

AFRICA NEWS

A Weekly Digest of African Affairs

ZIMBABWE MUZOREWA FACING CHALLENGE OF WAR

AN Now that the votes have been counted in Rhodesia, the focus of attention will probably shift once again to the spreading guerrilla war, although heated debate over whether the election was "free and fair" will continue.

When Abel Muzorewa's United African National Congress was proclaimed the overwhelming victor in last week's election, thousands of the Bishop's supporters gathered at his country home outside Salisbury to celebrate. Simultaneously, a bomb exploded in central Salisbury, killing one person and providing a grim reminder that the new Prime Minister's rule is unlikely to be peaceful.

Muzorewa's party won 67 per cent of the votes cast, gaining 51 of the 100 seats in the new parliament. Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front will occupy the 28 seats reserved for whites. Followers of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole were elected to twelve positions, and the remaining nine were won by Chief Kayisa Ndiweni's United National Federal Party. Chief Jeremiah Chirau, who along with Smith, Muzorewa, and Sithole, was a party to the March, 1977 internal settlement, failed to win any seats for his Zimbabwe United Peoples Organization.

Although Muzorewa's vote margin was impressive, many observers do not expect him to be able to exert strong leadership. And his administrative authority is restricted by Constitutional provisions. Cabinet posts are to be divided proportionally, giving the white Rhodesian Front 5-6 posts and Sithole's party two. All major revisions must be adopted by 78 per cent of the Parliament.

Promotions in the army, police, civil service, and judiciary are to be kept outside the political process, controlled instead by commissions whose qualifications for membership make black participation nearly impossible for years to come.

Nevertheless, the election turnout—officially placed at more than sixty per cent of the eligible voters—was greeted jubilantly by supporters of the internal settlement at home and abroad, while other reactions were varied:

American Conservative Union and the New York-based Freedom House gave generally favorable reports on the election process, recording their beliefs that most Africans had voted willingly and that balloting was remarkably free for a country in a civil war. North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, introducing a bill to lift Rhodesian sanctions, praised what he termed "the most free and open election in the history of the continent of Africa."

The Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole charged that the election was "grossly irregular," and that Bishop Muzorewa's "private army" of auxiliaries had intimidated voters. Since Sithole, partner with Muzorewa in the internal settlement government, was widely regarded before the election as having less support, and since his own auxiliaries had been accused of similar intimidation, his criticism was widely discounted.

The two wings of the Patriotic Front guerrillas, ZAPU and ZANU, had denounced the election exercise beforehand as a farce designed to preserve white minority rule under a facade of black leadership. Reports from their sources on intimidation of voters by Rhodesian forces are due to be published once the information has been compiled.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, which had earlier criticized the Internal Settlement and the actions of the Rhodesian security forces, is also preparing a report. British election observer Lord Chitnis told the BBC that while touring voting places with government officials, "I was almost beginning to think that the election was over." But he said trips without his official escorts, where people could answer his questions freely, convinced him that "Beneath the veneer... there was massive intimidation by the whole white apparatus," making the election a farce.

Conservative syndicated columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., headlined his comment "Sanity Abounding in Rhodesia," going on to note that "to the palpable embarrassment of many left-liberals... the black Rhodesians in great numbers have voted in favor of the Internal Agreement." The *New York Times*, on the other hand, commented

editorially that it would be a "mistake to assume that all the blacks who cast ballots, under conditions of martial law, approved of the proposed structure."

Journalists reporting from the scene also differed. CBS's Robin Wright in Salisbury pronounced the election fair, and proclaimed it the last chance for the United States to choose between "a multi-racial democratic government decided on by all races" and a Marxist-oriented state imposed by the gun.

But Gary Thatcher of the *Christian Science Monitor* agreed with Lord Chitnis that observers who failed to venture into the war-torn rural areas got a misleading impression. In a phone conversation with *Africa News*, Thatcher described what people in one village told him, on condition that he keep their identities secret: He heard stories of all-night

political indoctrination sessions, where machine-gun toting supporters of Bishop Muzorewa would take away children as young as thirteen to learn songs and chants. Stories of molestation and rape filtered back to the villagers:

The night before the election the people were rounded up at gunpoint, taken to specific places where buses would pick them up to take them to vote. We went to some polling places where the white voting officials confirmed that there had been loads of people... which they interpreted as enthusiasm to vote, and meaning that the election was in fact the will of the people. But if you assume that people are telling the truth about coercion and about buses being a mode of transportation that in fact forced them to the polls, then these stories take on quite a different meaning.

Angola

"Permanent Aggression"

AN Large numbers of Angolans residing in the areas the opposition movement UNITA claims to control have been living "in the bush" for nearly three years, moving whenever fighting comes close, Angolans from the region who recently arrived in Europe have told *Africa News*.

According to these sources, who are favorable to UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), the dissident group now says two-thirds of the country and more than half of the population is under its control. One of the sources said not all those in the bush are necessarily opposed to the Angolan government but, rather are in the middle, subject to attack by government forces where they are, but fearful of military actions by UNITA when they are in government-controlled southern towns.

Reports from a variety of other sources—some supporters of the Angolan government and others not—regard the UNITA claims as exaggerated. But no one foresees a quick

solution for the seemingly never-ending struggle between UNITA President Jonas Savimbi and the MPLA Labor Party government headed by Agostino Neto.

The Angolan government denies that UNITA controls any major areas. But it has recently made clear that the movement continues to cause problems, and places the blame squarely on the shoulders of South Africa, charging that the white government's support for UNITA is only a small portion of a generalized pattern of attacks against Angola.

In a highly unusual radio address to the nation last month, Defense Minister Iko Carreira accused South Africa of a dramatic escalation in the number and intensity of attacks, amounting to a state of what he called "permanent aggression." He said South African ground units have been carrying out hit-and-run raids deep inside Angolan territory, and are co-ordinating attacks by anti-government guerrillas in both north and south.

Recent Angolan communiques say that during one ten-day period in March alone, there were seventy overflights of Angolan territory by South African planes and bombing of thirteen regions. Defense sources say the downing of six South African aircraft in March temporarily slowed the attacks, but they again reported four aerial bombardments and four high altitude surveillance missions between April 3 and 11.

As for UNITA, Carreira charged that the group receives not only training, supplies, and arms from South Africa, but logistical support such as helicopter transport as well. Similar accounts have been given by South African army deserters and by journalists.

Carreira said UNITA has been sabotaging the vital Benguela Railroad which runs across the country, making stabilization and economic reconstruction very difficult in some southern regions. South Africa has announced several raids on Angola, but claims they were directed only against bases operated by the Namibian independence movement SWAPO, and has admitted the loss of no planes.

Carreira warned in his speech that the country could expect "to suffer such attacks for a long time," despite the improving defense capacity of Angolan forces. It will be



FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

By ALFREDA L. MADISON

WILL THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO SUPPORT RHODESIAN RACISM?

Now that the Rhodesian election is over, whether or not it was a fair election will be very hard for even those who highly favor lifting economic sanction against Rhodesia to prove its fairness.

In the first place the entire plan is no majority rule set-up. Although the press states that there was over sixty per cent voting turnout, the entire election was done under martial law, and that the rural people operated under the control of guns. Blacks were falsely told that to vote would stop the guerrilla warfare, and Black Rhodesians who favored the guerrilla stand of boycotting the election were forced by armed officials to vote anyway.

Long before the voting period, no blacks were allowed to even talk against the election. Many who attempted to organize groups against the Salisbury agreement were thrown into prison. The paper stated that black voters were intimidated by soldiers, civil servants, white farmers and party-partisans.

Even though the McGovern-Hyakkawa amendment for the United States government to send observers to monitor the election was voted down, several groups from the country did send over representatives. Some of these organizations were; Freedom House, American Conservative Union, Institute of Human Relations, American Security Council, which is no part of our National Security Council, and the Heritage Foundation. Dr. Maurice Woodard, of the Political Science Department of Howard University was one of two blacks who were among the observers. Dr. Woodard went from the American Political Science Organization. Bayard Rustin was the other black who went under the auspices of Freedom House. The television showed Mr. Rustin

expounding that the election was a free one. Seeing him on television brought to my mind that terrible school strike in New York City during my teaching sojourn there, when Bayard Rustin, to the disdain of just about the entire black population stood with the white side. I can remember one morning when I was crossing the picket line a white teacher showed me a written statement from Bayard Rustin. My response to her was that blacks were not anymore influenced by blacks who jump on the white side than by whites who are already there. Mr. Rustin put in the newspaper that he had not met with such rebuff and antagonism from blacks as he did over his school strike actions. So showing Bayard Rustin on television, I'm sure, did not move any blacks to favor the election.

Mr. Sithole, one of the three Black Rhodesians, who was initially in favor of the election, now wants an investigation because he alleges irregularities. Perhaps Bishop Muzorewa's overwhelming victory is a result of what a former Rhodesian Nun who is testifying before the Senate Committee said that Mr. Muzorewa had his own army going around forcing the people to vote for him.

Not-with-standing all of the reported reasons why the election could not have been a free and fair one, the conservative observers favored it.

Senator Schweiker, has already introduced an amendment on the floor of the Senate calling for lifting of economic sanctions against Rhodesia immediately after installation of the new government. When I contacted Mr. Schweiker's office about considering Rhodesia as having black majority rule, under such a plan as the Salisbury agreement, I was told that the Senator considered it majority rule because blacks would hold 72 seats in the 100 seat parliament. I asked how could the senator possibly consider the election as giving blacks any real power when the 28 whites on the parliament could veto everything the blacks do, since to pass any legislation required 75 votes, then too the whites by agreement maintain control of the military, police, judicial and civil service? Mr. Schweiker's staff member responded that this is a start.

Of course the Schweiker-DiConcini amendment will have many supporters for it on the floor. It will certainly get intensive support from Senator Jesse Helms and Hyakkawa who were leaders in bringing Ian Smith to the United States in the ninety-fifth Congress. Of course in observing their voting records and strong floor fight against just about all bills that favor minorities, their stand on school busing, coupled with not having any blacks on their staff, it is improbable to expect anything else from them. If the bill to lift economic sanctions is voted down on the Senate floor, Jesse Helms will quite likely attach it to some other administration bill, with the hope of getting the President to change his present stand against the election.

The actions on the part of these conservatives over the Rhodesian question, from all evidence can hardly be termed anything other than continued racism perpetuation.

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