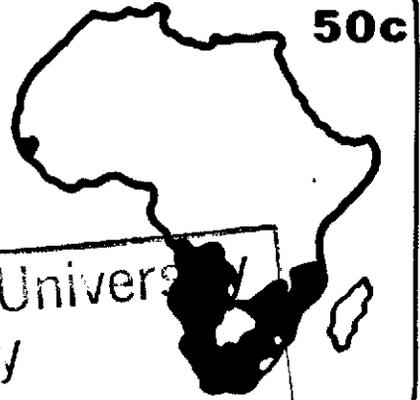


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Cover: Gen. Antonio de Spínola—Portuguese
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feature

PORTUGAL: Colonial Wars Come Home?

As a result of the African wars, for the first time in almost 50 years dissenting views originating in the high ranks of the military were openly expressed in Portugal in March.

Until then the Portuguese authorities had found it easy to dismiss criticism of the ironclad control they had imposed on the country. Anybody opposing or even doubting Salazar's or Caetano's right to rule was labelled a Communist, an anarchist, a traitor, anti-Portuguese, and then jailed, exiled or eliminated. The events of March made justification of official dogma more difficult.

General Antonio de Spínola can hardly be accused of treason by the regime, and he is certainly not a left-winger. A traditionalist and ritualistic career officer, Spínola fought as a volunteer for Franco, later receiving training in Hitler's Germany. He served as governor and military commander in Guinea for five years where he had reputedly been involved in diverse means to attain Portugal's victory, including the abortive 1970 invasion of Guinea, the assassination of Cabral and local emphasis on social and economic programs. He had recently come back to Lisbon to the specially created post of deputy chief of staff. He was eyed as a prospective president of the republic. But his romance with the Caetano Government was to be short-lived. In February, the memories of defeat in Guinea still fresh in his mind, Spínola published *Portugal and the Future*. The book shattered two cornerstone myths of the last colonial power: "that we (the Portuguese) are defending the West and the western civilization" and that "the essence of the Portuguese nation is its civilizing mission." It went on to doubt Portugal's military ability to win the African wars. Spínola proposed a neo-colonial solution instead, namely the creation of a federation that would include Portugal, the colonies, and Brazil.

Caetano, like Spínola, a mainstay of Portuguese fascism, tried to take a realistic stand and was on the verge of accepting Spínola's suggestions, some of which have been echoed in Portuguese inner circles for years. Both are fully aware of the discontent among junior officers over the war and pay conditions, and are convinced of the impracticality of carrying on a three-front war for much longer. Both have been under pressure from commercial interests that see the end of the wars as a first step towards more integration of Portugal into the European community. But they did not count on the reaction of the ultra-conservative elements left over from the "good old days" of Salazar's New State. The 80-year-old president Americo Tomaz, with the support of the "national assembly," forced Caetano to dismiss Spínola and his



Armored cars near Lisbon during March disturbances

boss, General Costa Gomes, the chief of staff. (For chronology see "Struggle Against Portugal" section this month)

Those dismissals triggered a reaction throughout the lower echelons of the military. Several units of the army held meetings to discuss the events and members of one of them even attempted to march on the capital. The police managed to reestablish "order" in the country, but the number of arrests and the support given Spínola's suggestions seem to indicate that the Caetano rule stands on very unstable grounds.

A Police State

Caetano came to power in 1968, after a serious illness forced the resignation of dictator Salazar. Recluse Salazar had come to power after a military coup put an end to the democratic republic that had been established in the country with the overthrow of the monarchy in 1910.

Salazar built his power on widespread repression, and maintained it by keeping the masses illiterate, poor and optionless. He himself was a somber figure, who always wore dark suits, shunned the company of all but a restricted entourage, and never travelled except for brief visits to Spain, shrouded in secrecy at that. The police force he formed comprised the Gestapo-trained PIDE (now DGS), the GNR (National republican guard), the PSP (Public Security police), and Guarda Fiscal, the BN (Naval brigade), and the paramilitary LP (Portuguese legion), and MP (Portuguese youth), all assisted by the armed forces and a network of paid informers. These were suspected of including most of the nation's clergy and public servicemen. Information was the monopoly of a special state department that controlled the broadcasting station where all news bulletins originated. Universal education was virtually non-existent and limited to four years of elementary school. Only the privileged upper classes could dream of a higher education.

When Caetano took over he tried to give the country and the world some likelihood of liberalization. Everything remained in fact unchanged. An exception was the secret political police whose initials were too readily identifiable with oppression and terror. The "new" DGS

(Direcao Geral de Seguranca) is new only in name since all its elements were recruited the same day PIDE was "disbanded."

False Hopes

False hopes were not a novelty to the Portuguese. Until 1958 "elections" for president of the republic were held every seven years. But in 1958 the opposition's General Delgado proved to be too popular a candidate for Salazar to allow any more elections. The chief of state, who constitutionally has the power to dismiss the prime minister, was from then on to be appointed by an electoral college appointed by district governors and mayors, who in turn had been appointed by the government. A Portuguese joke called this the perfect vicious circle.

Opposition could not however be completely wiped out.

Opposition survives Repression

Since the early days of the "New State," Salazar was wary of political groups. The most serious threat came from the Communist Party, the only political force with a structure capable of surviving PIDE's ruthless persecutions. Its members were sent to political prisons, tortured, and deported to concentration camps in the Cape Verde islands. Tarrafal, one of those camps, is almost a synonym of terror in Portugal. Other groups were also the target of ferocious persecutions. In this context, to talk of the suppression of many thousands of Salazar's and Caetano's opponents is not mere fiction.

After 1958, but especially after the beginning of the war in Angola in 1961, other opposition organizations emerged.

LUAR (League of Unity and Revolutionary Action): dedicated to military activity, was headed by Palma Inacio until his arrest in Lisbon last November.

FPLN (Patriotic Front for National Liberation): an umbrella organization for opposition groups, had centers for external political activity in Algiers and Paris. Weakened by a 1970 split.

FAP (Patriotic Action Front): carried out several military missions inside the country.

ARA (Revolutionary Armed Action): super-clandestine guerrilla group, successfully attacked military installations. Was created in 1970.

Revolutionary Brigades: operated inside the country, also destroyed several military installations.

PSP (Portuguese Socialist Party): Social-democrat, headed by Mario Soares, exiled in Paris, the Socialist Party is supported by several important European political formations.

Other opposing groups include progressive Catholics and several smaller groups. During the years of the Salazar and Caetano regimes some 2 million Portuguese left the country in search of better living conditions. The country has an area of 35,000 square miles, a population in the vicinity of 9.8 million. Among those who left an estimated 100,000 persons were deserters or left the country to avoid four years of forced military service, two of which must be served in the colonial wars. Most lead some kind of political activity in the countries where they sought refuge. A variety of minor organizations flourish all over Europe. These groups, all pledging the overthrow of the Lisbon regime, lack cohesion.

International complicity

Portugal's economy is basically controlled by a restricted number of families and conglomerates with the support of international capital. The Portuguese Government itself gets most of its strength from the United States and other Western powers. In return these are granted military facilities (Azores to the US and France, Beja air base to Germany) and given the assurance of staunch anti-Communism and partnership in imperial ventures. But the argument of exposing all opponents as Communist will never be used effectively again. Who will believe that monocled, swagger stick toting General Spinoia is a Moscow or Peking inspired agent of subversion?



Portuguese Emigrants en route to France

With his book, Spinoia has shown a clear division within the ranks of the civilian ruling class and the military, to which he still belongs. The recent controversy is further exposing the contradictions of the regime and shaking the foundations of its political "doctrine".

The wars of liberation in Africa will continue—talk of partnership, federation and statehood mean little in the daily struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. But cracks in the Portuguese armor will hopefully lead in a process to the entire dismantling of the system. Obviously the role of the liberation movements in creating this change will be primary. In the short run the Spinoia affair and evidence of internal military differences may create a less cohesive and therefore less effective fighting force in Africa. The larger issue of how it relates to broader dislocations in the entire strategic and economic world system, the relationship between colonialism and neo-colonialism, and other developments within capitalist structures, remains to be seen.

Jose Aica

SOUTH AFRICA

BANTUSTAN LEADERS MEET VORSTER

The much vaunted meeting between the Prime Minister and the leaders of the eight Bantustans in South Africa took place in Pretoria on March 6. The meeting had been asked for by six of the Bantustan leaders after their own successful "Black summit" in Umtata last year. None of the participants would make any comments after the seven hours of "brutally frank" discussions, but an official statement set out the items discussed in some detail. These included:

Independence for the Bantustans: Prime Minister Vorster reiterated the government view that the "homelands" were free to request independence talks at any time.

Land: This featured prominently in the discussion, with the African leaders stressing that they were not happy with the allocation of the land in terms of the 1936 Act. In this Act, the Government had promised to increase the land area owned by Africans from 8 per cent of the total land area of SA to 13 per cent, by buying land from white owners. The Bantustan leaders have consistently maintained that even if all the land promised was given to them, the distribution of land between Black and White would not be fair. Mr. Vorster refused to consider giving more land. However, since even that past commitment has not been fulfilled, Mr. M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, said that the Government would speed up the purchase of land, a

process that possibly could be complete in five or ten years.

Bantustan Revenue: The Bantustan leaders and the Prime Minister agreed to the appointment of a commission to investigate the allegation that the Blacks in general, and the Bantustan governments in particular were not getting their fair share from taxes paid directly and indirectly by Blacks.

Pass and Influx Control: The Bantustan leaders recommended that all these restrictions be phased out. It was decided that special machinery be set up to find a solution. (It is hard to see the Government relaxing these laws since to do so would undermine the attempt to limit the African population in the so called white areas.)

Petty Apartheid: The Bantustan leaders asked for a reconsideration of existing rules and regulations. Mr. Vorster dodged the issue by arguing that there was need for education on "person to person relations of both Black and White." (He did not explain how such person to person relations are to be made in a totally segregated society like South Africa.)

Despite the advance publicity given to the historic character of the meeting, no significant policy changes or discussions transpired. Commenting on speculations that a federal set up was in the offing, Mr. Vorster said, "It is very definitely not an embryo super-parliament. It was simply a meeting." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)



PM Vorster's Meeting with Bantustan Leaders

SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION

The successful appeal by Christian Institute Director Beyers Naude in the Supreme Court must not succeed in blinding observers to the ominous implication of the Schiebusch Commission's Report. The Schiebusch Commission has been studying the Christian Institute (CI), the Institute of Race Relation (IRR), and the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) for the past two years. A number of witnesses refused to testify when called before the commission. Naude was one of these and he, along with others, received a fine and suspended jail sentence. However, he appealed his case and has won the appeal on a legal technicality. At the same time, charges were dropped against five others who had refused to testify, again for technical reasons.

More important than these victories, however, is the information contained in the Report. South Africa's Parliament has just enacted the Affected Organization Bill. (See *Southern Africa*, April, 1974) During debate on this bill, a member of the opposition read from the Schiebusch Commission's report, claiming that the report was very relevant to the new legislation. According to the new bill, any organization that is "political" can be prevented from receiving funds from overseas. "Political" is not defined.

The Schiebusch Commission report devotes 30 pages to a discussion of what is "political." Further, it states that in the case of the IRR, funds received from abroad constitute purely financial, and not ideological support. The IRR is praised for the quality and significance of its research. (The IRR receives grants from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.)

In the case of NUSAS, ideological questions are involved. The report calls NUSAS "political" and states that it is involved in actions such as the demand for better wages for Blacks which are part of a plan to overthrow the established order and replace it with an anti-capitalist system, sometimes called "Black Socialism."

Prime Minister John Vorster objected to the report being read in Parliament, saying that it was irrelevant to the legislation being discussed. But this is difficult to believe when the report contains information that neatly fits the definitions of the new bill. Now that the bill is law, it will no longer be necessary for leaders like Beyers Naude to be fined or jailed in order to destroy their organizations. Instead, the Government can simply bankrupt opposition groups, groups that rely on external sources for as much as seventy five per cent of their funds. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 2, 16, 1974)

BANNINGS: ONE IMPOSED, ONE LIFTED

In March, Girja Singh, having just completed a 10-year sentence on Robben Island, was served with a five-year banning order. Mr. Singh, who will now be confined to his home in the Mayville section of Durban and will be prevented from receiving any visitors other than his immediate family, was one of 18 Indians and Africans sentenced to prison terms following the 1963 Natal sabotage trial. Before that he had worked for the Natal Indian Congress and the Indian Youth Congress. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

A 10-year banning order on former secretary of the textile workers' union in Durban, Mr. Emmanuel Isaacs, was lifted in February three days before Isaacs' terms would have been completed. Prominent in the trade union

movement in the 1960s, Isaacs was the last member of the executive of the South African Indian Council to be banned. Married with two children, Isaacs expressed his relief over not being rebanned and indicated that his attentions as a free man will now be directed to his funeral business and not to trade unionism.

SOUTH AFRICA'S HOMELESS LIVE WITH UNCERTAINTY AND DISRUPTION

According to the Minister of Community Development, Mr. A.H. du Plessis, 85,000 South Africans—62,400 of them Coloureds—were in need of housing at the end of 1973. For the most part, these people are the helpless victims of the Group Areas Act, in force since 1950, which gives the Nationalist Government a mandate to transplant families of various race groups in order to achieve racially homogeneous areas. Waiting for "resettlement" has disrupted the family life of tens of thousands, who live in a continuous state of uncertainty with regard to the future. As Mr. L.G. Murray of the United Party asked rhetorically in the Assembly, "Is it any wonder that so many young Coloured people grow up frustrated and without ambition?" (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23; March 2, 1974)



Coloured Family in South Africa (UN Photo)

NEW JOURNAL TO 'MIRROR' SOUTH AFRICAN OPINION

February saw the birth in South Africa of a new Department of Information journal, *Comment and Opin-*

ion, devoted to summarizing in English both the Afrikaans and English language press treatment of South African developments and issues. *Comment and Opinion* is aimed primarily at non-Afrikaans speaking nationals, immigrants, visitors, and foreign diplomats, and according to an editorial in the first issue, will demonstrate to foreigners that there is freedom of expression in South Africa and widely differing opinions on political and socio-economic matters. In particular, it will provide diplomats with an "authoritative picture of opinions expressed in the South African Press, English and Afrikaans." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 16, 1974)

OTHER 'MIRRORS' REFLECT SA CLIMATE OF INTOLERANCE

Spurred by the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from Russia, a *Star* editorial has brought to the attention of South Africans the similarities between the USSR and South Africa with respect to a shared "climate of intellectual intolerance which often seeks to suppress unsavoury facts and brand legitimate dissent as 'subversion.'" The editorial points out that banning individual books and/or persons and forcing them into self-exile may be less harsh than sending writers to prison camps and insane asylums, but that such treatment has the effect of silencing them nonetheless. Moreover, it has deprived South Africans of the opportunity to read not only the best of the black writing to emerge from South Africa in the last twenty years, but important books by leading white writers such as Gordimer, Cloete, Cope, and, of course, André Brink. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 14, 1974)

Although censorship influences all aspects of South African society, recent examples point particularly to its effect on young people in schools and universities. In February, when organizers of the University of Cape Summer School sought permission to have a number of African, Coloured and White poets read extracts from their works at Cape Town High School, Cape Director of Education, Mr. F. Theron, ruled that only white writers could appear. Moreover, he warned that they would have to confine themselves to reading their own works, and would not be permitted to discuss any "contentious issues or political questions." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 9, 1974)

Race and politics are, of course, not the only "problem" areas for South Africa. As a result of a decision by the Transvaal schools, Standard Nine Afrikaans pupils can no longer read the Herman Charles Bosman anthology, *Bosman at his Best*. Apparently, this volume has been banned because it contains words like "whore" and "syphilis." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

And then there's religion. Four days before it was to begin a five day run of "sold-out" performances at Wits University, authorities were informed that the stage version of "Godspell" had been banned by the Publications Control Board (PCB). Although the PCB had earlier banned the film version, Wits principal Prof. G.R. Bozzoli was still absolutely "appalled," particularly since church leaders invited by the PCB to view the film version had reportedly not shared the Board's opinion that it gave "offence to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic." Obviously not the least of the principal's worries was that more than 9,800 members of the staff, students and graduates had bought tickets before the ban on the play was imposed. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)



Mine Workers

MIGRANT LABOR COMPOUNDS ERUPT IN VIOLENCE

Twenty African miners died and about 290 were injured in ten days of faction fighting between the Basotho and Xhosa ethnic groups in three gold mines in the Orange Free State. The violence flared up among workers in the mine's migrant labor compounds. In the wake of the violence, 10,000 Basotho have left the mines and returned to Lesotho while 500 Xhosa have returned to their homes in the Transkei. Operations were near standstill with production down by nearly 90 percent in the Western Holdings gold mine. All the mines rely heavily on migrant laborers recruited from African reserves in South Africa and from the neighboring African countries. Mine officials said it would be at least a month before a new work force could be recruited and production brought back to normal.

South Africa's extensive migrant labor system is reinforced by laws forbidding employers from providing housing for their African workers' families, and workers live several to a room in mass dormitories for the duration of their contracts. In the past, miners lived together regardless of origin, but recently, in line with the Government's policy of keeping tribal groups separate, workers have been divided according to ethnic background. Observers say that these divisions, together with the harsh living conditions and working hazards, create tensions among the workers that can lead to explosive situations. (*Africa News*, Durham, Feb. 21, 1974; *Guardian*, London, Feb. 21, 1974)

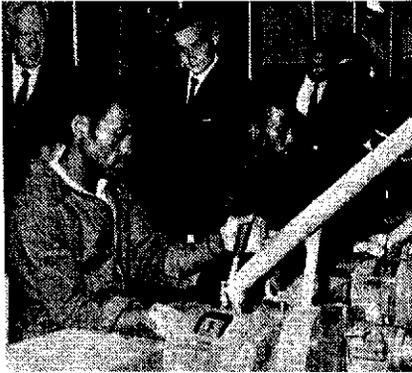
LABOR SHORTAGES

The number of immigrants entering South Africa has been falling. Estimates for 1973, based on January-July figures suggest that 24,000 will immigrate. This is 8,000 less than in 1972, 12,000 less than 1971, and 17,000 less than 1970. Emigration from South Africa is rising to an estimated 7,000 this year. This gives an estimated net immigration of 17,000. The Government's planned 5.75 percent growth rate requires an annual white immigration of 30,000.

South Africa's dependence on white immigration derives from the need for rapid growth to absorb a rising

African population which is prevented from holding skilled jobs and whose unemployment rate is thus rising. The exploding demand for some services is forcing employers to hire more Blacks, but such employment must be strictly within government policy and with the concurrence of the white staff. Some of the ways in which these principles are applied in the Post Office provide a sample of South African labor policies.

According to the Postmaster General in Cape Town, staff shortages in the technical and semi-technical fields were running at about 20 percent, and the Post Office had no alternative but to try and supplement its hard pressed staff by the increased employment of Blacks. Blacks are being drawn into the Post Office on the following basis: (1) More and more Whites are being replaced by Blacks to serve black people. The Whites are freed to serve in the white areas. (2) Blacks are taking over more of the lower-level semi-skilled and skilled work, freeing Whites for more productive work. (3) Blacks are being used to maintain essential services in white areas, to the extent that Whites are not available, and provided that the white staff associations have no objections. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 9, 16, March 2, 1974)



African Workers fill Changing Labor Needs in South Africa

US FIRMS COMPETE TO SUPPLY NUCLEAR REACTOR TO SOUTH AFRICA

The Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa (Escom) will buy an American-made nuclear reactor for its first nuclear power station. Announcing the decision, Escom chairman Dr. R.L. Straszacker said the first one should be in operation by 1982, with a second one following shortly after.

Nine corporations were asked to bid on the project, expected to cost over \$600 million. The contract will probably be signed next year.

SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS CONTINUING ROLE IN US ENERGY EFFORTS

South Africa hopes to play an important role in President Nixon's "Project Independence," the plan to make the United States self-sufficient in energy sources by 1980.

In mid-March, the *Washington Post* reported on a secret US Commerce Department memo proposing a major effort to develop synthetic methods of fuel production. This program could cost as much as \$100 billion. (March 14, 1974)

One of the most viable synthetic fuel methods is extraction of gasoline from coal. Since 1955, a

state-owned company, the South African Coal and Gas Corporation (Sasol), has been operating a gas-from-coal plant at Sasolburg, near a giant coal field south of Johannesburg.

During his US visit last January, South African Information Minister Dr. Connie Mulder offered his country's assistance in the extraction of gasoline from coal. Among those to whom he put his proposal was Vice President Gerald Ford. According to *American Metals Market*, a daily publication of the metals trade (Jan. 25 and 29, 1974), Mulder also raised the possibility of cooperation with Congressional representatives from several oil, metals, and specialty metals states. "Most of them reportedly were receptive to reopening the door to closer cooperation between the US and mineral rich South Africa," said the newspaper, "though some natural skepticism was visible."

In the past, there has been hesitancy from the US business community about the economy and feasibility of a coal conversion process. (see *Southern Africa*, January 1974, p. 9) *Forbes*, a US business weekly, reported that despite its huge coal reserves, the South African experience with the conversion process has been "disappointing to say the least."

But the recent energy squeeze has increased significantly American interest in Sasol's methods. And, the new governmental push towards self sufficiency in energy, accompanied by financial backing for experimentation, has provided South Africa a more favorable hearing from US firms.

An engineer from El Paso Natural Gas Co., one of the largest US gas distribution companies, recently visited Sasol's facilities. "There's a lot we can learn from this operation," he told a *Wall Street Journal* correspondent (March 1, 1974).

Another US concern, Cogas Development Co., has also sent personnel to study Sasol's operation. Howard Malakoff, general manager of Cogas—which was set up recently to explore ways to convert coal into gas—says Sasol is the only successful example of the method in the world. (*Wall Street Journal*, New York, March 11, 1974)

As part of a possible technical assistance deal, South Africa also hopes to widen the export market for the coal it produces. South Africa is the world's eighth largest coal producer, and an export agreement between the country and an Alabama electric power company was concluded last December. (see *Southern Africa*, Feb. 1974) Future prospects look good for South Africa. The March 18 *Wall Street Journal* reports that despite the fact that the US has about one-fifth of the world's coal reserves, steel companies and other users are turning increasingly to foreign sources like South Africa to fill the shortage in domestic production.

BRITISH COMPANY IN SOUTH AFRICA YIELDS TO STRIKERS' DEMANDS

A two-week labor dispute in South Africa ended in mid-March with a significant victory for striking African workers. Black employees at British-owned Leyland Motor Company's truck and bus assembly plants in Durban returned to work after the management acknowledged their right to membership in a trade union.

More than 200 workers, who were originally fired when they walked off the job, were involved in the protest. They had demanded to be represented by the embryonic African union called the Metal and Allied

Workers Union which already has more than 3,000 members.

Settlement of the dispute followed a timely report in London of the British Parliamentary Select Committee on the operations of British-owned companies in South Africa. The official study, which looked at conditions for African and other black workers in the British firms, indicted 64 companies for paying African workers below-subsistence wages. British Leyland in Durban was one of the firms named.

Apparently feeling the pressure of public opinion, Leyland relented. While it is not yet clear what the scope or significance of the agreement is, it will most certainly stimulate other such actions. Its major significance lies in the fact that it may mark the first time in recent South African history when African workers have won the right to union representation through a work stoppage. As with all African unions, however, the Metal and Allied Workers are unregistered, and are not legally recognized negotiators. (British Broadcasting Corporation, March 11, 1974; *Guardian*, London, March 7, 1974)

SPORTS

The president of the non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation, Mr. Morgan Naidoo has recently been banned. Mr. Naidoo had constantly endeavored to promote non-racial swimming, and it was due to his efforts that the white swimming association was banned from FINA, the international swimming body. Mr. Howa, President of the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control, commenting on the banning said, "This is a

further nail in the coffin of the white-swimming union."

Mr. Howa's Board of Cricket has long maintained a tough line against racial cricket which in his opinion has paid dividends. However, he is willing to make a few compromises with the Government now, in what is termed a "phasing in" period as a prelude to an ultimate end of racial cricket. Meanwhile, police excesses in sports fields continue. The show of force and the arrogant seizure of a press photographer's film during a cricket match at Aurora Club, is an immediate instance. The club was forced to hand in names and the scorebook.

The South African Cycling Federation, in an attempt to admit itself to International Cycling, prompted Dr. Koornhof to authorize mixed cycling in the Cape Town to Johannesburg road race. However, when it came to awarding colors only the 12 white riders were selected. As an explanation, Mr. Swift, the association president, said that the decision of not awarding colors to the four black riders was in keeping with the policy of separate development.

Once again, only Whites will be permitted to run the annual marathon as announced by Mr. Mickwinn of the Collegians Harriers, who are the organizers. The "non-white" Natal Road Runners Association has protested and appealed to all white runners to stay away from the event. A group of Durban Whites have recently threatened to disrupt the Comrades Marathon which does not permit black participants. (*Guardian*, London, Jan. 27, 1974; *Rand Daily Mail*, Nov. 16, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974) ●

namibia

SWAPO LEADERS HELD UNDER TERRORISM ACT

"The police will have to jail the whole of Namibia to break us."—Mr. Shindabih Mashalaleh, vice chairman, Youth League, SWAPO, *Johannesburg Star*, Feb. 16, 1974

Ten leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization Youth League inside Namibia, including national chairman David H. Meroro, are being held incommunicado under the terms of South Africa's Terrorism Act. They were arrested during a secret 2 a.m. round-up by security police on Feb. 8, which was prominently reported in the Windhoek *Advertiser*, the English language newspaper in Namibia's capital city, and in the South African and some foreign press.

The first trial under the Terrorism Act in Pretoria, South Africa, was in 1967 and 1968, when 37 Namibian SWAPO members faced a foreign court, and evidence of torture by South Africa's security police was revealed.

This February's detentions are the latest in a campaign by the South African security police. In January, 313 men and women were arrested. Armed with automatic weapons and tracker dogs, the police detained 127 SWAPO Youth League members in mid-January at a road block between Windhoek and Reheboth, where they had gone for a political meeting. Mr. Meroro was arrested at that time but released shortly thereafter.



On Feb. 15, 360 policemen raided Katutura township, Windhoek, in the early morning hours, arresting 186 people. Clive Cowley, Windhoek correspondent for the *Star*, (Feb. 16) speaks of the police attack on the Youth League as "moving grimly to break up the organization" which has voiced the motto "freedom this year". He said, "The prospect of internal terrorism is not as improbable as it was once upon a time."

In spite of the arrests, the Youth League held a mass meeting in driving rain on the soccer field at Hatutura. A

crowd of 600 stood in the mud, singing patriotic songs and listening to speakers, one of whom declared, "We will not get a fright as a result of the arrests. Arrests are things that must happen. We will continue with determination and wisdom." (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, Feb. 25, 1974)

In Washington, D.C., Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO chief representative at the United Nations and to the Americas, reminded Americans that the Terrorism Act of 1967 was specifically rushed through the South African Parliament to crush SWAPO. Speaking before the House Foreign Affairs sub-committee on Africa on Feb. 21, Mr. Gurirab summed up US statements and resolutions supporting his fellow countrymen in their struggle and posed the challenge: "The honorable members would, however, be better placed to know the extent to which these and similar pronouncements have been put into practical terms."

At the same session of the sub-committee, Douglas Wacholz, attorney with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which supported attorney Joel Carlson in defending the Namibians at the first Terrorism Trial, told of the Lawyers' Committee's efforts to ascertain the charges against the SWAPO leaders now held somewhere in Namibia or South Africa and whether they were adequately represented by counsel. A reply cable from Windhoek lawyers stated that they could not obtain any information.

UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA DENOUNCES SOUTH AFRICA

Sean MacBride, newly appointed Commissioner for Namibia, has returned to UN headquarters in New York after a three-week visit to Africa (but not to Namibia and South Africa). While in Lusaka to consult with Zambian authorities and SWAPO leaders of the struggle in exile, he issued a statement on Feb. 19 denouncing the Pretoria government for renegeing on written promises given the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. "There would be, they had said, no impediments to political activity, but their deeds are different The intention of the South African authorities is clear—no political activity is to be allowed in the Territory. Not only is it the intention of the South Africans to prevent the people of Namibia from expressing politically their desire for complete independence but they are, as all oppressive colonial dictatorships, seeking to sow terror among the people they misrule."

The Commissioner, former secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists, is working to create an Institute for Namibia which will engage in research and provide training for a public administration cadre to be at the disposal of the future government duly elected by the people of Namibia. He has compiled a seven-point program involving support of member States of the UN, wider and better public information about Namibia and the functioning of UN agencies.

FRIENDS OF THE UN FOCUS ON NAMIBIA

A group called the Friends of the United Nations has sent letters to company chairmen of foreign firms with investments in Namibia demanding they cease cooperation with the illegal occupying power, South Africa, and recognize the UN Council for Namibia, or face arrest and imprisonment as of August 1, 1974.

Terming itself "a new organisation formed to enforce

respect for international law, and to warn, re-educate and, if necessary, arrest and imprison some of the persons in power responsible for the worst violation," Friends of the UN in Europe announced its initial operation by focusing on Namibia.

Thirty-one European industrial heads were addressed: 22 British, six German, three French. They were warned that if they do not comply "the absolute minimum force necessary will be used to arrest and detain you, and the conditions of your imprisonment will be comparable with the working conditions of the workers in Namibia you are exploiting."

Release is promised "quite easily, by petitioning the UN Council for Namibia. Immediately this body publicly declares that they are satisfied with your company's future policies regarding Namibia, you will be released by the Friends of the United Nations."

The initial story by Colin Legum in the *London Observer*, March 17, did not include a fact that brings the new development right to home: ". . . . at the request of the new North American Friends of the United Nations Executive" warnings were sent to one Canadian and 16 US firms. (*New York Post*, March 22) They include familiar names: US Steel, Firestone Tire & Rubber, Getty Oil, Standard Oil of California, Texaco and American Metal Climax, one of the principal owners of Tsumeb Corporation. (For some unexplained reason AMAX'S partner, Newmont Mining Corporation, which manages Tsumeb, was not included.)



Miners at Tsumeb Mine preparing to go underground.

AMAX PUBLISHES REPORT ON TSUMEB

The American Metal Climax Corporation has published an 18-page brochure on the Namibian mining concern, Tsumeb Corporation. AMAX owns 29.6 per cent of the company. Another U.S. mining corporation, Newmont, owns a similar share and manages Tsumeb.

AMAX first promised that such a report would be issued to shareholders nearly two years ago. At the 1972 annual meeting, Chairman Ian McGregor told shareholders that the run-down on Tsumeb's activities would be released soon. His promise came after an unsuccessful effort by stockholders, led by several church organizations, to force AMAX to sell its Tsumeb stock.

AMAX reports that Tsumeb's minimum wage for Africans as of April, 1973, was \$33.75 per month. That represents a 43 per cent increase since late-1971, when Tsumeb was crippled by a strike which affected all of Namibia. For the last six months of 1973, the average wage for black workers was \$54.25 per month. White workers' average income is about \$685 monthly.

The report states that AMAX has backed the Tsumeb management in its efforts to change certain aspects of South African government policy towards migrant workers. AMAX and Tsumeb favor allowing workers to bring their families with them to live near the mine.

In conclusion, the AMAX document outlines its reply to critics. "We view the arguments of those who advocate withdrawing from South West Africa as unrealistic and self-defeating." Change, says AMAX "is more likely to be achieved through increasing the technical skill, education,

and economic capacity of the people than by efforts to destroy economic development and seek political and cultural isolation."

The AMAX report provides no real new information or insights. The same defenses are offered, and no attention is given to the contribution Tsumeb's presence makes to the financial and psychological ability of South Africa to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia.

The leaders of SWAPO have made it clear that those, like Tsumeb's owners, who choose to side with South Africa at this time can not expect any cooperation from the leaders of an independent Namibia. But that message has not yet been learned at 1270 Avenue of the Americas (AMAX headquarters): "AMAX anticipates that Tsumeb will continue to work constructively with any government responsible for the administration of the country, now or in the future."

ZIMBABWE



Zimbabwe Guerrilla Training

THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE

Faced with clear evidence of steadily increasing guerrilla activity within Zimbabwe's borders, the Smith Government has discarded all pretense concerning the seriousness of the security situation. Coupled with difficulties in fuel, immigration and foreign exchange, this situation may make 1974 the "Year of the Crunch," according to Bob Wallace of the Johannesburg *Star*.

A recent undisputed report said 2,000 guerrillas were currently preparing for offensives in Rhodesia and Mozambique. The 330 mile border between Rhodesia and Mozambique, from the north to the Beira railway line, is the target of guerrilla activity, and they are confident the Rhodesians cannot find enough troops to protect the area. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974)

Daily attacks against the railway from Rhodesia to Beira, on the Indian Ocean, may be a prelude to a major new guerrilla drive. Activity along the railway will further divert Rhodesian troops to protect the transport of goods, and leave guerrillas active further north less harrassed. If the supply links are cut entirely, this will leave Rhodesia in grave trouble, as the Beira link is the vital route for imports and exports. The Portuguese military commander in Beira said FRELIMO guerrillas are attacking six or seven protected villages in the region every night, and have control over the population of part of the region. A section off the railway was recently blown up at Garuso near the Rhodesian border. (*Guardian* London, Feb. 18, 1974; *Afro-American*, Feb. 26, 1974)

Reports of troop buildups and attacks on the railways are not the only signs of intensified guerrilla activity. On Jan. 7, a Rhodesian spotter plane was shot down, leading Rhodesian and Mozambique authorities to fear that the guerrillas may have the sophisticated Sam 7 (surface to air missile) which can be carried by two men and fired by one. The missile, which homes on the heat of jet exhaust, has been used by guerrillas in Guinea-Bissau. (*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, Feb. 3, 1974) In February, Centenary farmers Eric and Barbara Fletcher and Paul Rouse were shot by guerrillas who have not been found, while trooper Nigel Willis, a great-nephew of former Federal Prime Minister, was killed in action in the northeast. His death has brought the total Whites killed by mid February to over 30. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974)

More recently still, four South African policemen were killed near Kazungula by "terrorists" who reportedly crossed from Zambia and returned there after the shooting. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March, 1974)

Early in February, the Zimbabwe African National Union called on independent African countries to support their struggle to overthrow the racist white Rhodesian regime by providing sophisticated weapons, financial assistance and improved propaganda machinery. A ZANU spokesman said that 110 enemy troops had been killed between Nov. 22, 1973 and Jan 30., 1974. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Feb. 6, 1974)

Because of guerrilla threats, drivers of African buses have refused to go beyond Mt. Darwin in the northeast of Rhodesia. A landmine blast killed two Africans; the conductor, Dickson Makomo, and a passenger; on a bus in the middle of the Chiweshe Tribal Trust Area, about 66 miles from Salisbury. Two bus company owners say the guerrilla activity is ruining their business and they are applying for compensation under the Terrorist Victims Compensation Act. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974) Civilian deaths now number 75 since the action began in December, 1972. (*Le Monde*, Paris, Feb. 21, 1974)

White Responses

In response to these developments, the government has doubled its national draft of 1,500 per year to 3,000 and is preparing to create a second battalion of African Rifles. This will raise the African troops from 1,000 to 2,000, with several hundred extra European national servicemen. The draft, previously increased from 4½ to nine months, has now been increased to one year. In addition to the regular army, there is now a 10,000 man Territorial Force (like the National Guard) and a police force of 8,000 plus 35,000 reserves. About 20 per cent of the national budget is spent on security (police and army) but this figure seems likely to increase. One army source said that only 100 men are engaged in tracking down guerrillas, but they are aided by six to eight French-built Alouette helicopters provided by South Africa and sometimes piloted by South Africans. South Africa also provides ammunition, 7.62 mm FN rifles, trucks and possibly armored cars to the Rhodesian forces. South African security and police along the Botswana and Zambian borders have been increased to well over 1,000. When the Cabora Bassa Dam is closed and floods the new lake behind it, a water boundary between Rhodesia and Mozambique of 150 miles will be patrolled by Portuguese naval boats. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974; *Washington Post*, Jan. 27, 1974)

In addition to building up its military forces, the Smith Government has appointed a special anti-guerrilla minister, Wickus de Kock, who has been given responsibility for coordinating military and civil anti-guerrilla activities and will report directly to Smith. At the same time, the authority of other government officials has been increased. Authorities in the northeastern frontier areas have the right to order people to do specified work for public safety. The "Minister of Law and Order" has emergency power to extend to 60 days the period for which a police officer may detain a suspect. The "Minister of Justice" can now set up a magistrate's court at any place without notification in the Government Gazette. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 12, 1974; *To the Point*, Pretoria, Feb. 22, 1974) At the same time, collective fines and communal punishment, introduced by the government in the hope of controlling local support for guerrillas in the northeast, have been dropped. This reversal was prompted by those who opposed it and who convinced the authorities that it was counterproductive. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974)

Official figures say 8,000 people have been shifted from their homes in the recently created "no-go" zone on the northeastern border to hastily-built camps; some sources say as many as 15,000 to 20,000 Africans have in fact been removed from the "no-go" area, where police and security forces may shoot on sight anyone found. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 13, 1974)

Predictably, there will be no mercy for Zimbabweans guilty of participation in the armed struggle for human rights that non-violent methods have not achieved. Recently, the Salisbury High Court sentenced nine, including five youths, ages 17-19, to death for pleading guilty to carrying arms for war. The Justice said all but one of the accused had been "shanghaied" by "terrorists" and had been trained to use arms. They had returned to Rhodesia and refused to surrender after an engagement with Rhodesian African Rifles near Sipolilo last June. They were not named. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

Tourists have responded to guerrilla activity by staying away. At least this is regarded as a major cause by John Upton, Salisbury hotel man. In January 1974, only 12,850 people came on vacation, as compared with 20,000 in the same month last year and 25,000 in January 1972. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

SETTLEMENT ISSUE

Self-out Denied

Edson Sithole, publicity secretary for the African National Council, denied all claims of a sell-out or an agreement between the ANC and Smith. "Unless there is a drastic change on the part of the government, the chances of an agreement are nil, and so far, there is no change visible." (*Washington Post*, Jan. 28, 1974)



Rhodesian Intimidation of African Villagers

Talks Mandated

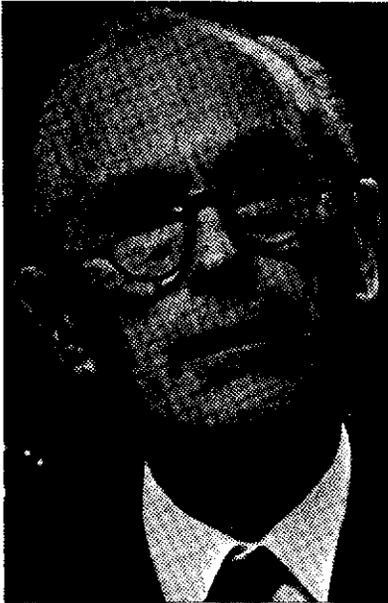
An inaugural congress of the ANC, attended by 800 delegates in Salisbury, gave Bishop Muzorewa a clear mandate to continue talks with Smith. The Bishop attacked the "totalitarianism and facism of the ruling Rhodesian Front." (*Guardian*, London, March 4, 1974)

Sir Alec's Visit

Sir Alec Douglas Home on his East African tour said that Britain would not use force in Rhodesia because the ensuing bloodshed would affect the whole of Africa. The Africans would suffer, not the British people, he said. Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vernon Mwaanga, said Zambia prefers negotiations to violence as a means for settlement and urges the big powers to bring about change. He pointed out to Sir Alec the need to tighten trade, telecommunications, exchange control and other sanctions against the breakway colony. Mwaanga underlined the uselessness of the argument that because Africans of Rhodesia suffer from sanctions there should be none. He noted that they suffered before and are prepared to suffer now for their goals. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Feb. 2, 1974)

Sir Alec urged the Africans and Europeans in Rhodesia to agree to an "evolutionary settlement," or prepare themselves for an escalation of the very disturbing present violence and a "bloody revolution." He said there have been no secret talks between Britain and Rhodesia. (*Times of Zambia*, Feb. 2, 1974; *Washington Post*, Jan. 28, 1974; *East African Standard*, Nairobi, Jan. 30, 1974)

Sir Alec visited Tanzania and reiterated his hope that a solution could be worked out among the principals in Rhodesia. John Malecela, Tanzanian Foreign Minister, totally rejected negotiation as a means of settlement. He urged Britain to use measures, including force, to make Smith reach a constitutional agreement. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)



Sir Alec Douglas Home - Recent Visitor to Southern Africa

Franchise and Majority Rule

Franchise terms and the timing of majority rule are the two key issues deadlocking the settlement talks. Smith is holding to the terms of the 1971 proposals, which, at the earliest, would achieve majority rule by 2035. Allan Savory of the Rhodesia Party wants a new constitutional

conference called with ZAPU and ZANU and Europeans participating. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 27, 1974)

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, broadcasting on the BBC from Lusaka, said he thought a possible solution to the Rhodesian crisis was on the way. He said he had had discussions with Tanzania and Zaire, Malawi and representatives of ZAPU and ZANU which led him to believe that a five year timetable for majority rule would be acceptable. It is unlikely that Smith would consider such a proposal. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, Feb. 18, 1974)

Edson Sithole said ANC would agree to a period of parity representation before majority rule. (*Washington Post*, Jan. 28, 1974)

RHODESIA: Let the Facts Speak

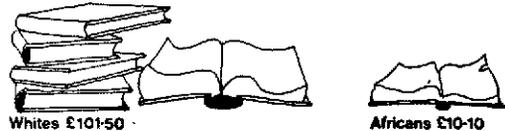
Land.

By the Land Tenure Act of 1970, land is segregated according to the racial group which may own it, as follows:



Education.

In 1969, per capita expenditure in schools was:



LAND TOUR SHOWS DENSITY

The "Minister of Lands and Natural Resources" has invited 13 African Members of Parliament to make an aerial inspection of conservation and erosion on European and African land respectively. The point is to convince the Members of Parliament that the African is to blame for his own lack of farming success. The land in Rhodesia is apportioned about 50-50 between Europeans and Africans. About 15 per cent of the African population of nearly 5.6 million is urbanized; another 8 percent is employed on European farms. Thus, when the Members of Parliament fly over the land they will notice nearly four million Africans in Tribal Trust Lands and 400,000 Europeans and African employees living on the other 50 per cent of the land. It will be surprising if a new wave of discontent does not start from this obvious ten to one density discrepancy. (*Financial Mail*, London, Nov. 16, 1973)

SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS STATUS QUO

Rhodesian "Minister of Education," Philip Smith, said that although the actual numbers of African secondary students had quadrupled in 10 years from 9,000 to 35,000, the proportion of those entering secondary school from primary school is about the same. He urged Africans to limit the size of their families to improve the school overcrowding problem. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 22, 1974)

DETAINEE CHIPANGA "FEIGNING ILLNESS"

Rhodesian branch chairman of the Prisoners' Aid So-

ciety denied British press reports that Shadrich Chpanga is being mistreated. "He has been feigning illness time and again," the PAS said. He also said the death of Kenneth Chisango was "from natural causes and in no way connected to ill treatment, bad food, inadequate accommodation or any other malicious thoughts." (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 18, 1974)

CALLAGHAN NEW BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY

James Callaghan has been named as Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in the new Wilson Cabinet. He is described as a pragmatic man, rather than ideological crusader; but he is no admirer of apartheid or of Smith's Rhodesia. Had Mr. Wilson appointed Peter Shore or Michael Foot, he would have been holding a tough line on negotiations. Wilson's new Secretary for Defense, Ray Mason, is also to the right of the Labor Party. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974) ●

FEATURE REPRINT

Interview on Mozambique Liberation Struggle

Following is the completion of an interview which first appeared in the African Communist (London, Fourth Quarter, 1973) between FRELIMO Vice President Marcelino dos Santos and Joe Slovo. For Part I see Southern Africa, April, 1974.

QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY

Slovo: FRELIMO has said publicly that in 1962 it consisted of a heterogeneous group of people linked by the idea of independence and the vague philosophy of nationalism. Beyond this FRELIMO did not really have an ideological line. But your publications suggest that the struggle itself presented the organisation with new tasks which laid bare the contradictions which had been hiding beneath the surface. Can you be more concrete about the developments? What contradictions emerged and how were they resolved?

Dos Santos: It is true FRELIMO as such had no clear ideological line apart from primary nationalism. But the very fact that the leadership was heterogeneous meant that different types of ideologies were represented in it from the start. It meant that there were also people who accepted revolutionary ideology and who understood, even if only in an abstract way, that independence must be for the people, and who were in an elementary way against the exploitation of man by man. It was not only the internal dynamic of the process of fighting of the Mozambican people that resulted in understanding by some of those who were in 1962 in the leadership of FRELIMO. A study of the experiences of other countries and the general knowledge acquired by humanity in its struggle against oppression penetrated the minds of quite a few in the leadership. So right from the start, in 1962, different ideologies were reflected at the top. But the tasks facing us in those early days demanded

that we create a collective which would accommodate all those who were prepared to work together to get the basic struggle off the ground. So, the nature of the political, social and economic realities of the situation as it then was, demanded a pragmatist attitude. But the struggle grew and new situations emerged and in the process political consciousness and political awareness were increasing and developing even though in some ways our approach still remains pragmatic.

In general what were the Phases? The first phase was characterised by the heterogeneity of the leadership. As I have said the latent contradictions really emerged when we started to have liberated areas and the question of the organisation of a new life arose. Which way should we follow? So it was in that phase that the contradictions appeared and those who were mainly fighting for their own individual interests or for the interests of a narrow group, came more openly to the surface. Of course, you can find many people who, in the beginning, belonged to the same social group but who, while engaging in the process of the struggle, were able to change and transform themselves. Others refused to change and were rejected by the Movement. . . .

Slovo: Now these developments in the areas which have been liberated—in the fields of economics, health, education, embryonic state structures, etc. are they of a permanent character? Or are they just the reflections of the needs of a war situation? It could be said that in a war situation it is easier to get people to accept a certain type of communal effort even by those who are ideologically not committed to this as defining the form of a future society. Can you reflect on this?

Dos Santos: I accept that it is partly made easier by the demands of war. But does that mean that once we have independence the approach will be changed? In the particular conditions of fighting against Portuguese colonialism, revolutionary attitudes are not only possible, but necessary. If we do not follow collectivist attitudes we will not be able to face the enemy successfully. In this sense it is true to say that the internal dynamic of the struggle is such that the conditions generate collectivist thinking. But one should also say that even if the origins of such attitudes are partly pragmatic it can, nevertheless, provide a basis for the growth of real social revolution. There is certainly a strong possibility that in the course of collectivist effort a situation is created from which it will be difficult to withdraw. If our organisation maintains a true revolutionary leadership the special circumstances of the process of our liberation open up real possibilities for an advance from liberation to revolution.

Slovo: You have talked about going beyond the nationalist phase and achieving a real social revolution. How does a movement make sure that this is achieved?

Dos Santos: The main defence must be to popularise the revolutionary aims and to create such a situation that if for one reason or another at some future time some people start trying to change these aims, they will meet with resistance from the masses. This must be the defence until the situation has been achieved where the truly revolutionary classes dominate all levels of power.



FRELIMO VP Dos Santos with the late Amilcar Cabral (left) and FRELIMO UN/USA Rep. Sharfudine Khan (right)

NEED FOR A PARTY OF REVOLUTION

Slovo: It is correct to have faith in the masses in a general way, but we know that the masses were almost completely silent when Nkrumah was overthrown; we did not witness a single major demonstration. The masses were also completely silent when many other progressives in Africa were deprived of political power by cliques. It is not enough just to rely on the good sense of the masses. What has to be done is to create an apparatus, a Party capable of calling on the masses and leading them at every level.

Dos Santos: Yes, this is a problem of building the Party and in the first place, politicizing the cadres in the aims of the organisation, the political line, the ideology of the organisation. Our methods of work must always allow for free and continued discussion which will facilitate communication at all the levels of the organisation and which will enable the lower levels of the organisation to express their will when we are engaged in defining our orientation, etc. The cadres of the organisation must participate fully and it is through these cadres that the aims are popularised and spread to the masses.

Slovo: Are you convinced that FRELIMO is moving along those lines?

Dos Santos: I am sure that FRELIMO is moving in that direction. If you read the 1971 message of the 25th September you will see that we consider it as our main task to develop the political consciousness of the cadres. Everyone must, of course, be involved in the practical work, but equally every cadre must study; it is obligatory to study. In the message of 25th September 1972 again we emphasise the aspect of developing still further the political consciousness of the cadres. Every cadre must be completely equipped to interpret the aims and ideology of our revolution.

Slovo: There is a fashionable theory that violence has the effect of cleansing a people fighting a political struggle by violent means. The forces which are of necessity brought into play in the course of an armed struggle give some guarantee that the degeneration which we have seen happen in some parts of independent Africa, will be avoided. In other words, the fires of violence purify. Could you comment on that as a general proposition?

Dos Santos: Fire burns, whether it purifies is another question! Whether it purifies or not depends on the type of violence. For example, the fire from the Portuguese burns and destroys. The fire coming from FRELIMO purifies and builds. Why does the fire coming from FRELIMO build? Because it is a revolutionary fire. A reactionary fire just destroys. It is not really the weapon that you have in your hand that counts but the men who carry it. So, if you are a revolutionary your fire purifies, and if you are a reactionary it destroys. If we speak just of violence there is no guarantee that it will purify anything unless it is directed for the good of the people.

Slovo: Lenin in dealing with guerrilla struggle said that without a revolutionary ideology behind it, armed struggle in fact becomes corrupt, becomes prostituted, it becomes the area of the adventurer, the brigand; the terrorist in the bad sense of the word.

Dos Santos: That is no doubt true. I would add that a revolutionary fire destroys the enemy and purifies us. In the process of the struggle the individuals who are on the side of the revolution grow as human beings and this is important because we consider that there cannot be a new society without a new man. This

applies to all revolutionary struggle whether it takes the form of violence or not. And so, the revolutionary fire helps us to purify our ranks.

UNITY BETWEEN ORGANISATIONS

Slovo: I want to come to a few general questions on the liberation movement. There is a good deal of talk of unity in Africa, particularly in the areas where liberation struggles are being waged. And the way in which this is often put in the case of South Africa (even in the case of Mozambique) is that the mere fact of two organisations getting together will achieve something special. In your experience is not unity the expression of a complex process rather than a formal act? Is there not this unreality in the approach to unity, in this insistence on a formal act, as if from there will flow all we want to achieve?

Dos Santos: When we speak about unity we mean, in the first place, unity of the people, not just groups who claim to represent the people. Every situation generates numerous individuals and groups who have the ambition to exploit a struggle for their own ends. The real question is: what is represented by an organisation? It follows that unity between organisations only has meaning if they have a real base amongst the people, otherwise it is purely formal and does not serve the interests of a people. Such a kind of unity may even serve to divide the people rather than unite them. Unity is a complex process. It is never achieved easily and its basis is always in the process of transformation. One has to know at each stage what the platform of unity is. In FRELIMO in 1962 what was the base of unity? It was to eliminate foreign oppression. Later the word oppression came to include even internal groups who want to replace foreign oppression with their own. So the base of unity is continuously changing. When we ask two or more groups to unite, we have to establish the base of this unity and the base must be determined by the level of development of the struggle and the objective realities. It is not enough to talk just of unity in principle.

THE DOMINO THEORY

Slovo: Right, now I want to come lastly to this problem which worries so many South Africans—the domino theory. Let us hear you on that.

Dos Santos: Personally, I do not believe in the domino theory which as I understand it postulates that if one country becomes independent the others (which are contiguous to it) will follow. Tunisia and Morocco became independent and Algeria still had to fight a war to get real independence. I think the main determinant is action inside each country. But this does not mean that there are no possibilities for one country to become independent before the others.

Slovo: Do you believe that when the struggle in Mozambique reaches the point of threatening the basic interests of South Africa in a very real way (which will happen more and more as you travel South) that South Africa will stand by? We know that she is already involved. Theoretically, of course, Mozambique can get its independence before the other unliberated countries. But unless there is a struggle going on in South Africa and in the rest of Southern Africa does it not make the prospect much more difficult?

Dos Santos: I would like to put the problem somewhat differently. Perhaps we should look further to the content of independence. I think that a stage will be reached in which the main problem will not be whether a country becomes formally independent or not, but what the social nature of the new regime will be. This will be the real problem. Our enemy will be forced, for one reason or another by one means or another, to accept independence. But when the stage is reached where they have no option, they will try to influence the content of independence. I really believe that South Africa is interested in becoming the stronghold of white supremacy in Southern Africa.

Slovo: Must not one work on the assumption that the struggles in Southern Africa are indivisible in the sense that the enemy is more or less united and will throw its forces in at strategic points in order to perpetuate white rule in Southern Africa as a whole? And, therefore, like in any war, one does not allow the enemy to concentrate its forces in this or that area to suit its tactics at each moment. Therefore in order to facilitate the struggle of all the people in Southern Africa whether in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique or in Angola, it would obviously be of enormous importance if there were a meaningful struggle going on simultaneously in each of the countries and especially in South Africa which would make it less capable of playing this role of policeman in Southern Africa?

Dos Santos: It follows that any theory which is based on first liberating one territory and then another must be to the advantage of the enemy. Naturally. Therefore, our position on this matter is that there should be maximum action inside each country. Nobody will give help unless you are yourself engaged in action. Secondly, it is an elementary part of the tactics of a struggle such as ours, always to disperse the enemy. This applies at regional, national and international levels. We must prevent the common enemy from concentrating on one point—this is clear. ●

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STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

angola

MILITARY REPORTS

The military activities of the MPLA appear to be getting back to normal after a period of internal reorganization which temporarily held back activities during periods of 1973. The period from October to December showed substantial increases in military operation as compared with the April-September period. Most recently the MPLA attacked enemy barracks at Makondo, Cabinda using automatic weapons and mortars resulting in the destruction of a large part of the barracks installations. Fighting continues to be heaviest in Eastern Angola and on the Cabinda Front. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Jan. 8, 1974)



AMERICAN COMPANIES IN ANGOLA

Gulf Oil has the largest American investments in Angola, but it is important to mention the other American investors in Angola. They include: General Foods' coffee, Allis-Chambers, General Tire and Rubber, Standard Electric, Pfizer Labs, Singer Sewing, American Cyanimid, Caterpillar, IBM, Halliburton, National Cash Register, Standard Oil, Tenneco, Texaco and Union Carbide. (Univ. of Wisconsin, African Studies Program Fact Sheet on Angola)

MOBUTU-ROBERTO TIES STRENGTHEN

There are persistent reports that the FNLA (Front for the National Liberation of Angola) and President Mobutu



President Mobutu of Zaire

Sese Seko are planning a large scale invasion of Angola. Angola and Zaire share over 1000 miles of common border and FNLA activities are based in neighboring Zaire. Holden Roberto of the FNLA is being actively courted by Peking while at the same time relations between Zaire and the PRC have steadily improved. (See *Southern Africa*, April, 1974) With the support of Mobutu, Roberto has been training and equipping troops at Kinkuzu, a base just north of the Angolan border.

FNLA reports that it hopes to build an army of 16,000, but up to now Roberto has succeeded in recruiting only about 2000 from Angolans living in Zaire. But intelligence reports from Zaire indicate that Mobutu plans to have some Zairian army units operating with FNLA for the invasion. President Mobutu and Holden Roberto together have named 1974 "the year of Angola" The increased importance of Cabinda oil has given FNLA new motivation to push for a negotiated settlement with the Portuguese.

The probable aim of the invasion, if it were to occur, would be to focus international attention on the colonial situation in Angola and thereby increase the pressure on the Portuguese to negotiate.

Not only would such a move serve the interest of FNLA, but it would also have certain advantages for Mobutu. Zaire uses Angolan railways to export its mineral wealth. Moreover, Mobutu has been actively building an image as a champion of African freedom, and such a move would greatly enhance his stature in Africa. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Mar. 18, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 9, 1974; *To the Point* Brussels, Jan. 25, 1974; *Times*, London, Dec. 11, 1974)

NEW OIL CONCESSIONS GIVEN IN ANGOLA

Exxon, the world's largest oil company, and a number of other firms, have received exploration rights from the Portuguese authorities in Angola. The Portuguese west African colony is already a major oil producer, and recent exploration activity indicates it may become more important in the future.

Business Week reports that under the Geneva Convention of 1958, Lisbon controls the largest share of the Atlantic Ocean's oil exploration area. In addition to the off-shore areas of Angola, the Portuguese-controlled concession region includes the waters of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (formerly Portuguese Guinea), the island of Sao Tome, the coastal waters of Portugal itself, and the

off-shore regions of Mozambique in the Indian Ocean. (March 23, 1974)

For its recently-acquired concession, Exxon is paying \$1.6 million to the Portuguese. A similar agreement with Sun Oil Company netted \$800,000 for Portugal. Amerada Hess and Cities Service Corporation are Sun Oil's partners in that venture. (*Wall Street Journal*, New York, March 7, 1974)

Other international firms who recently won exploration rights in Angola include Shell Oil, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Argo Petroleum of Los Angeles, Globe Marine, American Pacific, and Westates Petroleum Company. (*Wall Street Journal*, New York, Feb. 21, March 13, 1974; *Business Week*, March 23, 1974)

The Exxon and Sun Oil agreements give the Portuguese a right to acquire up to half the output when production begins. In addition, the Angolan colonial government is entitled to 20 per cent of the shares of the Portuguese chartered company which will be formed to operate each concession, and the concession holders must reinvest some of their profits in Angola.

Exxon already holds an exploration concession off the coast of Guinea-Bissau. A US church coalition has filed a shareholder resolution with the oil giant to persuade it not to utilize this option. The same church project attempted to dissuade Exxon's move into Angola through a stockholder campaign last year. Exxon also holds exploration rights offshore Portugal.

Though not in the same Atlantic Coast region, Mozambique is also the scene of exploration activity. Hunt Oil Company, Texaco, and the state-owned South African Oil Exploration Corporation (Soekor) are among the concession holders.

mozambique

ON THE BATTLEFRONT

The war of liberation in Mozambique is continuing to build momentum at a rapid pace. In a report from FRELIMO headquarters in Dar es Salaam, statistics for the period from September 29 to December 25 were published. The five concentration camps of Mwangucha, Chinsavo, Temangawa, Matambo and Mwaseangurvo were attacked with 558 people freed from the last. Ambushes occurred on the road between Tete town and Chihanda, another on the road between Chioco and Chihanda. The last was a "heavy attack" on the Tete to Cabora Bassa road, in which two military trucks and eight petrol tankers were blown up. Two Portuguese military boats were ambushed and sunk in the River Luenda, killing all 12 soldiers aboard. Moreover, a counter-offensive in Luia zone on November 30, cost the lives of five Rhodesian soldiers. Altogether, approximately 50 enemy soldiers died in the embattled area of Mozambique during this time span.

Since the beginning of 1974, a new front has been opened up in Manica e Sofala province. A hotly contested spot has been the military post and town of Inhaminga (114 miles northwest of Beira) and the surrounding area along the Beira to Malawi rail line. FRELIMO attacks on Inhaminga itself were initiated on January 26. On February 12, a nearby paratroop camp came under fire and later that same day an army truck was ambushed in

the area, injuring four enemy soldiers. Hysteria has seized the population living in the towns there, causing 80 per cent of the 2,000 whites to arm themselves. Inhaminga is an extremely important target because of its primacy as a military installation, timber center and railway connection. This line, which has been hard hit by guerrilla action also, normally carries a considerable amount of goods between landlocked Malawi and the port of Beira. By February 21, there were five attacks of the railroad causing the derailment of a number of cars with injury to several passengers and the destruction of parts of the track. Service has thus far been halted for a maximum of nine days, causing much concern in Beira where cargo has piled up and the tourist business has dropped off sharply. The Mwanza railway station about 72 miles north of Beira and 42 south of Inhaminga, has also been the scene of guerrilla attacks since January with the destruction of railroad water pumps. In the first two months of 1974 there have been 28 incidents in the Inhaminga area and on the Beira to Malawi line. As a result of this activity, a 24 hour work stoppage by employees of the Beira-Malawi railroad was threatened for February 24. All-night passenger trains have been halted on this track, until further notice. This southward movement by FRELIMO is well on its way toward its projected goal of reaching the Save River south of Beira, in 1973-74.

Looking northwards, on February 22 FRELIMO blew up a southbound goods train near Mecito station, 270 miles northwest of Beira in Tete district. Two engines were derailed in this action on the Beira to Moatize line, which runs about 5 kilometers from the Malawi border. Elsewhere in Tete province, two large fortified villages or *aldeamentos* were overrun on January 8, during which time 38 children were freed. Moreover, in 1974 at least six Portuguese soldiers (including an officer) were killed in northern Mozambique early in March. However, the most significant military strike of late occurred on January 20, when the Portuguese military airport at Mueda in central Cabo Delgado province, 41 miles from the Tanzanian border, was attacked and 21 aircraft were destroyed. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, March, 1974; *Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Feb. 11, 12, 1974; *Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Jan. 10, 26, 1974; *East African Standard*, Nairobi, Feb. 23, 1974; *Financial Times*, London, Jan. 22, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 23, March 9, 1974; *Washington Post*, Feb. 24, 1974)

PORTUGUESE REACT TO FRELIMO ACTIVITY

The Portuguese are definitely feeling the blows dealt by FRELIMO guerrillas. Earlier this year P.M. Caetano began greater movement toward "Africanization" of institutions in Mozambique. He had created the Grupo Unido de Mocambique (GUM) which would in effect be a carefully controlled political party to call for the independence of the colony. However, due to the current problems in Lisbon this will not come to pass—at least in the near future. Nevertheless, the Portuguese Government in Mozambique is showing signs of heightened defensive activity against FRELIMO.

The military spending in Mozambique has increased from 1,303.1 million escudos in 1972, to 2,204.7 million in 1973. This is primarily the result of successes of the guerrillas in Tete province. However, the 1974 military budget is going to be supplemented by over 36,100,000 escudos as follows: Air Force—9,940,000 escudos, Land



Strategic Hamlets in Tete Province of Mozambique

forces—21,200,000 escudos, Navy—5,000,000 escudos. New units of African troops have been set up to work with the Portuguese security police (DGS). These and regular troops, (60,000 strong), are scouring the provinces of Tete, Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Manica e Sofala in an effort to break the guerrilla network. (27 escudos=\$1.00 US)

Attempting to keep potential aides and sympathizers under control and away from FRELIMO, the Portuguese have relocated 150,000 Africans into 1,000 *aldeamentos* likened to the strategic hamlets of Vietnam. At least 600 more such villages are planned, many of them in Tete province.

The Cabora Bassa project is also seen as a potential aid to the Portuguese in the struggle. When finished, the dam will push water back 162 miles, while flooding land on the banks of the Zambezi and its tributaries for a distance of 18 miles. The colonialists hope that the waters will cut FRELIMO off from supply lines reaching into Zambia and Malawi, despite the fact that these lines have already begun to move southwards, below the project. The flooding at Cabora Bassa is due to begin in the next few months. (*Africa Magazine*, London, April, 1974; *Guardian*, London, Feb. 14, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974; *Washington Post*, Feb. 24, 1974; *West Africa*, Lagos, Jan. 7, 1974; *Radio Reports* Jan. 15, 1974, LM in Portuguese at 1830 gmt., Dec. 28, 1973)

portugal

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

Recent developments in Portugal seem to confirm the predictions contained in previous issues (*Southern Africa*, Nov., 1973; March, April, 1974). In the feature article published in this issue we try to interpret some of the events that dominated the Portuguese military and political spheres in March of this year. A brief chronology of these events is here presented:

Feb. 22: General António de Spínola, the newly appointed deputy chief of staff and former governor of then Portuguese Guinea, publishes *Portugal and the Future* where for the first time a high-ranking officer expresses the opinion in public that the African wars cannot be solved militarily. A clandestine pamphlet circulated by PAIGC in Lisbon invites Portuguese soldiers to

desert. Once more it is stated that the PAIGC fight is not against the Portuguese people but against the colonial policies of the government. Violent demonstrations take place in Lisbon to protest the high cost of living, mounting repression and the African wars.

Feb. 26: Caetano returns to Lisbon after brief vacation, is confronted with pressure from right-wing to dismiss Spínola and his supporters. Throughout the whole week the book by Spínola reaches sales never before seen in Portugal.

Mar. 5: Premier Caetano comes before the "national assembly", asks for and obtains "vote of confidence."

Mar. 9-12: Portuguese armed forces are confined to their barracks.

Mar. 14: In a scene reminiscent of Nazi Germany of fascist Italy, more than 100 uniformed generals and admirals gather to pledge loyalty to Caetano. Spínola and chief of staff Costa Gomes fail to show up and are dismissed as a result.

Mar. 15: Dismissals are made public. General Cunha is appointed chief of staff. Spínola's position is eliminated. In several military centers officers hold meetings to discuss the situation. Many support Spínola.

Mar. 16: Some 200 soldiers of an infantry regiment rebel, drive truck convoy to the capital. Intercepted in the outskirts of Lisbon, they turn back, then surrender. At least 30 junior officers are arrested.

Mar. 17: Calm is reported in official news releases. Tension remains.

Mar. 18: On and off curfews are lifted. Uneasy calm is reported. Two high-ranking officers are arrested. This reveals continued instability.



Ousted Gen. Spínola

TRIALS AND CENSORSHIP

Eager to muffle cries of dissent inside the country, yet fearful of adverse publicity abroad, Portuguese authorities have recently imposed unusually mild sentences on opponents to the regime.

In February Father Mario de Oliveira, a Catholic priest who criticized colonial policies, and four Lisbon residents accused of "subversive activities" were given sentences ranging from one month to two and a half years. Twelve other members of a Catholic organization were scheduled to stand trial in March under the same charge.

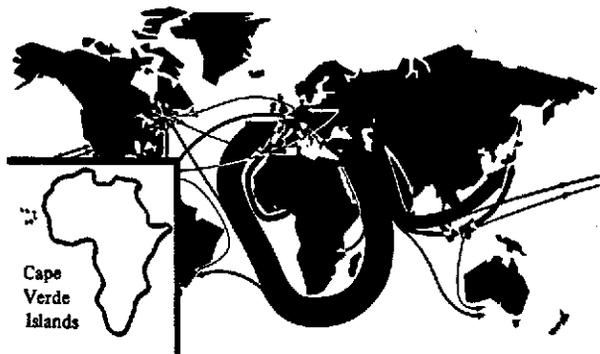
One of Portugal's few independent newspapers, *Expresso*, must now submit page proofs to the official censor and faces court action for its reporting on the March crisis. (*Portuguese Times*, Newark, Feb. 28, 1974, Mar. 7, 1974; *Providence Journal*, Mar. 20, 1974)

AZOREAN OPINION ON BASE NEGOTIATIONS

The seven "deputies" representing the Azores in the Portuguese "national assembly" have been begging the Lisbon Government for a slice of the money paid by the US Air Force for its use of the Lajes base.

The agreement under which the US utilized the base expired in February, but its renewal is certain. While negotiations take place the Azores "deputies" expressed the view that the money paid by the US should be spent for technological and educational purposes in the islands. The implication is that the vast sums funnelled to Lisbon have up to now been used to rescue the Portuguese budget burdened with the colonial war expenditures. (*Portuguese Times*, Newark, Mar. 7 1974) MOZAMBIQUE

republic of guinea-bissau



Strategic Cape Verde Islands

INSIDE THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

The famine situation on the Cape Verde islands does not improve. Formerly Angolan corn went primarily to Portugal although recent reports show that almost 35 thousand tons have now gone to drought-stricken Cape Verde. Three decades ago, the islands received agricultural products from Guinea-Bissau, but the war has stopped this trade.

The TACV (Cape Verde Air Transport) has purchased two Hawker-Siddeley HS-748 aircraft from Britain. While they will be used primarily for inter-island transport, there is clear military value for such planes. Port facilities at Praia, the capital of Sao Tiago island, continue to be improved.

Increased tension in the archipelago is said to be behind the increase in the military expenditures for the islands. The 1974-75 budget (excluding military) is set at 66 million escudos (\$2.8 million). (*African Development*, Jan., 1974; *Air Britain News*, Dec./Jan.; *West Africa*, Lagos, Jan. 7, 1974; *Luanda Radio*, 1200 gm, Feb. 8, 1974; *Republica*, Lisbon, Jan. 30, 1974)

CAPE VERDEANS IN THE DIASPORA

A major conference of Cape Verdean-Americans was held on March 3 in Providence, Rhode Island. South-eastern New England is the home for a Cape Verdean population which may exceed that of the islands themselves.

Significantly, the Cape Verdean-Americans realized that the Portuguese Government was doing very little about the economic and social development of the islands. Several resolutions called upon the government to rectify the miserable situation.

Many of those in attendance showed strong sympathies toward the PAIGC. A representative of the liberation movement, John Silva, was given the podium to address the audience. Earlier in the day, the Governor of the State of Rhode Island welcomed the convention.

Portugal continues to try to defuse the explosive situation on the islands by depopulating the young men and women to work in Portugal. Although the Lisbon authorities want to relieve the pressure of PAIGC underground activities and the conditions of the drought, they have shown a reluctance to allow Cape Verdeans to migrate to the United States and Europe where their activities would be more outside the grasp of the PIDE-DGS secret police. The US Immigration Department has only permitted 300 Cape Verdean immigrants each year. In the last five years about 30,000 Cape Verdeans have taken up positions of menial labor in Portugal.

ON THE BATTLE FIELD

To mark the anniversary of Amilcar Cabral's murder on January 20, 1973, urban guerrilla activity of the PAIGC reached Bissau, the capital city. Mining operations destroyed two Air Force vehicles, as well as a police car parked near the PIDE office on January 21, 1974. Reports indicated one person was killed and some sixty were put out of action.

Attacks on Catio Town in the south took place on January 19 and 20. Operations also occurred at Pajama on the Geba River and in the Fulacunda and Catio zones. These engagements claimed 20 dead of the occupation forces.

The thirty-sixth aircraft was reported downed in the east on January 31. It was the 26th Fiat G-91 fighter bomber (Number 5437) to be brought down by PAIGC gunners in the past twelve months. The Portuguese admitted the loss of a plane for this time and location. Another G-91 went down earlier in the same month, as did a helicopter in January. On February 12 the 37th plane, another Fiat G-91, was brought to the ground near Copá in the northeast.

In an article published in South Africa, Lisbon sources indicated a "decided upswing" in military action in Guinea-Bissau. The Portuguese admitted their losses were three to four times the "normal weekly" number in the first two weeks of January. Intense activity was noted in the northeast at Canquefila.

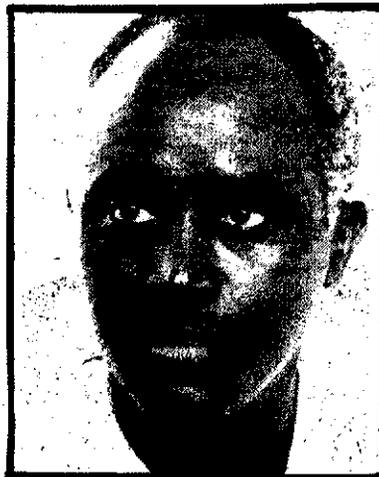
A major victory was achieved by PAIGC artillery and infantry on February 12 when the fortified camp at Copá (Gabu region) was overrun. At least one hundred occupation troopers were put out of action. Fourteen military vehicles were destroyed. The strategic hamlet, or *aldamento*, associated with Copá was also seized and the inhabitants were liberated. A detachment of reinforcements was intercepted and destroyed. This engagement is particularly significant as the PAIGC has sharply contested the noth-

east area for a number of years. Copa had also been attacked in mid-January.

Attacks were recorded on a convoy on the Pirada-Bajocunda road on January 7. One heavy, and four light, vehicles were destroyed. A separate mining operation put another military car out of action. Thirty enemy soldiers were killed.

On January 11 the central north sector of Bissora came under attack, killing six and wounding many others. Engagements in the Cubumbam area destroyed two troop-filled trucks and sunk a patrol boat.

The Portuguese High Command in Bissau finally took the blame for the five-day invasion of Senegal in May, 1973. They sought to intimidate the friendly Senegalese and capture PAIGC arms. (See *Southern Africa*, August-September, 1973). (*Le Monde*, Feb. 12, 21; *New York Times*, March 19; Conakry Radio, Feb. 7; *Star*, Feb. 2; *Times of Zambia*, Feb. 4; *Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Jan. 26, 1974)



Aristides Pereira

INSIDE OCCUPIED BISSAU

In recent reports it was learned that the Portuguese military budget for 1973 was 196.8 million escudos (\$8.4 million). This represents a 15 per cent increase in military expenditure over 1973.

At the beginning of the year Bissau was visited by the First Secretary of the British Embassy and a British Military Attache. It was claimed that they were on a "fact-finding" tour of Guinea-Bissau. Earlier, in mid-January, the Portuguese Overseas Minister, Balthasar Rebelo de Sousa visited the capital city.

The *aldeamento*, program set up by newly-retired General Spinoza was continued with twenty-six new facilities reported under construction. (*West Africa*, Lagos, Jan. 7, 1974; Luanda Radio, 1200 gmt, Feb. 7; *Portugal*, Dec., 1973; Lourenco Marques Radio, Jan. 16, 1974)

RECOGNITION MOVES CONTINUE

In information revealed to *Southern Africa*, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (RGB) is now recognized by eighty-one nations. This augers well for the PAIGC which will apply for membership to the United Nations in the Fall of 1974 opening of the UN General Assembly.

The French and Swiss Governments continue to say they will not recognize the RGB as "certain conditions" have not been met. Meanwhile three prominent Dutch experts on international law stated that control "of the major part of the territory of a country certainly permits recognition." Two of the distinguished professors suggested that there may even be "an obligation to recognize such a new state." President Sekou Toure of Guinea-Conakry has, in the name of all of Africa, "declared war on Portugal." Toure added: "Imperialism is a brutal force, whose philosophy and practice are based on violence. To wipe out imperialism is therefore to ensure victory for justice, the primacy of people's historic reason and the pre-eminence of their political, social and cultural rights."

Elsewhere, General Gowon of Nigeria sent \$750,000 to the PAIGC and promised continued support. PAIGC Secretary General Aristides Pereira commented by saying he was ready for a "political settlement" but because Portugal does not want to quit "we have no option but to continue the armed struggle."

Pereira also visited Ghana on a good will mission at which time he discussed Ghanaian aid and preparation for

UN application. He stressed that the majority of the territory was under PAIGC control.

The RGB has now been made a member of the Geneva-based International Conference on Humanitarian Law. The new nation may soon have membership in UNICEF, the International Postal Authority, the Civil Aviation Administration, and UNESCO. (*Combat*, Paris, Dec. 23, 1974; *24 Heures*, Geneva, Feb. 20; Angola Comite (Holland) Bulletin; *Sunday Times of Zambia*, Jan. 27; *AFP*, Dec. 10; *GNA*, Accra, Feb. 6; *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, Feb. 16, 1974)



EXXON: WE'D LIKE YOU TO KNOW

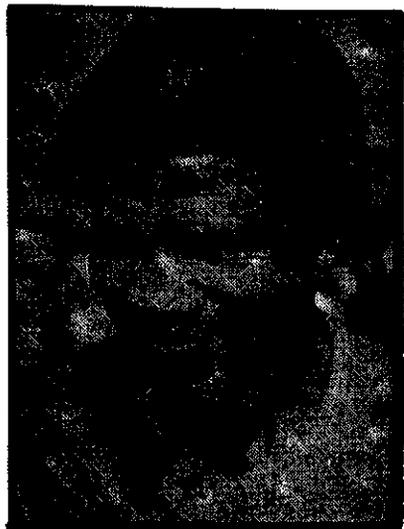
Exxon, the largest American oil company, has reported an 80 per cent increase in profits for the end of 1973. Six liberal church groups, holding \$7.5 million worth of Exxon stock, have called on Exxon to withdraw from exploration in Guinea-Bissau or negotiate with PAIGC, the legal representative of the territory. Although Exxon has been in Guinea-Bissau for 25 years, it has received new drilling concessions in 1966 and 1973. (Gulf Boycott Coalition; *Unitarian World*; Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa—1974)

BAUXITE IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The Dutch Foreign Minister has denied any plans for the Dutch firm, Billiton Company, to prepare for bauxite extraction in RGB. He did admit that several explorations have been carried out since 1957.

Meanwhile, a seven-nation conference was held in Guinea-Conakry to establish a permanent regulating body for the aluminum-bearing ore. At present the nations produce bauxite but not the more valuable aluminum product. It is believed that Guinea-Bissau may be rich in the mineral. (*New York Times*, March 10, 1974; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Nov. 30, 1973) ●

Swaziland and Lesotho



King Sobhuza of Swaziland

SWAZILAND

NEW CONSTITUTION STUDIED

In April 1973, King Sobhuza II of Swaziland abolished the country's constitution and assumed supreme power. The King abolished all political parties and banned political meetings. The take-over was smooth with apparently no opposition. The King now runs the country advised by a council.

Last January the King sent a four man Royal Constitutional Commission to Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania. The object of the Commission's visit was "to study the set-up of Party and Government organs and to compare these with their own system at home." (*Tanzanian Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Jan. 24, 1974)

Swaziland is formulating a new constitution. The new constitution is likely to put Swaziland on a one party system of government.

OPPOSITION LEADER DETAINED

After the April 1973 take-over, among other decrees the King proclaimed was one which made "provision for the King in Council to detain anyone in the public interest for up to 60 days without trial." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 16, 1974) The leader of the banned Ngwane National Liberation Congress (NNLC), Dr. Ambrose Zwane, is now in his third term of detention under this decree. Dr. Zwane is one of the three members of the NNLC who won seats in the 1972 general elections. Their winning of seats led to the state of emergency being declared. They were the only opposition members to be elected to the 24 member National Assembly since the country obtained its independence in 1968. (*Tanzanian Daily News*, Jan. 24, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, March 16, 1974; *Africa Magazine*, Feb. 1974)

LESOTHO

COUP D'ETAT ATTEMPT FAILS

Last January Lesotho was once again in turmoil. Fighting took place between supporters of the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) which is the main opposition party, and the Lesotho Mounted Police in what has been called an attempted coup d'etat.

Since April 1970, there has been tension between the BCP and Lesotho's rulers. At that time, the Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, who was losing at the polls, declared the election null and void and imposed a state of emergency; the leadership of the BCP and many of its supporters were detained, and many people were killed during the clashes that erupted.

Some reports gave the reason for January's attempted coup as BCP bitterness for not having been given permission to hold their annual conference.

In the fighting that took place last January, remote police stations in the northern part of the country were attacked, but the police were able to beat off the attackers, who were poorly armed.

Several BCP members escaped into South Africa, and some of those who fled continued to Botswana, where they asked for political asylum. Four, however, were captured by South African police, and are being demanded by the Lesotho Government. But South Africa is holding out for an exchange for South African refugees in Lesotho. Lesotho is so far refusing to trade, charging that South Africa helped some of the BCP men escape to Botswana. (*Star*, Jan. 26, 1974)

During the disturbances, the Lesotho Police claim to have discovered fire arms and ammunition in a vehicle that had crossed into Lesotho from Germiston in South Africa. Here again the Lesotho Government charges that South Africa connived with the BCP.

While it is possible that the charges made against South Africa by the Lesotho Government are true, it is conceivable that a banned person from Lesotho could pass through South Africa by being careful not to pass through custom check points. And it is very doubtful that South Africa would give arms to the BCP, which has always taken a Pan-Africanist approach, advocating a tough line against minority regimes in Southern Africa.

Relations between Lesotho and South Africa are at their lowest. The charges are possibly an attempt by the Lesotho Government to discredit the BCP among independent African states where it has always enjoyed support.

In the wake of the disturbances in Lesotho, the Interim National Assembly passed "a far reaching new security bill aimed at prohibiting political parties from receiving money from abroad." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 2, 1974) The Bill further makes provision for people suspected of terrorist activity to be detained up to 60 days, without reasons being given for their detention and with no access to a lawyer. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 26, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, March 2, 1974)

Political Killings in Lesotho

There have been reports by the *Star Africa News Service* that two months after attempts to overthrow the Lesotho Government, the police and members of the ruling Basutoland National Party (BNP) were killing members of the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and that the number of dead may be in the hundreds.

The Lesotho Government responded to the report, stating that members of the BCP who had attempted to overthrow the Government had been killed in the clashes that occurred. BNP supporters and policemen had also been killed. The Government's reply denied reports that detained people had been shot in police offices. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 23, 1974)

In the Lesotho Interim National Assembly, a member of a small faction of the BCP introduced a motion condemning the *Star Africa News Service* report on the

killings as "a deliberate distortion and a malignant lie calculated to destroy the good name and image of Lesotho at home and abroad." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

It should be noted that last year when the Lesotho Government proposed to institute an interim National Assembly, some members of the BCP sat in the National Assembly while some refused, and those who sat in were expelled from the party and did not participate in the January attempted coup.

In 1970 atrocities were perpetrated on the BCP supporters by the police and the BNP supporters. It is possible that the same thing could have happened again this time. The *Star* has urged the Lesotho Government to hold an impartial inquiry into the killings so as to establish the truth and again to help reconcile the people in the country. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 23, 1974)

U. S. & southern africa

HOUSE SANCTIONS BILL STILL STALLED

The bill to restore US compliance with Rhodesian sanctions is still sitting in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, more than three months after the Senate passage. And Committee Chairman Thomas Morgan shows more inclination to keep it there than to move it out.

In February, Morgan promised one western-Pennsylvania constituent that he would bring the bill before the Committee in the second week in March, saying that he supported sanctions and had voted for sanctions in the past. March came, and Morgan told another constituent that the bill would come up in April. This time, when asked whether he favored the bill's passage, Morgan said that was for the Congress to decide.

Morgan's true colors seem to be coming to the fore. A simple examination of his voting record shows that his one vote on the sanctions was a negative one, and that was on a compromise bill giving discretion on implementing sanctions to the President, which many members of Congress found easier to support than an out-right Byrd Amendment-repeal.

Chairman Morgan's connections with the opposition to sanctions seem strong. Western Pennsylvania is the heart of steel country, and the stainless steel lobbyists have expressed their anti-sanctions position to Morgan, using local labor leaders (who have accepted the industry position on this issue) as their mouthpiece. Morgan repeatedly told them that he supported their position.

Morgan is also close to the sanctions opposition in the House. The leader of this opposition, Representative John Dent, comes from the district just east of Morgan's. Dent and Morgan are long-time friends, and Dent seems to be taking advantage of the fact. Dent is planning a trip to Rhodesia in April (where representatives of Allegheny Ludlum promise they can set up a meeting for him with

Ian Smith) and he has asked Morgan to hold off Committee consideration until after his return. So far, it appears that Morgan may well do so. Then Dent will be able to blast sanctions with "I've-just-been-there" credibility.

Even industry supporters like *Pittsburgh Press* business editor William Wiley, do not think Morgan can hold the bill in Committee indefinitely, so industry lobbyists are gearing up for a real effort in the whole House. They have rounded up corporate allies among stainless steel consumers, ranging from Ford Motor Company to South Florida Growers Association, to oppose sanctions in visits and letters to Congressional offices.

Right-wing letters are also pouring into Congressional offices, inspired largely by Fulton Lewis III's radio broadcasts. Lewis, a long-time friend of the Rhodesian Information Office, has accused the Administration and the "big lobbyists" of "twisting arms" to restore sanctions, "sensing that this is one of those issues which can float safely by a sleeping citizenry."

As a result of growing pressure from industry and from the right wing, many members of Congress who were leaning toward supporting sanctions three months ago are now leaning the other way. Congressional offices will have to hear significant support for sanctions from their constituents if the balance is to be turned again. (*American Metal Market*, New York, Feb. 20, 1974; *Pittsburgh Press*, Feb. 27, 1974)

SOUTH AFRICAN SUGAR ASSOCIATION SEEKS INCREASED QUOTA

The Hbuse Agricultural Committee has been holding hearings on H. R. 12525, the bill to extend the Sugar Act until December 31, 1979. The sugar bill traditionally attracts highly paid lobbyists for foreign countries in the

same way a jam pot attracts flies.

This year, however, the jam pot is alleged to be less sweet.

On March 7, John R. Mahoney of the New York law firm of Casey, Lane and Mittendorf, claimed that the South African sugar industry had lost \$10 million in 1972 and 1973 by selling to the US quota-protected market rather than on the booming world market. Nevertheless, the lobbyist asked to have South Africa's quota increased from 60,000 tons to 75,000.

Mahoney was well-prepared to meet in advance the arguments of opponents of apartheid. He pointed to significant "progress" for African workers. Present wages for African field workers have advanced 58 per cent since 1971. (He fails to say that they remain below the Durban Poverty Datum Line.) In addition, he pointed to the \$7.5 million set aside as a loan fund by the industry to assist in improving the equipment and productive capacity of the more than 4,000 African growers, whose average lot is less than 10 acres, and to the technical school established for Kwa Zulu. Admitting that his testimony was technically "political propaganda", the South African apologist defended apartheid ("separate development") as one way to overcome the problem of "political instability" caused by "tribalism... in contrast to the integrationist approach which has been adopted in the rest of Africa."

Mahoney received a sympathetic hearing from the Committee, which is expected to recommend retention of the present quota system with few modifications. Congressman Charles Diggs will probably move to strike the South African quota when the bill reaches the floor. Senator Kennedy is also prepared to strike the provision from the Senate bill.

HOUSE HEARINGS HELD ON DIEGO GARCIA

On March 20, the Subcommittee on Near East and South Asia of the House Foreign Affairs Committee concluded a series of hearings on the Defense Department's request for a supplemental appropriation of \$29 million to build base facilities at Diego Garcia, a small British island 1000 miles from the tip of India.

State and Defense Department witnesses stressed the need to create an effective counter to the growth of Soviet influence in the Indian Ocean area, to protect Middle East oil supplies and freedom of movement for US ships and aircraft into and out of the Indian Ocean.

Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Almo Zumwalt, Jr. argued that Diego Garcia was primarily intended as a prudent precautionary move to improve logistical support for an area of "increasing strategic importance to the US and its allies." He argued that the area has become a focal point for our foreign and economic policies and has a growing impact on our security." His simile that a better US presence would be reassuring, like a "policeman on the beat," drew protest from Chairman Lee Hamilton. Zumwalt contended that a strong US presence in the area would enhance the power and influence the US could bring to bear on politics of the Indian Ocean littoral and have a "stabilizing effect."

Opposition to the Navy's proposal was led by retired Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocque, who had once been commander of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, and by former Defense Department analyst, Earl Ravenal.

LaRocque argued that the United States has a substantial advantage over the Soviet Union in its 14 nuclear-powered combat surface ships, its refueling capacity and

replenishment ships. He called the plan for a base at Diego Garcia an example of 19th century static military thinking, which would lead to the defense of fixed positions and territory, create unnecessary national security imperatives, as commitments and involvements grew.

Ravenal warned that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have always wanted a big all-purpose base in the Indian Ocean complete with Marines, airlifted divisions and long-range bombing planes. He freely predicted that the modest request for Diego Garcia would be "rounded out." He pointed out that the increased length of the runway could handle KC-135 tanker planes, which can refuel B-52s and are almost as large and heavy. To Ravenal, the Diego Garcia proposal indicates that the United States military has not learned from its Vietnam experience that bases ashore and immense striking forces at sea do not add up to political influence. He had reviewed such proposals before as an analyst in the Defense Department. "The proposals have not changed very much since 1967," he testified. "What is striking is the multiplicity of the rationales."

Republican members of the Subcommittee were impressed with the Administration witnesses, while only Representatives Bingham and Hamilton seemed to be skeptical of the Navy's proposal.

The implications of this new US move to solidify its military power in the Indian Ocean may be ominous for United States-Southern African policy. Today they are still unexplored, but certain developments are known. South Africa and Portugal have been arguing for years that the United States should consider the Indian Ocean as a strategically important zone. In January the Portuguese Ambassador proposed the use of Nacala in Mozambique as a possible base for US fleet units. In the same month, South African Minister of the Interior Cornelius Mulder offered Vice President Ford South African technology to turn coal into gasoline and other liquid fuels. In his testimony on the Diego Garcia matter, Admiral Zumwalt revealed that a US destroyer had recently successfully tested fuel oil made from coal. It is also known that South Africans have a modern radar and communications base on the Cape of Good Hope which helps track Soviet ship and airplane movements in the adjacent sea areas. (See *Southern Africa*, April, 1974)

None of these developments were alluded to, nor were any questions asked about them of the witnesses appearing before the Hamilton Subcommittee, possibly because of staff deference to the Subcommittee on Africa's jurisdictional prerogatives.

On the Senate side, Senator Clairborne Pell is leading a movement to strike the Diego Garcia appropriation out of the Supplemental Appropriation bill. He will get support from other Senators, such as Case, who have been fighting military base executive agreements and calling for their submission to the Senate as treaties.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON NAMIBIA

On February 21 the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa held the first of two hearings on Namibia, occasioned by the recent mass arrests in that Territory.

The first witness was Douglas Wachholz, an attorney for the Lawyers' Committee on Civil Rights under Law, which has provided legal assistance for a number of Namibians in recent years. Mr. Wachholz outlined events known to the Committee from the police raids on Katutura in March 1973 through the arrest of David



Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

Meroro on February 8 this year. He pleaded with the subcommittee for official assistance in seeking out the facts in Namibia so that effective action could be devised.

Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's UN representative, set the background of the Namibian struggle for independence since the revocation of the mandate. He submitted a detailed document, issued by SWAPO headquarters, on developments in Namibia from May through October of last year and supplemented it with more recent information.

Ms. Elizabeth S. Landis, former legal adviser to the UN Commissioner for Namibia, submitted a number of action recommendations, including, inter alia, support for the UN Council for Namibia; sending US observers to trials of political dissidents in Namibia; preventing, or at least actively discouraging American investment in Namibia; and denying US corporations in Namibia credits for taxes paid to the South African government.

All witnesses urged publicity concerning events and official protest, as well as assistance for Namibian refugees. (A colloquy on the latter subject produced a promise for assistance with immigration problems by the Lawyers' Committee.)

Representatives Biester (Penna.) and Winn (Kans.) seemed particularly concerned about the provision of the Terrorism Act which made it retroactive. They were also interested in SWAPO's dual role as a political movement and the organizer of guerrilla forces. Chairman Diggs (D., Mich.), directed his questions towards creating a full record on the subject, including the nature of American interest in Namibia.

There will be another hearing with government witnesses, from the State Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission among others.

SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS CASE BEFORE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS

In February, 1973, the U.S. Government Civil Aeronautics Board held hearings concerning an application for a new route to New York City (via Cape Verde Islands) by South African Airways. SAA already flies to the U.S. via Brazil. The case against the route on grounds of the Airway's discriminatory policies was presented by the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law on behalf of organizations including the Congressional Black Caucus, American Committee on Africa, African Heritage Studies Association, Black United Front and IFCO—Action. In May the CAB's Administrative Law Judge recommended that SAA receive the route, and the case went then before the full CAB which decided likewise. President Nixon then granted the airlines rights for the new route which has now gone into operation. The Lawyers Committee has now taken the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington on the grounds that the Executive Order can be altered because the CAB illegally refused to consider evidence of discrimination (not only in reference to the operation of the airlines in South Africa but vis-a-vis its possible employment of Blacks in the U.S.). As a result of the case SAA was delayed for many months from initiating its new route. (*Washington Post*, Feb. 22, 1973; letters) ●

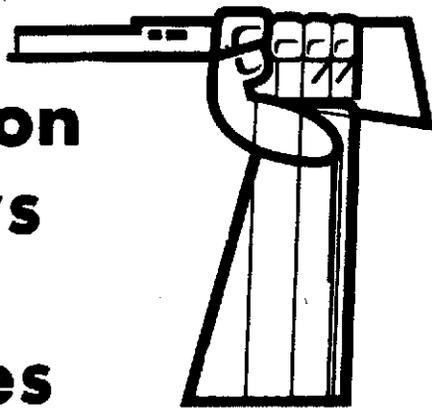
UNITED STATES

POLITICAL

SHARPEVILLE EVENTS

The 14th anniversary of the March 21, 1960 South African Sharpeville Massacre was commemorated in New York City by a lunchtime vigil in front of the Fifth Avenue South African Airways office. The City-Wide African Liberation Support Committee sponsored an evening meeting at Bronx Community College where speakers including Nelson Johnson of the Youth Organization for Black Unity; Judge William Booth of the American Committee on Africa; Tapson Muwere of the Zimbabwe African National Union and Peter Molotsi from South Africa addressed 125 participants. A day long conference was held on March 23 at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, where the films *A Luta Continua* on Mozambique and *End of a Dialogue* on South Africa were shown along with the presentation of background papers on NATO, liberation movement support and the general situation in Southern Africa. Speakers at the Cornell meeting were Robert Van Lierop of the Africa Information Service and Theo Ben Gurirab of the South West African Peoples

action news and notes



Organization. Finally, during Sharpeville week the United Methodist Office to the United Nations held a two day seminar for Indiana Methodists on Southern Africa and speakers ranged from a US State Department spokesman to critics of Southern Africa and liberation movement people, among whom were Sharfudine Khan of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Gurirab of SWAPO and

SHARPEVILLE

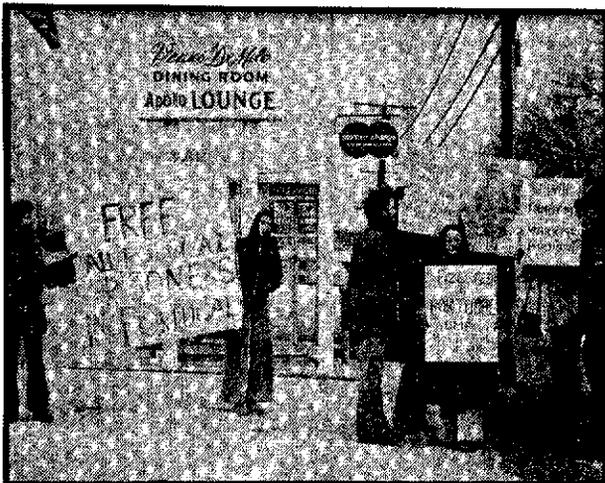


THE TWENTY-FIRST OF MARCH

George Houser and Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa. In other Methodist related news, Bishop W. Ralph Ward speaking before New England church people warned of another Vietnam in Southern Africa, and called for American and international aid to the liberation movements. (*Daily World*, March 8, 1974)

MINISTER'S VISIT PROTESTED

Calling for an end to internal repression and colonial aggression, members of the Portuguese Committee for Political Action protested the visit of a Portuguese cabinet minister to Massachusetts on March 17. The secretary of state for information was seeking support from Portuguese communities in New England for Lisbon's policies. (*Herald News*, Fall River, Mass., March 18, 1974)



Protests against Portuguese Cabinet Member in Massachusetts

ECONOMIC

EAST COAST ACTIVE ON RHODESIAN BOYCOTTS

A step-up in the campaign to stop the imports from racist Rhodesia began in February, when the Executive Council of the International Longshoremen's Association passed a resolution prohibiting the unloading or handling of any Rhodesian cargoes. The resolution was introduced by a representative of a black ILA local in the Norfolk,

Virginia area. It was the first step in a long educational campaign conducted among longshoremen and other workers by a group called Tidewater Africans. The campaign was not limited to Norfolk, but included the other port cities of Hampton, Newport News and Portsmouth, Virginia. A loose coalition of groups is now working in these areas, and they include, besides the Tidewater Africans, the Defense Committee, the Black Student Union, the Center for United Labor Action and the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. The slogan of these groups is, "Working Class Unity Against Racism and Imperialism". They are now involved in an intensive leafletting campaign in factories, schools and on the docks.

In Baltimore on March 3rd, over 200 people—mostly workers—attended a rally to prepare for the return of the *African Sun*—the same ship that was turned away from Baltimore last December and forced to bring 56 crates of Rhodesian nickel back to Mozambique. The theme of the rally was: "Stop the African Sun—Free Zimbabwe". (see *Southern Africa*, April, 1974)

Three days later, on March 6th, the *African Sun* arrived at Pier 1 in East Boston—its first port of call. On hand were 150 demonstrators representing the African Liberation Support Committee, American Friends Service Committee, Southern Africa Coalition, the Black Caucus of the Massachusetts State Legislature, Black Survival Bookstore, October League, Revolutionary Union, Attica Brigade, Youth Against War & Fascism, Boston Area Non-Violence Groups plus various individuals. Two speakers, Eddison Zvobgo—a Zimbabwean freedom fighter, and Dinizulu Seitlu of ALSC denounced the continued imports of Rhodesian goods. The ILA local in Boston, 1066, agreed not to unload any cargo that could be proven to originate from Rhodesia. A representative of Farrell Lines, owners of the *African Sun*, read the Boston manifest to union officials and stated that nothing aboard was listed as Rhodesian. Consequently, the vessel was unloaded. Thus the first test of the ILA Miami resolution had failed although it did bring about the first reading of a ship's manifest by Farrell Lines for the benefit of demonstrators. Two of the demonstrators were invited aboard the vessel by crew members to discuss the issue at length. Most of the crew was Black and from the US and sympathetic. One of them said that he had noticed goods with Rhodesian labels on them a "number of times".

At the same time that the demonstration in Boston was under way Thomas Gleason, President of the ILA, was giving his authorization to a boycott of the Rhodesian goods on the *African Sun* for the Port of New York—its next stop. By the middle of that day, Farrell Lines had learned of the demonstration in Boston and of Gleason's authorization to boycott their ship when it arrived at Pier 2 in Brooklyn. They again denied that anything from Rhodesia was aboard the vessel. This created a lot of confusion in the ILA leadership in New York. Anthony Scotto, President of ILA Local 1814 in Brooklyn called two meetings on Thursday, March 7th while at the same time the *African Sun* was heading for Brooklyn. The first meeting was with Gleason, Scotto and representatives of the American Committee on Africa plus the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa. Documents were presented that showed all of the ships and their cargoes that had brought Rhodesian goods into the US since April of 1972. Farrell ships had 40 separate violations listed, and of these, the *African Sun* had the most: 12. The documents

were quarterly reports to the UN by the US Government and seemed to impress both Gleason and Scotto. Another meeting was then held in Brooklyn at the headquarters of Local 1814 with union officials of Local 1814, and the vice-president in charge of operations for Farrell Lines and his assistant. In response to a request by Scotto, the officials from Farrell brought the entire manifest for the *African Sun*, listing all of its cargo and the countries of origin. A complete examination of the manifest showed nothing listed as from Rhodesia (although it did show that the only countries that the ship visited were Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia and Angola). Furthermore, the Farrell people said they did not remember ever having seen any cargo listed as having come from Rhodesia. At that point, Scotto said that he would begin checking back into the old manifests of Farrell, Moore-McCormack and Hellenic Lines, to see if any of the shipments listed by the UN showed up in any of the companies' records. If they did, then at least Farrell was not telling the truth. If they did not appear, then it was a clear case of smuggling and a violation of ILA, state and federal laws. Scotto then told the officials from Farrell that his union would not unload any Rhodesian cargo "under any circumstances".

Until the outcome of Scotto's investigation of old manifests is completed, the resolution passed in Miami will have little practical value. There is no doubt that Rhodesian imports do enter the US all the time. Most of it is chrome and goes to the non-ILA Port of Burnside, Louisiana. The rest of it can be traced through the old manifests. (Report from Henry Lieberg, ACOA)

On March 21, the *African Sun* arrived in Philadelphia. Although it was raining too heavily for longshoremen to work, 15-20 pickets distributed leaflets and carried signs. Both the *Sun* and *Neptune* had been picketed on their last visits to Philadelphia. Groups represented by the pickets included October 4th Organization, Philadelphia Free Press, Peoples Fund, Revolutionary Union, and Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee.

On March 22, in good weather, 5 pickets showed up, but were prevented by company men from approaching the docks and had to remain on the street. Philadelphia Civil Disobedience squad officers were on the scene, as well as company police.

Around 8 AM Farrell officials tried to stop the demonstration by showing an alleged ship manifest which said there were no goods from Rhodesia aboard the *Sun*. Four crews were then assigned to the boat; three refused and the fourth agreed only to load. Dockers informed the pickets that it might be unloaded on Saturday the 23rd.

On Saturday morning pickets arrived and found that the *Sun* had departed without being unloaded. Soon the *Neptune* came and it is believed that it also was not unloaded. (Report from Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports)

EABC PROTESTS CONTINUE

Maryland National Bank Focus

Groups including the Potomac Association of the United Church of Christ, the NAACP, and the Montgomery County Commission on Women have called upon the Montgomery, Maryland County Government to end its \$1 billion a year relationship with the Maryland National Bank because of that bank's involvement in a \$2 million loan through the European American Banking

Corporation to South African government-run Iron and Steel Corp. (ISCOR) and Railways. Bank officials have met in the past with local groups but have not yet responded to appeals to end its links. The bank has sent a representative to South Africa, and has indicated that in spite of offers, it has not participated in new loans to South Africa. The pressure on the county government has been spearheaded by a County Councilwoman, and an open hearing arranged between the Council, the bank and public concern groups. Before this the Interfaith Council for Metropolitan Baltimore withdrew \$5,000 from Maryland National, and the Inner City Credit Union withdrew \$500,000. The South African issue was raised at the bank's stockholders' meeting on March 15, and a group of Baltimore Jesuit priests have planned Lenten time pickets at the bank headquarters. (Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, memos, March 7, 12, 1974; *Washington Evening Star*, March 6, 1974; *Washington Post*, March 7, 1974; *Baltimore Sun*, March 15, 1974)

Church Letter to EABC

The President of the National Council of Churches, Dr. W. Sterling Cary, issued an open letter to Jean Cattier, Chairman of the EABC calling the bank's actions a "direct financial subsidy" to the white supremacist South African government. The loans arranged through the EABC since 1970 amount to some 20 percent of all foreign loans received by the government or some \$200 million. The letter was co-signed by a number of church officials from the United Church of Christ, the American Baptist Convention, the United Presbyterian Church, Protestant Episcopal Church, Russian Orthodox Church in the USA, Reformed Church, US Catholic Conference, United Methodist Church and Franciscan Friars of the Atonement. (National Council of Churches News, March 5, 1974)

BANK OF VIRGINIA DENIES SOUTH AFRICAN LOAN

In a letter to a stockholder, President of Bank of Virginia International Thomas S. Marshall, stated that although the European American Bank had asked the Bank to participate in a loan to the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa, it had declined "primarily because of our limited knowledge of South Africa and our dislike for that country's onerous social policies." (Letter, Feb. 13, 1974). Although the Bank of Virginia International was not listed as one of the banks involved in the \$210 million EABC loan to South Africa negotiated in 1970, it is one of the first financial institutions to indicate non-participation because of social concerns. (See *South-ern Africa*, June-July, 1973).

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

LIBERATION SUPPORT

The World Council of Churches has announced its 1974 grants from the Program to Combat Racism, which represent the largest amounts yet given. The largest single grant was \$93,800 to the PAIGC. Other Southern Africa-related grants are:

FRELIMO	\$56,000
SWAPO	28,000
MPLA	21,000
GRAE	21,000
UNITA	12,600
Luthuli Memorial Foundation	14,000

PAC	14,000
ZANU	14,000
ZAPU	14,000
Sixth Pan African Congress	11,200

Smaller grants are also going to anti-apartheid organizations in the United Kingdom, Netherlands, and Switzerland, and to the Southern Africa Committee in the United States. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974)

GOVERNMENTS

The last few months have seen increasing support—if only verbal—from governments. The following is a summary:

—Ministers from 16 East and Central African countries have called for diplomatic, economic and other sanctions against the US, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, and Brazil unless they cease support for the white minority regimes of Southern Africa. In the wake of the Arab oil embargo against nations aiding Israel and of the demand by OAU for an embargo on oil to Southern Africa, the independent black nations are taking a tougher line. The members include Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Congo Republic, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, and Zambia, plus Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, which did not attend the meeting in Tanzania in November, 1973. (*New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1973; *Sunday Nation*, Tanzania, Nov. 25, 1973)

—Liberia's Foreign Minister, Cecil Dennis, attacked the South African Government and announced Liberia would observe a day of national celebration when Guinea-Bissau published its constitution. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, Oct. 5, 1973)

—President Jomo Kenyatta reaffirmed Kenya's commitment to the liberation of African countries still under the colonial yoke (*Daily Nation*, Nairobi, Nov. 23, 1973), and a number of government agencies and groups in Tanzania have spearheaded a nationwide blood donor campaign for the liberation movements, including the Tanzania Ministry of Defense and National Service, the People's Militia, the TANU Youth League, TPDF and Navy officers. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Dec. 1, 1973, Jan. 2, 1974; *Sunday News*, Dar es Salaam Dec. 1, 1973, *Daily Nation*, Dar es Salaam Dec. 14, 1974)

—Finland has given \$30,000 to the OAU for its support program of the liberation movements, designating it for medical and educational equipment. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Oct. 19, 1973)

—The Dutch Government has granted \$1,255,100 to the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism. Dutch Development Minister Jan Pronk said the gift was "related to our aim to give development and humanitarian support to people living within the liberated areas of Southern Africa." (*Sunday Post*, Dec. 16, 1973) It is reported that the Dutch Government has appropriated a total of \$4,900,000 toward the liberation movements through various programs and agencies. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 9 and 17, Dec. 8, 1973)

—Mauritius' Prime Minister Ramgoolam recently announced his wholehearted public support of the liberation movements, an act which will most likely bring an end to Mauritius' tenuous connections with South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

—When President M'butu of Zaire requested British support for the liberation movements during his Decem-

ber visit to England, he was rejected by Prime Minister Edward Heath (*Daily Nation*, Dar es Salaam Dec. 14, 1973), who had allowed England to become involved in arms shipments to South Africa. Hopes are that with Harold Wilson back in Downing Street, England will now take a tough line on Southern Africa. Wilson is committed, both by his manifesto and by his personal statement, to discontinuing all arms shipments to South Africa, and also to providing material assistance to the liberation movements. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 9, 1974)

—The New Zealand Government has boycotted a trade mission to New Zealand from Portugal, refusing to give them access to the press, and organizing no functions for them. Members of the Labour Government boycotted a reception at the hotel of the mission members.

LABOR

Labor has been urged in stronger terms to support the Southern Africa liberation struggle. FRELIMO recently repeated an earlier call made by Egypt for the expulsion of Portugal from the International Labor Organization (ILO). (*Sunday News*, Dar es Salaam, Dec. 2, 1973) Also, the Sudanese delegation to the ILO regional conference in Nairobi in November appeared before ILO to devise crash programs to help the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau (PAIGC) in management training and government organization. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, Nov. 30, 1973) The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has recently given a large cash and kind donation to the liberation movements through President Kaunda of Zambia (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Sept. 16, 1973), and members have been urged to join worldwide demonstrations against apartheid during the week beginning Dec. 10 each year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 1, 1973)

The Canadian Labor Congress has asked its 1,800,000 members to refrain from drinking Angolan coffee and is requesting Canada's Tea and Coffee Association not to import Angolan coffee. (CLC "Information," Oct. 16, 1973) New Zealand's trade unions have banned all South African goods and services for the week beginning December 10 as a protest to apartheid. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 29, 1973)

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Other organizations announcing aid/or support include the OAU itself, with a grant of \$500,000 to Guinea-Bissau (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C. Feb. 11, 1974); GAMMA (Guinea Angola, Mozambique Medical Action) has raised \$2,800 toward a goal of \$42,000 for medical workers in the liberated areas of the Portuguese African colonies; the TANU Youth League (Tanzania African National Union) has presented \$14,000 to FRELIMO (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Dec. 10, 1973); a German television team has presented a film, "A Luta Continua" (The Fight Goes On), filmed in Mozambique's Tete Province, to FRELIMO (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 29, 1973); the French Socialist Party has pledged mobilization of French socialist support for the movements in the Portuguese colonies (AFP, Oct. 29, 1973); the Africa Committee has demanded Swiss Government recognition of Guinea-Bissau and an immediate export ban on arms to Portugal ("Facts and Reports," Angola Comite, Nov. 20, 1973); and the African Relief Services Committee in Canada has granted

a total of \$111,400 in various medical and equipment projects in 1973 for the liberation movements (ARSC report, 1972-73, Ottawa, Canada).

CHURCH ACTIONS

Without question the churches outside South Africa have over the last few years become a major factor in the anti-apartheid struggle. More and more voices are being raised in more and more quarters. By its grants to freedom fighters, the World Council of Churches opened up a Pandora's box in Christian circles around the world, which has led to commitments of many kinds. Then by withdrawing its investments and calling on member churches to do likewise, the WCC opened up another Pandora's box. Other major church federations that have moved against apartheid include the World Lutheran Federation, the British Council of Churches, and major national denominations in a number of countries. The International Defense and Aid Fund is a product of Christian Action. Some more recent special actions from the international religious community include the following:

The All-African Conference of Churches has called on the OAU to break diplomatic relations with the Vatican in protest of the Holy Sees "collaboration" with "Portuguese repression in Africa." (AFR/Oct. 22, 1973) The Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales approved a program of shareholder action for companies investing in South Africa, and is acting specifically with regard to its holdings in Barclays. (*Guardian*, London, Nov. 21, 1973) The World Council of Churches has also moved toward consultation with the International Labor Organization for exploring the possibility of an international convention against migration of white labor to Southern Africa. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Jan. 12, 1974) The British Methodist Church is also taking steps toward developing a definite investment policy vis-a-vis South Africa (*Guardian*, London Nov. 7, 1973), and the Church of England has approved withdrawal of investments from any firm disregarding "the social and economic interests of any of its South African employees." (*Guardian*, London Nov. 10, 1973) The two major Anglican finance corporations in England, the Church Commissioners and the Central Board of Finance, are reviewing their investment policies in this regard. (*Times*, London, Nov. 10, 1973) The British Baptist Church is also going to use its investments in companies with interests in Southern Africa to help "relieve or prevent the exploitation of coloured workers." (*Guardian*, London Nov. 19, 1973)

In addition, churches have protested the treatment of Beyers Naude and the Christian Institute of South Africa by South African authorities, and given support for Naude in his trial (*Times*, London, Nov. 7, 1973), and have broadly protested the banning of Dr. Manas Buthelezi by the South African Government. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 31, 1974) The United Church of Canada, although it has approved a UCC-sponsored tour to South Africa, has approved a motion relating to stockholder action against Gulf because of its operations in Angola and decrying Canada's involvement in the 1974 World Trampoline championships in South Africa. (Minutes of UCC Committee on Church and International Affairs, Jan. 31, 1974)

CAMPAIGNS, BOYCOTTS

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (UK) has initiated an all-out campaign for the release of political prisoners that



COFFEE for GENERAL FOODS
means BLOOD for
ANGOLA

Southern Africa Information Group, Box 9888,
Ottawa, K1P 8B8-8888

was launched this March and will be presented at the Freedom Convention in June. Groups are being asked to adopt a prisoner, and ex-political prisoners would take part in a sponsored walk to publicize their situation. Anyone interested in taking part in the campaign should contact SATIS, c/o Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1, England. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, Dec. 10, 1973) on Feb. 1 over 50 students held a picket outside South Africa House in London demanding release of all South African political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela, ANC leader. (*Daily World UK*, March 8, 1974)

Dutch anti-apartheid groups have joined in a nationwide campaign to oppose NATO plans in Southern Africa. Last November the NATO Council asked the Atlantic Command, SACLANT, to work out plans for the "protection" of supply routes around the Cape. South Africa feels threatened by the 2-3 Russian warships that circle the Cape monthly. This is part of a growing campaign by South Africa and Portugal to bring Southern Africa into NATO's theater of operations. The congress of Dutch groups also reaffirmed their boycott of Angolan coffee and South African Outspan oranges. Plans were also discussed for a nationwide blanket collection for the liberation movements, and for demonstrations at the meeting of the NATO Council in Brussels. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London November 1973.) The Dutch groups have also called for international action against a sanctions-busting network called "Operation Zephyr," an import-export based in Amsterdam which channels all kinds of goods to Rhodesia. The Zephyr Report is available from Anti-Apartheid, Bewiging Nederland, post-bus 10500, Merengratch 88, Amsterdam.

The Southern Africa Information Group in Ottawa has secured some media endorsement of their campaign to boycott Angolan coffee. (SAIG Summary No. 4) and a Vancouver, Victoria citizen's group has urged the British Columbia Government to remove all South African and Portuguese alcoholic beverages from government liquor stores in the province. The Vancouver campaign is spearheaded by the Southern Africa Action Coalition, which has also held demonstrations against the University of British Columbia's use of South African and Portuguese liquors. (*Vancouver Sun*, Oct. 26, 1974)

DAR ES SALAAM LIBERATION SUPPORT GROUP FORMED

A Liberation Support group has been formed recently in Dar es Salaam. Main activities to date include: 1) A Blood for freedom Campaign to Supply plasma to wounded FRELIMO fighters, 2) A clothing collection project for adults and children in the Josina Machel Orphanage in Mozambique, 3) the creation of study groups on the role of women in the struggle and the problems of national reconstruction, and 4) the establishment, through the Tanganyika Library Service, of a special section on liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere.

The group is particularly anxious to expand its collection of materials on support groups and movements. Pamphlets and other materials should be addressed to: The Liberation Movement Section, Tanganyika Library Service, P.O. Box 9283, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. (Letter from Dar es Salaam Liberation Support Group, P.O. Box 35182, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

PAIGC COMMITTEE CALLS FOR CAPE VERDE AID

At the First National Cape Verdean American Convention (see May News on Guinea Bissau), a resolution was passed by the 600 delegates which called upon the Portuguese Government, the UN Security Council and specialized agencies, the International and American Red Cross, CARE, and US Government to aid the "hundreds of thousands of Cape Verdeans in the Archipelago ... dying of malnutrition, starvation and disease ..." as a

result of the unpublicized and extremely severe drought on the islands. For more information contact the PAIGC Support Committee, P. O. Box M 365, New Bedford, Mass. 02744.

CFM LIBERATION AID IN 1973

The Committee for a Free Mozambique (616 West 116th St., New York, N.Y. 10027) has issued its annual report showing that in 1973 it gave nearly \$5,000 to liberation movements, primarily FRELIMO. During the year it held two auction/parties, and its projects have included a Cabral Memorial Fund and fundraising for the Josina Machel Infantario. (CFM Letter, Feb. 26, 1974)

MACSA FUNDRAISING FOR ZIMBABWE

Funds are being raised by the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa for ZANU and ZAPU and Zimbabwean refugee aid. A new leaflet on Zimbabwe is available from the Committee, 731 State Street, Madison, Wisc. 53703.

ANGOLAN MOVEMENT SUPPORT

The Gulf Boycott Coalition of Dayton, Ohio has received acknowledgement and thanks from MPLA and UNITA for its efforts to educate the American public about Gulf's role in Angola through the Gulf boycott.

The MPLA has received a printing press financed by the Swiss-based Center of Information for Liberation Movements, the Belgian Committee of Support Against Colonialism and Apartheid, and the Swedish African Group. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Dec. 11, 1973; Gulf Boycott communique) ●

books

BOOK REVIEW

Adrian Hastings, *Wiriyamu*. London: Search Press, 1974. 1.50.

International Defence and Aid Fund, *Terror in Tete: A Documentary Report of Portuguese Atrocities in Tete district, Mozambique, 1971-1972*. London: IDAFSA, 1973. 20p.

In July of 1973, through the influential columns of the London *Times*, there burst into the world press the news that six months earlier Portuguese troops in Mozambique had carried out a massacre of over 400 civilian African villagers. The press reports that followed sometimes confused the issue, but at least made it clear that something of the sort had taken place. Even the Johannesburg *Star* of South Africa eventually confirmed the substance of the initial reports. But for the casual reader the picture that emerged was probably more of an isolated incident, rather than of a common occurrence in the Portuguese war of colonial repression in Mozambique, that took a particularly intense character as the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) advanced in and through the strategic Tete province. These two reports help to provide some of the perspective lacking in the news reports.

In each case the basic source of information is the reporting of a number of Catholic missionaries working in

Tete province, most of whom have by now been expelled from Mozambique, some after serving time in prison. The revelation of the Wiriyama incident was the second major development in breaking down the close collaboration between the Catholic Church and the Portuguese colonial authorities. The first was when the White Fathers missionary order decided, in May, 1971, to withdraw its missionaries from Mozambique, saying they could no longer be involved in the support for the Portuguese colonial state which their presence involved. The accounts are detailed, and should be convincing to sceptics, as well as revealing even to those already familiar with the general outlines of the events and the liberation struggle in which FRELIMO is engaged. The book by Adrian Hastings is written by the English priest whose contact with Spanish priests made possible that the news go out, to the *Times*, and to a wider audience, coincidentally at the time that Premier Caetano was making his visit to England, and an "End the Alliance" campaign was being mounted by groups supporting the liberation struggle. Apart from the reports concerning events in Tete, the book has some useful background of a more general character on the Catholic Church in Mozambique, and its collaboration with the Portuguese authorities, as well as the circumstances which

led some priests to make, eventually, a break with that tradition. At that same time it remains quite clear that for the hierarchy of the church as a whole, that break has not yet been made.

Terror in Tete concentrates more specifically on the massacre itself, and brings together in one place the important primary documents (which are also to be found dispersed in Hastings' book).

Both book and pamphlet are well worth recommending and distributing to church groups, liberal groups, and others whose views may range from horror at the atrocities of a colonial war to full support for the Southern African liberation struggles. But both books suffer from a failure to put the massacres that happened in Tete in the context of the liberation struggle as a whole. Perhaps this is not a fair criticism. Not every piece of literature has the same purpose, and none can be complete. But it does mean that those responsible for using and distributing this literature should make every effort to communicate first of all the basic factors at work—the colonial structure, buttressed by the more powerful capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the liberation struggle aimed at destroying this structure and creating a new society. It's important to inform the world about the massacres, but it also must be made clear that in Tete, there are important interests which South African capital and arms are defending, for example, and that also in Tete there are areas liberated by FRELIMO, in which, despite Portuguese attacks, the hoped-for new society is being created, with collective production for the benefit of all, with schools, medical services, and other measures to improve the lives of the population.

Thus these two publications must be set in that context, and it will not happen automatically. The authors may understand that context, and so will many of the readers. For others these publications may simply horrify and shock; that hopefully will serve as an incentive to supplement the initial reading with a viewing of *A Luta Continua*, for example, or reading of the quarterly publication of FRELIMO, *Mozambique Revolution*.



Poet Dennis Brutus

Dennis Brutus, *A Simple Lust. Collected Poems of South African Jail and Exile*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1973. \$7.95.

*Sometimes a mesh of ideas
webs the entranced mind,
the assenting delighted mental eye;
and sometimes the thrust and clash
of forged and metalled words
makes musical clangour in the brain;
and sometimes a nude and simple word
standing unlit and unadorned
may plead mutely in cold or dark
for an answering warmth, an enlightening
sympathy;
state the bare fact and let it sing.
(A Simple Lust, p. 136)*

It is with the greatest pleasure that we welcome this superb collection of poems by Dennis Brutus. As the book jacket tells us, it includes poems (some previously published, others hitherto-unpublished) written over the last twenty years—years during which Brutus, a South African, has been forced to hone his deeply sensitive and lyrical talent on the harsh, uncompromising whetstones of banning, imprisonment on Robben Island, house arrest, and, since 1966, exile. Still, Brutus sings his songs with clear, firey love; and his "simple lust" is above all for the native land from which he was expelled and for the South African people for whom possession of his poems is a criminal offense.

Forced exile is a state of being few Americans save the war-resisters of recent years have experienced directly. Yet it is an experience shared by thousands of South Africans, black and white, who long to free their country from the shackles of *apartheid* and nurture dreams of returning home. Listen to Dennis Brutus:

*I am the exile
am the wanderer
the troubadour
(whatever they say)*



Father Adrian Hastings—Chronicler of Wiriyamu Massacre

(UN Photo)

*gentle I am, and calm
and with abstracted place
absorbed in planning,
courteous to servility*

*but wailings fill the chambers of my heart
and in my head
behind my quiet eyes
I hear the cries and sirens
(A Simple Lust, p. 137)*

*Celebrate the fierce joy of victory
and necessary wounding
that the day may sooner come
of our unexiling:
of our return. (A Simple Lust, p. 135)*



resources

PROGRAMS ON GUINEA - BISSAU available from The Rest of the News

Guinea-Bissau: Birth of a Nation

A program on the history and current situation of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau told through interviews with members of the PAIGC and excerpts of speeches by Amilcar Cabral. Produced by Bob Manning in co-operation with KPFA. 30 minutes. \$15.00

Guinea-Bissau: A Struggle for Liberation

Gil Fernandez, representative of Guinea-Bissau to the UN Maritime Conference, discusses the anti-Portuguese struggle. 14 minutes. \$6.00

Programs available on reel-to-reel or cassette

Make checks payable to:

The Rest of the News, *(catalogue available)*
306 East State Street, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850

BOSTON GROUPS MOVE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

An informal coalition of groups in the Boston, Mass. area have organized to boycott Rhodesian good bearing ships and work in other ways on the chrome issue, including legislative pressures. People interested in working on these and other possible issues related to Africa, contact Dinizulu Seitu of the African Liberation Support Committee, 25 Holyoke St., Boston, 02116 and Pat Farren of the American Friends Service Committee, 48 Inman St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Other groups involved into the Boston area actions have been: October League, Revolutionary Union, Youth Against War and Fascism, Southern Africa Coalition, Boston Area Non-violence Group, Hard Times, Struggle! and Harvard Black Study Group.

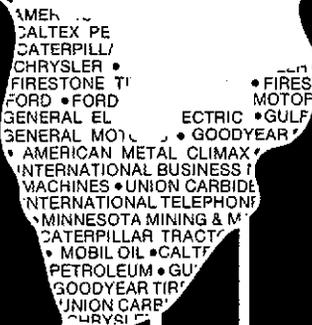
The Potomac Association of the United Church of Christ has prepared a very excellent petition to be used in their campaign to discourage the Maryland National Bank from making these loans. You should write Rev. Harry Applewhite at the Center for Social Action, UCC at 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002 to obtain copies. Copies of a four-page "brief" issued by the Center entitled "The Frankfurt Documents: Secret Bank Loans to the South African Government" are available from ICCR, Room 846 at 475 Riverside Drive, New York, 10027 N.Y.

Proxy Statements on Namibia and Portuguese Territories

The Church Project on US Investment in Southern Africa involving a coalition of 8 Protestant denominations, a Roman Catholic priest's order, and the National Council of Churches has submitted 22 resolutions on Southern Africa to various corporations involving disclosure questions on firms in South Africa, and demands for withdrawal from groups of firms in the Portuguese Territories and Namibia. Informative proxy statements are

available on the withdrawal group resolutions; one concerns the role of Bethlehem Steel in Mozambique, Exxon in Guinea-Bissau and Texaco in Angola; another proxy relates to four oil companies (Continental, Getty, Phillips and Standard of California) in Namibia. The proxies contain useful background information on the territories and specifics about each company's involvement. Write to Church Project, Room 846, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

CHURCH INVESTMENTS CORPORATIONS & SOUTHERN AFRICA



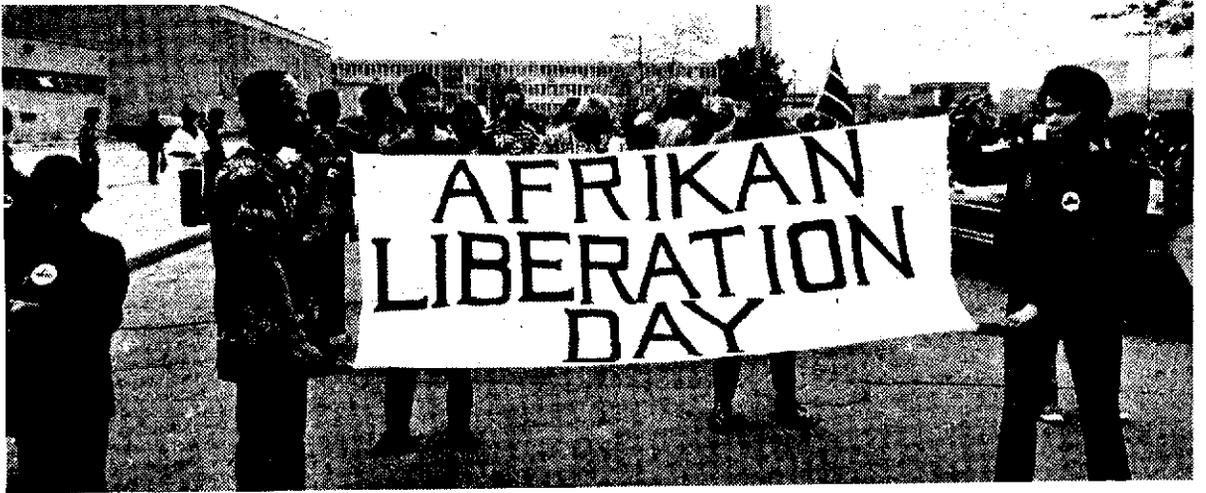
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Lists church investment by church agencies, denominations in all 53 companies analyzed; full list of all US companies in Southern Africa.

Resource Section on the UN, Liberation Movements, Church Policy. 240pp. ORDER CHURCH INVESTMENTS, CORPORATIONS AND SOUTHERN AFRICA for \$3.95. Write Friendship Press or Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Drive, rm. 846, New York, N.Y. 10027. •



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