

SOUTHERN AFRICA

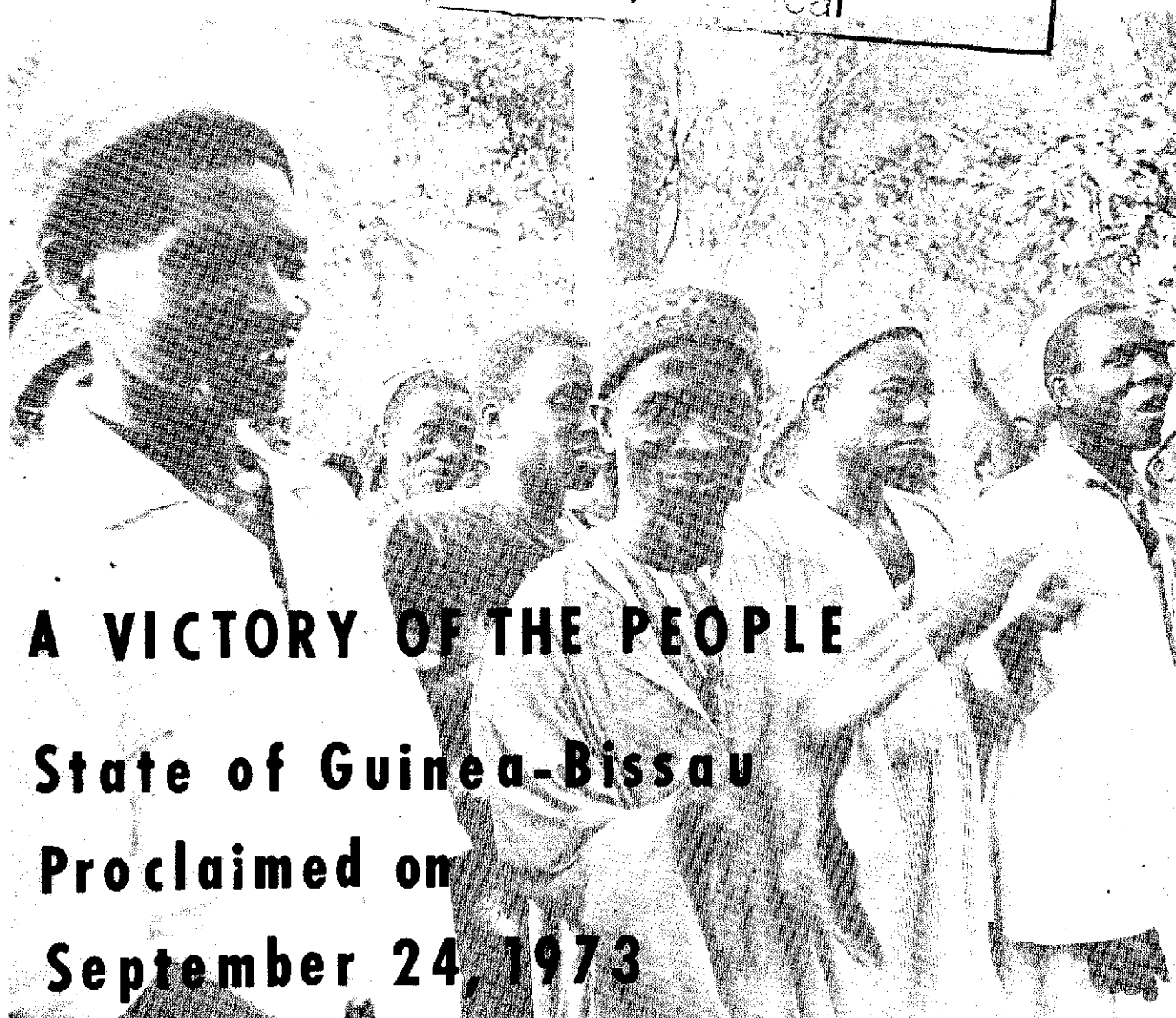
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A VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE

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*Front Cover: People of
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<p>OUR COLLECTIVE</p> <p>laverne brandon laura brown charlie ebel jennifer davis kwezi fumey peggy halsey janet hooper tami hultman paul irish marci kerr read kramer dick leonard margaret marshall mary mcanelly</p>	<p>SOUTHERN AFRICA is published monthly except for two double issues for the months of June-July, August-September, by the New York Southern Africa Committee. Our two addresses are: Southern Africa Committee, 244 West 27th Street, Fifth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10001 and P.O. Box 3851, Durham, North Carolina 27702, (919) 682-7342. For subscriptions and further information about the magazine, write to New York.</p> <p>All subscriptions run from January to December. Those readers subscribing later in the year will be sent back issues to January, or after June, readers may opt for the 7 month subscription. Subscription rates are \$5.00 per year for individuals; 7 month subscription from June is \$3.00; Institutions are \$15.00 per year; Cost per copy is 50¢ for regular issues, 80¢ for double issues; airmail postage (add subscription rate); South and Central America: \$6.00 per year; Africa, Asia, Europe: \$7.50 per year; Prisoners free. If unable to send \$5.00, please write to us for other arrangements.</p>	<p>davis m'gabe bill minter ruth minter gail morlan don morton marie orth-pellevicini dipenkar ray penelope roach david robinson susan rogers tim smith susan strane jinni stroman john stroman stephanie urdang</p>
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Inside Mozambique today

Early in October last year, Generali Ulimwengu, journalist on the Daily News, Tanzania, accompanied a team from the OAU Liberation Committee into free Mozambique, the province of Cabo Delgado, on a ten-day visit. The group included the Liberation Committee's Secretary-General, Major Hashim Mbita, and was accompanied by FRELIMO president, Samora Machel.

On his return, Ulimwengu wrote a series of articles on his visit which were published in the Daily News. We reprint two of these below, dated November 3 and 4, 1972.

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION: FOOD FOR COMBATANTS, BETTER LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE

Today, I propose to look at the way the freedom fighters have undertaken the reconstruction of their country, with a view to improving the life there.

To a common combatant in FRELIMO, liberation does not consist in wresting away squares of kilometres of land from the Portuguese. It means much more than that. It means that rehabilitation of real, free life in these areas, guided by the understanding that these removal of the Portuguese is only a prerequisite to attaining a worthwhile life for the people. This FRELIMO is now fighting to remove the Portuguese obstacle in the people's way.

Nor are the guerrillas content with only removing this obstacle and then sitting, waiting till the whole territory is militarily free. Immediately an area is freed, FRELIMO sets out to change its face politically, economically, and culturally. As a result, a new community emerges.

The first important task that is undertaken is mobilisation for production. This is seen as the only way to make the people self-sufficient in the vital item of feeding and also helping the revolutionary struggle.

FRELIMO has evolved a full-fledged economic department which supervises the production of crops and other things and deals with ways to effect efficient and fair marketing. At all levels, therefore, FRELIMO oversees the economic life of this area and makes sure that its own soldiers do take part in production activities.

The producers in Mozambique can be grouped into three categories: those who are under complete Party (FRELIMO) control; those working on a co-operative and those working individually.

Strictly, the Party busies itself with agricultural production, involving crops and animal husbandry. In Cabo Delgado, though the larger animals are not to be found, they are thought not suitable, because of the war conditions. There is, nevertheless, a plan to introduce sheep and goats from without the province.

It is poultry that I noticed to be in plenty in this province. From the day we went in, to the day we came

out, our party was treated to chicken, and I was every time worried that we would eat this province out of chicken! But my fears were quelled when I was told that FRELIMO had enough chicken to feed us even if we had to stay for a year.

The Party organises what are known as Permanent, Shambas. These are farms where FRELIMO guerrillas stay almost permanently, their major preoccupation being to produce food for the fighting soldiers, though these cultivating soldiers might be called to the front if and when their guns are specially needed.

Presently, the Party has 17 permanent shambas. Each district is enjoined to have at least one permanent shamba. There are 14 districts in the province. Each has the required one shamba. One district (Mueda) has two, and two subdistricts have one each. One of the Mueda shambas is used to supply food to the advance soldiers.

Apart from these, each district is required to have at least four "isolated shambas", that is shambas where soldiers provide part-time labour, while at the same time engaging in military activities. They do not stay on the shambas. They only go there to work and go back to their bases.

Localities, which are a level down from district, also have their part to play in production.

The individual cultivator still has some share in production, but FRELIMO is determined to undertake a political education programme to make the people change from this mode of production. Meanwhile, FRELIMO helps the poor peasants by instructing modern animal and crop husbandry; and the Party's production cadres are busy in this field.

It has been mentioned that one of the cardinal objectives in production is to support fighting soldiers with food, without which no fighting would be possible. In those shambas directly run by FRELIMO, the food is given directly to those responsible for storing and distributing it to military detachments according to their needs.

As for shambas cultivated by individuals, it is mainly the civilian population that decides on the contribution each cultivator has to make to the common coffer to help further the struggle, and the contribution will depend on the needs and the level or turn of the war.

Every season, Party cadres meet with the civilian elders and fix the amount requisite to "finance" the struggle, say three baskets of this or that per family. Then the elders undertake to collect and store the contributions. After that, they inform Party authorities at circle, locality, district, sector and provincial levels. It is upon these authorities to go and collect the food as and when they need it.

In times of emergency, extra contribution is called for.

The front informs the elders of the situation, and the elders, together with those they lead, decide on the extra contribution to be made.

Apart from agricultural production, FRELIMO is currently engaged in the promotion of small-scale industry, designed to provide day-to-day needs of the people. One area of particular interest is blacksmithing, which involves the making of knives, pangas, axes and hoes. The problem here is obtaining the requisite material. The major source is the metallic objects captured during raids on Portuguese posts.

There also has been established a salt-manufacturing industry, using water from salt ponds. There are plans underway to utilise sea water in those liberated areas close to the sea. A good number of people now use Mozambique-made salt.

The carving industry is fast developing into a major commercial interest in the Cabo Delgado Province, where the Makonde have distinguished themselves as perhaps the most expressive carvers in the world. The Party has allocated some soldiers to these activities, and has helped in teaching the local carvers the art of keeping records, separating capital from realised surplus, and the use of such surplus.

A soap fabricating industry is on the agenda but has not yet taken off the ground. Presently, it is only the Tunduru FRELIMO Education Centre that fabricates the soap that the combatants use inside Mozambique.

Also taking shape is a fishing industry, mainly in the Ludede and Neguli ponds. The first one is in the First Sector of the province while the second one is the Second Sector. Co-operative fishing is undertaken, although there are some fishermen working individually. The Party however supervises all the fishing activities.

Perhaps the most pressing problem in production is to be found on the marketing side, and this is where FRELIMO economists are racking their brains.

During the opening years of the struggle, opportunism was threatening to wreck the front, as some leaders availed themselves of the trust given them by Mozambican people to establish commercial centres which turned out to be centres for the exploitation of the people. They established shops where the people could get some necessary articles, and undertook to buy the people's produce.

These sham leaders fixed the prices of both the produce and the articles sold to the people, and soon it was clear that massive profits were being amassed by the leaders at the expense of the people. These exploiters were checked and they had no alternative save to defect to the Portuguese fascists. Such is the story of extortionists of the Lazaro Kavandame school.

Now FRELIMO is faced with the necessity to ensure that true co-operatives, aiming at nothing but service to the peasant, thrive. Now, the problem is that the people have to walk long distances to a co-operative centre.

At one such centre we found a big number of people who had come to sell their produce, having travelled for 2 or 3 days.

However, FRELIMO has already established a number of commercial posts inside Mozambique and plans are under way to increase their number. This will save the peasants a great deal of trouble occasioned by long, irksome marches.

The marketing is not done in any currency as, it is appreciated FRELIMO has no currency. Nor would it be the front's priority need at this time. So, it is barter exchange that is being used. The peasant brings his produce



Samora Machel demonstrates the use of an artillery gun to the OAU Liberation Committee members.

which is weighed and its monetary value established.

Then he takes the receipt to the co-operative shop where he has the power to choose an article with a monetary value equal to the produce he brought.

The President, when he visited the centre, directed that more sifts and weighing scales be obtained to shorten the time that the peasants have to spend at the centre waiting for the process of marketing to be complete.

Another problem is that FRELIMO does not have the initial capital to run the co-operative centre. Thus, the Party is sometimes forced to sell the received produce with undue haste to be able to repay the shop-keeper who gave them the clothing or such other articles.

This type of problem might be alleviated if some corporations in Tanzania agreed to a credit arrangement with FRELIMO, to provide them with cloth, sugar, soap, etc. and accept payment when FRELIMO has sold the produce.

The problems that the people of Mozambique face in this economic field are gigantic, but no less is their determination to deal with the problems. Considering that Cabo Delgado Province was set aside by the Portuguese as a strategic area and was devoid of any development, whatever successes that can be seen are a result of the hard work of the people under the leadership of FRELIMO.

And FRELIMO is not prepared to rest for, the road is still long.



Combatants engaged in producing their own food.

FRELIMO'S TASK: IDEOLOGY AND SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE

We have already observed that FRELIMO lays heavy stress on the development of people in liberated areas. It is worthwhile to note that social service, though because of the war conditions they are still in their infancy, are getting all the attention that FRELIMO can pay to them.

One of the areas getting priority attention is education for the young. It is borne in mind that the type of education you give to your young is the determining

factor in what type of citizens will populate the country in future.

President Samora takes deep interest in the education of the young, and during his talks to school children, I noticed that he took more time than he took talking to older people. One could also notice that he took trouble to instil in those young children the habit of thinking and asking questions related to the Mozambican struggle.

The children are taught about Portuguese colonialism, and its relationship with world imperialism. They are also taught about Africa and the role that the Organization of African Unity plays in the liberation struggle in Mozambique. In short, they are trained to look at themselves as Africans.

FRELIMO instruction discourages individualism and the children are always taught that the only way that Mozambique can ever be truly free, even after winning the armed part of the struggle, is by having all Mozambique think collectively and work communally for the benefit of all Mozambicans. Schools, in other words, have been turned into potent nurseries of socialist thinking.

All this is possible because the syllabus for these schools are prepared by FRELIMO itself and the Party's ideological line is given the overriding predominance. "After a correct ideology," quips Comrade Samora, everything else follows for, everybody then knows what his role is and works for the common good."

We visited one infantario (nursery), where small children were kept. These children were those of people who were unable to maintain them. There also were children who had lost their mothers at birth, and children of soldiers in active combat.

The teacher, a young girl who had received training from FRELIMO at a rather late age, was teaching the children about numbers. The numbers were arranged thus: 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100.

The children were chorusing the numbers as pointed out by the teacher, moving from 10 to 100. Samora did not seem to be pleased with this. So, he took the teacher's pointer, and proceeded to point at numbers at random. Luckily, the children wisened to his trap, and got all the numbers correct.

Later, the President remarked that the great task facing the front was to ensure that children are not made to parrot things they did not understand. Everything taught had to be accompanied with creative thinking.

At the same infantario, there is a small hospital which treats simple ailments. We found that the common problems there were bacterial infections and jiggers.

Dr. Kasiga did mention simple penicillin as the cure for the bacterial infections and something as simple for the jiggers. But this hospital lacked these things, and the children at the infantario were having a hard time trying to keep the jigger itch from detracting their attention during class.

Despite all these problems, the children were in high spirit and entertained us with revolutionary songs, emphasising the ideological nature of the Mozambican struggle and the solidarity among African states. One could not help feeling there was great investment here and that the people of Mozambique would be paid fitting dividends, come time when these youngsters are old enough to assume the full duties of revolutionaries.

The nurses at FRELIMO nurseries are Mozambicans

who have volunteered to serve the revolution. Their training has not been too comprehensive but the greatest asset they have is that they are clear about what citizens they want to mould out of these children. And what we saw of their work was very impressive.

But it should not be taken that the ideological education stops with the children. It is the policy of FRELIMO to have every Mozambican politically educated, capable of identifying issues and trends.

First and foremost, FRELIMO guerrillas themselves must grasp the ideology of liberation, which, as FRELIMO sees it, covers almost everything in the life of the freedom fighter; not only during the armed combat against the Portuguese but also after the Portuguese will have left and Mozambicans get down to consolidating their gains.

One of the most basic things for a guerrilla to grasp is the need, as described elsewhere in this series, to identify the whole struggle within the arsenal of FRELIMO. And, it has turned out that the people of Mozambique, particularly in the liberated areas, are the ones who have been responsible for carrying the struggle to the height it now has attained.

The commitment to ideals has helped drive out of FRELIMO what would otherwise have been hampering tendencies of elitism, rank and privilege. A person who is used to the rank arrogance of most armies will be astounded by the fact that FRELIMO has no officers' ranks. And yet, it has commanders and orders are carried out as required.

The President once cracked a joke about some combatants whose original orientation made them conceive of ranks just like in western armies. When they realised there was going to be nothing of the sort, they asked:

'What shall we be called, then?' At which, Samora said, he retorted: 'What shall you be called?! Didn't your fathers give you names?!!'

Importance is placed on the active contribution of every combatant rather than on what rank he displays on his shoulders. Comrade Samora went on to ridicule those soldiers by saying: "in some armies, I have seen people who tilt their shoulders at a special angle so as to allow people to read their ranks. Such people usually have nothing to offer except their ranks."

Apart from this, the soldiers are thoroughly educated in identifying their enemies. The greatest enemy is world imperialism which uses Portugal as its pimp in her so-called African colonies. All this suffering by the colonised people takes place because of the economic greed of certain countries. The issue is economic, though it has been complicated by deliberately sown racial overtones. These things, any guerrilla will tell you.

It is therefore not surprising that these guerrillas harbour no ill-will toward the Portuguese people. They know that these people live under an oppressive regime over which they have no power. As a matter of fact, significant portions of the Portuguese people have openly shown solidarity with the fighters in Portuguese-held territories.

It is this ideological uprightness that has given FRELIMO such a humane nature that, at first glance, it might seem as if the Portuguese fascists are blessed to have such adversaries—people who do not have racial hatred, who accept their Portuguese sympathisers as their



comrades in fighting a rotten regime and who have displayed singular humanism when dealing with soliders captured from Portuguese forces.

Several times, Portuguese soliders have been captured by FRELIMO. The guerrillas desisted from even teasing them, and instead treated them as special guests, allowing them to choose where they wanted to go from there, a far cry from the brutality exercised by the Portuguese administration on the people of Mozambique.

The President recounted to us an occasion when FRELIMO combatants returned to base with some Portuguese soldiers captured during the fight. The guerrillas chanted victory songs, and asked their President to watch as they re-enacted the attack, using the captives as guinea-pigs. The President hurried away, remarking that he was in no mood to watch something so uncivilised. This greatly taught the guerrillas not to harass their prisoners.

I was told a heartening story of some captured soldiers whom FRELIMO discovered to be illiterate. This is not surprising because in Portugal illiteracy is the order of the day, since astronomical sums are expended to conduct colonial wars. So, the guerrillas decided to teach these soldiers reading and writing, and when they were literate enough to go away, they were released to go back home. Just like that.

Which has helped to step up FRELIMO's prestige among the Portuguese people, for it does demonstrate what level of civilization FRELIMO has attained, before which civilization Caetano and his group look like a bunch of savage murderers.

FRELIMO's reputation has prompted several defections from the Portuguese forces as Portuguese soldiers get to understand the futility of their cause, the deceptions by imperialism and the inevitable invincibility of FRELIMO.

And FRELIMO is not complacent. Constantly, ideological clarity is stressed and the need for dialogue given prominence through constant meetings between the guerrillas and the civilians. It is always emphasised that the greatest war in Mozambique is ideological. The gun only happens to be a reflection of the contradictions to grapple with.

With this type of orientation, one is no longer surprised by the fantastic successes registered by FRELIMO despite the inferiority of their weapons. The Portuguese, despite NATO arming, just lack this overriding ingredient. ■



Don't isolate us.

“ For years I have heard all the arguments, proposals and suggestions for removing the apartheid system and I must express my doubts whether what has been suggested till now is either desirable or effective for me or my fellow African workers in South Africa.

Don't isolate us, don't break off contact, and don't advocate disengagement and withdrawal of foreign investments – because you will still be talking in another 10 years' time and the situation will not have changed to any degree. Investments from foreign countries have created job opportunities for thousands of black workers who could otherwise have been unemployed.”

Lucy Mvubelo
3rd Aug. 1973.

Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo,
General Secretary National Union of Clothing Workers (S.A.)

For further information contact
the Economics Division **THE TRUST BANK OF AFRICA LIMITED**, 31st Floor, Trust Bank Centre, Heerengracht, Cape Town, South Africa

special: Black sell-outs sell Apartheid

These two advertisements appeared in the New York Times and Washington Post in September. Their political implications are analysed below but it is also necessary to point out that the advertisements are full of distortions and half-truths. Thus Lucas Mangope is quoted as saying: "I have often expressed my differences with the white government of Pretoria in no uncertain terms. But the mere idea of total economic sanctions . . . makes me shudder." In fact the men and women who have expressed real radical opposition to the South African Government have found themselves banned, house arrested or imprisoned for their actions, and to advocate, even verbally, the imposition of sanctions against South Africa is a crime under the Terrorism Act, punishable by a minimum five year jail sentence and the possibility of a death sentence.

Lucy Mvubelo, the signer of the second advertisement, is identified as "General Secretary National Union of Clothing Workers (S.A.). The advertisement fails to point out that under South African law Ms. Mvubelo, an African woman can only be a member of a non-recognised, non-registered Trade Union, which has no official right to participate in collective bargaining. Nor does the advertisement indicate that it is still virtually totally illegal for a black worker to strike under any circumstances.

#

DEFENDERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAY OF LIFE

The South African regime's hitherto subdued public relations campaign, built around the use of black spokesmen and women took two large steps into the open in September in the United States. Big, expensive advertisements with appeals against economic and political sanctions signed by Lucas Mvubelo, identified as General Secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers (S.A.) appeared in two of America's most influential daily newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Both advertisements were sponsored by the Trust Bank—a bank dominated by Afrikaner capital and on whose Board sit many leading Nationalist Party supporters.

The South African Government has always tried to persuade the outside world that Blacks were happy under the system of Apartheid, exploitation and exclusion practiced by the white rulers. That way Western factory owners, British ship builders, United States motor corporations and computer sellers could all continue to invest, do business

and make profits in South Africa with an easy conscience. The South African Government continued to tell this story despite the evidence of 69 people shot at Sharpeville in 1960 and 12 miners killed at Carletonville in September 1973, despite hundreds of political prisoners and the one million arrests every year under the pass laws, despite the 80% of the African working population that is still paid below poverty datum line wages, despite the fact that no Black woman or man has any hope of ever having any say in shaping the laws and policies of their own land as long as the present system of government survives.

But the myth of the happy black man has become more and more difficult to maintain in the face of increasing internal and external opposition to the system, and the South African Government has had to adopt new and more sophisticated tactics to project a favorable image internationally. "Dialogue" with independent Africa, the visit of President Banda to South Africa, attempts to project an image of multi-racialism via sports events, the new willingness to allow prominent black U.S. visitors into the country—all these were sign-posts on the road the South Africans were taking in an attempt to maintain external credibility and strengthen internal control. No-one will believe whites who defend South Africa any more, so the racists have been forced to seek credibility by using black spokesmen and women. Few people in the world would believe the voice of Prime Minister Vorster or mine-owner Oppenheimer (Chairman of the Corporation which owns the mine at which the 12 workers were shot this month) when they promise that "things are changing and getting better." Hence the new tactic of using black voices to tell the story.

SAFETY VALVE

In fact the South Africans are attempting to do more with this new tactic than just pull off a giant international confidence trick. They are beginning to understand the usefulness of allowing the development inside South Africa of a black elite, which, by being given some freedom to criticise the Government, will capture the following of the black majority and curb the militancy of the people, acting as a safety valve for popular anger and frustration. Perhaps the clearest expression of this role is afforded by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who has at times made very strong speeches attacking various aspects of Government policy, and who has emerged as one of the most publicised black figures in the current controversy about African wage levels. In a recent speech Buthelezi said: "We need a complete re-orientation in our thinking about black workers. We cannot have industrial workers who do not get any, or so little, of the benefits of industrialization. If we do not do something about it we are asking for trouble. I wish to appeal to South African industry to ward off a bloody revolution by making our people feel that they have something to lose if anything went wrong in South Africa. A few million Rand set aside now to meet the aspirations and needs of black workers is a big investment in the long run. It is better to lose a few million Rand now than everything later."



Economic sanctions make me shudder.

“ I have often expressed my differences with the white government of Pretoria in no uncertain terms. But the mere idea of total economic sanctions from abroad to assist us, makes me shudder. We, the black people, will be the first to suffer. ”

L. M. Mangoshe

9/8/73

Chief Minister L. M. Mangoshe,
Bophuthatswana Government Service

For information contact The Economics

THE TRUST BANK OF AFRICA LIMITED, 31st Floor, Trust Bank Centre, Harare/Highway, Capetown, South Africa

The tactic of using this rising black elite as spokesmen, nationally and internationally satisfied a number of different needs at the same time, and coalesces the interests of a number of very different forces. It meets internal white interests politically, as described above. It also provides a strong platform for preserving international credibility. This is crucially important for South Africa. Apart from the importance of international military and strategic support, South Africa is still extremely dependent on foreign capital for its economic prosperity and growth. It is estimated that the total value of foreign capital invested in South Africa had reached \$8,160 million by the end of 1972; \$809 million dollars of new capital flowed into South Africa in 1972 alone. It is vital to keep that stream flowing. But corporations have been coming under increasing attack in the United States, as well as in Europe, for their role in supporting the white minority and colonial regimes in Southern Africa. It has become embarrassing for many of the giant U.S. corporations to have their role in southern Africa continually exposed and attacked. They are looking for a way back to respectability, seeking a way to justify their continued involvement in South Africa in terms of a "contribution to the process of peaceful social change". Not surprisingly, they have seized on men such as Buthelezi to provide them with the needed justification. Thus Buthelezi has recently been hailed by the prestigious American business newspaper, the Wall Street Journal as "the most prominent black leader in South Africa," in an article which launched a strong attack on "reformers, particularly in the United Nations and American and British churches, who dream of eradicating apartheid through an anathema that would strangle the South African economy." Branding those who support international actions, such as corporate disengagement and economic sanctions against Apartheid, as people adopting a "posture of total moral purity" whose purpose is concerned less with correcting the specific evils than with "demonstrating the virtue of the posturer," the Journal indicates its preference for men of reason, such as Buthelezi. It concludes, "We can't help believing that if any good does come out of the unhappy situation in that nation, it will be less the result of the far-away critics than of the political prudence of men like Chief Buthelezi" (*Wall Street Journal*, August 27, 1973).

VISITS SPONSORED

South Africa's new black spokesmen have been receiving support and encouragement not only from the U.S. business world, but also from significant political circles. Thus the U.S. State Department has been sponsoring an increasing number of visits to the United States by black South Africans. The list of such visitors is interesting because it focuses heavily on men involved in one way or another with the Bantustan administrations . . . or with the parallel government institutions in the cities. The list of such sponsored visitors in 1972/73 included Chief Kaiser Matanzima (Chief Minister of the Transkei) Dr. David Thebehali (Johannesburg Urban Bantu Council), Mr. Lennox Sebe (Executive Counselor for Education, Ciskei), Mr. B. L. Dladla (Executive Counselor, Kwazulu), and Professor and M. s. Ntsanwisi (Chief Counselor, Machangana-Tsonga Territorial Authority). Chief Lucas Mangope and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi also spent time in the United States, the latter having been especially invited, the last time he came, in order to help lead the argument against Church leaders calling for an end to U.S. corporate involvement in Southern Africa, in a struggle being fought out within the Synod of the United Church of Christ.

Two points of particular interest might be stressed in connection with all these visits. First that these black leaders travelled with the consent of the South African Government. Secondly, that the United States Administration, which has consistently refused to recognise the legitimacy of the liberation movements in Southern Africa, and which has steadfastly adhered to the position that it can only support "peaceful methods of change" has been quick to welcome these new "leaders."

There can be no doubt that the "change" being sponsored by the South African Government is not the kind of change being fought for by the black majority of southern Africa. Thus, whatever their motives, the so-called black leaders who lend their names to the South African propaganda campaign are giving support to the stability of that very authority which will have to be destroyed before there is real liberation in southern Africa. In this context their own personal honesty or sincerity is irrelevant, and the effect of their action is a betrayal of the freedom struggle in South Africa. ●

Jennifer Davis



"Thing is, do you sup with the devil in the hope of changing his diet . . . ?"

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

APARTHEID AND THE PILL

Birth control pills will be available—free of charge to all races if the South African Pharmaceutical Association's advice is followed. However, some Afrikaner theologians have expressed the belief that it is the duty of the whites to "multiply on the earth . . . and thus to keep the increase of the white population high." They would ban the pill for all white women. The pill, according to a white churchleader, M. Steyn, leads only to promiscuity and prostitution. However, "the Bantu . . . could be given the pill with an easy mind . . . The morals of the blacks have already sunk so low that promiscuity could not be any greater." (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, June 8, 1973).

"NO LADY"

A Krugersdorp resident objected to the sign "non-White ladies" outside a rest-room, and had it changed to "non-White women" (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, July 29, 1973).

TERRORISM TRIAL APPEAL DENIED

The Appellate Division in Bloemfontein has refused Alexander Moumbaris leave to appeal against his conviction and sentence of 12 years imprisonment on nine counts under the Terrorism Act. (See *SOUTHERN AFRICA*, May and August-Sept. for background). (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 11, 1973)

WHITE POLITICS

"VERLIGTE ACTION" FORMED

A new organization was formed in South Africa at the end of June, calling itself Verligte Action. 'Verligte' is an Afrikaans term meaning literally "enlightened", but entering popular usage when juxtaposed with 'verkrampste', the term for 'narrow-minded' or 'cramped'. If nothing else, the move represents the acknowledgement on behalf of a number of whites that the present political structure does not cope with the realities of the South Africa situation, viewing South Africa as a pluralistic society which must take into account the rights of each of the groups within the country. They seek to develop a sense of "South Africaness" that will forge together the members of the different ethnic groups. However, they maintain that they are not, and will not be associated with a political party and obviously seek to achieve this within the framework of the prevailing political system.

This is one way in which the whites are responding to the rise of black power and the growing outspokenness of blacks, such as the members of SASO (the South African Student Organization) and key Bantustan leaders. Although it is clear that the latter are entrenching the system of apartheid, the whites feel the necessity of taking this into account when trying to formulate a blueprint for the future. Verligte Action realizes that the economy of South Africa is totally dependent on blacks and that the expansion of the economy will be stifled as long as the present reservation of management positions for whites is maintained, when already there are too few whites to fill these positions.

In response to much international debate within the

SOUTH AFRICA

organization and some criticism from members of the black community, V.A. announced that membership will be open to "all South Africans irrespective of language or color". (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, July 25, 1973) They are therefore trying to ascertain how the different ethnic groups can be involved.

They are ambitious and the issues that they plan to attack are numerous. They include citizenship, political rights, labor, welfare services, censorship, student affairs, education, city and community planning, economy and finance, legal matters, foreign affairs, ecology.

What they in fact aim to achieve is unclear. The organization is seen by Prime Minister Vorster as "just another attack on the Nationalist Party from the same source." (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 7, 1973). The question of the political nature of the group and the effort to be multi-racial raises serious questions. In 1968 the Prohibition of Improper Interference Act was passed to eliminate mixed political activity and discussion. It became illegal to belong to a mixed political party, or to be involved in political matters relating to an ethnic group other than one's own. This act forced the small Liberal Party to disband. Nevertheless, V.A. are claiming success in their early attempts to hold formal discussions with representatives of the black community. They maintain that they are not political, and thus are unaffected by the act. (*Star* Johannesburg, July 21, August 18, 25, 1973)

NEW POLITICAL PARTY

One way to understand the new Verligte Action (see above) is to see it as an effort to prevent armed struggle between Black and White in South Africa by making significant concessions to Blacks and buying off the less militant. A new political party to be formed by former Minister of the Interior Theo Gerdener is explicitly an attempt to avoid such conflict. Gerdener left the government last year to form Action South and Southern Africa, a "non-political" organization that would deal with the fundamental issue of race relations in South Africa. Gerdener has now decided that the formation of a political party is necessary for the furtherance of his goals and hopes for support from members of all three parties, particularly Verligte Nationalists.

The key position of the new party will be its advocacy of the integration of whites, Coloureds and Indians. Africans will be separate, and given "absolute independence" in a federation of states. Hence, South Africa will have two "political streams," one African, and the other comprised of the three smaller groups. Gerdener believes that the present political structure of South Africa makes a clash between blacks and whites inevitable, and that his proposed structure would shift the balance of power to

prevent such a clash. He is also concerned about the wars of liberation that are moving closer and closer. His answer is the military cooperation between the countries of Southern Africa, "to make the area safe from communism and terrorism." In a recent speech he said, "communist-inspired terrorism was an active evil in all parts of the world." (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 28, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, July 25, 1973)

VORSTER'S FOREIGN POLICY

As part of the celebration of 25 years in power, Prime Minister Vorster outlined in a special article the future direction of South Africa's foreign policy. First, South Africa will remain a member of the United Nations because it is South Africa's right to be there. However, the efforts to interfere in the internal affairs or to act as a world parliament will not be tolerated. Secondly, "South Africa would try to maintain and expand her material and spiritual bonds with free Western nations in a community of mutual interest." Finally, South Africa would seek to build up and maintain good relations with the states in Africa, including those within South Africa's immediate sphere of interest. Vorster warned, "Anybody who tries to violate our national integrity or who co-operates in undermining that integrity, will be fought on our territory and thrown out of our territory with every means in our power." (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 4, 1973)

THEORY OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

In an article entitled "South Africa: The White Leader," Christian P. Potholm has made a useful summary evaluation of the Bantustan theory and of the significance of economic expansion in South Africa. "...However weak and impotent the Bantustans, they give the semblance of African opportunity and, by forcing the Africans into tribal political groups, stave off any future national coalescence of Africans. At least that is what most white South Africans hope. The government feels that by this method, the African revolution can be put off indefinitely, and that the very nature of the political structures within the Bantustans, with their emphasis on

traditional African political authorities, will insure docile local leadership and develop a class of Africans beholden to the central, European-run government. Although this process has been rightly labelled the politics of 'domestic colonialism' it does seem to have at least limited appeal to some Africans, who feel that half a loaf is better than none....

"Any further amelioration of the economic plight of the non-European actually bolsters the existing political system by offering an economic safety valve. As long as there is a prospect of relative upward mobility, the system will continue to have a strong distributive capability at its disposal. What this improvement is likely to bring, then, is 1) an increase in the number of Africans committed to the status quo, and 2) a corresponding rise in the floor under European economic life. In short, although Africans will gain economically, they will not pass even the lower echelons of the Europeans, nor will African economic advances be translated into political change because of the ability of the Bantustan program to deflect increasing demand pressures away from the political center." (*Current History*, A World Affairs Monthly, March, 1973. Vol. 64, no. 379).

THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION INVESTIGATES GOVERNMENT CRITICS

Almost 18 months ago the Schlebusch Commission was set up to investigate four liberal organizations in South Africa: the National Union of South African Students, the Christian Institute, the Institute of Race Relations and the now disbanded University Christian Movement. The Commission is made up of members of parliament from both the United and Nationalist Parties, although United party participants have been severely criticized for taking part in the investigations.

The leaders of the Christian Institute, the Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, and the Rev. Theo Kotze have issued a statement indicating that they will refuse to testify before the Commission on the grounds of Christian conscience. They risk imprisonment by taking this stand. (*Cape Times*, Cape Town, August 15, 1973)

It is the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) that is the main focus of the Schelbusch Commission investigation at the moment. There has been internal debate within the IRR as to whether or not to give evidence, even when subpoenaed. A decision was taken that individual members were free to decide for themselves. The Institute's director, Fred van Wyk, was instructed not to hand over documents for examination unless subpoenaed to do so.

Refusal to testify voluntarily has predictably resulted in a number of IRR leaders receiving subpoenas. Some, including the former director Quintin Whyte, are ready to testify. Peter Randall, the director of SPROCAS and former staff member of the IRR, has said he will refuse to obey the subpoena. In explaining why, he has appealed to the United Party to withdraw its four members from the Commission and refuse to be part of what he calls "a gross prostitution of democracy." His objections to the Commission were spelled out in a letter to the chairman: "I believe that it is essential for democracy that the...legislature and judiciary should remain strictly separate....Although people appearing before the Commission are not afforded elementary legal rights, this has



not prevented some of them from receiving severe punishment without recourse to the courts...."

Friends of his fear that the Government will ban the outspoken Randall, and believe that this may be one reason for his decision to elaborate his position fully at this time.

The first person to actually defy a subpoena was Ilona Kleinschmidt. She attended the hearing when called but refused to testify. Randall will be called the first week in September. Kleinschmidt was to be referred to the Attorney General for her refusal. However, two United Party members opposed the referral on procedural considerations. They felt that the full commission, not just a sub-committee, should be involved in turning Kleinschmidt over for possible prosecution. These objections were met. Numerous others are stating that they will not testify, even though the possibility of punishment becomes more and more likely. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 14, 21, August 4, 18, 25, 1973; *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, August 5, 1973)

WHITE MERCENARIES RECRUITED IN SOUTH AFRICA

General Cliff Melville, retired commandant-general of the South African defense force, has called for volunteers to attack Zambia and Tanzania. He is reported to have said, "Let's play the game the terrorists' way—an eye for an eye. The time has come to deal effectively with them in their own areas." Zambia and Tanzania are targets because of their support for the liberation movements. Within a week of Melville's announcement, more than 100 people had contacted him, expressing interest in his force. Melville claims that the mercenaries will have no connection with the South African Government or defense forces. "The Government need not know anything," he said. He added that he believed that such action would not precipitate an all-out war in southern Africa.

According to the *Times of Zambia* Melville's statements confirm a disclosure by President Kaunda of Zambia last March that there was a plot by Rhodesian security forces backed up by South African soldiers posing as mercenaries to attack Zambian centers of population. (*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, June 5, 1973).

JOURNALIST CONVICTED—NEW THREAT TO PRESS FREEDOM

Patrick Laurence of the Johannesburg *Star* interviewed Robert Sobukwe, banned leader of the Pan Africanist Congress. He wrote up the interview for publication in the *Observer*, and sent it to London. The article never arrived at the newspaper. Rather, it found its way to the police in Johannesburg.

It is illegal to quote a banned person in the South African press. However, this is the first time action has been taken against the author of an article written for publication outside the country. Mail in South Africa or London or both, is obviously being intercepted, and the freedom of foreign journalists inside South Africa is clearly threatened.

Patrick Laurence was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment conditionally suspended for three years, under the Suppression of Communism Act. (*New York Times*, August 4, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, August 4, 11, 1973).



Phillip Frame

Economics

WORKERS STRIKE OUT AGAINST TEXTILE MAGNATE

Philip Frame, whose name is synonymous with the South African textile industry, is the object of concerted trade union pressure to reform his labor practices. TUCSA general secretary Arthur Grobbelaar has attacked Frame for his treatment of workers and noted that "All of the present overseas criticism is founded on labor practices like those of the Frame group."

TUCSA's support for Frame employees, which was decided at the annual conference, followed the firing of 500-600 workers at the groups Wentex mill in Durban. The workers were fired after most of the 2500 employees at the plant demanded pay raises of about \$30 per month. A company official offered them \$1 raise and told all to return to work immediately. His threat was backed by the presence of about 50 policemen with clubs. When the workers began to enter they found that jobs in three of the plant's departments had been terminated. At that point, most of the workers refused to return, and the security police attempted to arrest one of the leaders, but was stopped by a crowd of workers.

According to the Johannesburg *Star*, the confrontation with Frame is one TUCSA "cannot afford to lose." The Council has demanded the intervention of the South African Minister of Labor, Viljoen. Although they want reinstatement of the fired workers, they appear to be stressing only the 10 labor leaders. Viljoen was also asked to set up a Wage Board inquiry into the cotton textile industry and to grant the textile union full organizing facilities in the Frame factories. (*Star*, August 25)

Whether TUCSA will really fully support the workers' demands remains to be seen, but it seems certain that the Frame Group has not seen the end of its labor problems.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL TO ORGANIZE AFRICAN UNIONS

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has decided to form African unions in most major industries. The decision, which was made at the organization's annual conference in Durban during August, marks another dramatic shift in policy for the Council, which has a long history of ambivalence in African labor matters. Commenting on the move, President L.S. Scheepers said that TUCSA still preferred a multi-racial approach. However, since the government is not likely to allow Africans to join recognized unions, the separate course seemed the only alternative. He feared that this approach might encourage permanent racial splits, but if TUCSA chose to have Africans join unions with other racial groups, the unions would lose their registration with the Department of Labour and therefore lose their legal bargaining power. (*Star* Johannesburg, August 18, 1973.)

TUCSA's stance came only a few days after a similar move by the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions, some of which are members of the Council. Two of the largest white unions in the Confederation may soon rejoin TUCSA. The Electrical Workers Association (20,000 members) and the Amalgamated Engineering Union (40,000 members) left TUCSA several years ago in protest against TUCSA's affiliation with African unions. Now, more and more white workers as well as employers are understanding the awesome power which black workers can exercise. By participating in the organization of African unions, white workers hope to stem and control the rising level of discontent among black workers.

An indication of dissatisfaction among black labor appeared during the conference when the Engineering Industrial Workers Union proposed that Coloureds be barred from membership in mixed trade unions. This Union is an all-Coloured Union, and the proposed resolution was seen as an expression of impatience with the slow and unconvincing progress TUCSA has made towards pressing for greater equality. The gesture was vociferously opposed by most delegates, and labelled by the *Star* (Johannesburg) as a "Black power move." (*Star*, Aug. 18, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Aug. 14, 1973.)

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES SHIFT ACCOUNTS TO AFRIKAANS BANK

The *Star*, (Johannesburg), has revealed a subtle effort by the South African government to aid an Afrikaans-owned bank by shifting the accounts of certain agencies. This movement of accounts—of municipalities (which come under National Party political control) African administrative bodies, and other official and semi-official agencies—has been the prime factor in the growth of Volkskas Bank, from \$4.2 million in 1965 to \$17.1 million in 1973.

These moves are given even more importance by the revelation that eight of its eleven board members have been identified as belonging to the Broederbond ("Brotherhood"). The Broederbond is a semi-secret organization whose members reportedly have always included most of the country's major Afrikaans business, church, and political leaders. Volkskas' board also includes a former Cabinet minister, a former administrator

of South West Africa (Namibia), a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, and directors of the major government-controlled corporations—ESCOM, ISCOR, SASOL, and the Industrial Development Corporation.

According to the *Star*, African leaders resent the shift to Volkskas of the accounts of the urban African administrative boards and several Bantustan agencies. The Zulu council has thus far successfully resisted government efforts to move their accounts from Barclays Bank. Barclays and the other major British owned bank, The Standard, are apparently preferred by these leaders because they pay higher wages to their black employees and have less intimate relations with the Pretoria authorities. In addition, they have many more branches in black townships and tribal areas.

In response to the *Star's* charges, the Minister of Finance, Dr. Diederichs, denied any concerted government effort to influence the choice of banks. Each body or agency, he said, makes that decision for itself. (*Star*, August 11 and 18, 1973)

In mid-May, however, Dr. Diederichs announced strong measures to reduce foreign ownership of South African banks (See *Southern Africa*, June-July, p. 12). The measures, which would eventually reduce outside shares to 10 per cent, has been severely criticized by much of the country's English-language press. The influential weekly, *Financial Mail*, called the proposal an "extreme form of 'expropriation', "brutal," and "chauvinistic" (May 18). The subtle support for Volkskas, which is 100 per cent South African-owned, seems to be a less-dramatic way of reaching the same goal.

SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN SUPPORT SKILLED AFRICANS

According to a recent survey, 94 per cent of South Africa's businessmen support the advancement of Africans into skilled positions in "white" areas. Only a small number, however, think this advancement must be accompanied by equal wages. About one-tenth feel that the moves will endanger the jobs of white workers, but most think it will not. The survey was conducted by Market Research Africa for the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*. (*Guardian*, London, August 20)

U.S. LEADERSHIP EXCHANGE PROGRAM MEETING HELD

The United States/South African Leadership Exchange Program held a major conference on black labor at a resort north of Durban during August. USSALEP, which was set up to encourage better "understanding" between the two countries, has been criticized in the U.S. for its sympathetic view towards South African whites.

Because of its controversial nature, names of American participants were kept secret before the meeting. Press reports contained few U.S. names, although Voice of America noted the presence of a black vice president of Cummins Engine Corporation. The *Rand Daily Mail*, in an editorial, said businessmen in attendance exhibited a "lack of understanding of workers, particularly Africans, and a detachment from reality." (August 10, 1973)

An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, which probably resulted from the presence of a *Journal* editor at the USSALEP meeting, criticized "far-away critics" who call

for corporate withdrawal and praised the "political prudence of men like Chief Buthelezi." (August 27, 1973) In fact, the entire lead editorial was a "chat" with the Zulu leader. The writer warns against a "posture of total moral purity" (i.e. that of advocates of withdrawal) while recognizing the opposite danger of accommodation. And he repeats that oft-heard admonition that "Black Africans need all the jobs they can get. If the South African economy were strangled, they would be the first to suffer."

MEDICAL SERVICES "SHAMEFUL"

A South African university professor has labelled the country's medical services for Africans as "deplorable and shameful." Giving his first address as professor of African Medicine at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, H.C. Seftel also blamed the migrant labor system for many health problems amongst Africans.

According to Seftel, the ratio of African doctors to population is 1:44,400, compared with 1:400 for whites. And last year, there were only 24 African medical graduates while 440 whites earned medical degrees. As for dentists, the picture is even worse: there are no African dentists in the country.

DURBAN NEWSPAPER TELLS OF ABJECT RURAL POVERTY

African farm laborers throughout the South African province of Natal are living in incredible poverty, according to the Durban newspaper, *Sunday Tribune*. The paper said that the farmworkers are the most exploited and powerless people in the country.

Under the tenant farming system, an African family is given a small piece of land on which to build a house and raise some crops. In return, the family including children work for six months for the white farmer and are paid about \$15 a month. Some are paid nothing at all. The farmers have far-reaching legal authority, which they often extend to beating their employees or destroying their houses. Workers have no rights and are subject to immediate eviction and removal to a barren resettlement area. In sum, the paper wrote, "many Zulu tenants are no better off than medieval serfs." (*Sunday Tribune*, July 15, 1973 based on a report on *Daily News*, Tanzania, July 16)

INTERNATIONAL ROUND-UP AND CORPORATE NOTES

FRANCE...A former president and prime minister, Antoine Pinay, has called upon French businessmen to invest in South Africa's Bantustans. His statement came after a 10-day visit to the country as a guest of Prime Minister Vorster. Pinay is currently serving as France's Ombudsman, to protect the people against bureaucratic abuses. (*Star*, August 11; *South African Digest*, August 17, 1973)

AUSTRALIA...Dr. James Cairns, Trade Minister, has launched an investigation of Australian-South African trade while considering severance of all trade with the apartheid state. The recent Labour Party conference endorsed total trade boycott. In particular, the Labour Government is considering halting official aid for the bilateral trade, which would mean withdrawal of Australia's trade commissioner from South Africa. (*Star*, July 14 and August 4, 1973)



Farm Workers

SWITZERLAND...A Swiss television team recently investigated the labor practices of Swiss firms in South Africa and rated them high. Such companies as Anglo-Alfa, Nestles, Roche, and Securitas were said to be paying better-than-average wages. (*Star*, August 11, 1973) However, a more in-depth study by the Geneva Centre Europe Tiers Monde released earlier this year found that Swiss firms were as guilty of bad labor practices as any other firms in South Africa.

JAPAN...Japanese and South African officials and business representatives have been involved in a series of discussions about the purchase of South African uranium and iron ore by the Japanese. There have also been reports that a Japanese company, Kobe Steel Works, plans to invest in a joint steel-producing venture in South Africa. (*Washington Post*, August 2; *Times of Zambia*, June 20; *Star*, July 14, 1973)

FORD...Ford Motor will open a new plant in Port Elizabeth on November 12 and about three-fourths of the employees will be Africans. Ford is currently recruiting white staff in Britain. Production capacity of the new, very modern, \$14 million facility will be 100 Cortinas and 24 Ford tractors daily. (*Star*, July 28, 1973)

NEWMONT MINING AND O'KIEP COPPER COMPANY...O'Kiep has announced that a 50/50 drilling venture with Newmont has uncovered a large zinc-containing deposit in the southwestern area of South Africa. The discovery could make South Africa self-sufficient in zinc. O'Kiep, the country's second largest copper producer, is managed by the U.S.-based Newmont Mining Corporation, which owns 57.5 per cent of O'Kiep. (*Star*, July 14, 1973)

GERMANS FIRST IN THE BANTUSTANS... Laborbau, of Stuttgart, West Germany, is the first foreign company to invest in the Bantustan. The firm will build a \$7.3 million factory employing 250 Africans and 6 whites for the manufacture of laboratory fittings and furniture. (*Guardian*, London, August 20, 1973)

FRANCE, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND ITALY... All four countries were listed as potential purchasers of South African minerals. P.H. Wilhelm, chairman of the Consolidated African Mines, said on his return to Johannesburg from a European trip that the countries might buy more than two million tons of mineral ores annually. (*Times of Zambia*, June 27, 1973)

UNITED STATES... Officials of the Anglo Dutch Equipment Company, a South African furniture manufacturer, reported considerable U.S. interest in buying South African furniture. Two joint managing directors attended a trade fair in Chicago. (*Star*, July 14, 1973).... Officials of the Texas Nuclear Corporation visited South Africa following the sale of the "world's biggest single installation of Nuclear-Chicago belt weigh scales at ISCOR's iron mine." (*Star*, July 14, 1973)

Sports

SOUTH AFRICA PLAYS POLITICS WITH WORDS

"Multinational" is the operative word in the new Nationalist Party information booklet, "Guidelines for Sport in South Africa." Published by the party's powerful Federal Council, the guidelines allow for competition within South Africa between the white and non-white "nations" in "open international events" and "taking into account customs in South Africa." Individual South African sportsmen, insists the guidelines, can rise to the "highest international level." (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 4, 1973) The term "non-racial," on the other hand, is inoperative and abhorrent, as the Cricket Club of South Africa discovered when it attempted to promote friendly, nation-wide non-racial matches and ran up against a negative government response. (*Cape Times*, July 23, 1973) Similarly, the organizers of a popular "multiracial" soccer league on Natal's North Coast (the Tongaati League) were threatened with prosecution under the Group Areas Act, and African, Coloured and Indian players had their names taken by police when an all-African team from Tongaat met a mixed side from Stangar at Watson's Park Stadium in an Indian area of Tongaat.

When asked by police officers if he had a permit for the game, Mr. S. Padayachee, chairman of the Tongaati League, explained that they had been "playing nonracial soccer for years" and had "no intention of applying for any permit" since the stadium being used had been given to the Tongaat community as a whole by the Saunders family—sugar barons on the North Coast. Police intervention has, however, led to the resignation of several officials of the Tongaat Football association "under pressure from authorities." (*Rand Daily Mail*, June 19, 1973) Moreover, Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of Sport, who has erroneously been hailed for "breaking the racial barriers" in contact sports after the "historic" South African Games, has since slammed the door on a newly organized mixed-race cricket club formed in Pietermaritzburg.

Koornhof, who had earlier ordered a halt to multi-racial soccer matches in Newcastle (see *Southern Africa*, Aug-Sept., 1973), pointed out that mixed sport was unacceptable except at the "international level;" and neither the fact that the matches were to be played on private or private fields nor the clear evidence of support for them by prominent white cricketers served to dissway the minister. (*Sunday Tribune*, June 17, 1973)

In order to make things perfectly clear, the Secretary for Bantu Administration explained in a letter to Bantu Affairs Commissioners published in *Die Vaderland* that "sport between Africans, Coloureds and Indians is just as undesirable as sport between Whites and non-Whites." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 4, 1973) But to make the apartheid sports pill palatable, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration announced that a special fund had been established to provide sport and recreational facilities for Africans in the white areas. The Deputy Minister, who noted that the people of South Africa had "in the past always responded to worthwhile causes," expressed his confidence that they would "also support this fund." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 4, 1973)

Like "multi-national", the term "merit selection" is another political football, as is clear in a strident letter to a Nationalist newspaper from Dr. Andries Treurnicht, Nationalist M.P. for Waterberg. Totally rejecting the idea of Merit Selection Treurnicht, a very influential conservative, writes, "The sooner we forget the idea of one 'national' team for the whole of South Africa—call it a representative South African team or a mixed merit team—the better." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 11, 1973)

If nothing else, all of this should help us to place in some perspective the announcement of Prof. Hannes Botha, president of the South Africa Athletics Union, that South Africa is to stage its first "historic" open track and field championship, "in which all race groups will be able to compete, and which will form part of a series of three multinational meetings April 19-27, 1974..." Botha promises that these meetings will bring a "new era in the South African sport." More words? (*The Washington Post*, August 8, 1973)

BROEDERBOND TO FORM NATIONAL SPORTS COUNCIL

In order to gain even close control of government sports policy in South Africa, the Broederbond—the "secret" society behind the Nationalist government—has appointed a commission to establish a national sports council which it hopes to fill with Broederbonders. Its purpose will be "to co-ordinate and advise the government on all sporting activities."

Long a powerful force with control over many appointments in government, civil service, state industries, and the Dutch Reformed Church, the Broederbond has had a decisive hand in the "multi-national" sports policy which the government has been attempting to implement since 1971. Through the Broederbond, Afrikaners have been urged to play an active leadership role in sport, and, in particular, to gain control at the local sports club level from English-speaking people who may not have the "correct" attitudes.

The Bond is estimated to have 9,000 members divided into 600 cells throughout South Africa and Rhodesia. (*Times of Zambia*, July 6, 1973)

Zimbabwe

BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER

The Rhodesian regime has been sending its troops into the neighboring Portuguese colony of Mozambique to combat the African nationalist forces of FRELIMO.

According to a recent report of a BBC (British Broadcasting Company) correspondent in Mozambique, Rhodesian forces have systematically killed defenseless villagers in Mozambique in an effort to undermine support for the nationalist guerrillas. The Rhodesian incursions have even involved air strikes against villages.

BBC reporter David Martin interviewed dozens of refugees from areas subject to the raids who confirmed that the white troops were in fact Rhodesian, since they spoke Fanagalo to the Africans. This is a dialect used by whites and Africans in Zimbabwe and South Africa, and it is unfamiliar to the Portuguese troops.

Although the Smith regime continues to issue official denials of Rhodesia's military presence in Mozambique, the operations have been going on for more than six months. A Rhodesian light infantry officer was recently quoted in London's *Evening Standard* as saying that Rhodesian troops "are in contact virtually every day" with FRELIMO guerrillas in Mozambique.

The incursions into Mozambique's Tete region represent an attempt on the part of the Smith regime to protect its eastern border. If FRELIMO gains total control over Tete province, then nationalist forces will control a sizeable length of Zimbabwe's eastern border.

The Tete region is also strategically important to the Rhodesian Government as a vital corridor for trade and transport, since sanctions-bound Rhodesia relies upon the Mozambique port of Beira. Hence if Portuguese control in Mozambique should collapse entirely, Rhodesia would find itself surrounded by three hostile African-ruled nations.

Rhodesia's army currently divides its efforts between internal and Mozambique operations. While waging a campaign against FRELIMO, Rhodesian troops continue to encounter a strong current of guerrilla activity in Zimbabwe's northeastern province.

The guerrillas, led primarily by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) have been active in the northeastern province since late 1972. FRELIMO dominance of the Zimbabwe border areas of Mozambique assures ZANU safe passage of arms and other supplies needed by their forces.

According to a series of feature articles in the London *Evening Standard*, white farmers in the northeastern province have become hardened to the unending threat of violence. Their homes are surrounded by security fences, their windows are covered with wire screens employed in

the hopes of stopping a possible grenade, and their lives are disciplined to meet the demands of partially policing their own neighborhoods.

South African troops have been sent to the northeastern province to assist Rhodesia's security forces. But guerrilla activities have not been stopped, and the countryside remains in a state of tension. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Sept. 10, 1973)

ILLEGAL BUSINESS BY U.S. FIRMS

Trans World Airways, Pan American, Hertz, Avis, and the Journal of Commerce have all been accused of violating the United Nations economic sanctions against the Rhodesian regime. A report by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace and Understanding says that the companies are doing business-as-usual with the white-ruled Rhodesia.

The United Nations passed a resolution in 1965 calling for all of its member nations to enforce an economic boycott against Rhodesia. In 1966, the sanctions were made mandatory for all U.N. members.

The United States voted for sanctions at the United Nations, but since then there have been numerous reports of violations by U.S. companies. To date, three small firms have been convicted and fined for trading with the white Rhodesians.

Other companies are also trading with the Rhodesian regime, but their actions are legal under U.S. law. The "Byrd Amendment" to the 1971 Military Procurement Act allows some firms to break sanctions by importing chrome, nickel, and other minerals from the country.

The companies named in the Carnegie Study will be investigated by the Treasury and Federal Aviation Agency. They face a maximum penalty of a \$10 thousand fine or ten years in jail. (*Wall Street Journal*, August 21, 1973)

RHODESIAN WHITES GAIN, WITH U.S. AID

Tango Romeo is the name of a U.S. built airplane that is smuggling millions of dollars worth of meat out of Rhodesia. According to a story in the *Times* of London, the plane, a DC8, was sold to a Rhodesian citizen by a Chicago firm eighteen months ago.

The Rhodesian is director of a firm, called Affretair, that makes as many as four flights a week between the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury and European cities, despite the fact that the Rhodesian craft and cargo are denied landing rights and banned from every European country except Portugal.

The Tango Romeo was the first airplane to be sold to a Rhodesian since the United Nations imposed an economic boycott on Rhodesia in 1966. The boycott was requested by Britain after white settlers in the British colony declared independence and seized power.

The firm that sold the aircraft is a subsidiary of the Flying Tiger Corporation, a major air cargo carrier. Its Vice-President for International Affairs is Anna Chennault, who is said to have good contacts in the Nixon Administration.

The Flying Tiger has a history of involvement in controversial international issues. During the sixties, Chennault was a major activist in the China lobby which advocated strengthening ties with the Taiwan Government of Chiang Kai-Shek.

* We use "Rhodesia" when referring to the illegal white minority regime in Zimbabwe (ed.)

Purchasers of the DC8 have for three years been flying cargos of prime Rhodesian beef twice weekly to the West African country of Gabon. Gabonese President Albert Bongo, who recently visited industrialists in the United States, is one of the few African leaders who will trade with Rhodesia, in violation of U.N. sanctions.

In 1970 the Rhodesian regime began to look for new markets for the country's beef. The answer was provided by Affretair, which incorporated as a Gabonese company.

Tango Romeo now takes off from Salisbury with its cargo, stopping in Gabon only to refuel. From there it proceeds to Europe as a Gabonese flight.

Its first stop is in Athens, where Olympic Airways, owned by Aristotle Onassis, charges it \$1000 per flight for services and landing fees. The amount is paid in cash by the pilot.

Other known European stops are Cologne, Germany and Amsterdam. At Amsterdam's duty free store, the

Tango Romeo loads up with a variety of goods for the trip back to Africa.

The *Times* of London estimates that Affretair's exploits earn \$4 million in foreign exchange annually for the hard-pressed Rhodesian regime. The white government needs foreign currency for international purchases, since the Rhodesian dollar is not accepted as legal money.

Unless European governments decide to crack down on the illegal imports from Rhodesia, the biggest problem in Tango Romeo's future could be Libya. Rhodesian craft have no flying rights over the North African nation, but must fly through Libyan air space to reach Greece. Libya is militantly opposed to the white minority governments in Southern Africa, and has an air force capable of intercepting unwanted flights over its territory. (*Sunday Times*, August 26, 1973; *Observer*, London, August 26, 1973)

International Organizations

commonwealth

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IN OTTAWA

The Heads of State of the 32-nation Commonwealth met in Ottawa, Canada from the 2nd to 10th of August. Strong pressures from the African members, led by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and General Gowon of Nigeria, fully supported by Forbes-Burnham of Guyana and the new Labour governments of Australia and New Zealand, forced many hours of heated debate on policy questions involving Southern Africa.

The final communique issued at the end of the meeting showed the impact of this coalition. It went far beyond the old accepted formula of condemning apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa and included, for the first time, a recognition of the "legitimacy of the struggle to win full human rights and self-determination"—i.e. an implied recognition of the legitimacy of the liberation movements as the representatives of the peoples of southern Africa. The communique went on to give this recognition considerable force in these words: "Heads of Government reviewed the efforts of the indigenous people of the territories of southern Africa to achieve self-determination and independence and agreed on the need to give every humanitarian assistance to all those engaged in such efforts." The British Government, not surprisingly, reserved its position in relation to this proposal in

circumstances in which assistance might be converted into military purposes! (The British, who continue to hold joint maneuvers with the South African navy, who go on supplying the South African military with helicopters and the Portuguese with a wide variety of military assistance are always staunchly in favor of non-violence when dealing with the liberation movements!)

Secret Debate on Rhodesia

The communique included several indications of the pressures which had been exerted on Britain—including the use of the word Namibia to describe what Britain still refers to as South West Africa, and a description of the Portuguese territories as colonies. It also included a somewhat muted statement on Rhodesia, referring to the "damaging consequences of a continued absence of a settlement." Heads of Government, it said "appreciated the efforts made by the British Government with whom responsibility lay...All were agreed on seeking a peaceful settlement and that the objective was majority rule. They took note of the meeting between Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa and associated themselves with the British Government's wish for the discussions to be broadened and the necessary steps taken to remove restrictions so as to enable all groups representative of Rhodesian opinion to take part. The British Prime Minister welcomed the constructive suggestions made and undertook to take them into account as the situation developed." The communique also stressed the importance of continuing and strengthening sanctions.

Several very tense hours of conflict preceded the emergence of this carefully worked compromise statement. The "constructive suggestions" referred to in the communique were made in a memorandum submitted by Guyana's Prime Minister Forbes Burnham on behalf of all the Caribbean members. They proposed the introduction of a Commonwealth presence, i.e. an armed force, into Rhodesia, subject to three conditions. First, that there should be a constitutional conference in which the true representatives of all the people of Rhodesia participate on a free and equal basis (i.e. all political prisoners would have to be released in order to allow them to participate fully). Secondly, agreement at the conference on a return to constitutional government: a program based on no independence before majority rule. NIBMAR—a principal most eloquently urged on the conference by President Nyerere). Thirdly, agreement by the conference on the role of an adequately equipped Commonwealth presence to assist in guaranteeing the implementation of a constitutional agreement.

British Prime Minister Heath responded by arrogantly asserting that he was not prepared to be told how Britain should carry out her responsibilities. This brought Kirk of New Zealand and Whitlam of Australia out firmly in support of President Nyerere and for a while Heath, supported only by Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew was totally isolated in opposing the Burnham proposals. He was finally forced into conceding that he would "take note" of the proposals—hence the undertaking contained in the final communique. It remains to be seen whether the almost unanimous Commonwealth stance in support of new initiatives in southern Africa has any effect on British policy. (*West Africa*, August 20, 1973; *Observer*, London, August 12, 1973; *Star*, (Johannesburg), August 18, 1973; *The Egyptian Gazette*, August 10, 1973)

A Counter-Conference by supporters of the Liberation Movements

While the official conference was negotiating its way diplomatically towards these compromises a 3-day People's Forum, aimed at building popular understanding of and concern for the liberation struggles was meeting a few blocks away. Sponsorship for the Forum came from over twenty Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto organizations including African Liberation Support Committees, the United Nations Association (UNA), student groups Toronto committee for the Liberation of Portugal's African Colonies (TGLPAC), the Southern African Information Group, Oxfam and others.

Overall theme for the three days was "Southern Africa and the Commonwealth" and major emphasis was placed on three elements: 1) the heightening crisis in Southern Africa caused by the increasing strength of the liberation movements, militarily and politically throughout the area; 2) the role of Western countries (with some emphasis on Canada) in supporting the white minority Governments; 3) ways in which this support could be stopped and support for the liberation movements could be generated inside Canada, at the broadest level.

Missing Delegation

The first day's sessions focused on Zimbabwe—whose political leaders are being held in jail by the illegal Smith Regime while they should in fact be attending the

Commonwealth Conference as the legitimate heads of a free, independent Zimbabwe. M. Hamadziripi (ZANU) and E. Ndlovu (ZAPU) spoke strongly about the struggle being fought inside Zimbabwe and highlighted the real issues involved—not the designing of formulas for yet another proposed Conference with Smith, but the construction of a strong liberation movement capable of winning victory by struggle.

Southern Africa—the military confrontation

The second day's sessions began with the liberation movement representatives, [Thami Mhlambiso of the African National Congress of South Africa, H. Hamutenya (SWAPO)] and other speakers including John Saul and Abel Guimaraes building a vivid picture of the growing struggle throughout southern Africa. They showed how the liberation movements were extending and consolidating their bases, both political and military throughout the region, thus placing increasing pressure on the white minority rulers. Abdul Minty and Jennifer Davis spent several hours dealing with the way South Africa, as the major regional power, and its allies in the West were responding to this situation. They described South Africa's construction of a Southern Bloc, its military build-up which is aimed not only at controlling internal insurgency but which now threatens independent Africa. Western aid, through NATO and directly; the importance of the Cape as a strategic point on the sea-route to the Indian Ocean through which the oil-hungry Western nations all had to bring their major supply of oil; and the specific role played by Canada, were all included in the day's discussions which ended with a very eloquent address by the Tanzanian Foreign Minister, Malecela.

Totally winning the confidence of a very mixed audience, who ended the evening by giving him a standing ovation, Minister Malecela stressed the unity between the liberation movements and the people of independent Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. When the liberation movements asked Tanzania for aid, she was willing to give it to the fullest extent—but the Governments of the West when asked for aid always responded "Why talk of war—talk of peace instead!" Yet they continued to aid the white colonialists, with guns and airplanes and napalm. He said there were three levels on which Canadians could respond to the liberation struggle. One, they could give full direct aid, including military aid, to the movements. Two, they could give humanitarian aid. Thirdly, he said, "If you can do nothing else, DO NOT HELP OUR ENEMY."

Strategies for action

The last day was spent examining aspects of British and Canadian involvement in southern Africa, and designing ways in which such involvement could be attacked: A boycott of Angolan coffee is already under way, and plans were discussed to intensify this; Gulf oil is coming under fire; plans were discussed to expose the investment of firms such as Alcan which currently supplies the South African aircraft industry with the bulk of its aluminum; students, labor representatives, and people from a broad spectrum of organizations and political viewpoints exchanged ideas in a lively and productive way.

The Canadian support movement is in general still very young, but this Forum was an impressive display of seriousness and solidarity and promises much more in the future.

united nations

UN SANCTIONS PRESSURE INCREASES

The UN Sanctions Committee on Rhodesia asked Israel to explain the participation of white Rhodesians in the All Jewish Ninth Maccabiah Games in its competitive games held in Tel Aviv during July. An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman on July 13 said that the matter had to be raised with Israel's permanent representative to the UN, Mr. Joseph Tekoah, and in explaining the background to a statement issued the day before by the organizers of the games, said the Rhodesian participants were not in Israel as national representatives. Earlier the spokesman has disclosed that the committee had made an inquiry on the same subject a month previously but that nothing had been heard. The Maccabiah's statement said that according to regulations laid down by the International Maccabiah Games Committee all participants were members of Jewish Sports clubs in their respective countries, and, except for Israel, could not be regarded as national representatives. A UN communique said that the participation of Rhodesia could aid the illegal regime in Salisbury in its search for international respectability. "Such assistance is a setback to the efforts of the international community to assist the people of Zimbabwe to realize their inalienable right to self-determination and independence." The committee had noted with grave concern that the conduct of the Games emphasized the

national character of the contingents. The Rhodesian contingent was allowed to participate in the march of national contingents. The media had generally referred to the teams as national contingents and expressed results in terms of "national medal tallies." The Israeli delegation's reply asserted that there had been no infringements of the sanctions since the private Jewish clubs which participated represented no countries or governments and their common denominator was their "Jewishness." "Moreover, members of the Maccabi Club in Rhodesia were not permitted to march in the opening of the competition under any flag identifying their country of origin, though the sportsmen of other Maccabi Clubs were allowed to do so." (*Daily News*, Tanzania, July 14, 1973; *Star*, July 28, 1973)

The *Star* (Johannesburg) reported that the UN Sanctions Committee has been increasingly active during July, meeting two to four times a week, and seemed to be working hard to meet the new guidelines given it in the Security Council's recent resolution. The resolution calls, among other things, for procedures for determining the true origin of goods suspected of having come from Rhodesia, for a more effective system of statistics to help identify contraband cargoes, for public exposure of offending governments and firms, and for greater publicity to keep the sanctions in the public eye.

Six countries failed to answer alleged violations of the sanctions. The Netherlands, South Africa, Spain, Portugal, Panama, Venezuela and Liberia were named as having failed to respond to requests by the Security Council's Sanctions Committee. In a resolution last May, the council approved a recommendation that a quarterly list be issued citing governments which had failed to answer committee inquiries and also naming any company involved. The following companies were recently cited:

Ivory Shipping Company of Liberia—case involving a shipment of steel billets aboard the Liberian ships *Despinan* and *Birooni*

Malaysua Marine Corporation-Aliakmon Marine Enterprise Corp., and *Western Sealanes Corp.*, all of Monrovia—named in shipments of steel billets, chrome, nickel, maize, and "other materials"

Trans-Argo Compania Maritima, *CIA Commercial Trans-Atlantica* and *Alpha Shipping*, all of Panama—shipments of steel billets, sugar, maize, and anhydrous ammonia
Vessels Huguento and *Nederburg of Safmarine*—shipments of chrome, nickel and other materials and were the cause of committee's inquiry this past February.

In addition, four ships involving Spain were alleged to have transported Rhodesian minerals and two cargoes of maize were involved in the case of Venezuela. In these six cases no companies were named. (*Times*, Zambia, July 7, 1973; the *Star* Johannesburg, July 28, 1973)



Rhodesia's wheat harvest

BOOKS

A. H. Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal, Volume II: From Empire to Corporate State*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

It is obvious that what happens in Portugal itself, or what fails to happen, as the pressure of the African liberation struggles steps up, is one important determinant of events in "Portuguese" Africa, and therefore in the rest of Southern Africa as well. If there should ever be significant political change within Portugal, leading to abandonment of the African wars, the front lines of armed struggle in Southern Africa could take a giant step southwards.

But the background information necessary to assess developments in Portugal is sadly lacking. Reports of "reform" which filled the western press when Salazar was replaced by Caetano were later to be recognized, even by the most sanguine observers, as greatly exaggerated. Increasing resistance to the wars—protest, desertion, sabotage—as well as labor unrest in Portugal, continues to be reported, yet its effect on the Portuguese state, while causing concern, has not led to panic, or to retreat from Africa. How does one understand Portugal today? The two books reviewed here help to fill some gaps in our knowledge.

De Oliveira Marques is a Portuguese historian, who, as a disciple of Vitorio Magalhaes Godinho, is attentive to the economic bases of Portuguese developments. He is well-informed, and critical of the Salazarist regime to the extent that one can expect of someone who still survive in the Portuguese academic world. His book is the first in English to give a basic historical account of modern Portugal, with intelligent analysis as well as chronology. Although limited in his discussion of African issues by an unfamiliarity with modern African history, his treatment of even colonial questions gives a useful supplementary viewpoint.

Particularly useful is Chapter Thirteen, on the "New State." In it one gets a picture of the Portuguese regime revealing some of the changes through which it has gone, and the variations and inconsistencies in policy. At the same time his account gives little hope of changes in the basic structure of the Portuguese state, although he sees some weakening of Salazarist "immobility." He notes that the opposition, utterly divided, has posed no serious threat to the regime.

RETURN TO THE SOURCE; Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral. (Africa Information Service, 112 West 120th Street, New York, New York 10027, \$1.95). The first major AIS publication (110 pages) is a major contribution to understanding the nature of struggle in Guinea and the role played by the thoughts of the people and in particular Amilcar Cabral. The book contains five speeches or informal discussions given by Cabral in the United States in 1972 and 1973 (except for a speech given at Syracuse University in 1970). The book also contains useful maps, pictures and bibliography. Order it now.

Colin Legum, **A REPUBLIC IN TROUBLE**, South Africa, 1972-1973, (Africa Contemporary Record, Current Affairs Series, Rex. Collins Ltd., 6 Paddington St., London, W.1 England; entire record; \$30.00/yr.). Legum, a well-known South African exiled liberal journalist has produced several booklets as part of the Contemporary Record project Current Affairs Series. This year's 60 page South Africa book concerns basic developments within South Africa including details on white, black, homeland, Coloured and Asian politics; government actions on military, economic, social and legal levels; information about internal student politics, international links and a number of charts. Legum concludes that "1972 was another year of exciting events full of the promise of change; but in the end nothing happened to change either the fundamental reality of power based on a political system of white supremacy," or to weaken the ruling Nationalist Party.

AFRICA TODAY (c/o Graduate School of International Studies, University Park Campus, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, 80210)—\$6.50/yr or \$4.50 for students, quarterly) has a very informative feature called "Publications" which lists recent periodicals, pamphlets, catalogues from Africa, U.S., Europe. The Spring, 1973 issue listed some 30 new items.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA INVESTMENTS: Racist or Responsible, by John C. Harrington, Administrative Assistant to Assemblyman John F. Dunlap. (African Activist Association, African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, Cal.). A full study of the University's links with South Africa and Namibia, including overview of five major corporate holdings, lists of companies, rationale for concern with the issue etc.

MASSACRE IN MOZAMBIQUE, ACOA FACT Sheet, August, 1973 (164 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016). A mimeoed analysis of the revelations of Portuguese massacres in Mozambique, outlining past reports on massacres and remarking how curious it was that the *Times of London* gave the atrocities front page coverage after former "prolonged silence." It also speaks to issue of U.S. role in Portuguese Africa, calling for support for Gulf boycott, liberation movements and herbicides bill in Congress.

portuguese colonies

angola

HERBICIDES—ANOTHER FORM OF MASSACRE—IN ANGOLA

In the wake of publicity on Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique, various witnesses have spoken of similar atrocities in Angola, showing once again that it is all part of a pattern—that none of the atrocities can be dismissed as unusual or exceptions to the rule.

Both MPLA and GRAE have also classed Portuguese use of herbicides as equivalent to a face-to-face massacre. GRAE reports more than 2500 cases of diarrhea, of which more than 200 were fatal, during the period of November 1972 through July 1973. Cause: food and water polluted by chemicals sprayed and bombed over the area by the Portuguese. The MPLA estimates 4,000 persons dead from eating poisoned crops in the past 18 months.

A former Portuguese Air Force major, Jose Ervedosa, estimates that between 50,000 and 80,000 Angolans were killed between March 16 and June 30 of 1961, in the reprisals against the African uprising in the coffee plantation area of northern Angola. He served at the time with the Information Section of the Second Air Region in Angola—the office that was compiling the official statistics of the military and police activities in that region. He also participated in some of the bombing.

Ervadosa is now a supporter of the FPLN, the Portuguese Liberation Front, which is related to the Revolutionary Brigades who have claimed various acts of sabotage inside Portugal during the last year.

An MPLA member, now in England studying, has spoken recently of witnessing the total destruction of a small village—about 30 people and their huts—in 1967 in Angola. The Portuguese troops forced the people to dig a hole, then lined them up beside it and shot them, afterward burning the huts. It was during the rainy season in a village northwest of Vila Salazar where he was teaching at the time.

A Belgian Roman Catholic priest, Father Francois Houtart, has said that in October 1970 about 300 nationalists in a village near Luanda were massacred in reprisal for the assassination of a Portuguese. Father Houtart gave his source as Bishop Eduardo Muak, auxiliary bishop of Luanda.

And two Dutch missionaries, in a recent radio broadcast, have reported massacres of 130 persons in two villages east of Luanda. The date is not given. GRAE confirms the report and says one of the villages is Quibaxe and that the total dead reached 200. (*Vers l'Avenir* (Belg.) July 25; *La Croix* (France) July 25; *Anti-Apartheid News* July-August 1973; *Times* (London) July 28; *The Living Church* September, 1973; *Guardian* (London) July 26; *East African Standard* July 27; *Star* (Johannesburg) July 28, 1973)

URBAN GUERRILLAS IN ANGOLA?

The *Star* (Johannesburg, August 4, 1973) reports the beginning of urban guerrilla activity in Luanda, the Portuguese capital of Angola. A bomb was recently found in the car of an employee of the Banco Commercial de Angola. A similar device was found in the car of an Angolan Airlines official last year—and in Malanje, five bombs so far have exploded in cars of persons in the Portuguese administration.

Non-urban activity has continued although reports are very slow to reach the media. According to MPLA communiques, in May and June, important actions included an attack on a police station in the Cuando-Cubango area. Fourteen radio transmitters were among the equipment captured. On June 16, a Portuguese airborne company was wiped out when it was ambushed in the midst of a minefield and went through another minefield as it was retreating. On June 30, a Portuguese vehicle hit a landmine on the road from Gago Coutinho to Mussama. An Army captain and five others were killed.

In late July, the Portuguese reported that guerrillas near Songo in northern Angola ambushed a truck full of workers headed for a nearby coffee plantation resulting in 22 workers dead and 14 seriously wounded. (*Times* (London) July 28; *Daily News* (Tanzania) July 18 & August 15; *Vitoria ou Morte* (MPLA, Brazzaville) April, 1973)

BLACK PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS DESERT TO NATIONALISTS

Three young Angolans who had been serving in the Portuguese Army turned themselves in to the nationalist movement on March 1, 1973 in Cabinda. Each brought with him weapons and ammunition.

The men were from three different areas of Angola—Abilio Jose born in Huambo district, Eduardo Jaime born in Benguela district and Julio Kalukango, born in Andulu in Bie. All three had been to primary school, completing 3 or 4 years. They had worked as a clerk, a tractor driver, and a carpenter before being conscripted into the Portuguese army. (*Vitoria ou Morte* (MPLA, Brazzaville) April 1973)

ANGOLA STRUGGLE SHOWN IN CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

The Angola Comite in Holland has received and published confidential Portuguese Army documents about the military situation in Angola. According to these internal documents from 1971, the Portuguese were attacked 2518 times in 1970 by the movements. The Portuguese attribute 59% of the actions to the MPLA, 37% to the FNLA, and 4% to Unita.

Although statistics officially released usually cite only a few hundred casualties, the internal documents list for 1970: 355 killed, 1242 wounded, and 2655 missing in action, for a total of 4,195. The figure for those missing is particularly striking, as it inevitably must include many more dead, as well as those captured by or deserting to the guerrillas.

The reports also say that the Portuguese locate about one-third of the enemies' anti-vehicle mines while two-thirds of the mines hit target. About a half of the anti-personnel mines are found in time.

The same reports list the Liberation movements as losing 1,284 dead and wounded in 1970 for a total of 1781. (*De Groene Amsterdammer* (Holland), July 11, 1973)

ONLY SOUTH AFRICAN AND PORTUGUESE FIRMS TO PARTICIPATE IN CUNENE DAM

The Annual Report of the South African Department of Water Affairs has revealed what has long been suspected: only South African and Portuguese firms will be allowed to bid on the construction contracts for the Calueque Dam in Angola. Calueque Dam is part of the large river scheme for the Cunene River, which flows in between Angola and South Africa. After large-scale international protests against the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique forced the withdrawal or prevented the participation of various foreign firms, the South Africans and Portuguese have been careful to limit contracts for Cunene to their own companies. Because Cunene involves a series of smaller dams, rather than the massive structure of Cabora Bassa, it may be technologically possible to make the limitations. (*WINDHOEK ADVERTISER*, May 29, 1973)

mozambique

MOZAMBIQUE HAS NEW PORTUGUESE COMMANDER

Kaulza da Arriaga is no longer Commander in Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Mozambique. He returned on August 1 to Lisbon evoking great speculation about his future political role. On leaving Mozambique, he referred to his mission as

completed although Arriaga has failed completely his announced intent to liquidate FRELIMO before he left. During his period of command, the nationalist forces have in fact advanced hundreds of miles further south than they were before his arrival.

The new Commander in Chief is General Thomas Jose Basto Machado, a man who has spent two tours of duty in Angola, the second time as deputy commander of the region. His field is artillery and he has had a special weapons course in West Germany. Machado was for a time commander of a military college for a major anti-guerrilla campaign in the Tete province.

INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATIONS OF MOZAM-BICAN JAILS

The International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International both recently sent a representative to Mozambique to inquire into prison conditions for political prisoners. The result is protest related to two particular clusters of detainees. Most recently the I.C.J. has said that interrogation methods caused the death of four in Mozambique prisons last year, including Pastor Manganelo, President of the Mozambique Presbyterian Church. He was part of a group of over 200 including 30 churchmen arrested in one police swoop. The Portuguese say all four were suicides.

A few days later the I.C.J. and Amnesty International claimed the detention conditions of two Spanish priests held in Mozambique were below the internationally acceptable standard. (*Star* (Johannesburg) July 28; *Daily News* (Tanzania) Aug. 4, 1973)

MOCIMBOA DA PRAIA AND TETE TOWN ATTACKED

On August 7, the Portuguese military center of Mocimboa da Praia was attacked at dawn by FRELIMO units with heavy artillery. Many buildings, including the power station, were heavily damaged. The Portuguese say four were killed, 49 wounded, and 62 "taken hostage" by FRELIMO. FRELIMO refers to freeing 60 villagers from strategic hamlets which were also attacked on the edge of the town.

da Arriaga—FRELIMO not liquidated



On August 10, Tete town was also shelled by FRELIMO. According to Portuguese sources, 122mm rockets were fired at the town at dusk but fell short. The town houses, 30,000 people and is the staging post for the Cabora Bassa Dam project. The Portuguese were clearly alarmed at the attack which violated their defense barriers. They say they immediately dispersed the guerrillas, capturing one. FRELIMO has not yet reported on the incident.

FRELIMO does report a major attack on the Portuguese post of Quissenga in Cabo Delgado on July 11, a helicopter shot down near Tete on May 22, and many smaller actions in all of the provinces in which military activity is in progress.

The Portuguese have reported several successful raids in Cabo Delgado and Tete provinces in late July. The biggest was near Mazombe, where they say they captured 80 persons and 3 tons of arms and equipment. (*Washington Post* July 31 & August 11; *Daily News* (Tanzania) August 11; *Star* (Johannesburg) August 4 & 18; *Guardian* (London) August 16; *La Cite* (Belgium) August 11, 1973)

BEIRA/UMTALI COMMUNICATIONS THREATENED

Already facing major attacks nearly simultaneously in places as separated as Tete and Mocimboa da Praia, the Portuguese are most unhappy at continuing ambushes much further south in Manica and Sofala Province. The Portuguese report only occasional actions by FRELIMO—but the outside press reports many more. South African, British, Rhodesian, Zambian and Tanzanian correspondents have all carried stories indicating that there is a serious threat to the road, railroad and pipeline linking the port of Beira with Rhodesia. With Zambian traffic no longer using the railroad through Rhodesia, it is expected that FRELIMO will freely attack the railway and that they are now within range. It is suggested that FRELIMO may soon be enforcing U.N. sanctions on Rhodesia quite

effectively.

The lucrative tourist trade from Rhodesia would dramatically diminish if the guerrillas regularly mined or ambushed along the road and railroad. And tourism already has a new flavor at the Gorongosa Game Reserve. After guerrilla harassment of tourists one evening in late July at Chitengo, the main camp in the reserve, the Portuguese have closed one half of the park and permanently placed a company of paratroopers there to guard the tourists. Chitengo usually houses 20,000 tourists a year.

The Gorongosa area is rugged, densely covered mountain terrain with many rivers. It is an excellent base for guerrilla action and an extremely difficult area for the Portuguese to defend.

FRELIMO says that in March and April, 24 major ambushes in Manica and Sofala killed over 70 Portuguese soldiers and destroyed 18 vehicles. Telecommunications in the northern part of the province were also disrupted for a period.

In their communique FRELIMO reports that soon after establishing themselves in the Gorongosa region, FRELIMO fighters received a complaint from the people that "many Mozambicans of the zone of Khaunda had recently been expelled from their fertile lands, and that these lands were now the property of a Portuguese landlord named Fernando." So on March 13, FRELIMO attacked the farm and freed 20 Mozambicans working under conditions similar to forced labor, explaining to the freed men the reasons and objectives of the action. The farmhouse, its storehouses and equipment were then burnt. The landlord was absent during the attack. (*Financial Times* (London) July 3; *Times* (London) July 21; *Daily Telegraph* (London) July 4 & 26; *Lourenco Marques Radio* July 1; *Star* (Johannesburg) July 28 & August 18; *Times of Zambia* July 9; *Daily News* (Tanzania) July 10 & August 15; *Guardian* (London) July 7 & 22 & 27, 1973)



Wreckage of a helicopter, shot down by FRELIMO, is carried away by militants.

WITNESS TO MOZAMBIQUE MASSACRE SPEAKS

Antonio is 15 years old, born in Chawola, a few miles from Wiriyamu. He says his father, Mixoni, his mother, Firipa, an older brother, Luciano, and a seven-year-old sister, Rita, all died when Portuguese troops, all African except for one or two officers, came to his village last December.

According to Antonio, as recalled by Peter Pringle of the *London Times* who interviewed him, there was no advance warning. Antonio gave many names of those who died. All were on the list originally compiled by the priests whose massacre report broke in Britain in early July.

Antonio said, "They herded us all into the center of the village. I recognized one of them, an African, who we all knew to be an informer for the army. When we were all grouped together in the middle of the village they told us to clap our hands and then they opened fire. Many of us fell. I was hit by a bullet in the shoulder from the back. They heaped grass on top of those who had fallen—I amongst them. They lit the grass and it was then that I managed to escape into the bush."

Pringle was expelled from Mozambique and his tapes including the one with the interview with Antonio, and all of his films but one, were confiscated.

Antonio is the only survivor so far contacted by reporters searching for evidence of the alleged massacres last December. About 400 people are said to have been killed in several villages, including Wiriyamu and Chawola. Antonio's bullet wound healed and he was well when interviewed. However, observers fear that his life is in danger now that Pringle's film and tapes are in Portuguese hands. (*Times* (London) July 29 & August 5; *Daily News* (Tanzania) August 10, 1973)

PORTUGUESE INVESTIGATION OF MOZAMBIQUE MASSACRE COMPLETE

The Portuguese Ministry of Defense has released results of a "vigorous inquiry" into the behavior of troops in Mozambique. They say they find "a total absence of the alleged facts in the places alleged by the accusers." They refer to the alleged massacres at Wiriyamu in December of 1972. The inquiry did learn that isolated forces had disobeyed orders and had committed at least one "retaliatory" act. It was promised that justice would be done to those responsible.

General da Arriaga says two other instances of "unnecessary killing" were found earlier and that those responsible were court-martialed.

One problem with the report is that foreign journalists who have been trying to do their own investigations were told as late as July 26 by the Governor and military commander of Tete, that no inquiry would take place and that none had been requested. (*Times* (London) August 20; *International Herald Tribune* (London) August 20; *Guardian* (London) July 28 & August 25; *Star* (Johannesburg) August 4, 1973)

BURGOS FATHERS EXPELLED

The *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa has said in a report from Lourenco Marques that the Burgos order of Catholic missionaries must leave Mozambique by January. They will not be granted re-entry visas when their current visas expire.

The Burgos fathers were the source of reports in July of a massacre of about 400 persons from three villages in Tete province in Mozambique last December. A group of those who compiled the report are now in Spain. At least two of their number, Fathers Julio Moure and Miguel Buendia, have already been expelled from Mozambique and others in the group will be unable to return now that they have spoken out.

Two Burgos fathers, Alfonso Valverde and Martin Hernandez, have been in prison for 18 months in Lourenco Marques awaiting trial for denouncing and documenting an earlier massacre—at Mucumbura in 1971.

However there are 15 Burgos fathers still working in Mozambique, about half of them in the sensitive Tete province. One of them, Father Jose Antonio Sanzalo, reportedly has hidden Antonio, a youth who survived the December massacre, from Portuguese authorities. Antonio spoke to a British reporter as an eye-witness to the massacre at Chawola, near Wiriyamu. Portuguese officials say they want to interview the boy in connection with an impending court-martial. They are annoyed at not finding him.

As of August 22, the Madrid headquarters of the Burgos fathers had received no word of being expelled. However, expulsion would be a predictable move by the Portuguese government.

Two years ago, the White Fathers were expelled from Mozambique after they had decided to gradually withdraw. A full-page special in the *Guardian* (U.K., August 3, 1973) details why the White Fathers decided to leave—massacres are only the most sensational part of an ambiance in Mozambique in which they felt it no longer possible to do God's work. After 25 years in Mozambique, all 40 missionaries withdrew in protest—no longer able, in conscience, to be associated with the Portuguese system of "police brutality and injustice" or with the Portuguese bishops who defended it.

Father Luis Alfonso da Costa, a Verona father, was expelled in May 1972. He had been collecting documentation of the massacre of 92 people in Mozambique. Since then, his order has also been harassed.

In both Angola and Mozambique, Protestant missionaries who got close to the African population have frequently been unable to return to the country once they left on furlough. Non-Portuguese missionaries, even Catholics, have been seen by the Portuguese as a recurrent threat to Portugalization of Africa and are tolerated only as long as they fit into the Portuguese mold.

PORTUGUESE FIRM TO BUILD LIGHT AIRCRAFT IN MOZAMBIQUE

A Lisbon-based firm has applied for government permission to set up a light aircraft factory in the Mozambique city of Lourenco Marques or Nampula. Following approval, the firm plans to begin operations within 18 months. The company will have no foreign capital but will be wholly Portuguese owned. (*African Development*, August 1973)

BETHLEHEM STEEL CONTINUES ACTIVITY IN MOZAMBIQUE

Despite growing FRELIMO activity in the Mozambique province of Tete, Bethlehem Steel continues its activities there. The company was granted mineral concessions

which are valid for 20 years and renewable for 15 more, according to the Portuguese paper *Diario de Noticias*, (July 13). An Angolan paper reported on July 15 that Bethlehem Steel is a shareholder in Companhia Mineira de Tete, which was recently granted a concession contract for all minerals except oil, diamonds, coal and radioactive materials. Other companies involved in the Tete firm, all of whom were also reported to have won concessions, are Companhia Mineiro do Lobito, Companhia do Uranio de Mozambique, and Montedison and Finmine. (*Facts and Reports*, August 4 and 18, 1973)

U.S. EXPORT IMPORT BANK APPROVES LOAN TO PORTUGUESE AIRLINE

The Export Import Bank, an agency of the U.S. government, has approved a \$12.1 million loan for the Portuguese airline TAP. The money will be used as part payment for the purchase of a Boeing 747 "jumbo jet." The plane, costing over \$30 million, will be delivered next June. TAP will pay \$6 million in cash and arrange additional loans from other U.S. and foreign sources. (*Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 1973)

No details are yet available on this plane, but previously purchased jumbos have been used to transport Portuguese troops back and forth from the African wars.

g u i n e a - b i s s a u

PAIGC HOLDS SECOND CONGRESS

From 18 to 22 July the PAIGC held its second national congress inside the liberated zones of Western Guinea-Bissau. There were several important items of business. First of all, Aristedes Pereira was unanimously elected Secretary General of the PAIGC to replace the fallen Amilcar Cabral. The Party structure was also modified by the creation of a four-member Permanent Secretariat to replace the Executive Committee of the struggle. The Permanent Secretariat will be headed by Pereira with Luis Cabral as the Assistant Secretary General and Francisco (Chico Te) Mendes and Joas (Nino) Vieira acting as Secretaries. The Supreme Council of the struggle was enlarged from 81 to 85 members.

The Congress included 138 delegates and 60 observers. These people represented various party and military organizations. The Congress resolved to strengthen the struggle in Guinea-Bissau and increase efforts for the movement in the Cape Verde archipelago. Solidarity was stressed with the other movements fighting Portuguese colonialism under the Conference of Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP).

Support Acknowledged

The PAIGC thanked the O.A.U., the Republic of Guinea, and the Republic of Senegal for their important aid in the war effort. The Soviet Union, Sweden and world-wide support groups were also given grateful recognition.

Also of importance was the official recognition of the ongoing struggle within Portugal by the 'anti-fascist' forces which show the 'ties of friendship between the Portuguese people and our people .

On the Assassination

The 'monstrous' assassination of comrade Amilcar Cabral was vigorously condemned by the Congress. Also the unstated punishment for the plotters and assassins were unanimously approved. In memory to "Militant Number One of the PAIGC" an official portrait will be in all the PAIGC offices and a Cabral medal will be minted for heroes of the armed struggle for national liberation.

Future Business

The Second National Congress also called for the convocation of the Popular National Assembly to declare national independence before the end of the year; adopt the nation's first constitution; and create the nation's first executive body. (PAIGC Communique, 24 July 1973)

PRIEST CLAIMS PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES IN GUINEA-BISSAU

After visiting Guinea-Bissau a Catholic priest, Father Amedeo Brunelli claimed that the Portuguese had attacked and killed defenseless civilians. Father Brunelli spent 20 days with the guerrillas and said that he plans to document his claims for the U.N. Human Rights Commission. He pointed out that West German jets and French helicopters were used to bomb the villages. Brunelli also charged that the Portuguese used NATO aircraft to attack targets inside Senegal. Father Brunelli cited several specific incidents. On 31 January 1973 a boat full of 35 passengers, mostly women, was machine-gunned crossing the River Geba. On 5 February the village of Cates was destroyed; on 18 February the village of Gal; on 22 February the village of Ponta Nova; on 27 February the village of Biambi; and on 15 March the village of Bessunha was destroyed. More recently on 22 April and 5 May the village of Cinara and Tchoquemoeer were attacked. (*East African Standard*, 17 July 1973; *Guardian (London)*, 21 July 1973)

PAIGC SENDS MESSAGES TO GOWAN AND WALDHEIM

The PAIGC has sent parallel messages to General Gowan, President of Nigeria and Chairman of the OAU, and to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim stating that the Portuguese have intensified their criminal actions against civilians in Guinea-Bissau with the deaths of 19 people including 11 women and 4 children. The liberated area of Tombali was identified as the target of heavy napalm attacks during this period. (*Daily News*, Tanzania).

FASCIST LOSSES SOAR IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Within the first two weeks of July the PAIGC claimed the death of 33 Portuguese troops, the destruction of a number of vehicles and attacks at enemy camps. Thirteen soldiers were killed near the Caium River and twenty others were killed in ambush in the Nhacra-Mores front. The Portuguese have admitted that their losses are ten times higher than the first four months of this year. Informed sources said that although the true casualty figures are almost certainly higher than the Portuguese admit, it is significant that they admit an increase. The Portuguese point to the main areas of fighting as Cantanhez and Tombali. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, 22 June and 13 July 1973).

SPINOLA DENIES RUMORS

With increasing casualty lists and the loss of almost two dozen airplanes there has been rising speculation that there is growing panic in the town of Bissau itself.

Specifically noted by a Portuguese official in Bissau were the following items:

*wives and families of military men stationed in Guinea are not being sent back to Lisbon.

*TAP, the Portuguese national airline, will still continue its daily flights to Bissau from Lisbon

*soldiers are to be increased for Guinea, not decreased

*General Spínola has not made any contact for talks with the PAIGC.

Despite these denials the speculation remains, since the Portuguese authorities felt it necessary to make such statements. It is clear that the situation is getting worse and other reports from Bissau indicate that unemployment, prostitution and crime are growing. (*The Star*, (Johannesberg), 14 July 1973).

THE COST OF THE WAR

For 1973 the Portuguese anticipate spending U.S. \$7,870,000 for the armed forces in Guinea-Bissau. A new small factory has been established in Guinea for the production of military uniforms and a new military airstrip has been built near the existing airport at Bafata. The cost of the war can also be measured in a further increase in the trade deficit between Portugal and the colonies. In 1971 Portugal made \$2.5 million from her three colonies. By 1972 this had changed to a drastic \$62.5 million loss. This will probably worsen in 1973. The battle on the economic front may prove even more decisive than the many military victories for the liberation movements. (*Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*)

PORTUGAL AND EXXON SIGNED AGREEMENT

The Portuguese government and Exxon Exploration-Guinea have signed new accords which grant exclusive prospecting rights to the American petroleum consortium. This new accord re-establishes an agreement first made in 1958 with Standard Oil. Although the agreement permits Exxon to explore for oil anywhere in Guinea-Bissau there was no mention of how Exxon plans to enter the 75% of Guinea's territory controlled by the PAIGC. Exxon has paid the colonialist government a quarter of a million dollars for these rights. It also agreed to pay 14 to 60 dollars for every square kilometer used in the exploration as well as a 12.5% tax on production and a 50% tax on profits. (*Afrique-Asie*, 28 May 1973)

SOVIET AID TO THE PAIGC INCREASED

According to U.S. Intelligence sources the Soviet Union has recently delivered approximately 5,000 tons of arms and ammunition to the PAIGC. Apparently this shipment included SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles although Luis Cabral of the PAIGC would not confirm this report. (*AFP* 4 June 1973).

AMERICAN SOLDIER PROTESTS AID TO PORTUGAL

Harry W. Johnson, a U.S. soldier on trial in Kaiserlautern, West Germany for mutiny, claims that the U.S. has delivered napalm and defoliants to Portuguese forces in Africa. Johnson also stated that Portuguese officers were trained in Fort Bragg, N.C. and at California naval bases. At one point the trial was stopped for an hour

when 30 soldiers invaded the court room as a show of solidarity for Johnson. During the process Johnson said "I have withdrawn my services from aiding and abetting war crime." He was sentenced to a month in prison and forfeiture of pay for refusing to obey orders, going on strike and "showing lack of respect". (*AFP* 19 June 1973)

HISTORICAL NOTE ON GUINEA-BISSAU

To illustrate the long-standing relationship between the United States and Portugal it is interesting to note that a postage stamp once circulated in Guinea-Bissau featured a picture of U.S. President U.S. Grant. This stamp was issued in 1946 to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the discovery of Guinea by Portuguese sailors.

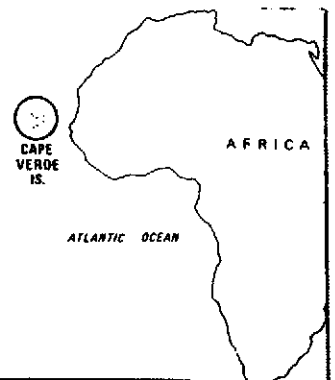
Although the territory was first recognized in 1446 many offshore islands and much of the interior was not under Portuguese control. The main concern in this early period was coastal exploration.

In 1793 the Portuguese claimed control of the offshore island of Bolama. However, in this early period the Portuguese saw little to be gained from Bolama and it fell back into local African control. The African king of Bolama subsequently sold a portion of the island to Philip Beaver, a British trader. Another section was also sold for mercantile activities. But by the end of the 1700's these holdings had been abandoned for lack of economic results and a difficult climate.

In 1830 the Portuguese returned to Bolama to claim it as their territory. The British protested because their maps indicated it was a crown territory. In 1837 the British sent their naval brig 'The Brisk' for some gunboat diplomacy. British men landed and cut down the Portuguese flag and hoisted their own. For thirty years the dispute continued and sometimes flared into small wars with "ownership" changing many times. Finally in January 1869 the British and Portuguese agreed that it was not worth the effort to fight over Bolama island. President Grant of the U.S. was asked to come in and act as arbitrator in the dispute. Grant finally ruled in favor of the Portuguese. It was for this reason that was honored in the Guinea-Bissau postage stamp.

Later Bolama was the administrative center for Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands until it was changed to two separate administrations and the mainland capital was shifted to Bissau.

Although the British and Portuguese have just celebrated 500 years of political alliance this little history lesson shows that it was not always harmonious. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 19 July 1973)



SAO TOME & PRINCIPE

LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The Liberation Movement of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP), which was recently recognized by the Organization of African Unity, has issued its Program and background to their struggle. Sao Tome and Principe is a group of mountainous islands off west central Africa which remains a colony of Portugal.

The MLSTP emerged in mid-1972 as the result of reorganizing of liberation forces, formerly called the Committee for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe. The movement is currently in a period of political organizing. Their program calls for an eventual move to armed struggle declaring the intent to liquidate Portuguese colonialism in the archipelago by all means necessary.

The islands were the first place in Africa to produce cocoa and the cocoa plantations have been notoriously staffed by prison labor from the other Portuguese colonies, supplemented by the forced labor of local inhabitants. Portugal's earliest use of the islands was as a terminal for slave ships and the first Africans on the islands were slaves.

Most of the local population are small farmers, who are unable to produce enough beyond subsistence needs to pay required Portuguese taxes so are forced to work on the plantations as well.

The early history of the islands included several slave rebellions and a sizeable portion of the population are descendants of slaves who escaped to the forests and attacked the Portuguese periodically for 300 years until all slaves were in principle freed.

In the late 1940's a new consciousness began to appear on the islands. When the price of cocoa fell in 1953, Portugal needed extra cheap labor to increase cocoa production, and tried to take citizens by force of arms and put them to work. The people resisted and the conflict culminated in the Batapa area. 1,302 local citizens were killed in less than a week. The imported plantation workers were used against the local citizens at that time.

However, the massacre created a new collective consciousness of oppression and of the need for unity between local people and the imported workers in combatting the colonial system that made them all virtual slaves. One result was a successful 24-hour strike by 90 per cent of the agricultural workers in August 1963.

This history of struggle gives the MLSTP a good chance of successful mass organizing for the ouster of the Portuguese, they feel. There is solidarity with other movements already fighting the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

(L'ile de Sao Tome from Information CONCP, 1968 & 1973 documents of MLSTP. #

U.S. and SOUTHERN AFRICA

HEARINGS ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES BILL

Congressman Donald Edwards (Ca.-D) has scheduled hearings on Congressman Diggs' Fair Employment Practices Bill before Sub-committee No. 4 of the House Judiciary Committee for September 19 and 20. H.J. Res. 269 requires that United States businesses must comply with equal employment practices in their operations in South Africa and Namibia in order to be eligible for U.S. federal contracts. Congressman Edwards did not visit South Africa before holding the hearings, as he had at one time planned.



Subcommittee staff is seeking testimony to establish that the bill can achieve significant changes in the deplorable lot of African workers notwithstanding South African laws and that it will not work a hardship for American corporations to comply. Public witnesses will be asked to speak to the positive changes that this legislation would compel as well as to the conditions of the African workers prevailing. Some groups have voiced concern that the hearings may not touch on the broader issue of the role of United States corporations in perpetuating the status quo in South Africa. The legislation seems to assume that other options, such as disengagement, are not sufficiently viable to be considered.

CONGRESSMAN YOUNG MOVES ON AID TO PORTUGAL

On July 26, Representative Andrew Young (Ga.-D) offered an amendment to the House foreign aid bill requiring the Comptroller General to make a report to Congress on the use by Portugal of its assistance funds to support military activities in its African colonies, and that such assistance should be suspended if the Comptroller General determines that it has been so used, until the Comptroller General determines that appropriate corrective action can be taken.

Representative Edward Buchanan (Al.-D) offered a weakening amendment stating that it should be the President, not the Comptroller General who should make the determination, and that a report would be filed "as soon as practicable" rather than "as soon as possible. . . and at quarterly intervals thereafter." Young supported Buchanan's amendment, and the Young provision, as amended, was agreed to by a division vote of 69 ayes to 57 noes.

Representative Young argued that we should keep "close watch" on the uses of our aid to Portugal in order to avoid an inadvertent repetition of our deep military involvement in Indochina. Representative Thomas Morgan (Pa.-D), Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, was the first member to speak in opposition to the amendment, saying that he did not wish to jeopardize the continued presence of the United States military base in the Azores islands. Several members opposed the amendment on the grounds that U.S. foreign aid policy should not be used to interfere with the internal affairs of another country. Representative Gross (Iowa-D) questioned why the United States should place stipulations on the use of our aid given to Portugal and make no stipulation in regard to aid to Burundi or Uganda. Several members opposed the amendment saying that it was insulting to a friendly nation.

Representative Young's amendment provided an occasion for a discussion on United States policy toward Portugal, which is helpful in increasing the visibility in Congress of our involvement in southern Africa. However, it is doubtful that the amendment as passed will have any significant effect on limiting U.S. aid to Portugal; nor will it effectively restrict the possible use by Portugal of United States military aid outside NATO territory.

SENATE PREPARES FOR ACTION ON SANCTIONS

The Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold hearings on September 6 on S. 1868 to renew United States compliance with United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. The Foreign Relations Committee decided in July that there should be public hearings before they consider the legislation.

Union Carbide, which owns and operates chrome mines and ferrochrome processing plants in Rhodesia, requested the right to speak at a hearing as soon as Senator Humphrey introduced the bill. This followed their earlier refusal to testify before the House Subcommittee on Africa and on International Organizations and Movements.

A spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America will testify on the detrimental effect of sanctions-breaking on the United States ferrochrome industry. The Subcommittee staff is also seeking testimony from a United States diplomatic official and from a spokesman for independent American ferrochrome producers.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to report favorably on a bill soon after hearings have been completed. Full Senate action is anticipated in mid-September.

HUMPHREY DESCRIBES DIRECTION OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA

In an article in the African-American Institute's July-August issue of *Africa Report*, Senator Humphrey discussed the activities of the Senate African Affairs Committee of which he was appointed chairman at the beginning of the Congress' 93rd session. He focused on the two areas of "human equality and economic development."

Senator Humphrey said, "The present Administration appears to have abandoned leadership for human rights and self-determination in southern Africa." In support of this position, he cited the United States' refusal to sit on either the U.N. Committee of 24 dealing with liberation movements or in the Council for Namibia, the series of abstentions, and vetoes on Security Council resolutions against colonialism, and moral support which the United States has given to the southern African regimes.

In response to this abandonment of leadership, Senator Humphrey cited the effort in both houses of Congress to restore United States' participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia. He said, however, "this step only returns us where we were in 1970, and it is only one needed reform. We will have to begin from there to build a new partnership with Africa in the fight for human rights."



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES

IFCO RAISES FUNDS FOR PAIGC

Artists from Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Brazil performed at New York's St. John the Divine Episcopal Church on September 7 in an IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization) fund-raising event for the PAIGC. More than 300 people heard the presentation of Carib-African music, drumming and dancing by the BATUKI performers who are planning a nation wide tour this fall.

SECRET BANK LOANS ELICIT LOCAL AND NATIONAL ACTION

11 known American banks are involved in a complex scheme loaning \$70 million via the Euro-American Banking Corporation (EARC) to South African Government agencies, including the Ministry of Finance of other economic corporations. (See *Southern Africa*, May, June-July, 1973) The release of the so-called "Frankfort Documents" (the information was obtained from W. Germany) inspired local action against the U.S. participants. The North Carolina Wachovia Bank which loaned \$2 m. to the South African Iron and Steel Corporation has been the target of state wide protest to the point that the bank denied participation in the loaning consortium (See *Southern Africa*, August-September, 1973) and now several other regional groups have developed campaigns against the loans.

The loans have received public notice in a number of papers including the *Village Voice* (August 16); the Los Angeles *Herald Dispatch*; The Daily Rag (a Washington, D.C. "underground" paper, Sept. 7-14), and the *Amsterdam News* where it got front page coverage. Action has moved farthest in Virginia Bank where the United Virginia Bank loaned \$2 m. to the Ministry of Finance) via proceedings of the Petersburg City Council which voted on September 19 (4-2) to withdraw its \$1.5 m. account from the bank because of its continued participation in the loan. The question was raised in Petersburg by a Black City Councilman who recruited Judge William Booth, black President of the American Committee on Africa, to speak at a Council meeting. (Richmond Times Dispatch, September 5, 1973). In Richmond a black city councilwoman has raised the same issue while in Maryland the United Church of Christ is moving on Maryland National Bank. In Baltimore a OEO funded Federation of Inner City Credit Unions withdrew several hundred thousand dollars from the Bank over this issue. In

Indianapolis a new group is being created. On the national level, National Council of Churches President, Sterling Cary corresponded with the Prime Minister of the Bahamas, Lynden Pindling, because four of the banks (Merchants National Bank and Trust [Indianapolis], First Israel Bank and Trust [New York City], Maryland National and United Virginia) used their Nassau (Bahamas) branches as the conduit for the loan. Cary, the first Black to head the ecumenical body, wrote requesting Pindling to look into the situation commenting, "it is the height of irony that these banks are using their branches on the soil of an independent black country to help oppress black brothers and sisters in South Africa." (NEWS, N.C.C., July 27, 1973). Cary has also testified about the loans and the need for international actions (the EABC is primarily a European entity) before the United Nations Committee on Apartheid on September 13.

CONSERVATIVE AAAA WANTS TO PLACE ADVERTISEMENT ON CABORA BASSA

The American African Affairs Association's plan to gain support for the Portuguese-South African Cabora Bassa project has moved a step ahead with the AAAA trying to solicit money from its adherents to run an advertisement in which the internationally condemned dam project is called important to the "peace and progress" of Africa. The ad infers that American support is needed to make sure the dam is completed! It also calls for the United Nations to guarantee security for the project. The AAAA has praised the location of a U.S. Navy facility in the Indian Ocean at Diego Garcia. (Letter from Walter Darnell Jacobs, Co-Chairman, AAAA, July 10, 1973—for more information see *Southern Africa*, August-September, 1973)

CORPORATE CENTER ACTS ON RHODESIA SANCTIONS BUSTING

The B.F. Goodrich Chemical Company has admitted that in 1972 and 1973 it exported \$150 worth of Carbopol (chemical for drugs, etc.) each year which ended up in Rhodesia thereby violating international sanctions against that country. Goodrich denied knowledge of the sales except to say it was a response to the Dutch company Etablissement Zephyr's order for sales to be sent to Mozambique. The Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches received the information after following up data from the Dutch Stichting Anti-Apartheid Nederland (Dutch anti-apartheid group). Goodrich says it will discontinue the exports. The

information was sent to the Security Council Committee on Sanctions. (Letters, July 23, August 10; August 16, 1973). The Dutch Government has also been investigating sanctions breakers including the Gabon registered Affretair, an air charter company which has been transporting 30 tons a week of Dutch goods to Africa, some of which have been found in Rhodesia, as well as carrying Rhodesian beef to Athens. It will also look into export-import firms linked with the sanctions busting system in Holland. (*Star*, Johannesburg, September 8, 1973)

U.S. AIRFORCE ASKS FOR FRELIMO FILM

The Special Operations School of the USAF (at Hurlburt Field, Florida) submitted a formal request to the Tricontinental Film Center of New York City asking to rent "A Luta Continua" the well-known film about liberated Mozambique for use before the "student body of the counterinsurgency course..." Tricontinental and the film makers refused the Air Force's order saying that use of the film for such programs "would not be consistent with humane purposes for which the film was made." The *Daily News* of Tanzania carried the story in August. The request is another index of more direct U.S. military concern with growing power of the liberation movements in South Africa.

MADISON CITY COUNCIL ACTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

On June 26 (South Africa Freedom Day as sponsored particularly by the African National Congress of South Africa) the City of Madison (Wisconsin) Common Council voted 16-5 to urge the President of the U.S. and Congress to stop all aid to Southern African regimes. The Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) has worked on local education, using the Southern Africa Committee slide show, "Partners in Apartheid," before two seminars. It also participated with a number of Chicago based groups in discussions with FRELIMO representatives in late June. (*MACSA News*, August, 1973)

ALSC GIVES \$ IN AFRICA

The *Star* of Johannesburg reported that a African Liberation Support Committee representative has given \$32,000 to several liberation movements (Zanu-Zapu, PAIGC, FRELIMO, and UNITA) in a trip to Africa. The Committee held a press conference in Washington led by Chairman Dawolu Gene Locke, at which time support for the anti-chrome campaign was also stated. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 21, 1973)

PAN AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE PUTS ADS IN BLACK MAGAZINES

The Pan African Liberation Committee (P.O. Box 514, Brookline Village, Mass. 02147) which has been involved in the boycott campaign against Gulf has placed several advertisements for the boycott endorsed by some 60 prominent Blacks in *Jet* and *Ebony* magazines. Gulf Oil Corporation placed a two page ad in the same August issue of *Ebony*.

PORTUGUESE WINE BOYCOTT

"Life is not so Rosy with Portuguese Rose!" reads a

leaflet being circulated by the "Africa Project" which calls for the boycott of Portuguese products particularly citing the well-advertised Costa Do Sol wine.

INTERNATIONAL

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

More and more articles are appearing in the *Canadian* press about conditions in Angola, the colonial war, and Portugal which are linked to the growing coffee boycott and Gulf campaign. Endorsements for the COFFEE BOYCOTT have come from more church organizations (YWCA of Canada, Presbyterian Church), as well as several mass workers organizations (Union Producteurs Agricoles with 50,000 members in Quebec; the Co-Prix with 125,000 members), the General Food Trade Union, and Saskatchewan National Farmers Union. The South African Information Group of Ottawa is moving into what they call Phase II of the boycott with an information "blitz" on the local retail/supermarket level. More visual materials are available including a film/tape prepared by Jacques Roy, a Canadian who lived in Tanzania and is linked closely with MPLA and was a prime mover of the boycott, and a new film about an Angolan woman in search of her jailed husband entitled "Zambizanga". The brands which are being boycotted in Canada include those of General Foods, Nestles and Standard Brands or Yuban, Maxim, Maxwell House, Sanka, Brim, Chase and Sanborn, Nescafe, and Taster's Choice. Canada imported \$10 million worth of coffee from Angola for use in instant coffee in 1970. For more information write: SAIG, Box 4433, Station E., Ottawa, Ont., Canada Film/Tape "Liberation and Development" (\$35 cost or for info., contact Viodegraphie, 1604 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec, Canada)

"Zambizanga" contact Farou Film, 129 rue St. Paul E Montreal, Quebec, Canada (Not until late 1973). 2½ hrs.

In *Holland* several chain firms (Albert Heijn and Spar) stopped selling South African Outspan oranges, but there seems to be great pressure to stop the boycott as well as the successful coffee campaign. Dutch industrialists are activating opinion, and in mid-July, a Portuguese trade mission visited Holland to develop the Dutch market for its products. The appeal from those who claim to be worried that Dutch consumer tastes are giving them a "bad name" in the export/import world, are also appealing to the "Free choice" rationale for ending secondary boycotts. (*Star*, Johannesburg, September 1 and 8, 1973; *Diario de Noticias*, Port., July 15, 1973)

REACTION TO MASSACRES IN MOZAMBIQUE

The Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch Governments have all called for an international inquiry into the highly publicized Portuguese massacres of civilians in Mozambique. Six Dutch bishops have appealed to the Vatican to support Catholic priests being harassed in Mozambique, and 25 prominent Dutch lay Catholics (including 6 Cabinet Ministers and a former Prime Minister) have written to the Papal Commission for Justice and Peace calling for a break in Vatican silence over the massacres. The letter said that even if the Church is trying to protect the remaining Catholic missionaries in Mozambique, in fact it appeared to be condoning the injustice so blatant in the massacres. The Danish

Government also requested information from FRELIMO.

In Africa, Foreign Minister of Tanzania, Malecela, addressed Tanzanian university students after a anti-Portuguese protest march, praising them for mobilizing Tanzanian support for the liberation struggles and enunciating the policy of providing volunteers to the movements.

Finally 40,000 demonstrators in Lourenco Marques and 5,000 in Beira were mobilized to protest the British attitude toward Portugal as exposed when concern mounted over the massacres and protests occurred against P.M. Caetano's state visit to England. (*Times*, U.K., July 17, 19 and 25; *The Guardian*, July 19, 25; *Toronto Globe and Mail*, July 12; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Jul 19, 1973).

COUNTRY ACTIVITIES

IRELAND: The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has been increasingly active critiquing government policy calling for the total end to trade or transport connections with South Africa; an examination of South African security system (BOSS) in Ireland; aid to Zambia and the International Defence and Aid Fund; and an expose and watchdog role on South Africa and Portugal's relations with the EEC. The Movement is circulating a petition in support of Sean Hoseney of the Pretoria Six and the Irish Trade Union Congress protested South African workers' conditions and wages. The AAM will hold a Week of Solidarity with the Portuguese Liberation Movements at the end of September with the featured speaker at a Dublin public rally being Father Hastings who helped expose the Mozambique massacres. (United Nations, United on Apartheid *Action against Apartheid*, No. 2, July 12, and No. 3, July 27, 1973; *Anti-Apartheid News*, September, 1973)

WEST GERMANY: Students occupied the South African Embassy on June 26, pulled down the South African flag and tried to raise that of the African National Congress (ANC). There is a campaign underway calling for the release of South African political prisoners sponsored by student, Southern African and prisoner groups in West Germany. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, September, 1973—see "Portuguese Territories" section for new moves by W. German Government).

SCOTLAND: The Town Council of Aberdeen rejected a scheme by the British Tourist Authority to promote tourism to Scotland in various countries including South Africa. (*Rand Daily Mail*, South Africa, July 5, 1973).

JAPAN: The Anti-Apartheid Committee demonstrated at a Japanese economic organization of June 26, and earlier at the Portuguese Embassy in Tokyo during a "Portuguese evening". (*Anti-Apartheid News*, September, 1973)

AUSTRALIA: At Minto, near Sydney, the World University Service of Australia sponsored a Southern African Liberation Conference July 20-22 which was attended by 120 delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Papua and New Guinea. A number of decisions were made in the Declaration of Action including the establishment of a Southern African Solidarity Center at Sydney; the creation of several funds to aid the struggle in Zimbabwe (Herbert Chitepo Chairman of the Joint Command of ZANU-ZAPU spoke at the meeting); the boycott of selected companies; immediate organization against a Portuguese Trade Mission visit to Australia and the

passage of Portuguese troops through the country. An important element of the meeting was the emphasis on developing greater consciousness of the oppression of Blacks in Australia and in Southern Africa, and the facilitation of greater communication between these two groups. A number of recommendations to the Australian Government were also stated. (Press Release, July 22; *Anti-Apartheid News*, September, 1973; Declaration of Action, WUSA Minto Conference).

WUSA has also pursued the "credibility gap" in Australia's policy toward supporting Rhodesian sanctions. It has challenged the continued functioning of the Rhodesian Information Center in Sydney (7 people were arrested there in August—one in a series of actions); advertisements in papers for emigration to Rhodesia; and trade violations via reported Rhodesian tobacco for sale in Australia; tourism and air connections—all despite the new government policy of strengthening sanctions as stated at the U.N. (WUS News Service, May 30, 1973). For more information write: WUSA, P.O. Box 124, Bondi Beach 2026, Australia.

As in a number of countries there is a growing amount of information on links with Southern Africa. Australian students have called for an end to transport (Quantas, South African Airways), shipping and trade ties with South Africa. A new booklet lists all Australian firms doing business in South Africa while an article in the June issue of *The Australian Quarterly* ("Australia and Apartheid: The Ties That Bind") examines role of trade, of S.A. companies in Australia, the South African Foundation and strategic role of foreign capital in South Africa.

ENGLAND: The British Medical Association has been informing doctors of its disapproval if they take up posts in South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 14, 1973) There were a number of British actions (demonstrations, fund-raising events) related to the trial of the Pretoria 6 which concluded at the end of June with the sentencing of the four Africans and 2 expatriates with imprisonment from up to 15 years for the Blacks. (In Paris French notables such as Sartre, de Beauvoir, signed a petition for the release of the prisoners.) (*Anti-Apartheid News*, July-August, 1973). Two British trade unions (General and Municipal Workers Union—a very wealthy one, and the Society of Lithographic Artists, etc.) have both decided to withdraw investments from companies with South African subsidiaries. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, September, 1973).

END THE ALLIANCE CAMPAIGN—FOLLOW UP. More than 10,000 people were mobilized throughout England leading up to and during the July visit of Portuguese P.M. Caetano. (See *Southern Africa*, August-September, 1973). 250,000 leaflets and stickers were distributed, workshops were held and in late June a Conference attended by 300 persons took place in Manchester at which Marcelino Dos Santos of FRELIMO spoke. There were a number of groups involved in the organizing on the national and local levels, the most important coordinator being the COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM IN MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND GUINEA (12, Little Newport St., London W.C. 2, England) Because of the growth of interest in the P.M. Caetano's state visit and the timing of news about the Mozambique massacres, the British police had to increase their security for the

foreign dignitary, Demonstrations ranged from 5,000 people in the streets the day before he arrived, to smaller pickets and marches connected with single locations (often difficult to find out) where the P.M. visited (Naval Facility, Buckingham Palace, British Museum) Arrests occurred on and off all the week. It was discovered that the conservative Anglo-Zanzibar Society financed through a placement bureau the 100 or so pro-Portuguese leafleters who appeared at the large demonstration. The organizers feel that the Campaign succeeded in showing that the British Government and business interests were the prime supporters of Portugal by involving a broad range of organizations and political groups against the visit. (*Times*, UK, July 12, 16, 18, *Guardian*, UK, July 16; Letter from CFMAG, August 16, 1973).

LIBERATION SUPPORT

The German Democratic Republic has sent \$43,000 to the OAU Liberation Committee in the form of medicines, cloth and food. The Swedish SIDA (International Development Agency) has aided MPLA in building an educational institute at Dolisie in Congo-Brazzaville with a donation of more than \$500,000. Sweden will also double its assistance to FRELIMO raising it to \$16 million. In Austria, the new Komitee Suedliches Afrika has collected drugs for the CONCP movements (MPLA, PAIGC, FRELIMO) and for SWAPO, and will publish a magazine called *Revolutionaeres Afrika*. (For information contact KSA-Vienna, Wiedner Hauptstrasse, 24/17, A-1040, Wien, Austria.) FRELIMO'S *Mozambique Revolution* will be published soon in Italian after agreement with a Bologna publishing house. There are close links between a Bologna hospital and FRELIMO'S Boavida Hospital. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, July 17, 19; *Times*, UK, July 16; *Anti-Apartheid News*, September, 1973; Radio Report, Czechoslovakia, July 7, 1973).

In Africa, the Tanzanian National Union of Workers (NUTA) gave \$30,000 to the one African Liberation Fund, and two groups of African leaders; Pres. Stevens of Sierra Leone and Emperor Selassie of Ethiopia, and Presidents Tolbert of Liberia and Nyerere of Tanzania, issued communiques after various meetings offering renewed support for the liberation struggles. The Liberian head of state pledged that Liberia would investigate its ships which break sanctions against Rhodesia. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, July 19; *The Nation*, Kenya, July 10; *Agence France Presse*, July 30, 1973)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

The *Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students* held in Berlin (German Democratic Republic) in the summer included a conference on Southern Africa and racism. Represented at the mass meeting were representatives of the liberation movements. The Conference adopted a resolution condemning the terror tactics of the Southern African regimes and supporting the peoples' resistance. It stated support for a U.N. resolution calling for a decade devoted to struggle against racism and racial discrimination to begin on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1973. (United Nations, Unit on Apartheid, *Against Apartheid Action*, No. 4, Sept., 1973)

At another youth meeting, the 5,000 Africans at the *Pan African Youth Festival in Tunis* met with



Marcelino dos Santos in England.

representatives from the Southern African liberation movements as well as youth from Palestine, Latin America and IndoChina. The final declaration strongly condemned Britain's role in Rhodesian situation, South Africa's military occupation of Namibia; and Israel's role as a "bridgehead of imperialism". (*Daily News*, Tanzania, July 17 and 27, 1973).

A *International Pharmaceutical Conference* avoided discussion in depth on move by the Swedish delegate to have the South African membership removed through a resolution to exclude countries where equal opportunity in the education and practice of pharmacy do not exist. The South African delegation spent the week lobbying and gained support from Austrian executive delegates. A resolution in the executive lost 7-6 (with 4 abstentions). (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 11, 1973). South Africans (an apparently mixed delegation of 4 whites, 2 Asians, 2 Africans) attended the *Boy Scouts World Conference* in Nairobi for the first time in 20 years. (*Nation*, Kenya, July 18, 1973)

The PAIGC (Partido Africano Da Independencia Da Guine E Cabo Verde) has just established an office in New Bedford, Massachusetts which is the official party representative in the U.S. For information contact:

PAIGC

U.S.A. COMMITTEE

P.O. Box M 365

New Bedford, Mass. 02744

resources

READING SUGGESTIONS ON NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE

Basic Pamphlets: Namibia

1. SWAPO, *Namibia News, Namibia Pictorial* in March/April 1973 issue. 15p for single issue, available from SWAPO London office. A dramatic photoessay on life in Namibia and the liberation struggle there. Reprint available from LSM, Vancouver, 50 cents.
2. Randolph Vigne, *A Dwelling Place of Our Own: The Story of the Namibian Nation*. London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1973. 40 ¢ from U.S. IDAF office). Historical background and current developments, through 1972; well-written; good map and pictures
3. United Nations, *A Principle in Torment: III. The United Nations and Namibia*. New York: United Nations, 1972. 60¢. The best brief summary of international involvement in the Namibian struggle.
4. Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, *White Power: The Cunene River Scheme*, London: 1973. 35¢. Information on the South African-Portuguese hydroelectric project intended to consolidate white rule in southern Angola and northern Namibia.

Basic Pamphlets: Zimbabwe

There is available no comprehensive pamphlet dealing with the situation in Zimbabwe and the development of the liberation struggle there. Of current pamphlets dealing with some aspects of the situation there, the following are suggested for initial reading:

1. African National Council, *No Future Without Us: The Story of the African National Council*. London: ANC, 1972. 65¢ Available from ACOA. Story of the rejection by Africans of the sell-out settlement between Great Britain and the Smith regime.
2. E.E. M. Mlambo, *Rhodesia: The British Dilemma*. London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1971. 35¢ from U.S. IDAF office. Background on white rule and the role of Britain in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).
3. ACOA, *U.S. Violations of U.N. Sanctions against Rhodesia*. New York: 1973. 75¢. Background on U.S. role in breaking sanctions.
4. Recent information on the development of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe should be sought from ZAPU, Box 1657, Lusaka, Zambia; and ZANU, Box 2331, Lusaka, Zambia. Several recent pamphlets from ZAPU sources should be available soon from LSM, Vancouver. Information on ZANU guerrilla actions, recently considerably expanded, does not seem to be available yet in pamphlet form.

Basic Books: Namibia

1. Ruth First, *South West Africa*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963. \$1.25. Well-written, background account up through early 1960s.

2. Leonard Lazar, *Namibia*. London: Africa Bureau, 1972. A recent survey of the legal status of South African rule in Namibia.
3. Ronald Segal and Ruth First, eds. *South West Africa: Traveesty of Trust*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1967. Papers from the International Conference on South West Africa, 1966. Extensive background information.

Basic Books: Zimbabwe

1. Eshmael Mlambo, *Rhodesia: The Struggle for a Birthright*. London: C. Hurst & Company, 1972. L2.95 paperback. Best recent account of white rule and African resistance in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).
2. Stanlake Samkange, *On Trial for My Country*. N.Y. Humanities, 1967. \$1.50 paperback. Invaluable for background; a fictionalized account of the European conquest of Rhodesia.
3. Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, *Future Direction of U.S. Policy Toward Southern Rhodesia*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973. \$1.50. 1973 hearings with much information on U.S. firms, and the breaking of sanctions since the passage of the Byrd amendment.

Additional Sources: Namibia

1. IDOC International, *Namibia Now!* Rome: 1973. A special information packet; comprehensive information, with documentation on the role of the churches not easily available elsewhere.
2. Reed Kramer and Tami Hultman, *Tsumeb: A Profile of United States Contribution to Underdevelopment in Namibia*. New York: Corporate Information Center, 1973. Detailed study of the major U.S. investment in Namibia, including labor conditions and the 1971 strike.
3. Slonim, Solomon, *South West Africa and the United Nations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1973. \$13.50. Detailed account of the legal developments in the case; oriented toward "diplomacy".
4. United Nations Council for Namibia, annual reports. New York: United Nations. An important source of information.
5. Winifred Courtney and Jennifer Davis, *Namibia: U.S. Corporate Involvement*. New York: Africa Fund, 1972. 50¢. A short pamphlet, on Tsumeb and other U.S. corporate connections.

Additional Sources: Zimbabwe

1. Several pamphlets on Rhodesia from The International Defense and Aid Fund, London.
2. Reed Kramer and Tami Hultman, *Rhodesian Chrome: A Profile of Union Carbide and Foote Mineral*. New York: Corporate Information Center, 1972. Information on two U.S. companies involved in breaking the U.N. sanctions.

3. Judith Todd, *The Right to Say No*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972. A personal account of events at the time of the African rejection of Pearce Commission and Judith Todd's imprisonment.
4. T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967) and *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930* (New York: International Publications Service, 1970—paperback). Background of African resistance to white rule in Zimbabwe.
5. G. Arrighi, *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*. The Hague: Mouton, 1967. An analytical, Marxist account of the development of classes and class struggle in Zimbabwe.
6. John Day, *International Nationalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967) and Nathan Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1965) give

an outsider's and an insider's account of the modern development of African nationalism in Zimbabwe.

7. Leonard T. Kapungu, *The United Nations and Economic Sanctions Against Rhodesia*. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973. A well-written and informed study by a Zimbabwean now in the United States. Another book by him, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, is due to be published soon.

Periodicals:

1. South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO), *Namibia News*. SWAPO London Offices, 10 Dryden Chambers, 119 Oxford Street, London W1.
2. Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), *Zimbabwe Review*. ZAPU, Box 1657, Lusaka, Zambia.
3. Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), *Zimbabwe News*. ZANU, Box 2331, Lusaka, Zambia.

The New World Resource Center 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Illinois 60614, distributes most of the pamphlets in this list.

ACOA, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
 IDAFSA (U.S.), 1430 Mass. Ave. Cambridge, Mass. 02138.



APPEAL FOR THE DEOLINDA CENTRE

The Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA) wishes to inform all friendly organisations and all friends of the Angolan people that it is planning to build a Centre for training women cadres who will be sent to work in the liberated areas of Angola. This Centre will be called the "Deolinda Centre".

We shall be grateful for all donations. Money donations can be sent to the following address:

MPLA - OMA
 National Bank of Commerce
 Bank House Branch
 P.O. Box 9031
 Dar es Salaam
 Tanzania

Gifts in kind can be sent to the address below :

Organisation of Angolan Women
 P.O. Box 20604
 Dar es Salaam
 Tanzania



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