nations can be described as nothing less than reactionary. You report that "each country has made significant contributions in improving the lives of its population and in advancing socialism internationally." Whose socialism is this referring to? A socialism which is imposed on the workers from an elitist ruling class? It is clear that the material conditions of these nations has improved and the populations have benefited in this respect since their revolu-

tions; but in this respect their systems have played a parallel role to capitalism - they have created a mass industrial base which provides the requisite conditions for workers' control (soviets), but have accomplished this at a terrible but historically necessary price: dehumanization of the worker, war, exploitation, and everything else associated with a profit-based economy. . . .

In solidarity,
KI, Alaska

* * * *

Ed. - LSM's position on these questions is outlined in LSM NEWS numbers 13 and 15 and in our pamphlet: Liberation Support Movement Our Unity and Practice. Our position on Ethiopia and Eritrea is stated in LSM NEWS numbers 15 and 16. Copies of these numbers are still available.

Back Issues of LSM News

Sino-Soviet Split

presents the case for critical nonalignment with the Soviet Union and China regarding international line. The Article evaluates the foreign policies -- in theory and practice -- of China and the USSR and puts forward LSM's independent line of support for genuine liberation movements and socialist revolution.

13: Summer 1977

Hurricane in the Horn: Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia.

provides the analysis underlying our support for the Eritrean national liberation struggle and an open assessment of the Ethiopian and Somali regimes.

15: Winter 1977

Socialism Dawns in Africa

The liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola have formed Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties. We explain how socialist ideas developed in the movements and the class basis for socialism in the liberated colonies. This issue includes "Internationalism on the Waterfront," an evaluation of anti-imperialist work in the longshore union in the San Francisco Bay Area.

14: Fall 1977

Zimbabwe: Neocolonialism or Independence

examines the conflicting groups -- the settlers, Western capitalists, and the Patriotic Front -- shaping the outcome of the war in Zimbabwe. Wilfred Burchett looks back over his life as a radical journalist and a young cadre of the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau recounts his experiences during the war against the Portuguese.

16: Summer 1978

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