

South African Forces Seeking Ceasefire In Namibian Conflict

[AN] The South African forces that launched a new offensive in Angola last month will be staying until a ceasefire in the Namibian conflict is declared. That according to the South African commander in Namibia, Major General Charles Lloyd, speaking to journalists in the Namibian capital Windhoek on August 12.

The South African action, which is being compared to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon by some observers, has put in question the future of Western-led efforts to negotiate a Namibian settlement. In particular, some Western diplomats have suggested that the stepped-up military activity could make Angola more hesitant to agree to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops that have been stationed there since South Africa first invaded the country in 1975.

The U.S. has been trying to negotiate such a withdrawal, which South Africa has made a precondition to its cooperation on the proposed settlement. Angolan officials have rejected any linkage between a Cuban troop withdrawal and a South African pull-out from Namibia. Nevertheless, State Department sources said last week that talks on the issue between the two governments were continuing.

According to reports from South Africa, the latest offensive began on June 11. On July 16, the South African forces attacked two suspected SWAPO bases at Evale and Ionde, 80 miles inside Angola, but found them deserted, Lloyd said. On August 10, his troops clashed with SWAPO guerrillas further north at

Tecumatec, and more than 100 insurgents were killed.

The current fighting is apparently the most intense since the South African invasion a year ago in which it claimed to have killed 1,000 SWAPO guerrillas. That action was followed in November by another incursion even further northward, during which South Africa said 71 insurgents died.

Unlike the highly-publicized Lebanese situation, the latest fighting in Angola received no notice until Lloyd's briefing. The Angolans complained about air attacks on the town of Cahamba on July 20 and 21 but said little else. South Africa maintained its usual silence about military operations until 15 soldiers died when a Puma helicopter was shot down.

Subsequently, more details of the fighting were released by both sides. Lloyd disclosed that South Africa is using French-built Mirage F1 jet fighters in Angola to counter Soviet MIG 23s, which he said are now based in southern Angola. It was the first time South Africa had confirmed Angolan charges of Mirage overflights of its territory.

In a report filed from the southern Angolan town of Lubango, a correspondent for Agence France Press reported that the South Africans were attempting to move north through Cunene Province toward the town of Mutale, which provides electricity of Lubango, the major town in the south.

According to the head of military intelligence in southern Angola, AFP reported, South African

motorized units that have been stationed in the Cunene region since the invasion a year ago have been moving northward under air cover provided by South African Mirage fighters flying from Namibia.

The Angolans, though recognizing South African air superiority in the region, expect to be able to defend Mutale and Lubango, the report said. Both towns are said to be protected by anti-aircraft missiles.

In addition, Lubango is defended jointly by Angolan forces and by Cuban troops, who have their own installations there.

According to Angolan military sources, the South Africans are being assisted in this offensive by units from the Angolan dissident movement UNITA, which has been aided and supplied by South Africa since 1975. The UNITA forces are said to be ambushing Angolan military convoys.

Lloyd said his forces acted on the basis of information contained in captured SWAPO documents calling for the assassination of political figures in Namibia and the stockpiling of weapons close to the Namibian border just before the anticipated cease-fire. SWAPO has called the documents fakes.

In the view of U.S. officials, the offensive could either further complicate a settlement or put additional pressure on Angola to compromise on the Cuban issue. It was similar mixed feelings about Israel's Lebanese incursion that characterized the U.S. position in the early weeks of that crisis. But as one official commented wryly, referring

to President Reagan's publicized appeal last week to Israeli Prime Minister Begin: "We can't really expect a call from the Oval office to Pretoria on this one. It's just not in the cards."

Murders Pose New Test For Rawlings Military Govt.

[AN] Jolted by the grisly slaying of three High Court justices early last month, Ghana's military-civilian government is struggling with the task of regaining the confidence of a frightened middle class.

Occurring against a backdrop of widely-reported violence by soldiers against civilians, the murders of Justices Cecilia Koranteng-Addow, F.P. Sarkodee and K.A. Agyepong triggered intense feeling in some quarters against the ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC). The justices, along with a fourth victim, the personnel director of the parastatal Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation, had a reputation of being unsympathetic to PNDC chairman Jerry Rawlings. Consequently the killings initially appeared to many to be the work of young soldiers or other PNDC supporters with a thirst for revenge.

Rawlings has strenuously denied any part in the sordid case, which he said "goes against all the principles which this revolutionary process is designed to advance." But he and other PNDC officials worry that many Ghanaians, particularly the middle class, are convinced of government complicity or else believe that further politically motivated violence can now be expected as the logical result of the revolution.

These sentiments were forcefully expressed last month by old-guard politician Victor Owusu, a leading contender for the presidency prior to the latest military coup. "The people of Ghana," said Owusu, "have watched with horror and amazement one brutal act after another committed with impunity by the very persons who are supposed to protect our security."

In an emotional article written for *West Africa* magazine, the former editor of Ghana's leading daily newspaper goes even further. Elizabeth Ohene blames PNDC sympathizers for the murders and charges the government with a "cover-up."

Although students and urban workers comprise the bulk of its political base, the PNDC has wished to avoid antagonizing Ghana's middle class. The government has been promoting a mass mobilization of citizens in all walks of life, and Rawlings has expressed the hope that all Ghanaians — rich and poor — would get behind the PNDC's national reconstruction campaign.

At the same time a good number of well-to-



CLEVELAND—Dr. Frederick D. Holliday was named superintendent of the 80,000 student Cleveland school system, which is plagued by financial difficulties and is under court ordered desegregation. Holliday, 56, was superintendent of schools in Plainfield, N. J. School board president Alva T. Bonda is on his left. p08

Exiled South African Author Ruth First Killed By Letter Bomb

do citizens have come under scrutiny or have been punished for a variety of potential and genuine offenses since the coup and an atmosphere of class antagonism prevails. The middle class has always relied on the army, as an instrument of state power, to defend the status quo, writes veteran political analyst Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill in *West Africa*. But following the July murders, says Bentsi-Enchill, "the middle classes feel the spectre of anarchic lawlessness they always see over the shoulder of progressive change."

In order to allay some of these fears the PNDC has orchestrated a chorus of official and semi-official condemnation of the murders. In addition to Rawlings' own statements, the slayings were repudiated by pro-PNDC groups such as the National Union of Ghanaian Students, the June 4th Movement, and the People's Solidarity Organization. Even the Workers' Defense Committee at the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation, a group that might have felt antagonism toward company personnel director Sam Acquah before his murder, issued a strong declaration mourning the event and praised the late Acquah for his rapport with the government.

In addition, the PNDC has recently set up a special five-person panel to oversee an inquiry into the murder case. It will include a retired judge, one member of the Bar Association (which has been bitterly critical of the authorities), a representative of the Attorney General and two other appointees.

Also in late July the PNDC announced a plan for new special courts designed to curb the excesses of undisciplined soldiers and of the People's Defense Committees, which Rawlings has recently accused of "political witch-hunting" and harassment of civilians. The head of state himself will chair a National Defense Committee given the job of helping direct the local groups.

Finally, the police in Accra have begun a 24-hour emergency call service to aid those in distress. While officials hope that all of these measures generate some kind of positive psychological effect on the middle class, the PNDC is continuing with the substance of its program for populist reform. Among the latest economic moves is a plan to establish one or more state companies to engage in bulk importation and export, a step that would cut deeply into the profits of the two largest trading firms, the United African Company and the United Trading Company.

[AN] The exiled South African author Ruth First was killed August 17 by a letter bomb sent to her office at Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane University, where she was Research Director for the Centre of African Studies. At least four people, including Centre director Aquino de Braganca, were injured in the explosion.

On Tuesday afternoon Ruth First had a small meeting in her office at the university at Maputo, according to correspondent Joseph Hanlong. As she often did, she opened her mail during the meeting. She came across two identical letters, one addressed to her, the other to de Braganca. She passed his letter to him, and he opened it, but it failed to go off.

When she opened hers, however, there was a blast so powerful that it killed her instantly and blew a large hole in the concrete wall of her office. The other people in the office at the time are all in the hospital with cuts and burns.

The 57-year-old Ms. First, from the time she was a teenager, devoted

most of her energies to opposing white rule in South Africa. In a biographic sketch in the book *From Protest to Challenge*, published by Stanford University's Hoover Institution Press, she is called "one of the best-known and ablest white champions of African rights."

As both a student and an adult, she was an active member of the South African Communist Party, the only non-racial political party in South Africa before its banning in 1950. She became associated with the African National Congress as soon as that organization began accepting whites.

Along with her attorney husband, Joe Slovo, Ms. First was one of 156 defendants in the famous Treason Trial, which lasted from 1956 to 1961. Eventually acquitted, she was arrested again and held in solitary confinement in 1963. Upon her release from prison she left the country.

Among the many books she wrote or co-authored are *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid* (1972); 117

Days (1965), an account of her experiences in detention; and *Olive Schreiner* (1980), a biography of the early South African feminist.

Most of her considerable body of work has dealt with the effects of South Africa's economic and political system on the lives of black South Africans.

After Mozambique's independence in 1975, Ms. First and Slovo returned to southern Africa. Her research at the university in Maputo at first dealt primarily with the political economy of Mozambique, but last year she began to direct a group specializing in tracking and analyzing events in all of southern Africa.

Especially pleased with her work on Olive Schreiner, Ms. First — the mother of three daughters — told *Africa News*, "I came to feminism through radical politics. Ann Scott, my co-author, came to radical politics through feminism. It was a stimulating collaboration."

Mozambican officials have blamed the death on South African secret agents.



WASHINGTON—President Reagan talks with Liberian head of state Samuel Doe before an Oval Office meeting. UPI Photo

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