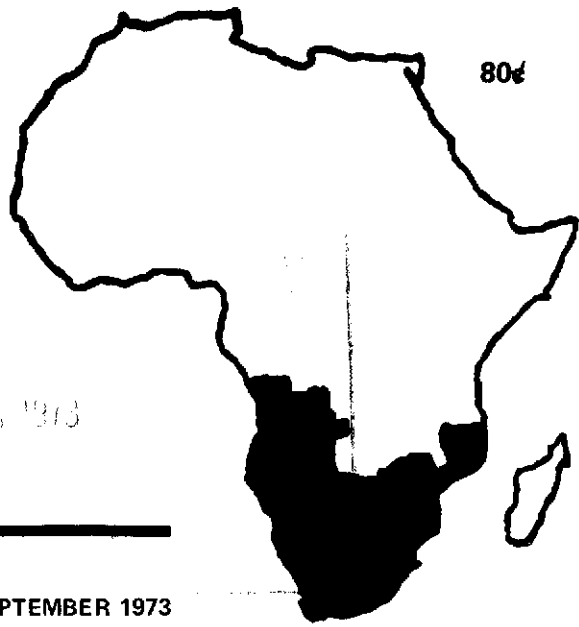


SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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Cover Photo:

*PAIGC armed militants
crossing the Corubal
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Progress of The War in Guinea-Bissau

INTRODUCTION

For more than 10 years a war for national liberation has been waged in Guinea-Bissau, Portugal's West African colony the size of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut put together. The organization leading the war is the PAIGC which was dealt a heavy blow on January 20 of this year when agents of Portuguese colonialism assassinated their widely respected General-Secretary, Amilcar Cabral. Many thought that this would throw the movement into chaos. Throughout the entire month of June I traveled in the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau and visited liberated villages, hospitals, schools, people's stores and military centers. My trip of one month took me 150 miles and completely across the country from the Senegalese border in the north to the Republic of Guinea in the south. Included in my stops was a stay for the night at Guiledje, a Portuguese base which guarded the southern frontier with Guinea-Conakry. Guiledje fell into PAIGC hands at the end of May.

Accordingly I was able to see that the movement has not only been saved from reverses, but has in fact reached new levels of activity in their struggle. The following report details some of the military activities of the period since Cabral's murder. Gains in education, health services and political and economic infrastructure have paralleled the military progress. A doctor in a liberated hospital said that his most important medical need is the end of Portuguese colonialism, because then he will be able to have better facilities and conditions. Thus this report emphasizes the military phase of the struggle since the PAIGC has found that only through armed struggle will Portuguese colonialism be driven from Guinea. The strong PAIGC army and militia girds the infrastructure of national liberation.

The Open Gate at Guilege

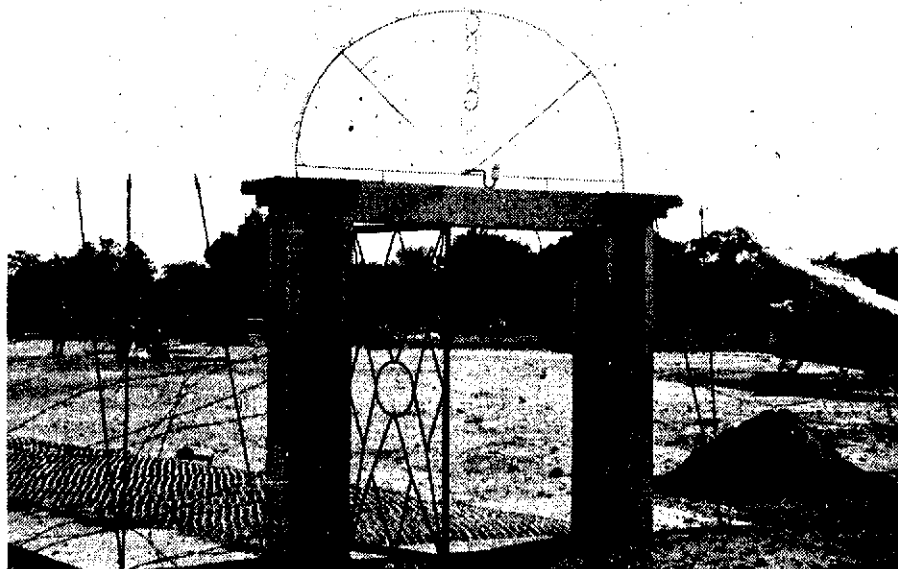
MILITARY PROGRESS IN GUINEA-BISSAU—A SIX MONTH VIEW

In the ten days after Cabral's death there was considerable military activity including attacks against fortified posts, and the defense of liberated villages. Of the more important were attacks at the urban center of Mansoa in the north, and Cacine and Gantongo in the South. Military action was also increased in the Kinara region to the south of Bissau where coordinated attacks and heavy artillery barrages were focused on enemy targets. At the close of the month two armored cars were destroyed near the fortified post of Kebo. These actions reminded the Portuguese that the war was only intensified by their cowardly murder.

In the first week of February attacks by local militia and artillery units were concentrated on the Cubucare region in the South Front. In order to relieve the pressure on the post, the Portuguese sent in a team of marines, but a PAIGC self-defense unit beat them back and killed 11 and wounded many others. The Cubucare area had been liberated early in the war and continues to be under PAIGC control despite efforts of the Portuguese to regain it. In April of 1972 a team from the United Nations visited this area during a period of some of the most savage Portuguese bombing in the entire war.

In this same period there was also a very heavy PAIGC bombardment against Farim to the North. This bombardment was reported to have caused death and destruction to military installations. Farim is particularly important since it is the third largest city in Guinea and because of its central location as the base for a large contingent of Portuguese soldiers. Another urban and military center, Mansoa was also attacked as well as the fortified posts at Empada, Fulacunda, Cambadju,

(Photo PAIGC)



Camadjaba, and Suzana.

In addition to the attacks on posts there were two significant ambushes. The first in the North Front took place as the enemy was moving south from Mansoa; five were killed and the rest were saved when two helicopters arrived to give them support. The other ambush took place as the enemy left their base and tried to invade a liberated village. The armed population defended the territory and later two helicopters and two jets came to the aid of the Portuguese to carry away dead, wounded, and frightened soldiers. In the second week of February a number of harrassing actions took place. In the third week the enemy staged a helicopter invasion of a liberated village called Ponta Nova. They burned the houses after having bombed the area with jets before landing. The inhabitants had fled into the forest and avoided injury. They attempted a second invasion of the Cubucare region but were driven back by units of the armed militia. In various actions of the month at least 82 enemy soldiers were killed, two UNIMOG trucks were destroyed, a light machine gun and three 60mm mortars were captured as well as many grenades and munitions.

The month of March began in much the same way as February with PAIGC bombardments of Portuguese posts. Such bombardments, harassing actions, and ambushes were tried out all over the country. During the course of the month at least 69 enemy soldiers were killed and six GMC military trucks, three Berliet trucks, two other trucks, a Jeep, and two tractors were destroyed by PAIGC forces; some weapons, munitions, and material were captured. However the month saw a sharp change in the character of the war. In the evening of March 23 the PAIGC anti-aircraft units operating west of Farim in the north shot down two NATO-type FIAT-G-91 fighter-bomber aircraft made in West Germany. This weapon has been one of the most terrible components of the Portuguese arsenal and with its explosive bombs and napalm has caused much loss of life among the population of Guinea-Bissau. Then less than 48 hours later, two more planes were also brought down. One of the planes was another FIAT G-91 and the other was a T-6 Texan-Harvard. These planes were downed near Guiledje at the Southern Frontier. On the same day, March 25, artillery bombardment took place by PAIGC units at Guidage in the North. Then only three days later, on March 28, another FIAT G-91 was shot down, this time near Madina Boe in the South east. In a period of five days the Portuguese had lost five aircraft; thus PAIGC changed the nature of the war and first challenged the Portuguese for control of the air.

April of 1973 was a month like March. Throughout April there were numerous ambushes, bombardments of fortified posts, and other ground actions in the defense of liberated villages. At least 64 Portuguese soldiers were killed during the month and four heavy military trucks were destroyed. As well, a 60 mm mortar, automatic rifles, munitions, and material were captured.

However, on April 6 the Portuguese were given one of the most stunning blows in the war. The fortified post at Guidaje in the North Front near the Senegalese border had been under attack for a long period and air support was called to bring in supplies, take away dead and wounded, and try to bomb suspected PAIGC positions. The planes flew in from Bissau and were met with an anti-aircraft barrage from PAIGC guns. Three Dornier DO-27 aircraft were shot down in addition to two fighter-bombers of the Harvard T-6 type. Lt. Col. Almeida



A unit of the PAIGC armed forces (Photo R. Lobban)

Brito, a Portuguese Air Force Commander who had seen service in terror bombing elsewhere in Africa was killed in one of the crashes. The Portuguese blamed the loss in planes on "mechanical malfunctions" and "rockets fired from outside the frontier."

Finally at the close of the month, on April 28, the Portuguese lost their 11th and 12th planes. The two FIAT G-91 fighter-bombers were shot down in the Cubucare sector in the South Front.

The month of May saw heavy ground actions in which at least 30 vehicles were destroyed along with two armoured cars, three boats and two Jeeps. A quantity of lighter arms and munitions were also captured. A wide variety of actions took place including numerous ambushes, several defensive actions, and heavy PAIGC artillery bombardment of the major cities of Catio and Bula. The smaller posts of Guidage, Binta, and Tite were attacked several times each. During this month of major offensive actions at least several hundred Portuguese soldiers were killed. On May 19th two more NATO-type, Fiat G-91 fighter-bomber jets were shot down making the 13th and 14th planes lost since March 23, 1973.

Without question the most significant event of the month, and perhaps for the year to date was the fall of the Portuguese post at Guiledge. It will be recalled that on March 25 two planes were shot down while seeking to support the besieged base. Then on May 12 in the same area eight Portuguese soldiers were killed when they entered a mine field laid by Regular Army Forces of PAIGC. Finally on May 18 a column of Portuguese infantry was virtually wiped out on an early morning patrol about a mile from their base. These serious attacks with loss of life and material were very demoralizing to the remaining soldiers and officers at the Guiledge base. Moreover the base was permanently surrounded with continuous harrassing attacks throughout the month. At last, in "Operation Amilcar Cabral" the base fell on the 25th of May. The two companies of Portuguese infantry fled south to Gadamael which also was heavily attacked on the 28th of May.

An impressive array of military equipment was recovered at Guiledge. Included were two 155mm cannons with several dozen shells, four mortars of various sizes, heavy machine guns, bazookas, machine pistols, and 47 NATO-type G-3 automatic rifles. Also captured and in good condition were three armoured cars, four Berliet trucks, one Unimog truck, and a military Jeep. Food and

important military documents were also abandoned by the Portuguese in their haste to flee to Gadamael.

The fall of Guiledge is significant in many ways beyond the captured weapons and military material. Guiledge sought to guard the "Guiledge Corridor" which provided access to the South Front for PAIGC soldiers. While the base was not performing this role very well, the PAIGC can now have more mobility in the area and has already been able to use some of the Portuguese vehicles and their own to provide heavy transport to areas which could only be reached by foot before. Also significant is that Guiledge is the second post of such a size to fall to the attacks of the freedom fighters.

On the second and seventh of June two more Fiat G-91's crashed to the earth in the zone around Gadamael which was coming under heavier and heavier attack. Later the Portuguese tried to strike back to break the intense siege at Gadamael and revenge their losses; in so doing

they lost two additional planes on the tenth and eleventh of June bringing their losses in aircraft to eighteen. Although this report is complete only to the middle of June already at least 81 enemy soldiers had been killed in that month, six additional trucks were destroyed and arms and munitions captured.

With this information we can now answer the question set out at the beginning. Has the assassination conspiracy thrown the movement into disorganization? Clearly the answer is a resounding "NO." Not only were regular ground actions continued but a major offensive took place during May. The Portuguese are being severely challenged for the control of the air with the loss of eighteen aircraft. The significant fall of Gadamael has provided the PAIGC with a psychological and military victory of unusual proportions. (from personal observations by Richard Lobban and from PAIGC war communiques for the first six months of 1973)



Captured Armoured Car — Guiledge

(Photo PAIGC)

SOUTH AFRICA

CONVICTIONS IN TERRORISM TRIAL

Four Africans were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment under South Africa's notorious Terrorism Act. As the men walked to their cells at the end of the trial they raised clenched fists in salute. Tlou Theophilus Cholo, Maquina Justice Mpanza, Petrus Aron Mtambu, and Gardener Sandi Sijaka were found guilty of having conspired with the African National Congress to incite violent revolution in South Africa.

Also convicted in the trial were Alexandre Mounbaris, an Australian citizen and John Hosey, an Irish citizen. Mounbaris was found to be an active supporter of the ANC. He received a 12 year sentence. Hosey was given the minimum sentence allowed under the Terrorism Act, five years. There was no evidence that he had "conspired with the ANC." His role in the alleged plot was to deliver money and forged pass books to the Africans.

According to the judge, the recruiting of the four Africans by the ANC had been easy as the Africans believed they had reasons for grievances against South Africa. Their actions amounted to treason.

(For background on this trial see SOUTHERN AFRICA, May, 1973)

(*London Times*, June 16, 1973, *Star*, June 23, 1973).

PROBLEMS OF URBAN COLOURED

"If people are forced to live like animals, they will behave like animals." This statement by a Coloured leader in Johannesburg, Mr. Albertus Pop, reflects the conditions that face his people in the Transvaal. The townships where Coloureds are forced to live have unpaved streets with very few street lights. The houses are built of cardboard and iron sheeting. Many families live in shacks of tin and rags; some even live in abandoned cars. For others who enjoy better facilities, rising rents are becoming an intolerable problem. Some Coloureds who have been moved from "White areas" are having to pay double of what they paid before. Complaints about the rents will not be investigated because, according to the town clerk in Randfontein, the rents are "provisional."

Gang violence is sweeping some of these Coloured townships. People are robbed and raped in broad daylight and onlookers are afraid to interfere. Victims refuse to lay charges, again out of fear. Much of the violence is against property, with gangs wrecking houses, breaking up furniture, but there is also an alarming number of murders and beatings.

The conditions are not limited to the Transvaal where the Coloured are a more marginal group than they are in the Cape. Even there the problem is critical. Community leaders are organizing to try to solve the problem with obvious lack of support from those in authority. The Cape Town Town Council is accused of doing nothing about the problem. A member of the Council was invited to a meeting to discuss the issue and failed to attend. Residents complain that the police do not respond to calls for help. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, May 30, 1973, June 7, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 7, 1973; *Cape Times*, May 28, 1973).

COLOURED POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

While the future of the Coloured population of South Africa continues to be debated and a source of disagreement, recent events indicate that the Government intends to postpone as long as possible even minimal transfer of power to Coloured institutions within the apartheid system. The Coloured Representative Council is the key body for Coloured representation. Not until 1979 will the CRC be a fully elected body. For six more years the Government will be able to repeat its performance of 1969, ensuring that a party which supports it has a majority in the CRC regardless of what the majority of Coloureds want. (In 1969 the anti-apartheid Labour Party won 26 out of 40 elected seats in the council. The Federal Party which supports the government won only 11 seats but became the majority party in the CRC when the Government packed the council with 20 nominated members).

The Federal Party is planning for the future. It hopes to bring about a merger of three Coloured Parties, the Federal, the National Coloured People's Party, and the



Republican Party. The last two each hold one seat in the Council. This merger is intended to strengthen the anti-Labour Party forces, preventing a Labour victory in the future.

The two key administrative positions over Coloured affairs have recently been vacated. There were rumors that each would be filled by a Coloured person, and the United and Progressive Parties called for such a move on the part of the Government to prove that its rhetoric about self-government had meaning.

Instead, both positions have been filled by white men. The new Commissioner of Coloured Affairs is J. de la Rey de Kock, who has been Deputy Secretary of the Department of Coloured Relations since 1969. The new Secretary for Coloured Relations is J.H.T. Mills, a senior civil servant who has been with the Department of Bantu Administration since 1938.

Over the years there has been continual debate as to whether the Coloureds were really "brown Afrikaners" and thus had a place in "white" politics, or whether they were a separate group, on the "black" side of the racial

divide. The language of the Coloureds has been Afrikaans, and some Afrikaners have always argued that culturally and historically there are strong links between themselves and the Coloureds. This view would include Coloureds in white political institutions, augmenting the small numbers of Whites in South Africa.

More and more however, the Coloureds themselves are rejecting this position, clearly identifying themselves as Black, along with the Africans and Indians. Afrikaans as a language is also being rejected by more and more as the language of the oppressor.

The political discussion takes place at the same time that separation is strictly enforced, causing incredible suffering. One story will illustrate what is the fate of thousands. An East London Coloured man, Mr. Hutchinson Maholwana, has decided to hire his daughter as a housekeeper. It is the only way that he can keep her with him, because the Government has classified her as an African, making it illegal for them to share the same household. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 2, 9, 16, July 7, 1973; *Cape Times*, June 5, 1973)



Transit camp where Coloureds await relocation from "white areas"

SMITH-VORSTER MEETING

Rhodesia's Prime minister Ian Smith spent a two week holiday in South Africa, ending it with a visit with Vorster, Prime minister of South Africa, at his Groote Schuur residence. There has been much political and diplomatic speculation about the visit, which is officially described as a "courtesy" visit. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 9, 1973)

STATISTICS ON URBAN AFRICANS RELEASED

Responding to questions by United Party and Progressive Party members, the Nationalist government has released the following information about Africans in the urban areas. In the Municipality of Johannesburg a total of 548,381 Africans are living "on a family basis" and 160,485 live in hostels and compounds without families.

A total of 2,430,573 workers registered with local labour bureaus during 1972, while 520,712 registered with district labour bureaus. During 1972, 120,372 Africans from neighboring countries ("foreign bantu" in the jargon of South Africa) registered with local and district bureaus.

Among the South Africans who registered, the most important work categories were: manufacturing, 569,558; domestic servants, 561,798; construction, 271,647; wholesale and retail trade, 214,581; Government departments, 130,524; and local authorities, 119,133. Of those registering with district labour bureaus, by far the largest proportion work in agriculture; 312,906 out of a total of 520,712. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 2, 1973).

The Government claims to be working to "ease the burdens of urban Africans." Punt Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, said in an interview that urgent efforts would be made. Nevertheless, Africans continue to be barred from serving on the Bantu Administration Boards that have authority over them, and conditions continue to be grim in many urban hostels.

In the Alexandra Hostels, the rooms in which people live are unheated. Agitation only won heat for the public rooms. Many men have to spend most of their time in the beer halls because their rooms are too cold to sit in.

Lack of heat is one of many complaints. Residents of the hostel resent the presence of municipal police who stand at the gates of the hostels and check that every visitor has legitimate business there. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, May 22, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 7, 1973).



African workers "living" quarters

NATIONALISTS CELEBRATE 4th of JULY

Breaking with the tradition established by Dr. Verwoerd, white South African officials attended the reception given by the United States ambassador in Pretoria to celebrate the Fourth of July. Verwoerd banned attendance at such functions in 1964 because Blacks were invited, and it was against the "traditions and customs" of South Africa for Black and White to mix socially. The official South African representative was Mr.

Brand Fourie, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who came with three of his under-secretaries. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 7, 1973)

AFRIKANER NATIONALISTS—POWER FOR 25 YEARS

The Nationalists came to power in 1948 with a minority of the popular white vote. Because of the party system in South Africa, Dr. Malan's Nationalists had a one seat majority in the Senate and a five seat majority in the Assembly. In order to consolidate his position, Malan began a process of disenfranchising those who could be counted on to vote against his party, and bringing into Parliament sure supporters. The most important act to increase his majority was to add the white voters of South West Africa to the general electoral roll, giving them six seats in the Assembly. He took away the right of Indians to elect three white MP's, a right the Indians had refused to exercise because of its inferior nature. And he began the process of disenfranchising male Coloureds, who had the right to vote in the Cape and Natal. That process was finally completed in 1967.

Malan also cut down drastically on the flow of white immigrants because he feared that they would be inclined to vote for the opposition party. He also made citizenship much more difficult to achieve. Thus by legal and extra-legal means, the Nationalists fixed themselves in power.

Throughout the twenty-five years of their rule, South Africa has enjoyed exceptional economic growth. Since it is a small minority of the population that benefits from this growth, the four million Whites have enjoyed an exceedingly comfortable standard of living. While there is much debate about the flexibility, or lack of it, in the Nationalist Government, one thing is clear. The Nationalists will not risk economic disaster for ideological racist reasons. They will preserve the prosperity of the Whites, as this is the key to their continued power. (*The Sun*, June 25, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 26, 1973)

Dr. D.F. Malan, first Nationalist Prime Minister: "The white race must live here as a white race and maintain themselves as such, whatever the cost, or they must die here in dishonour or in honour. They choose the latter."

Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd: "Anyone who uses his intelligence will see that it is absolutely wrong to accuse us of giving too much to the Bantu at the cost of the Whites." (1966—the year he was assassinated by a man who made that very claim)

Mr. Ben Schoeman, 1966: "The man or woman who does not vote tomorrow and who does not vote for the National Party will be committing treason against South Africa."

Dr. Diederichs, 1970: "We are the most important group of Whites—small as we are—in the whole world. Faced as we are by millions of non-Whites in Africa, we have been chosen to maintain white civilization in this dark southernmost point of Africa."

Dr. Malan, 1948: "The fate of our children, and their descendants, and possibly our own generation is in our hands. If things go on as they do now, what will become of the European race's mastery, its civilization, and its purity?"

Dr. Albert Hertzog, 1961: "The Black man is not interested in the vote because it is alien to him."

The *Rand Daily Mail*, which printed all the above

quotations also published the views of critics. A good summary of Nationalist rule was given by Jean Sinclair, President of the Black Sash:

"The concentration of power in the hands of the executive, the diminishing independence of the judiciary and the consequent violation of individual liberty have been the theme of 25 years of Nationalist rule.

"The black people, who comprise the majority of the population are oppressed, have no political power in general government, no rights whatsoever in white South Africa and only restricted rights in the homelands.

"All of us have lost the right of free expression. The Press to an increasing degree is censored, as are publications and entertainments.

"The Black people are controlled and harassed from birth to death. We have neither separate nor corporate freedom. We have no freedom." (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 26, 1973)



churches

SA MEMBER CHURCHES WILL ATTEND WCC MEETING

An 11-member delegation will represent South Africa's member Churches at the August meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

John Rees, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, announced that the Churches decided to send representatives to the Central Committee meeting when a proposed visit to South Africa by a WCC delegation was cancelled due to preconditions that had been set by Prime Minister B.J. Vorster.

The South African Churches have been trying to arrange a meeting with WCC executives to discuss the controversial anti-racism grants that the World Council has made to some anti-apartheid groups that allegedly have used terrorism in South Africa. (Religious News Service, June 19, 1973)

MULTIRACIAL SOCCER GAMES BANNED INSIDE SA

In trying to present a picture of multi-racial sports practices to the rest of the world, while at the same time upholding the Government's policies of apartheid, the South African Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet Koornhof has shown that nothing has really changed.

The limits of the recent relaxing of apartheid structures in sport during the South African Games (See *Southern Africa*, May, 1973) were evidenced when Dr. Koornhof ordered a halt to a series of soccer games played between black and white sports clubs at the town of Newcastle in northern Natal.

Dr. Koornhof's reason for banning the matches was that they were clearly contrary to government policy, which permits sports competitions between Blacks and Whites on an international level, but not on a club, provincial, or national level.

The recent South African games were carefully called "multi-national" to divert international attention from demands for an elimination of racial discrimination, even though many of the matches were between black and white teams from inside South Africa. As pointed out by an editorial in the *Rand Daily Mail* (May 28, 1973), "The trouble with present Government policy is that it is trying to go just far enough with window-dressing to placate world opinion while still trying to enforce Apartheid internally."

The mayor of Newcastle was quoted as saying that he was "not upset" to hear about the multi-racial soccer games, and that he could not see anything wrong with them in view of the fact that similar matches had been played during the games in Pretoria. But the games have been stopped because according to Nationalist MP, Dr. P. J. Viljoen "(they) are contrary to the group areas act and (do) not comply with the expressed sports policy of the Government."

(*Star*, Johannesburg, June 2, 1973; *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, June 2, 1973; *Times*, London, May 30, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, May 28, 1973)

MULTIRACIAL CRICKET CONTROVERSY

Cricket joined soccer in becoming an issue in the South African Government's juggling act. The controversy over cricket centered around the formation of a multi-racial cricket club in Maritzburg, Natal. The Aurora Club was set up in mid-June by a group of leading black and white players and an application to the Maritzburg Cricket Union was made two weeks later. Neville Markham, Union president, said that the Union would have to discuss the application very carefully as there were many legal and practical implications which required careful decisions.

Earlier the Union had referred the matter to the National Cricket Association for a decision, but the Association decided that the application was a domestic affair of the Union. Mr. Mike Hickson, acting secretary of the Aurora Club, welcomed the Association's decision agreeing that "the National Cricket Association has nothing to do with it because our application is purely a domestic affair."

NFL BOYCOTT URGED

On June 3 a boycott of National Football (soccer) League matches was called at a meeting sponsored by Sentinel, a group which is working towards the elimination of racialism in sport. Blacks were urged to boycott games played in Durban and Maritzburg by the NFL, a white sports organization.

Blacks were also asked to boycott products made by well-known firms unless these firms make contributions to black sport which are equal to the money they have contributed to white sport. A report published by the 1972 conference of national non-racial sports organizations, revealed that whereas \$3,446,977 had been spent on all white sports organizations, non-racial sports organizations only received \$135,859, a ratio of more than 25:1.

Speakers at the Sentinel meeting included Ela Ramgobin whose husband, a former leader of the Natal Indian Congress was banned; Tim Dunne, president of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Natal, Maritzburg; and Norman Middleton, president of the non racial South African Soccer Federation. Mr. Dunne commented that South Africa's sports system was a logical extension of apartheid practices. He said, "sport can and has been used as a political lever."

(Cape Times, Cape Town, June 4, 1973; The World, Johannesburg, Sept. 14, 1972)

SASF TO APPLY FOR AFFILIATION TO FIFA

The president of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation, Mr. Norman Middleton announced that the federation was going to apply at Munich next year for direct affiliation to the world football body, FIFA.

Mr. Middleton explained that the SASF had decided on the move because all moves towards dialogue with the white Football Association had ended in deadlock. "When we last met in March, 1973, FASA did not want to discuss anything with us until we had affiliated to them... but we were not interested. All we want to do is play football as it should be played, according to the rules of the world body."

The federation had applied to the world body last year in Paris, but were told that their application was late. "They have never rejected our application, therefore we are going to send it early for next year's meeting," said Mr. Middleton.

(Star, Johannesburg, June 2, 1973)

TENNIS SETBACKS

In July, 1972 the Davis Cup Committee lifted the ban on South African participation in the 1973 competition because of what it called, "the advances made in integrating tennis." That decision was widely criticized both inside South Africa and abroad, and the committee was forced to have South Africa compete in the South American zone rather than in the European Zone where it had participated before its banning, in order to prevent possible disruption of the games.

This year South Africa was again accepted for competition in the South American zone. The decision was announced by Mr. Walter Elcock, President of the US Lawn Tennis Association, and President of the Special Committee of Davis Cup Nations.

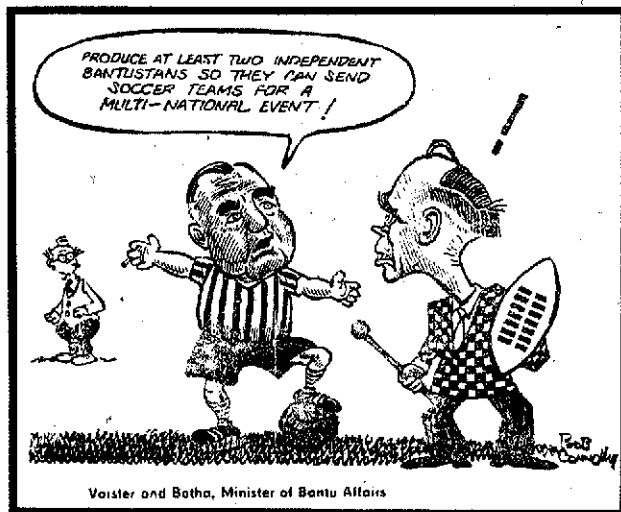
The USSR and India voted against accepting South Africa.

Another setback in the fight against apartheid in sport was the election of Professor Broms of Finland to the Special Committee, representing the European Zone. Professor Broms was a strong supporter of South Africa's entry into the Davis Cup competitions last year, and will probably push continued participation of South Africa in the future.

The Special Committee now consists of members from the US, Australia, Britain, France, India, Argentina, and Finland.

The USSR member of the Special Committee who voted against South Africa's entry was not re-elected.

(Star, Johannesburg, July 7, 1973; Southern Africa, August-September, 1972)



SA REACTS TO BANNING BY NEW ZEALAND

Although the Star (Johannesburg) had hoped that the New Zealand Springbok tour had been "deferred" rather than cancelled, (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, June-July '73) Prime Minister Kirk of New Zealand has made it clear that the latter term is the correct one. If South Africa wants to participate in future games, its teams will have to be chosen on the basis of merit from all races. In a Sunday Times (London) interview, Mr. Kirk said, "We have made it quite clear that when there is a genuine basis of merit selection we will accept South African teams."

Mr. Kirk went on to say that his government would not stop teams from New Zealand from participating in sports events in South Africa but that he hoped that "good sense" would influence their decisions. Although "their freedom to travel is not in question" Mr. Kirk said, "they must be aware that if they participate in segregated sports events they will have neither the approval of the New Zealand government nor its support."

However, 24 hours before Mr. Kirk made his comments, Dr. Piet Koornhof, the South African minister of sport, announced to the Parliament that while mixed sporting teams will be allowed to represent South Africa abroad, *no* (my emphasis) mixed trials will be allowed to be held inside the country "now or in the near future."

The confused logic of these statements manifests clearly the inherent racism of the sports policy, for how can teams be selected on the basis of merit from all races if only white teams are allowed to participate in the trials?

In the South African assembly Mr. Jon Thompson (United Party) condemned Kirk for having cancelled the tour, but said that the responsibility for the cancellation rested with Prime Minister Vorster "who was guilty of interference in sport. He made himself guilty of it when he refused to allow a team to be picked on merit." Mr. Thompson pointed out that, "The Prime Minister said as far back as August that the policy would not change now or in the future. These were very brave and very stupid words."

Meanwhile preparations for the games continued with African countries planning to participate now that South Africa has been excluded.

(*Times of Zambia*, May 28, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 26 and June 2, 1973; *Ethiopian Herald*, Addis Ababa, May 16, 1973)

APARTHEID ON TOUR IN EUROPE

Not only has South Africa failed to present itself as being open to multi-racial sports activities at home, but it has also not been able to hide signs of racist practices abroad during a recent sports tour in Europe.

Members of the tour voiced numerous complaints concerning tour manager Bert Geyser's treatment of the two black athletes who were members of the touring group. Springbok hurdler, Jan Holtzhausen was quoted in *Die Burger* (Afrikaans language newspaper) as saying, "We were very unhappy about Mr. Geyser's attitude towards the Bantu in the tour group. The Bantu were regularly asked to carry the bags and the manager always tried to get them separate hotel room bookings." Another tour member stated that Geyser had insisted on moving one white tour member who was to share a room with the two black members in Innsbruck. Members of the team intended to lodge their complaints with the South African Athletes Union upon their return.

(*Star*, Johannesburg, June 23, 1973; *Guardian*, London, June 20, 1973)

ROWING TEAM AND CYCLIST BANNED

The USSR rowing team arrived in England on June 27 for the first Nottingham International Regatta. There was some question as to whether they would be arriving at all, as they had threatened to withdraw unless the South African team was banned from the event. It therefore was banned.

Mr. Samsanov Eugenii, coach of the USSR team commented, "It was the International Olympic Committee that decided that South Africa should not take part in the Olympic Games because of their apartheid policies. Their decision applies to any national sporting federation, and we are just carrying it out like good sportsmen."

There was a somewhat different reaction in Denmark when a South African cyclist was removed from the Grand Prix race in Aarhus, Jutland. Several Danish cyclists protested the banning and were threatened with "quarantine" for approving competition with a South African. (*Times*, London, June 28, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 30, 1973)

WALL STREET JOURNAL SEES CHANGE

Ray Vicker, the *Wall Street Journal's* chief European correspondent, has once again seen "Signs of Change" during a visit to South Africa. Vicker quotes Tswana leader Mangope, Ian Hetherington, head of Norton, Anglo American's Oppenheimer, and Carlton Hotel personnel officer Victor Nikani to illustrate his thesis. But, in the end, he expresses a cautious conclusion: "In fact, the best hope for Blacks may be to have considerably more, not less foreign investment pouring into South Africa, creating jobs for Blacks which may increase their affluence. . . . Truly, there is some movement on the route to black progress in South Africa, even though its pace may not please critics of the country." (July 13, 1973)

INFLATION RATE SOARS

South Africa's inflation rate is now about 10 to 13% annually, and prices are expected to rise even more. Food prices are rising even faster, about 18% annually. The rise in cost of living is faster than in most European countries and more than twice that rate of increase in the US.

The inflation rate has seriously reduced the impact of the widely-publicized pay increases for black workers in many industries. Because food is the largest item in a poor families budget, the increase has hit African, Coloured, and Asian families particularly hard. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 21 and May 26, 1973)

GE BRAGS

GENERAL ELECTRIC INVESTOR, in its Summer 1973 issue, describes implementation of the company's "equal opportunity" policies in South African General Electric (Pty.) Limited [SAGE]. According to the article, two GE vice-presidents have visited South Africa within the past year. Edward E. Hood, Jr., Vice-president for international operations, noted many signs of change in the country and concluded, "that the continued presence and example of South African General Electric is a positive and constructive force."

As of June, 1973, SAGE claims that none of its employees—"not even the most unskilled newcomer"—is paid less than \$100 per month, which is higher than the \$93 Poverty Datum Line suggested by the US Department of State. Pay increases for black workers have totalled 52% in the past three years, while wages for Whites have gone up by only 33%.

Over half of SAGE's black work force is still unskilled, and there are no detailed wage figures to show the disparities between different job classifications. But, the information presented reveals that recent campaigns have caused substantial improvement in black worker's wages and employment conditions.

In other areas, SAGE's activities continue as always. The company has just finished delivery of 125 diesel-electric locomotives for the government agency. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 23, 1973)

MINERS WAGES HIGHER, BLACKS MOVE UP

A recent agreement between the all-white Mine-worker's Union and the South African gold-producing companies resulted in higher pay for the miners in return for greater job advancement opportunities for black workers. White miners have traditionally opposed all increases in skill level of jobs performed by Africans. The recent concessions merely formalize practices that have quietly been observed for years, the performance of certain artisan tasks by Blacks under white supervision. It is expected to bring further advances in the "undercover" promotion of Africans to even higher skilled positions.

According to press reports, the companies greatly increased their original pay offer to obtain the concessions. New pay increases average 20-25 per cent. African workers received a 50 per cent raise a few months ago. The average white miner's wage is now about \$730 per month, compared with about \$75 per month for Africans. (*Guardian*, UK, June 8; *Star*, July 7; *Washington Post*, July 15; *Wall Street Journal*, NY, July 24, 1973)



Mine workers in South Africa

MINING MANEUVERS

Palabora Mining Company, owned by Rio Tinto Zinc (Britain) and Newmont Mining Corporation (US), has disassociated itself from some of the conclusions reached by a panel it commissioned to study labor practices. The group's report found that the company "had made no real attempt to eliminate racial discrimination to upgrade black workers or to provide them with training." (*Daily News*, Tanzania, June 22)

The panel of South Africans who issued the report was headed by Christian Institute Director Beyers Naude and included Kwazulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi and Professor H.W.E. Ntsanwisi, leader of Gazakulu in northeastern Transvaal, where most of Palabora's workers live. It was appointed by Palabora as part of an attempt by the company to build an image of itself as a progressive leader in racial policies in South Africa.

Palabora's policies prior to 1973 came under particular criticism from the panel. Although its treatment of black workers is still seen as inadequate, the company at that time instituted reforms, one of which included selection of the study panel.

Although the company denies the effect of outside pressure in prodding it towards its new public-relations conscious stance, press accounts say the panel credited

these pressures with a major role in the policy changes. One portion of the report—which was withdrawn before final publication—cited as one such incident the withdrawal of a German firm from Rio Tinto Zinc's uranium venture in Namibia, after the firm was pressured by the West German government. There was no reason given for the withdrawal, but speculation is that the pull-out was related to Namibia's political situation, and the criticism encountered by firms who operate there. The panel also praised press interest in corporate performance in South Africa for playing "a very significant role both inside and outside South Africa in the initiation and propagation of criticism." (*Guardian*, London, May 22)

Until March of this year, most of Palabora's African workers were paid below the panel's estimate of the poverty datum line in the area (about \$100). After March pay increases, more than half were still below the minimum level. Since another increase in April, about 33 per cent of the labor force is paid less than \$100 monthly, not including overtime pay. (*Guardian*, May 22 and June 13) The lowest pay at Palabora is \$73 (R52); average pay in Group II, which includes 1184 of the company's 2274 African daily paid workers, is about \$120 (R71.88).

Palabora's two principle owners, Rio Tinto Zinc and Newmont Mining, have been the object of protest for other aspects of their Southern African investments. RTZ's Rossing Uranium Mine in Namibia represents the largest and most important new mining undertaking in that disputed area. The investment of capital and expertise contribute to Africa's ability to violate international law by continuing to occupy the territory. Newmont's Namibian investment is represented by the Tsumeb Corporation which it manages, and of which it owns 35 per cent.

In 1972, RTZ received 23 per cent of its profits from Palabora, although it accounted for only 7 per cent of RTZ's invested capital. About 20 per cent of Newmont's net income came from Palabora, although the Palabora investment, for only 2.4 per cent of Newmont's assets.

STRIKE AT INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER

An International Harvester plant in Pietermaritzburg was the scene of a five-day strike by 112 black workers during May. Local management officials dismissed it as a misunderstanding, while a US spokesman pointed to a world-wide corporate policy of paying at or above the poverty level. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 22, 1973 and *Star*, Johannesburg, May 26) According to press reports, the minimum wage at the plant is about \$26 a week, although workers just beginning make only \$20. The higher figure is slightly higher than the poverty datum line computed by the South African Institute of Race Relations for Durban, a city 48 miles west of Maritzburg. A family living at that level is barely able to maintain existence over a short period and therefore is still very poor.

US CORPS TO CONVERT SA CARS

Corning Glass has been contracted by Chrysler to supply 60 per cent of its South African requirements for catalytic convertor systems. The emission control devices will be installed on the 1975-76 models. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 30, 1973)

AFRICANS SUPPORT ECONOMIC DISENGAGEMENT FROM SA

As the pressure of public exposure has grown against the complicity of US corporations deeply involved in the white-minority ruled countries of southern Africa, a fair number of companies have seen the need to develop some form of rationale in order to justify their initial investment, continued presence, and then on-going expansion under the respective systems of apartheid and Portuguese colonialism, or in violation of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia.

The corporate response to the public has been to invert the obvious, contending that US companies are really acting as catalysts for peaceful and constructive change of the racist systems in southern Africa. Some have even quoted various persons purporting to support their position. Yet many persons close to the issue are hardly convinced by this claim.

What follows is an attempt to set forth significant quotes on the question of US business in southern Africa by prominent southern African peoples themselves. In the future SOUTHERN AFRICA will publish statements by non-Africans supportive of US disengagement.

"The apartheid government grows stronger by the day because of its solvency, which it gets from foreign investors. If the government had an economic shock, things might begin to change. . . ."—Mrs. Fatima Meer, an Indian sociologist expressing the position adopted by the Indian Congress of south Africa, January, 1973.

"Our call for disengagement of foreign investment is supported by a large number of organizations and movements who are against those who advocate violence as the only solution to gain political and social freedom for the millions of oppressed and underprivileged people in South Africa."—Sonny Leon, leader of the Coloured Labour Party, December, 1972.

"The events of the past week have shown how

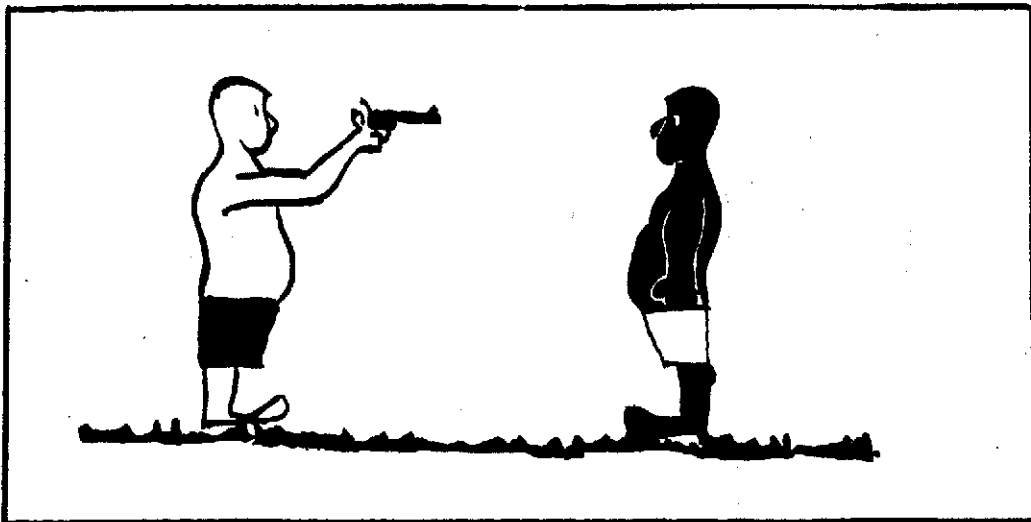
necessary it is to eradicate apartheid before apartheid eradicates South Africa. We ask for your support in campaigning for an end to discriminatory practices by foreign firms in South Africa, or withdraw from the South African economy if they are not prepared to cease these."—Mr. Paul Pretorius, President, National Union of South African Students following the massive demonstrations of over 10,000 South African students and clergy in June, 1972.

"SASO sees foreign investment as giving stability to South Africa's exploitative regime and committing South Africa's trading partners to supporting this regime. For this reason SASO rejects foreign investments.

Further SASO sees the ameliorative experiments like those of Polaroid as at worst, conscience salving and at best, resulting in the creation of a change-resistant middle class amongst the few black employed by foreign firms."—1972 statement of policy of the South African Student Organization.

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of blood, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already, our children are often undernourished, and, on a small scale (so far), we die at the whim of a policeman."—The late Chief Albert J. Luthuli, Nobel Prize winner and president of the African National Congress.

"The Africans accept sanctions as a price for their freedom and declare as our enemy any person who claims on our behalf that sanctions should be withdrawn to alleviate African suffering through lack of employment. The African National Council calls upon the Security Council and all States which support the cause of human freedom to intensify sanctions."—Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa, President, the African National Council of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), speaking before the Security Council, January, 1972.



'COLONIALISM'

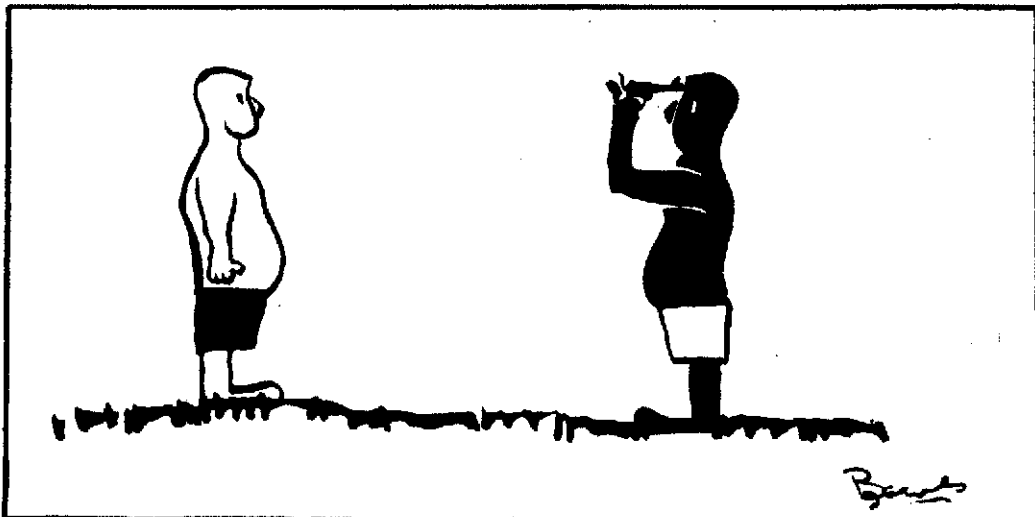
"The students and the people of Angola feel that Gulf's exploitation of oil in a colonized and oppressed Angola, is a contribution to the Portuguese colonialism in Angola. Gulf's actions in Angola are a clear indication that its relationship with a future Republic of Angola is in complete jeopardy. The students and the people of Angola request that Gulf removes all its investments from Angola, so as to facilitate the decolonization process and finally, the establishment of good and genuine trade relations between free Angolans and the Corporation."— Mr. Abel Guimares, Representative of the Angolan Student Union in the U.S.A. speaking before the Gulf annual stockholders meeting, 1971.

"Disengagement from these territories (Angola and Mozambique) will no doubt mean financial loss to Gulf, but it will at least provide it with moral leadership and set a valuable precedent for social responsibility among other corporations. This leadership will put Gulf in a position of strength especially at this time when African States are beginning to pose incompatible alternatives: either investment in Southern Africa or in independent Africa or in other progressive States, NOT IN BOTH."—Statement of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity at the United Nations on Gulf.

"All investments are a direct contribution to the colonial war. I understand how Gulf can say that investment brings progress. Some even say that after independence Africans will have the fruits of this investment. But this progress is not real for the African population. The increased economic interests of Western countries will bring about a need to defend these interests.

To invest in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau is to delay our independence. We are against it.

At the United Nations we stated that we will consider any agreement between Portugal and these companies invalid. These investments are immoral acts against our people."—Marcelino dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO, speaking in N.Y., October, 1972.



'NEO-COLONIALISM'

FORD IS PROUD OF ITSELF

Ford Motor Company has also sent its shareholders information about its South African subsidiary. The company shows that there are currently 193 black employees in training programs along with 503 whites. Until 1970, no black workers were enrolled in any training programs!

Since 1962, the company has increased its labor force from 1402 (40 Africans, 952 Coloureds, 410 whites) to 4059 (385, 2717, and 957). As for equal opportunity, the report points out the problems: "Although Ford of South Africa applies the principle of paying the rate for the job without respect to race, African and Coloured employees predominantly occupy the unskilled and semiskilled jobs, and white employees are mostly in the semiskilled and skilled positions."

Ford's wage figures for the past decade show that the gap between white employees (who hold mostly supervisory and highly skilled positions) and black workers has *increased* at the company's Port Elizabeth plant. African pay has gone up 118%—but they make up only 9% of the workforce, and in 1962, all but six African employees were in the lowest grade job. Pay to Coloureds—two-thirds of Ford's employees—have risen slower than white wages (53% as compared with 69% for whites) and slower than the cost of living. (The Consumer Price Index, which is based on white family buying and understates costs for blacks, has risen nearly 50% since 1962 in Port Elizabeth). (*Ford and Public Concerns: A Special Informational Report to Stockholders*, April 27, 1973)

MOTOROLA WINS AWARD

Motorola South Africa has been awarded a \$5.7 million communications contract for the Sishen-Saldanha project of the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR). The contract was given the company in association with Motorola Corporation of Chicago, which owns 40% of the South African namesake. Most of the equipment involved will come from local sources, but Motorola US will supply some vital technical assistance and personnel.

The project will involve an all-microwave communications system along the 860-mile ore export line and will include teleprinters, train signals, and train data. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 2, 1973)

BRAZIL CABLE

An ITT subsidiary, Standard Telephones and Cables, is constructing a new telephone cable between South Africa and Brazil. It will link into the existing Cape Town-to-Lisbon cable, also built by STC, and provide Brazil with its first direct telephone connection with Europe. STC, which has a South African subsidiary with the same name, will receive more than \$26 million for manufacturing and installing the BRACAN-1 cable. (*South African Digest*, June 22, 1973)

THE BUG MOVES IN

Volkswagen South Africa, subsidiary of the giant German company, plans to open its new \$7 million distribution center in October. Located at Roodekop,

Transvaal, the facility will house the major parts outlet for the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal, as well as two technical training schools, a marketing training center, the government liaison department, regional headquarters, a data transmission unit, and a cafeteria. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 16, 1973)



what happens to
the people of the township
in cement cages
they've been placed
their love turns cold
in the fire of frustration
they turn upon each other

does anyone care
about the bodies
found at dawn
butcher's work in the dark
screams of pain fill
night air like stricken doves
caught in killer nets
and mothers weep softly
at deeds done by sons

the circle of fear
moves inwards
and slaughter spreads
where will it end
the maim and rape
of township people

James Mathews, South African poet, from a collection of poems entitled *Cry Rage*, 1972

The Portuguese Territories

ANGOLA

MPLA LISTS NAMES OF PORTUGUESE KILLED

The MPLA named 11 out of 12 Portuguese reported killed in an ambush on June 2, including places and dates of birth, ranks, and serial numbers. All were members of Special Detachment No. 10 which was on its way to Lumbala barracks in preparation for an offensive on MPLA.

MPLA also reported 15 Portuguese killed on May 16 near the Ngange River. The Portuguese had encircled an MPLA unit but the MPLA group broke away and counter-attacked, causing confusion until the enemy fled, activating two mines on the way.

Portugal, for its part, report 274 guerrillas killed in Angola during January through March of this year. (*Zambian Daily Mail*, May 29, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, May 29, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 26, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, June 16 and June 22, 1973)

PAULO JORGE INTERVIEWED

In December, of 1972, Paulo Jorge, information officer for the MPLA, was interviewed by Don Barnett of the Liberation Support Movement Information Center (Vancouver, Canada). Excerpts follow:

"In 1970 the MPLA began to develop a new phase of military activities—the transition from small guerrilla detachments and tactics dictated by the size of these units to larger units which we call *esquadros* or squadrons capable of employing the tactics of mobile warfare . . . the new methods of combat, new tactics, that we are able to employ with the 150-man squadrons were not possible with the small guerrilla detachments. Of course the greater number and more powerful and complex weapons requires a higher level of training and preparation by our guerrillas and cadres as well as much more sophistication in coordinating the action of the different sections within a squadron. Very important among the new tactics are those aimed at isolating and then destroying Portuguese military barracks. Means of communication are cut, roads, and bridges mined or destroyed, and ambushes prepared to prevent incoming supplies and reinforcements. Surprise attacks, sometimes small actions followed by very strong attacks, are carried out against the bases of support for the military barracks, and simultaneous actions are carried out so as to confuse and paralyze the enemy. Obviously this requires a high level of reconnaissance work, study, and planning. Based then on the larger squadrons, with their greater fire-power, mobility and level of preparation, we have been successfully developing the tactics of paralyzing the enemy forces, forcing them into relative passivity, then isolating enemy positions and, finally, carrying out heavy annihilation attacks.

Because of our success with these new units and tactics we were able, particularly up to April of this year, to exercise greater control over our liberated areas, extend them into new regions, and establish stronger relations



and contacts between our guerrilla forces and the civilian action committees in both villages and towns."

"... We have succeeded in making considerable progress in the area of logistics . . . First, we succeeded in getting more and better means of transport—trucks, river craft, etc. Thus it is now much easier for us to transport supplies to the border. Second, we reorganized and greatly improved our system of supplying the military fronts. Now we are developing a relay system, with one group carrying supplies up to a certain point and then transferring them to a second group which takes them to another point, and so on. In addition, we are beginning to employ other means of transport than just by head or back. As you know, supplies are heavy and the distances great."

"... the people in the various zones of the Eastern region were organized to work on large collective fields and from these 'people's plantations,' food was supplied to both the villagers and guerrillas. UNTA (the National Union of Angolan Workers) cadres were quite successful in instilling this spirit of collective work among the peasants and the results were very good. Unfortunately, the widespread use of chemical products by the Portuguese has destroyed almost everything that had been planted in large parts of the Third and Fourth regions. Of course, not all the people's plantations were destroyed. After the enemy began spraying herbicides, the UNTA comrades started to reorganize agricultural production. Instead of the large "plantations", small fields were prepared near the forest and more-or-less hidden to avoid detection and destruction by the Portuguese. And in fact this is the reason we can still maintain some of the people and guerrillas in the zones which suffered this criminal chemical attack by the Portuguese."

"... The people's stores are operating very well because the people have come to understand the aims and the benefits which they bring them. They can now exchange their agricultural products as well as honey, beeswax, hides, etc., for the other things they need, such as salt, soap, cooking oil, clothing, blankets, and so forth. And this exchange takes place without the use of money and in a way that is very fair for the people. For example, when a peasant brings in his maize or cassava to exchange for sugar, matches and so forth, he is sure to receive a just return for his labor . . . not as under the regime of the Portuguese merchant, where the escudos received for a hard-earned animal hide might be enough to purchase a small box of matches."

(Interviews in depth. MPLA. Angola. Paulo Jorge, by LSM, Box 94338, Richmond, B.C., Canada, March 1973)

EDUCATION IN LIBERATED ANGOLA

The MPLA now has a school system reaching immense regions of Angola where there were never any schools under Portuguese colonialism. The Department of Education and Culture (DEC) administers the primary and secondary schools. The Center for Revolutionary Instruction (CIR) has responsibility for adult education and the training of militants and teachers. Today there are more than 40 primary schools in the liberated areas, reaching 3,000 children each year. In the third region there is a school providing lower secondary education, and there is a full secondary school in Dolisie, in the People's Republic of the Congo.

Primary schools provide five years of education, the

first year being an initiation class, during which the students become accustomed to collective living, and school work, and begin to become aware of the environment, of mathematics, and together learn Portuguese. Portuguese is used as the school language because the pupils may come from as many as eight large linguistic groups plus many other dialects. Choosing any one of these would give some students advantages over others and could lead to political problems.

The secondary education is four years, the first two being a general course, the last two specialized. The students choose between intermediary and higher technical courses or medical, para-medical, or biological courses. A social sciences course is to be added when possible. (*Guerrilheiro*, London, April-May, 1973)



*MPLA school
inside liberated
Angola*

MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO VICE-PRESIDENT VISITS BRITAIN

Marcelino dos Santos, vice-president of FRELIMO, paid an official visit to Great Britain in late June, to participate in activities aimed at rousing British opinion to end the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. On June 19-20 Mr. dos Santos gave a press conference at the House of Commons and spoke at a mass meeting in London. He said the alliance was not in the interest of the British people, and urged the British Government not to participate in alliances which helped to suppress the liberties of the people in the Portuguese territories in Africa.

Dos Santos was also to meet Labour, Liberal, and Communist party leaders, including former prime-minister Harold Wilson.

The FRELIMO leader noted that FRELIMO now controls 200,000 square kilometres (80,000 sq. miles) of Mozambique, with 1.2 million inhabitants. He also noted that the Portuguese were reinforced in the Cabora Bassa dam area by three battalions of South African troops. (South Africa denied the report.) (*Times*, London, June 20, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, June 23, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 23, 1973; *Financial Times*, London, June 20, 1973; *Guardian*, London, June 21, 1973)

MORE MASSACRES OF VILLAGERS REPORTED— PUBLICITY GROWS

Father Adrian Hastings reported in the *Times* of London (July 10) that Portuguese forces had systematically annihilated an entire village of 400 men, women, and children in Tete province of Mozambique last December 16. His sources were Spanish missionaries, the Burgos Fathers, two of whom are in jail in Mozambique, and one of whom had been expelled from Mozambique earlier this year.

The village, Wiriyamu, is part of the San Pedro mission, in a zone called Regulato Gandali. The Portuguese reportedly bombed first, then landed a helicopter assault team which ransacked the huts, grouped the villagers by sex, and then one by one shot them, as if for target practice. Tiring of this, some were herded into huts which were then burned. A whole list of specific atrocity incidents are part of the story.

The missionaries, hearing of the massacre from a few people who escaped, investigated, and documented the massacre.

The Portuguese, distressed at these revelations only six days before the arrival of Portugal's Prime Minister Caetano in Britain to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, denied everything and called it a propaganda trick by anti-Portuguese forces. The revelations did in fact cause a great stir in Great Britain, sparking angry debate in Parliament and demonstrations in the streets protesting the continuation of the alliance with Portugal. Caetano refused the possibility of an international team investigating inside Mozambique to determine the truth of the matter.

However, some newsmen have been admitted into Mozambique and have been shown several different sites of villages as being possibly the village of Wiriyamu. At places they have visited they report evidence that the

Portuguese troops have indulged in indiscriminate violence against the civilian population of Tete Province, but to date they have no hard evidence about the specific event reported by Father Hastings.

The Spanish priests who gathered the evidence and gave it to Father Hastings, distressed at the suggestion that their documents were fabricated, have surfaced. Despite the possibility of repercussions for those of their mission still inside Mozambique, including the two imprisoned priests, they have corroborated the story with even more details.

Two Burgos fathers, Alfonso Valverde and Martin Hernandez, are in Matumbura prison in Lourenco Marques for denouncing and documenting an earlier massacre—at Mukumbura in 1971. Sworn evidence to be heard in their forthcoming trial confirms many of the massacre allegations made against the Portuguese Army. A judge has already heard sworn testimony in preliminary proceedings. Some of the witnesses, who include three nuns, two bishops, and a priest, have given their own reports of massacres, or pinpointed other atrocities in the area. The defense will use the evidence to show that the two priests were telling the truth in their allegations and that the priests were responding, not to an isolated incident, but to a continuing pattern of violence against the African population. The major alleged massacres in the testimony totalled 66 victims in four locations. Many more incidents of killing of small numbers of persons are detailed.

One of the reporters, James MacManus, of the *Guardian* (UK) found a "high military source" in Tete who confirmed that "counter-terrorist squads in the Portuguese army committed atrocities against African villagers in Mozambique." He said units of the Grupos

Portuguese herding villagers in Mozambique to strategic hamlets (radio-photo)





At a health centre in liberated territory

Frelimo Info

Especiais Paraquedistas shock troops, composed of specially trained Portuguese and African paratroopers, were involved in civilian killings in areas around the towns of Magoé and Mukumbura and Machinango. The unit is based in the garrison town of Dondo, near Beira, and is flown in to spearhead drives in areas of high guerrilla activity.

Stories of massacres and atrocities by the Portuguese are not new to the African inhabitants of Mozambique. It is a pattern that is all too familiar. A much earlier massacre, also hundreds of civilians, occurred in the Cabo Delgado Province in the town of Mueda on June 16, 1960, and was a key factor in turning the African populations' minds toward preparation for armed struggle. At Mueda, those massacred had gathered to meet with the district commissioner to discuss the possibility of independence. He singled out their leaders, began arresting them rather than listening to them, and when the people protested, he simply signalled hidden troops who fired on the crowd. 600 people were reportedly killed.

Father Hastings testified about the Wiriyanu massacres before The UN Committee of 24 in late July. FRELIMO VP Marcelino dos Santos also appeared. (BBC surveys of the British press, July 10 & 11, 1973; *Washington Post*, July 12, 16, 24, 1973; *New York Times*, July 12, 16, 20, 1973; *Guardian*, London, July 14 and 21, 1973; *Newsweek*, US, July 30, 1973; various radio and TV reports from both US and Europe)

BLACK MOZAMBICAN LAWYER REFUSED RELEASE

Dr. Domingos Arouca has spent seven years in Portuguese prisons and was due to be released in Lisbon on June 18. Instead, he was reportedly removed from the prison on June 17 to an unknown destination, possibly a situation of house arrest in Inhambane, in Mozambique. Dr. Arouca was the only black lawyer practicing in Mozambique and was originally charged with having communicated by radio with Dr. Mondlane in 1965. Dr. Mondlane was then president of FRELIMO. (*Guardian*, London, June 25, 1973)

PORTUGUESE REPORT MASSIVE ATTACKS BY FRELIMO

The South African press reports that "new" tactics and heavier weapons used by FRELIMO are likely to make a significant difference in the style of the war in Mozambique. Various reports from both sides tend to confirm this:

On June 3 the Portuguese say the Army post of Mazombe in Cabo Delgado province was attacked by 400 FRELIMO men. The Portuguese admit loss of ten soldiers in the attack but claim to have also killed 50 from FRELIMO.

In other Portuguese reports, the town of Mueda was shelled and three persons killed on May 17, Vila Gamite was attacked by 100 men in Tete province on March 21, and "scores" of FRELIMO men also attacked Gago Coutinho in early March.

In the Mueda attack, FRELIMO reportedly used Russian 122 mm. rockets of a type found highly useful as a basic assault weapon by the Vietnamese liberation forces.

FRELIMO itself reported another instance—an attack on a Portuguese battalion stationed at Tembue in Tete on June 9. They report using heavy artillery and completely destroying a storage depot, barracks, a commando house, the administrative post, and about 150 Portuguese troops.

The Portuguese consider these massive attacks and shelling by heavy long-range weapons to be a shift from previous FRELIMO concentration on mining and ambushes. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 26, June 9, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, May 22, June 6, 1973; *Zambian Daily Mail*, June 13, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, London, May 21, 1973)



Peasant family offers food to a FRELIMO militant in Tete province

Around the entire perimeter of the dam site north of the administrative town of Tete runs a double barbed wire fence. And within this is what must be counted one of the largest minefields layed in recent times—85,000 land-mines, which could make two in every yard around the site... Gun crews manning heavy artillery are on duty around the clock at strategic points overlooking Cabora Bassa and the construction camp a little above it at Songo....

The military displacements and the mine fields are the inner rings: the outer ring consists of aldeamentos, or fortified villages, into which most of the half-million local tribesmen have been moved... Beyond this much of the countryside around Cabora Bassa has been defoliated. Anything that moves in such areas is fair game. (Weekend Telegraph, London, Feb. 2, 1973)

Most FRELIMO activity near the dam has focussed on cutting communications and supply routes. Loudon and many others have reported their successes. Loudon (in the same report) said:

Just how hard FRELIMO has hit the supply lines to Cabora Bassa may be judged from the fact that contingency plans exist to fly in all supplies for the dam if road and rail links are closed. At Estima, near the building site, an all-weather air strip has been layed, capable of accommodating C-130 transport aircraft...

FRELIMO considers Tete Province and the Cabora Bassa area only one of many areas of military struggle, no more important than the other provinces, though it recognizes that the presence of international economic interests in that area means it gets more press coverage. (Guerrilheiro, April-May, 1973; Radio Reports BBC etc; Times, London, May 15, 1973; The Hindu, India, June 3, 1973; Zambia Daily Mail, June 13, 1973)

GUINEA-BISSAU

NEW PAIGC MILITARY VICTORIES

In war communiques issued from the PAIGC office in Conakry the freedom fighters claimed that 18 Portuguese aircraft have been shot down since March 23. This has changed the nature of the war because the Portuguese had always relied heavily on air support to wage attacks and lift supplies to besieged bases. The communiques also claim the sinking of a Portuguese vessel on the Geba river while damaging two others. In other actions, more than 20 Portuguese soldiers were killed.

GUINEA-CONAKRY ON ALERT

Following the armed invasion of Conakry three years ago and the assassination of Amilcar Cabral this past January, Conakry, the capital of Guinea, is on full alert for further attacks. Recent reports from Radio Conakry have claimed that two groups of mercenaries were preparing for another attack near the Guinea border. The alleged mercenaries were said to be of French and Guinean origin. (Sunday News, Zambia, June 24, 1973)

FURTHER DETAILS ON CABRAL PLOT

It now seems clear that the Portuguese had a five-pronged attack plan for curtailing the activities of the PAIGC. First they sought to infiltrate the organizations; secondly they tried to create splits within the rank and file and leadership. A third objective was to divide the

people on religious and ethnic patterns. The fourth element was the assassination of Cabral, and fifthly the Portuguese sought to isolate the PAIGC from the support of progressive neighboring countries.

It has also been revealed that a document was circulated within the PAIGC in 1972 warning the party about the tactics of Portuguese colonialism. In this they pointed to the Portuguese goal of assassinating Cabral and destroying the PAIGC rear areas. They anticipated a three stage enemy attack plan:

"1. At the moment, many people leave Bissau and other towns to join our ranks. General Spinoza will take this opportunity to infiltrate agents. Their task will be to study the weaknesses of our Party, and work on tribalism, racism and religious differences."

"2. They will create a secret network with an alternative leadership. They will try to discredit the Secretary-General and, if necessary, kill him. They will, at the same time, launch an offensive to terrorize people in the liberated areas."

"3. If the second stage fails, they will attempt a coup against the leadership of the Party and assassinate the Secretary-General. A new leadership will be formed, and all struggle within the country will be halted. Contact will be made with the Portuguese government, false negotiations will be entered into, and a puppet government will be set up to administer the "independent" State of Guinea. Leadership positions will go to those who take part in the Plan."

This scenario was realized by the Portuguese up to the assassination of Cabral, but the PAIGC has continued victorious and will soon declare national independence. (Guerrilheiro, London, April-May, 1973; Afrique-Asie Paris, February 19, 1973; Africa Digest, London, June, 1973)

COMMUNIQUE ON THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE PAIGC

"From the 18th to the 22nd of July 1973, the Second Congress of the PAIGC was held in the liberated zones of western Guinea-Bissau. Comrade Aristides Pereira, one of the founders of the Party and assistant of Amilcar Cabral, our beloved leader, assassinated by the criminal hand of the Portuguese colonialists, was unanimously elected Secretary General of the PAIGC. Proceeding with a review of the Party statutes, the Congress decided to create a Permanent Secretariat composed of four members, replacing the Permanent Commission of the Executive Committee of the Struggle (CEL). In addition to Secretary General Aristides Pereira, the Permanent Secretariat is composed of Luis Cabral, Assistant Secretary General, and two Secretaries: Francisco Mendes (Chico Te) and Joao Bernardo Vieira (Nino). The Congress also enlarged the Superior Council for the Struggle (CSL) from 81 to 85 members. The Executive Council for the Struggle, elected from within the Superior Council for the Struggle, maintains its former composition of 24 members.

The Congress was held with the participation of 138 delegates and 60 representative observers, representing all the regions, zones and sections of the organization of the Party, the National Armed Forces (Popular Army and Navy) as well as the National Reconstruction Workers.



PAIGC — preparations for elections to the national assembly

Among the Delegates and Observers were Regional Counsellors and Deputies elected by the Popular National Assembly.

After having appraised reports on political-military activities, national reconstruction of the liberated regions, as well as the other departments of the Party, the Congress adopted resolutions with a view to strengthening our operations in Guinea-Bissau and the acceleration of the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands. Proclaiming the loyalty of the Party to the principles inscribed in the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, the Second Congress:

Expressed the determination of the PAIGC to contribute by all means to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship and fighting solidarity uniting our people and our Party with the fraternal peoples of the other Portuguese colonies and their liberation movements within CONCP (Conference of Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies).

Emphasized the value of the support, political and military, of the Organization of African Unity, as well as the bilateral aid given to our Party by numerous independent states of Africa, particularly by the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal, neighboring countries whose aid and fraternal support has been and remains the decisive factor for the victorious development of our national liberation struggle.

Expressed the recognition of our people and our Party of the multifaceted aid of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and for the important humanitarian aid that the Swedish Government gives our Party. It equally expressed thanks to all the governments and anti-colonialist organizations of Europe, Asia, and America; to the humanitarian institutions; and to the national committees of support created throughout the world from which political, moral, and material aid has continually grown, gaining an increasingly important place in the ranks of international support for our struggle.

Proclaimed the solidarity in combat of our Party towards the anti-colonialist and anti-fascist forces of

Portugal, whose concrete action against the criminal war, contributing to the acceleration of the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, is a factor in preserving the ties of friendship between the Portuguese people and our people.

Having proceeded with an analysis of the circumstances surrounding the cowardly assassination of our mourned comrade Amílcar Cabral, the Congress condemned vigorously and with indignation this monstrous crime. The Congress further proclaimed that none of the activities of our Party, particularly those of its Secretary General, could justify such an ignoble crime, whose responsibility rests entirely on the colonialist Portuguese government. The Congress unanimously approved the exemplary punishment inflicted by our popular justice on the traitors and criminals who executed the crime at the service of the enemy of our people and of Africa.

In homage to the immortal work of Amílcar Cabral, hero of our people, artisan of our national liberation, the Second Congress decided to give him the title of Militant Number One of the PAIGC. His portrait will be placed in all the work places of our Party. The Congress also decided to create an Amílcar Cabral medal for the decoration of the heroes of our armed struggle for national liberation.

The Congress set the convocation of the Popular National Assembly, which will meet in the course of this year to accomplish its primary historic mission: the proclamation of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau, the creation of an Executive for this State, and the adoption of the first Constitution in our history.

The Second Congress, taking place under the triple motto of Unity, Struggle, and Vigilance, took place in an atmosphere of high responsibility, criticism and self-criticism, of patriotic ardor, and partisan spirit.

Done the 24th of July, 1973. The Executive Committee for the Struggle of the PAIGC."

ECONOMICS

EXXON PROSPECTS IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The giant petroleum corporation, Exxon, has concluded an agreement with the Portuguese Government for exclusive rights to prospect for oil in Guinea-Bissau. Actually the first agreements were made as early as 1958 with the Standard Oil affiliate "Esso Exploration of Guinea." Since then, however, this conglomerate has been reorganized and the PAIGC has gained control of three quarters of the land to which Exxon is supposed to have rights. Thus, in its own business interests, Exxon has shored up the Portuguese colonial presence in Guinea-Bissau by paying out \$240,000 each year for prospecting rights. There is little question that this money will go directly to the almost empty coffers in the Portuguese military treasury. In addition Exxon has promised to pay from \$14 to \$60 per square kilometer used in prospecting plus a 12.5% tax on production and a levy of 50% on the profits. Despite these taxes and payments Exxon hopes to make a tidy profit once their operations get into full swing. It is not known whether Exxon has calculated that some of the territory in which they hope to operate is under the control of the PAIGC. (*Afrique-Asie*, Paris, May 28, 1973).

NEW INVESTMENT IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE

Portuguese and other western companies are continuing their expansion in Angola and Mozambique. Among important new ventures recently announced are the following:

(1) The Portuguese firm Hondeminas-Sociedade Mineira, reportedly associated with the Banco Portugues do Atlantico group, has announced plans to develop the iron ore at Honde, near Vila Pery, with the expectation of selling to American and Japanese buyers. The Vila Pery area is in Manica e Sofala province, Mozambique, where FRELIMO recently opened up a new military front. (*Marches Tropicaux*, France, May 18, 1973)

(2) A Portuguese consortium formed by the Companhia de Mocambique, the Banco de Angola, and Cervejas Reunidas de Mocambique, is planning the establishment of a major cellulose industry, also near Vila Pery. (*Financial Times*, UK, June 23, 1973)

(3) In the same province, closer to Beira, at Dingue-Dingue, the Swiss-based Nestle company is beginning construction of a sugar factory, which is scheduled to start production in 1975. At the same time, Nestle is investing in the production of instant coffee in Lourenco Marques. Sugar, it should be noted, is second only to cashews in Mozambican exports. Nestle is one of the largest international companies in food processing worldwide, and plays a particularly important role in the marketing of Angola's coffee exports. (*Nachrichten fur Ausenhandel*, W. Germany, June 7, 1973)

(4) The Companhia Mineira do Lobito, which already plays a major role in the production of iron in Angola (in close conjunction with Western European and South African capital), is consolidating its position in the iron production from Cassinga. Contracts with Japan ensure the export of a large percentage of the iron to that country. A new pelletization processing is planned for the ore, in cooperation with the Industrial Development Corporation and Union Corporation of South Africa, as well as Krupp (West Germany), Usinor (France), and the

British Steel Corporation. The company is also expanding into new ventures. Exploration with Bethlehem Steel of mineral deposits in Tete province, Mozambique, is now being followed up by an agreement with South Africa's Johannesburg Consolidated to form the Companhia Mineira do Cunene for exploration in southern Angola. (*Financial Times*, UK, June 14, 1973; *Marches Tropicaux*, France, May 25, 1973; *Mining Journal*, UK, June 22, 1973).

(5) Chromalloy American, of St. Louis, has acquired a gold mine in Angola from Sociedade Mineira da Huila. The mine has been closed since 1969, but evidently with the rise of the price of gold, and the influx of new capital from Chromalloy, the mine is expected to be profitable. According to the company, operations are to begin in August. (*Wall Street Journal*, NY, June 20, 1973).

EXIM BANK LOAN TO PORTUGUESE

The US Export Import Bank will loan Portuguese colonial authorities in Mozambique \$1.8 million for the construction of the new MABOR tire plant in Lourenco Marques. MABOR is a subsidiary of General Tire and Rubber of Akron, Ohio, and enjoys a monopoly on the production of tires in the Portuguese colonies. Recently MABOR was successful in excluding the rival tire company, Firestone from invading its territory with investment in Mozambique. The total cost of the new plant will reach \$10 million, the balance to be supplied from private investors.

It is not known if the EXIM Bank loan is part of the credits negotiated by the United States and Portugal in the Azores agreement of two years ago, or if it represents an additional loan. Other recent credit through the Export-Import Bank have financed the purchase of airplanes for the Portuguese air line in Mozambique, and the current purchase of 22 diesel locomotives from General Electric for the state-owned railways. For the locomotive purchase the Export Import Bank is providing \$4,300,000 credit, with an equal amount to come from private banking sources. (*Africa News*, Durham, NC, July 26, 1973; *East African Standard*, Kenya, June 22, 1973).

AIRPLANES FOR MOZAMBIQUE

Marches Tropicaux, (June 8, 1973) reports that a Portuguese company has plans to install a factory for light aircraft in Mozambique, with an eventual capacity of 40 units per year. For the present, increased imports from the United States are enhancing Portugal's air strength in



Mozambique. A fourth Boeing 737 has been delivered to the Portuguese Airlines in Mozambique, DETA, while eight of twelve helicopters have already been delivered for use by a "private" firm in Mozambique. Illustrative of the fact that such supposedly civilian craft are tied into the war effort, particularly for troop transport, is a new prize instituted by the Portuguese Airlines, with the permission of the Ministry of the Army. The prize, called "Heroes of Portugal" will go to those decorated for heroic deeds in the Portuguese military, and will consist of plane tickets between any two points in "Portuguese territory." Of course, aircraft are constantly used for the transport of Portuguese troops from one point of the "Portuguese territory" to another. (*Rand Daily Mail*, SA, May 24, 1973; *Defesa Nacional*, Portugal, February, 1973)



PORTUGAL

PORTUGUESE CLAIM BIG VICTORY

On May 25 the Portuguese abandoned a strategic base on the Southern Frontier. As if to mask their loss they sent out reports from Lisbon on the same day claiming that they had just completed a five-day offensive in the North.

Operation "Royal Amethyst" was said to have taken place 50 miles north of Bissau although this would place it north of the Casamance river inside Senegal. The Portuguese have claimed that they killed 167 PAIGC militants while suffering only 11 casualties themselves. An impressive list of weapons was reported destroyed or captured, including anti-aircraft guns, eleven 82mm mortars, 14 recoilless cannons, 150,000 rounds of ammunition, 300 Kalashnikov automatic rifles, 1,560 hand grenades, 505 anti-vehicle mines, machine guns, 450 rocket launchers, 1,200 60mm mortar shells, 53 122mm rockets, and 138 RPG-7 rocket-grenade launchers. (*Guardian*, UK, May 26, 1973; *East Africa Standard*, May 26, 1973; *Daily Nation*, Kenya, May 26, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, May 26, 1973; *Provincia*, Angola, May 26, 1973).

A Lisbon report by Bruce Loudon of the London *Daily Telegraph* stated that "President Senghor could hardly have been comforted to have had them (the PAIGC and their weapons) on his territory." Loudon is well known for his ardent pro-Portuguese stand and his reports are part of a continuing attempt to divide the PAIGC from its Senegalese support.

SECURITY POLICE ARREST SABOTEURS

Portuguese security police have charge; eight people with several sabotage incidents, going back as far as 1970, including explosions at Lisbon docks, at a security police academy, and the March 1971 attack on the Tancos airbase when 13 aircraft were destroyed. Six of the eight are said to be members of Armed Revolutionary Action, commonly called ARA.

It is also reported that the ARA has called a temporary

halt to actions while surveying the current situation to evaluate what is happening and choose the best direction for renewed action. (*Times of Zambia*, May 30; *Daily Telegraph*, London, May 28; *L'Humanite*, France, June 12, 1973)



IN MEMORIAM

The Portuguese assassins own disguise
Was black-face but as whited sepulchres
They took Cabral our brother by surprise
And in the classic way of hired curs

Their q.t. (quising-tshombe) rationale
Allowed them to obey their master's voice
And to assume the killing of Cabral
Would circumscribe the necessary choice

The Guinea-Bissau people had declined
To vitiate with the debased cabal
Whose jaded explorations let them find—
The murderers of Amilcar Cabral.

Can Caetano cunningly cajole
A crass Camoens corrupted to applaud
His sterling enterprise and to extol
The cross and then the mercenary's sword?

The universe polluted by a lie
Will not permit us to forget the fee
Held in the killer's hand, nor his ally
Whose actual responsibility

Concealed by piety moves on and on
Concentrated on the Lisbon puppet-whores:
The NATO gansters-Nixon-Pentagon
And half a billion paid for the Azores.

Felix Munso

namibia



Solidarity
Freedom
Justice

OWAMBO ELECTIONS BOYCOTTED

When the South African government announced plans to grant Owambo "self-government" as part of their Bantustan program for Namibia last year, great emphasis was placed on the fact that elections would be held in that territory. Responding directly to criticism from the United Nations, Prime Minister Vorster said, in announcing the plans: "I emphasize a new elective element since South Africa is often criticised because the system of government in Owambo does not provide for elected representatives." But the vast majority of Owambos have consistently opposed the South African government's bantustan plans as well as its version of "self-government." The overwhelming boycott of the Owambo elections held at the end of July, is the latest indication of this.

Weeks before the election took place, the opposition parties in Owambo called for a boycott. Neither the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) nor the Democratic Co-operative Development Party (DEMKOP) named any candidates for nomination in the election, leaving the pro-apartheid Owambo Independence Party as the sole participant in the election. In addition to the "elected" representatives, there is also an appointed council of 56 members, most of whom are chiefs and headmen and supporters of the Independence Party. SWAPO and DEMKOP denounced the elections as a farce—both parties support independence for Namibia as a whole and are opposed to piece-meal "self-government."

During July SWAPO held mass meetings throughout the territory despite the fact that such meetings are illegal under the emergency regulations in operation in Owambo. Several SWAPO leaders have been arrested as a result—at least 22 since Owambo was declared independent on May 1. Several of the SWAPO meetings attracted large gatherings. At one gathering in Engela, the heavily armed police stood by as speaker after speaker condemned the one-party elections. When the rally had ended, the police stopped vehicles and ordered leaders out. Nine of the speakers were arrested and more arrests are expected. Three officials of the SWAPO youth league have already been convicted and jailed for participating in illegal meetings. Two were sentenced to twelve months and the third to eight months. The trial was conducted with such speed that SWAPO was initially unaware that it had been concluded. SWAPO officials have said that police activity in the area is intense. "We see them (the police) driving around everywhere. But we do not know who or what they are looking for."

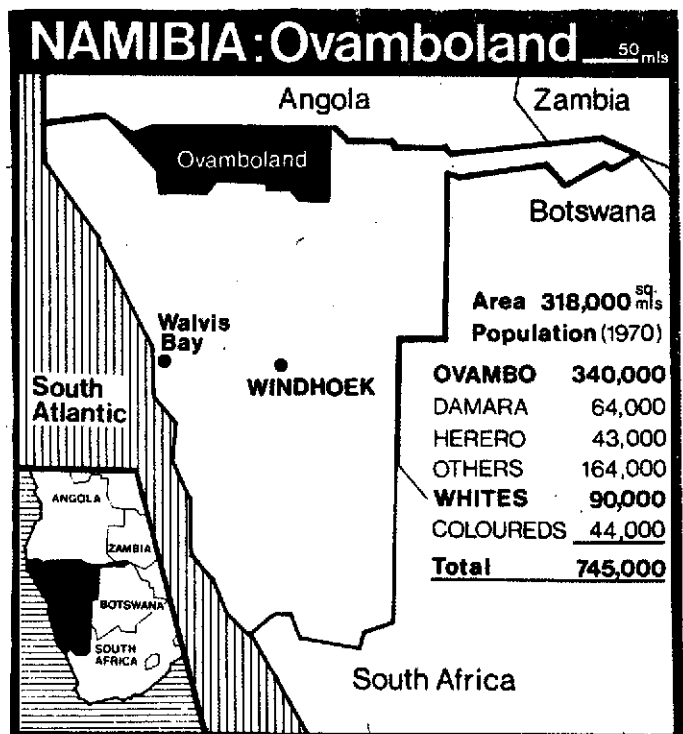
The successful boycott of these first elections is regarded as a massive rejection of separate development. In addition it remains clear that the overwhelming majority support the opposition parties. Of the 50,000 eligible voters, only 1,400 cast votes. In Windhoek, which has the largest concentration of migrant workers, only 2 people voted. Other urban areas such as Walvis Bay and Tsumeb had equally poor turn-outs. The polling stations

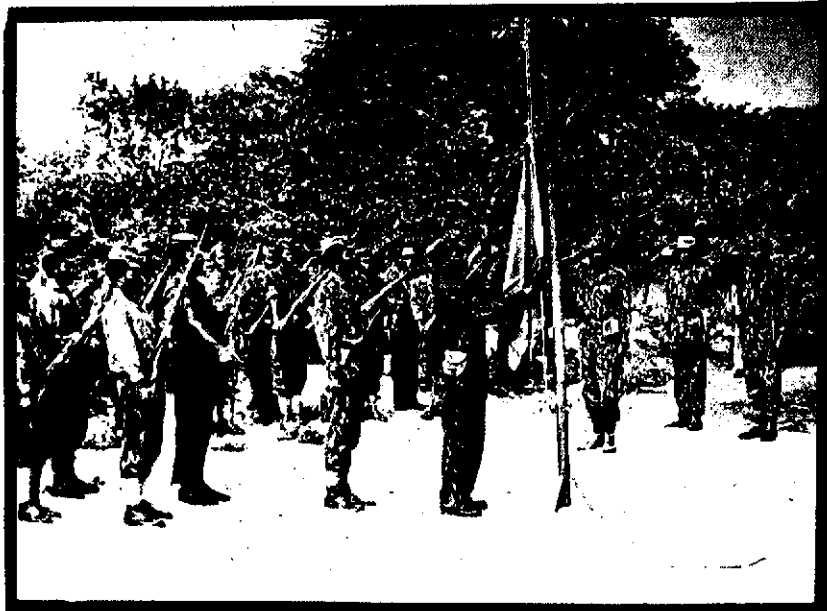
were mostly ignored. Before the two-day election was completed, White officials began to make excuses for the paucity of voters, claiming that elections were "something new" to the Owambos. However, both the Department of Information and Radio Owambo had conducted an intensive campaign to propagandise the elections.

SWAPO has appealed to "humanitarian organisations and individuals throughout the world" for financial support to secure fair trials for those opposition leaders already arrested. The SWAPO secretary for home affairs, Mr. Skinny Hilundwa said that "Not only SWAPO is on trial in Owambo. Justice, democracy and all Namibians are on trial." (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 7, July 28, August 4, 1973)

REPRESSION IN OWAMBO

Evidence of increased police activity in Owambo, coupled with the intimidation and arrests of opposition leaders, has been confirmed by several reports. In June the Namibian correspondent of the daily Johannesburg *Star* visited Owambo to cover one of the political trials underway at the time. The following extracts from the report that he filed speak to the increased repression in the territory. (Newspaper reporters have since been





**Liberation forces
inside Namibia**

debarred from the territory by the Commissioner General, Mr. J.M. de Wet.)

"The devices of totalitarianism are being brought into play quite shamelessly in Owambo. For all the bright sunlight and clear air, the atmosphere in this homeland is dark and sinister... In a homeland where visitors are warned not to 'start agitation or criticise the Government or any of its officials', the faceless men in sunglasses and safari suits no doubt made a careful note of the kind of company we kept... Outside the magistrate's court, a police officer approached, a machine pistol slung from his hip. "You must take care to comply with all the conditions of your visitor's permit," he warned me. "In addition, you had better not speak to any of the Blacks as you may make the mistake of speaking to a witness in this case." Just like that. The message came, he said, straight from the magistrate... Security men were all over the place, beckoning to one another and going off into corners for whispered conversations. Far more audible was a remark one of them made when the court orderly was spraying an insecticide in the vicinity of the magistrate's bench before the case started. Said he in full hearing of a court packed with Blacks: "Spray the people instead." Just a joke? Perhaps. Police guns were everywhere. Even inside the courtroom, whenever the accused entered and left the dock, under escort of a man in camouflage dress. Just a joke in a humourless country where it is a crime to criticise. Where people may be indefinitely imprisoned without trial..." (Star, Johannesburg, June 2, 1973)

LIBERATION MOVEMENT SCORES SUCCESSES

August 26 will mark the seventh anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle in Namibia. During this past year there has been an increase of military activity in Namibia to the point that the South African government has been forced to concede for the first time that it has military bases inside Namibia. During February and March of this year, for example, the most intense military manoeuvre the white armed forces have carried out for several years took place inside Namibia. Operation

Swaland Blitz, as it was called, involved 7,000 troops, several frigates to carry them to Walvis Bay and further forces from the military bases inside Namibia. In addition there have been reports that the South African forces were so overstretched that Portuguese troops were brought in from Angola to help maintain order.

There have been constant skirmishes between the South African forces and trained guerrillas of SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). One such PLAN attack took place in the Caprivi Strip on Good Friday when a patrol was ambushed. The South African government said that five of its forces were killed, but SWAPO claimed that 37 South Africans were killed. Several of those killed were Blacks, confirming SWAPO reports that Africans are being used as "cannon fodder." A SWAPO representative, Mr. Homatene Kaluenja who had just spent three weeks in the Caprivi Strip, said, in an interview in Dar es Salaam, "There are thousands of Africans, Indians and Coloureds serving in the South African forces and in most cases they are being used as cannon fodder. They are sent ahead when on patrol and if there is a mine or an ambush they are the first to die. We appeal to them, especially on radio, to join forces with us or, since they are all from South Africa and not Namibia, to join the struggle in their own country. But if a black man happens to be a believer in the racists' system and finds himself in the position of fighting his own brothers, then he represents the enemy as well... It is all reminiscent of America's 'Vietnamisation' policy. They are training Africans to fight Africans. As in Vietnam, this policy will not succeed."

Evidence of recent SWAPO success was presented in an exhibition at the Tenth Anniversary meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa. The exhibition included a collection of bren guns and the NATO all-purpose machine gun captured in the ambush mentioned above. Because of these and similar attacks (the South African arms dump at Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi Strip was blown up earlier this year), SWAPO forces are now receiving more support for their military operations. The importance of this was also stressed by Mr. Kaluenja: "In the past we did not have nearly enough

arms and if perhaps we had an operation to carry out with, say, a hundred men available, only 50 of them would be armed. So only 50 could take part . . . Without good arms we could not talk of victory but now the situation is not so bad. We need more arms of course, but I think our friends have not let us down on this question." "It is a hell of a thing for a Namibian villager to see an army truck blown up by our mines or to hear of the white man's aircraft shot down by his own people," said Mr. Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO representative in London, who had also just returned from a visit to the Caprivi Strip.

The increased military activity, combined with the clear opposition to *apartheid* reflected in political events in Namibia, such as the recent election boycott, all point to the determination of the Namibian people to win their independence from South Africa. (*Namibia Today*, March, 1973; *Guardian*, June 28, 1973; *Evening Standard*, April 25, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, May 29, 1973)

GERMAN CLERGYMAN EXPELLED FROM NAMIBIA

A West German Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Wolfgang Krueger, was ordered to leave Namibia by June 30. A Bonn radio report said Mr. Krueger, who has served as minister of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church at the Namibian town of Otjiwarongo for the last four years, was refused a permit for permanent residence by the South African authorities.

Pastor Krueger was called to the police station at Otjiwarongo to receive a letter from the Department of the Interior in Pretoria, South Africa. It told him that his application for permanent residence in Namibia had been refused and that his temporary permit, which expired on Feb. 28, would be extended only until June 30. He applied for an extension on Feb. 1.

The action came hard on the heels of an expression of open support by the leaders of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, a white group of some 10,000 members, for the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, a predominantly black federation of 350,000 members. The United Church has challenged the rule of the white-dominated government of South Africa over Namibia. (Religious News Service, June 14, 1973)



NEW PARTNERS IN NAMIBIA

RIO TINTO ZINC's Namibian venture, Rossing Uranium, has concluded partnership and sales agreement with the Compagnie Miniere et Nucleaire, wholly-owned subsidiary of the large French oil firm, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (Total). Total will take a 10% share in Rossing, in which small shares are held by the South African Industrial Development Corporation and General Mining Corporation. The uranium project, expected to cost about \$150 million and begin production in 1976/77, will be the largest open cast mining operation in Southern Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 30, 1973)

ROSSING URANIUM LIMITED

PERMITS TO VISIT THE MINE SITE ON SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS WILL ONLY BE ISSUED DURING WEEKDAYS AT THE RECEPTION OFFICE. PERSONS ENTERING WITHOUT PERMITS WILL BE PROSECUTED

PERMITTE OM DIE MYNTERREIN OP SATERDAE EN SONDAE TE BESOEK IS ALLEENLIK WEEKSDAE VERKRYGBAAR BY DIE ONTVANGSKANTOOR. PERSONE WAT DIE GEBIED SONDER TOESTEMMING BETREE SAL VERVOLG WORD.

DER PLATZ IST AM SONNABEND UND SONNTAG GESPERRT. AUSGABE VON PASSIERSCHEINEN VON MONTAG-FREITAG AN DER RECEPTION. WIDERRECHTLICHES BETRETEN DES GELANDES WIRD GESETZLICH VERFOLGT.



Rossing Uranium Mines—also to be reinforced through using hydro-electric power from the Angolan Kunene Dam Scheme

Zimbabwe

REPORT BISHOP MUZOREWA MAY BE WILLING TO COMPROMISE

The black Protestant bishop who heads the major organization opposing the white minority regime in Rhodesia appears ready to compromise his demand for immediate black control in the African land, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported recently in Boston. A dispatch from Nairobi (Kenya) on July 19 stated that United Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, leader of the African National Council of Rhodesia, met for the first time (on July 17) with Premier Ian Smith. *Monitor* reporter Jeffery Radford said the African National Council seems willing to negotiate certain demands and to accept continuing white rule for the time being.

The bishop called for a new constitutional convention and movement toward black rule. Smith refused to discuss the possibility. According to the *Monitor*, Bishop Muzorewa invited Smith to talk about possible terms on which the African National Council would agree to a settlement with Britain.

It appears, Mr. Radford said, that the Council is ready to be flexible in its demands. The *Monitor* said that if the terms discussed on July 17 work out, the black majority will "be agreeing to social, economic, and political conditions roughly similar to those for Alabama Negroes in the early 1950s."

"Segregated toilets, restricted residential areas, high voter qualifications which substantially exclude black franchise, separate but unequal schools—all of these situations and more would continue."

The *Monitor* said the Smith-Muzorewa talks came about a month after a secret visit to Salisbury, Rhodesia's capital, by Sir Dennis Greenhill, head of Britain's diplomatic service. On Sir Dennis' return to London, Foreign Secretary Lord Alex Douglas-Home appealed to both sides to reach an agreement.

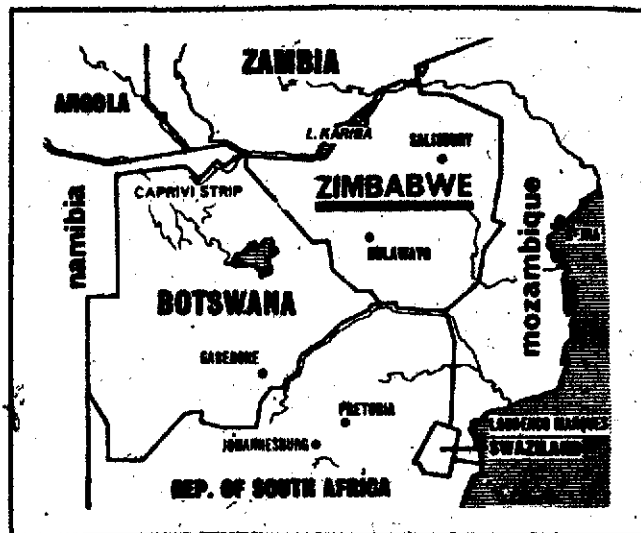
Mr. Radford of the *Monitor* said that an adviser to Bishop Muzorewa told him:

"Really, it wouldn't take much to bring an agreement. The bishop is a very reasonable man, and I've tried to get it through to the government that if they don't take advantage of this opportunity of dealing with a reasonable man they'll soon be faced with the necessity of dealing with far more intransigent militants."

If segregationist terms are reached, the development will highly displease Rhodesian liberation groups now headquartered outside the country. (Religious News Service, July 19, 1973)

CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONDEMN 'RACIST' LEGISLATION

Rhodesia's Roman Catholic bishops have denounced amendments to the country's Land Tenure Act as "racist" legislation, containing provisions "contrary to basic human freedom." In a statement issued in Salisbury June 17 the bishops also placed the white-ruled regime of Ian



Smith on notice that they do not intend to comply with the "offensive" provisions. The statement embodied a resolution adopted by the Rhodesian Catholic Bishops' Conference at a meeting in May. (Religious News Service, June 18, 1973)

The Land Tenure Act divides the country's land holdings almost equally between 5,250,000 blacks and 250,000 whites.

Under two amendments that became law last December, non-blacks must obtain government permission to live on, or even enter, so-called black "tribal areas." Similarly, Blacks are required to obtain permission to visit areas designated for Whites, Asians, or those of mixed parentage (Coloureds).

A copy of the bishops' declaration, posted on the door of Salisbury's Catholic Cathedral, was torn down by dissident members of the congregation. It was replaced by a poster attacking the "continuing interference in politics by the bishops and the clergy," and describing their activities as "a scandal and a disgrace to the whole Catholic Church." A spokesman for the dissidents, who declined to give his name for publication, claimed the group had the support of 100 people in Salisbury. "We are not against the bishops or the clergy as church leaders," he said. "What we are against is their involvement in politics." A member of the cathedral staff described the dissidents as "an irresponsible and anonymous lunatic fringe." "What these people say does not represent responsible opinion at the moment," he said. (Religious News Service, June 26, 1973)

Zambia's Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference has expressed its solidarity with their colleagues in neighboring Rhodesia for their stand, according to a Lusaka radio report.

The Lusaka report quoted a spokesman for the Zambian bishops as saying, "The action of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia has demonstrated Catholic feeling against racist laws." (Religious News Service, June 21, 1973)

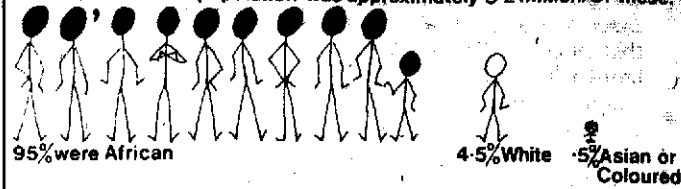
PRIEST DEPORTED

A Roman Catholic missionary priest, Father Xavier Lopez, 35, who has worked in Rhodesia for 10 years, has been deported from the country under a government order. Before taking a flight here to Johannesburg, South Africa, on June 19, Lopez told newsmen he did not know why he was being deported, because, he said, the authorities had given no reasons. The missionary is a member of a Spanish order of secular priests who maintain 15 missions in the Wankie diocese in the eastern border area with Zambia.

Lopez said the deportation order, which was served on him June 13, gave him 24 hours to leave the country, but that he had been granted a week's extension. "I am sorry to be leaving Rhodesia, where I have spent 10 of the happiest years of my life," he said. "But I am also happy because I am sharing the suffering of my fellow [black] Africans, who are suffering so much." Asked to specify, Father Lopez said, "They are being chased from place to place from their homes." He added that police had searched his residence and "took away some papers." (Religious News Service, June 20, 1973)

zimbabwe's Population.

In 1970, Rhodesia's population was approximately 5.2 million. Of these:



ECONOMICS

BRITAIN STUCK WITH RHODESIAN DEBTS

Because of "default" on the part of the Smith regime, the British government has recently paid out over \$20 million in debts to the World Bank. The debts come out of development projects in Zimbabwe, such as the Kariba hydro-electric project on the Zambezi River, for which the British government had made some commitment of funds. The Treasury expects to recover the money from the Smith government when a constitutional settlement is reached. (*Daily News*, June 13, 1973)

RAID ON RHODESIAN FUNDS

A British High Court has ruled favorably on the request of eight big British banks and the Greater London Council that Rhodesian assets in England be raided to the tune of \$6 million. The banks are seeking repayment for Rhodesian stocks which have been in arrears on interest and matured capital since UDI in 1965.

Barclays Bank filed the biggest of the successful claims. They will receive payment of \$1.8 million in interest and matured capital. (*The Star*, Johannesburg, June 30, 1973)

SANCTIONS LEAKS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EMBARGO

While a UN Committee tries to hunt down information on member nations who are violating the 1968 UN sanctions system against the white regime in Rhodesia, representatives of Ian Smith's government are touring the country pressing for complete secrecy about trade across the borders.

The UN Sanctions Supervisory Committee has released its 1972 annual report, listing Belgium, Holland, West Germany, France, Japan, Switzerland, and Italy as perennial violators of the economic boycott. The sanctions against Rhodesia are legally binding on all UN member nations.

According to the report, Rhodesian chrome is purchased by the United States and Japan. While legislation in the United States authorizes the importation



Zimbabwe guerrillas in military training.

of chrome for presumed defense needs, Japan maintains a claim to strict obedience of the UN sanctions.

An official at the Japanese Foreign Ministry denied the charges against Japan. He quoted figures representing Japan's economic involvement with Rhodesia and said that since the UN sanctions have been in effect Japan has limited its trade with the white regime to \$5,000 worth of "commodities necessary from a humanitarian point of view." Pharmaceuticals were one trade item mentioned.

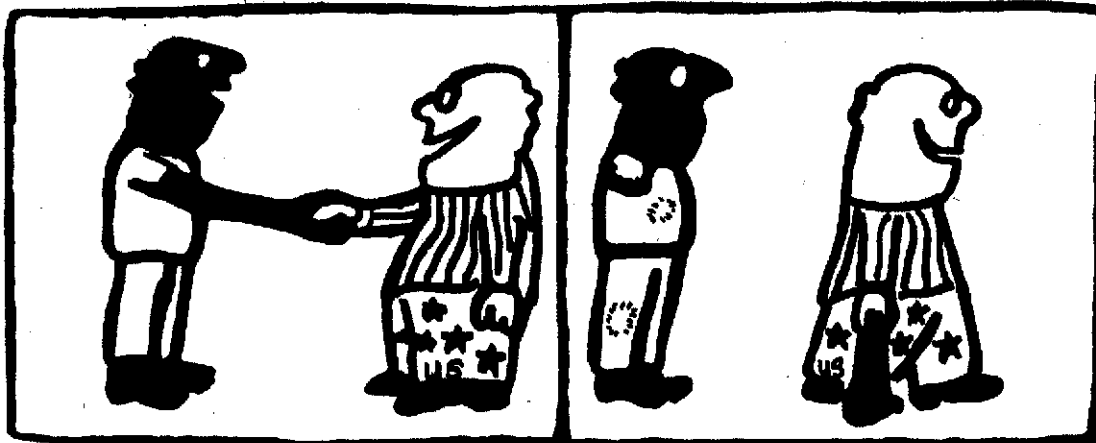
The UN sanctions report also links Japan to automotive deals with the Smith government. The report lists France, Italy, and West Germany, along with Japan, as suppliers of knocked-down auto kits assembled inside the rebel colony. Rhodesian beef is also said to be exported via South African aircraft to wholesalers in Switzerland and West Germany.

The UN Sanctions Supervisory Committee relies on the watchfulness of member nations and expects governments

to turn over relevant trade information to the Committee. But governments have been slack in their duties, as is evidenced by the Smith regime's official export records which show \$175 million worth of exports which the UN Committee cannot account for

The Smith regime is attempting to do an even better job at covering up international deals. Businessmen have been warned by the government to take strict precautionary measures to conceal the records of international trade arrangements. And the Rhodesian Chamber of Commerce and Industries Association has issued a special "how to" booklet to complement the government's program. The booklet advises against direct communication—by mail or phone—with any overseas buyer or supplier. It also urges businessmen to keep all documents related to overseas trade under lock and key. (Star, Johannesburg, June 23, 1973, *Manchester Guardian*, June 30, 1973)

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



CONTINUED CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON SANCTIONS

The effort to renew United States compliance with the United Nations sanctions program against Rhodesia is progressing well and will continue into the fall. Support for the bills is growing in both houses of Congress. There are now 29 Senate co-sponsors along with Senators Humphrey and McGee, and 108 co-sponsors have joined Representatives Fraser and Diggs in the House. One recently converted co-sponsor is Senator Lowell Weicker (Conn.-R), who had consistently opposed sanctions in the past. Support from this moderate Republican shows the broadening support for the sanctions program.

In fact, even the White House is giving some support to the sanctions legislation. A letter of June 26 from Peter Flanigan, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, to Congressmen Fraser and Diggs, states, "Access to Rhodesia chrome is not, however, an important element in US security or in our overall foreign economic policy given: 1) the substantial/excess of our stockpile resources and 2) the comparatively minor amounts we actually import from Rhodesia." This statement undercuts a major argument of the forces

opposing sanctions, since Congress originally agreed to break sanctions in 1971 ostensibly because we could not afford to embargo the importation of "strategic and critical materials" from Rhodesia as long as we were importing these materials from Communist countries.

There are continued indications that the policy of breaking sanctions not only does not fulfill any strategic needs, but has harmed the domestic ferrochrome industry. In May, 1973 the Ferroalloys Association, which represents ferrochrome producers, filed a statement with the Tariff Commission and the Congress asking for relief from excessive imports, stating in part: "... foreign producers, particularly those located in Africa where abundant quantities of chrome ore are available are installing new facilities for high carbon ferrochrome production... Ultimately the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia could dominate and control the world supply of chromium products. Effective government action is needed to insure continued domestic production of chromium products and forestall complete dependence on foreign production and supply." Surprisingly, this request for relief was withdrawn on June 24. The reason is that the situation of the ferroalloys industry has improved recently because of the high demand for specialty steel (in which ferrochrome is used), making it

less likely that a request for relief from excessive imports would be acted on favorably at this time.

John Scali, the US ambassador to the UN, supported the Congressional effort to renew compliance with sanctions at a United Nations Association dinner on June 7. He said: "I respectfully invite the Congress of the United States to reconsider the amendment to the Defense Appropriation Act which two years ago placed the United States in open violation of international law... The evidence is mounting that this amendment not only damages America's image and reputation as a law-abiding nation, but it also has net economic disadvantages as well." This statement angered Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, the leader of the original amendment to break sanctions. In a presentation on the floor of the Senate on June 8 and 14, Senator Byrd challenged Mr. Scali's assertion that compliance with sanctions is legally binding on the United States.

Public support for the Congressional effort to renew sanctions is strong. Twenty-four national groups so far, including labor unions, church groups, Africa groups, and other public interest groups, have joined in calling on Congress to pass S.1868 and H.R. 8005. Lobbyists representing these groups have been active in Washington during July, especially in the Senate. There will be a resurgence of Washington activity in September when the Congress resumes its work. Citizens all over the country have been working to encourage representatives to vote for the legislation. These efforts have increased the number of co-sponsors of the bills and the number of members of Congress willing to vote for the sanctions legislation when it reaches the floor.

It is increasingly likely that Congress will act on S. 1868 and H.R. 8005 as separate bills. The possibility of adding the sanctions legislation as an amendment to a major bill from the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs committees had also been considered, but the Foreign Aid bill, the most likely vehicle, encountered complications

and delays which make it appear less desirable.

S. 1868 was brought before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a separate bill on July 24. However, at the request of Senator Scott, the Committee decided that there should be public hearings before the Committee vote. Senator Humphrey, in co-operation with Senator McGee, will hold hearings either during the August Congressional recess or immediately after Congress returns in September. It will then be possible to gain Foreign Relations Committee approval and a date on the calendar for consideration by the full Senate. It is hoped that there will be a Senate vote as soon as possible so that the House vote can follow in late September or October.

For more information contact: Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC, 20002 or call 202-546-7961.

CONGRESS AND THE AZORES AGREEMENT

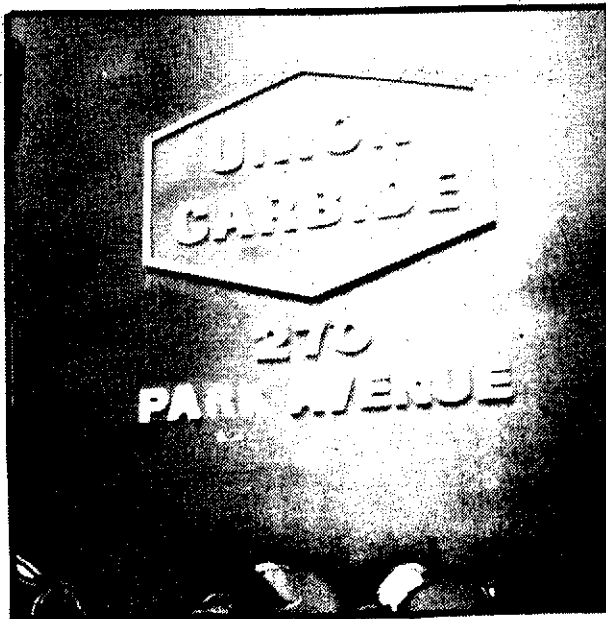
During the last year, the Senate has tried to assert its power over foreign military base agreements, which, for the last several decades, have been negotiated by the President as executive agreements. The Senate contends that military base agreements should be submitted to the Senate as treaties. The Congressional debate on this issue has focussed partly on the 1971 agreement between the United States and Portugal which provided for continued US use of the military base on the Azores islands and for \$436 million in economic aid to Portugal.

Last year at the urging of Senator Clifford P. Case (NJ-R), the Senate Foreign Relations Committee included in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972 a provision to prohibit the obligation or expenditure of funds to carry out the December, 1971 agreement until the agreement was submitted to the Senate for approval. The bill also called for Senate consent to all future military base agreements. Both sections of the bill were upheld in the Senate, but overwhelmingly defeated in the House. The Conference Committee of the two houses deadlocked over these issues, and the Foreign Assistance program has been running on a series of continuing resolutions ever since, the last of which will expire on September 30th.

The Senate included these provisions again this spring in the Department of State Appropriations Authorization Act of 1973. The House version did not include either amendment. The House conferees were willing to accept the provision about future military base agreements with an amendment that approval could be secured either by a concurrent resolution by both the House and the Senate or by the Senate's giving its advice and consent to the agreement as a treaty. In turn, the Senate backed down on the provision about the Azores agreement.

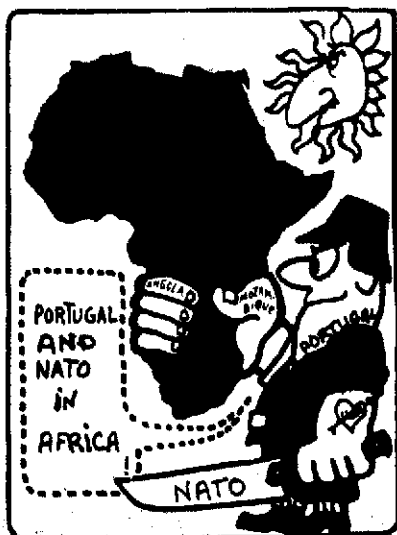
Both houses of Congress are expected to approve the conference version of the State Department Authorization bill by September 30, when the continuing resolution runs out, and it is anticipated that President Nixon will sign the entire bill into law in spite of his opposition on the military base agreements issue.

The Azores agreement which President Nixon secured in December, 1971 ends on Feb. 3, 1974, subject to extension of up to six months for negotiation. Although there will be no further attempt before that time to restrict payments of the \$436 million of economic aid which accompanied the 1971 agreement, the passage of the military base agreements provision will enable



Congress to approve or disapprove an extension of the agreement and any obligation of funds for further aid in association with such agreements. Although the main interest of Congress in this issue is based on its assertion of authority over foreign policy matters, this law will provide a vehicle for opposition to the continuation of US aid to Portugal as long as Portugal is a colonial power in Africa.

The relevant part of the State Department Authorization bill reads as follows: "Section 10. No funds may be obligated or expended to carry out any agreement entered into, on or after the date of enactment of this Act, between the United States government and the government of any foreign country (1) providing for the establishment of a military installation in that country at which units of the Armed Forces of the United States are to be assigned to duty or (2) revising or extending the provisions of any such agreements, unless such agreement is approved by concurrent resolution of the Congress or is submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent and the Senate gives its advice and consent to such agreement."



BAN ON HERBICIDE SALES URGED

On June 11, Congressman Charles Rangel (NY-D) and 16 co-sponsors introduced "The Chemical Warfare Prevention Act of 1973," H.R. 8574, to ban the exportation of all herbicides to Portugal and the Republic of South Africa.

In introducing the bill, Congressman Rangel said, "The disturbing and dangerous legacies of American involvement in the Indochina War may be the advent of the age of chemical warfare... The excessive amounts of chemical herbicides that the United States government and private business sell to Portugal and South Africa is being used to continue and intensify the colonial warfare in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique." In documenting the case in support of his bill, Congressman Rangel stated that United Nations documents and Western press have reported the use of chemical warfare for the purpose of starving the population in liberated zones of Angola. In addition he cited figures that show that US sale of herbicides to Portugal and South Africa has increased significantly since 1969.

Congressman Rangel also believes that the sale of herbicides violates the precepts of international law: "Though the herbicides in question were shortsightedly removed from the munitions list three years ago, the 1,4,5-T sales are clearly transgressing the 1961 embargo of military materials to Portugal and South Africa established under the Kennedy Administration."

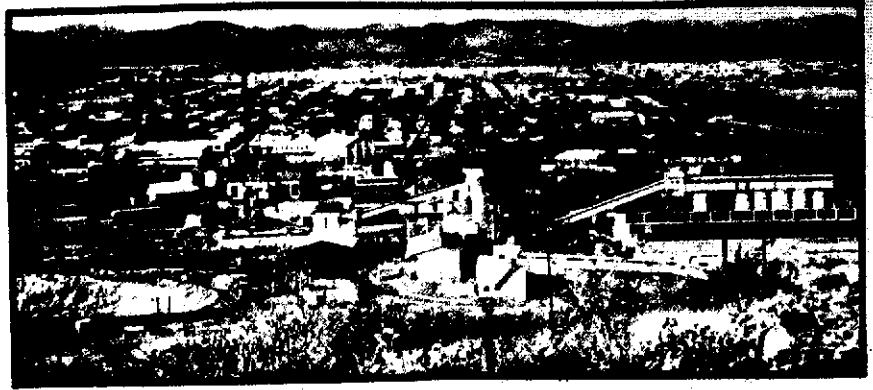
Congressman Rangel simultaneously introduced "The Chemical Export Control Act of 1973," H.R. 8573, to halt all exportation of 2,4,5-Trichlorophenoxyacetic acid herbicides. He is trying to solicit support for these two pieces of legislation from groups concerned about the environment as well as groups concerned about Africa.

Both H.R. 8573 and H.R. 8574 have been referred to the Subcommittee on International Trade of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. In his June 29 letter to concerned groups, Congressman Rangel urged concerned citizens to write to members of the subcommittee and the full committee. The Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee is Wright Patman (Tex.-D). Thomas Ashley (Ohio-D) is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Trade. Other members of the Subcommittee are: Thomas Rees (Calif.), Parren Mitchell (Md.), Fernand St. Germain (RI), Richard Hanna (Calif.), Edward Koch (NY), Andrew Young (Ga.), John Moakley (Mass.), Leonor Sullivan (Mo.), Ben Blackburn (Ga.), Garry Brown (Mich.), Albert Johnson (Pa.), Stewart McKinney (Conn.), Bill Frenzel (Minn.) and John Conlan (Ariz.).

Effects of herbicides in Angola



Tsumeb Mines—jointly owned by two US corporations: Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax—is the largest mining concern in Namibia.



US TO ALLOW CORP. TAX CREDITS IN NAMIBIA

The Treasury Department has recently advised Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr., that it will allow US corporations with operations in Namibia credit against US taxes on income derived from Namibian operations to the extent that they pay taxes to the South African Government on the same income. Diggs had made his request for a ruling in 1971; the reply has at long length come through, following a prolonged internal debate in the administration.

Congressman Diggs, the State Department and the International Division of the Treasury had argued that the International Court of Justice's ruling that South Africa's continued administration of Namibia was illegal, required the United States to deny tax credits to US corporations functioning there. The acceptance of the Court's opinion, they argued, required the government to refrain from any affirmative acts which would imply recognition of South Africa's right to govern Namibia. US acceptance of the judgment of the Court would involve obligations to implement the judgment; and consequently, they held, tax credits should be disallowed on the ground that they are contrary to public policy.

The Tax Policy Division, on the other hand, argued that Congress had intended to allow credits for taxes paid foreign governments irrespective of the question of their jurisdiction or right to levy the tax in question. Taxes paid to South Africa on Namibian operations are not different in kind from taxes paid to other governments which the United States has not recognized such as Cuba, mainland China. In these, our tax authorities have allowed tax credits to be taken in the past. This view has now prevailed in the General Counsel's office after eighteen months' consideration. State Department policy on Namibia has meanwhile shifted further toward accommodation and acceptance of South Africa's policy and *de facto* presence in Namibia.

It is conceivable, but unlikely, that legislation could be introduced and passed to remedy the tax credit ruling. A taxpayer's suit is also a possibility, but courts normally give a great deal of latitude to tax authorities in the matter of interpretation where the tax law is not specific.

UPDATE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES BILL

Don Edwards, the Chairman of Subcommittee No. 4 of the House Judiciary Committee was to have held hearings

Typical living conditions for Namibia's contract labor force—this photo was taken in November, 1972, of a "new" compound.



on Congressman Diggs' fair employment practices bill in June. However, Mr. Edwards decided that he should observe for himself the operations of US companies in Namibia and South Africa before presiding over hearings. He is travelling to southern Africa during the August Congressional recess and it is now expected that hearings on H.J. Res. 269 will be held in September. People interested in testifying or submitting a statement to the committee report should contact Ms. Ruth Robinson, Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

NASA TO SHUT TRACKING STATION

The National Space and Aeronautics Administration announced on July 10 that it would "phasedown" its facilities at the tracking station near Johannesburg beginning in June 1974. The Deep Space Network facility for planetary-bound spacecraft will not be needed after that date because, it is claimed, planetary missions planned for the late 1970's and into the 1980's will be visible from NASA's northern hemisphere stations.

The Johannesburg station's earth-orbiting satellite tracking facilities will remain open until late 1975. NASA plans tentatively to phase out these facilities then but no final decision has been made. The Earth Resources Tracking (ERTS) program had been furnishing valuable photo data to the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research to corroborate geological surveys

and studies of mine dump vegetation. The current satellite camera spacecraft is not going to last much longer. NASA had planned to postpone ERTS 2 from 1974 until 1976, but Congress restored funds to speed up the program. The Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences agreed with the House-approved increase of \$7 million for this purpose.

Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr. hailed NASA's decision as a victory for the efforts of his House subcommittee NASA operations in South Africa, saying:

"In spite of the technical justifications produced by NASA, it is obvious that they have in fact responded to pressures by myself, Congressman Rangel of New York, and the Congressional Black Caucus, and our friends in the Senate, particularly Senator Edward Kennedy." Senator Kennedy who had offered an amendment to the 1974 NASA authorization bill to shut down the facility within the same time limit announced by NASA, said he was gratified. "It suggests that there can be meaningful responses to those conditions that are in conflict with the basic principles that we stand for in this country."

Earlier, on May 23 Congressman Rangel had moved an amendment on the House floor to forbid expenditures of any funds for NASA in South Africa. The move lost by a vote of 294 to 104. The debate had assumed that a tracking station in the area of South Africa was a necessity. NASA had not previously indicated in any testimony before Congress that it considered the tracking station superfluous. It was not surprising, therefore, that Congressman Rangel should have suggested that a station be built in Botswana, Swaziland, or Lesotho as an alternative to the South African station, arguing that such a station would add to the technical and managerial skills of those countries. (Press releases of NASA, Congressman Charles Diggs, Senator Edward Kennedy. *Congressional Record*, May 23, 1973)

US TO PARTICIPATE IN RACIST SQUASH TOURNAMENT

The next world squash championships are going to be played in South Africa during August, 1973. The US Squash Raquets Association, Inc. (USSRA) is planning to participate, despite a United Nations resolution (General Assembly resolution 2775 'D') which specifically requests all nations to terminate sports contacts with South Africa.

A New Zealand based group, Halt All Racist Tours (HART) has contacted the USSRA urging them to pull out of the competition. Mr. Trevor Richards, chairperson of HART explained in a letter to Mr. Richard C. Austin of the USSRA that many countries would not be participating in the tournament. Participation in competitions with South Africa would be an act of support for that nation's apartheid policies. Mr. Richards mentioned that among others, India, Pakistan and the United Arab Republic would not be participating. He also said that there was a strong possibility that Australia and New Zealand would not be participating. New Zealand Squash officials have said that without the participation of the above mentioned countries, the tournament would be a fake.

The USSRA responded to Mr. Richards' letter in a very non-committal letter saying, "Your letter about participation of a squash team in South Africa has been received. I shall bring its contents before the Executive Committee at our next meeting."

Interested persons can write to the USSRA to ask

whether they wish to participate, and to protest that participation. The tour was scheduled to start on August 15, 1973. The address of the USSRA is: c/o Mr. Richard O. Austin, 4318 Far Hill Drive, Bloomfield Hills, Mich. 48013. The address of Halt All Racist Tours is 101 Rugby Street, Christchurch 1., New Zealand.

US WARNS OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNIST THREAT

Henry J. Taylor claims, in an article in *The News American*, dated July 25, that Ambassador David K. E. Bruce has briefed Secretary of State Rogers on the alleged Chinese military presence in Tanzania. Bruce supposedly has found the Chinese have three missile-tracking stations there. The entire general staff of army, navy and air force are alleged to be Chinese; so are all the rifles, mortars, armored cars, and ammunition. Taylor claims that Bruce told Rogers that there are 35,000 Chinese Red Guards, some of them disguising themselves as workers on the Tanzam Railway.

A detailed survey of the military potential of South Africa as an ally appears in the *Armed Forces Journal International* for June 1973. The position of the author, Robert Poos, former AP Combat Correspondent and now a research analyst for the House Committee on Internal Security, can be summarized in one of his opening paragraphs:

"Firm, open military ties with the 'gatekeeper' to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans should be reconsidered: with a half million tons of the West's oil carried around the Cape of Good Hope every day, we might want to pay closer attention to the increased Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean. In time of war, the strategic location of South Africa becomes paramount, and it can be said who controls it and the Middle East will have a tight grasp on Western oil lifelines."

ANGOLAN OFFICIALS VISIT US

Mr. Domingos Coelho, Senior Air Traffic Controller at the Angolan capital of Luanda commenced a 42-day State Department-sponsored US trip in June for the purpose of studying air traffic control systems. Mr. Jose Sambo, Member of Luanda District Council, also arrived in June to study "base and scientific achievements" and for the purpose of "observing American life." (Arrival List of International Visitors, May 29, 1973)

OAU MAY RECEIVE IMMUNITIES

The Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives has reported favorably a bill to permit the President to recognize the Organization of African Unity as an international organization for the purposes of the International Organizations Immunities Act. If passed, and if so designated, OAU would be exempt from customs and duties, income taxes, withholding taxes on wages, and excise taxes on services and facilities. Employees of OAU who are not American citizens would not be subject to income tax on income they receive from OAU. OAU staff in New York now consists of 6 African nationals.

The bill was passed unanimously by the Committee. (See H.H. Report 93-349, Committee on Ways and Means, June 28, 1973)

at the united nations



MASSACRES IN MOZAMBIQUE

The Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization has requested the UN Office of Public Information to give maximum publicity to the information in its Bulletin No. 19 of July 1973 on the massacres in Mozambique. The report by Father Adrian Hastings included in the bulletin is based on reports received from Spanish missionaries working in Mozambique and appeared in *The Times* of London on July 10, 1973. Father Adrian has been invited to appear before the Special Committee on July 20, 1973. His report details the series of massacres and atrocities which occurred in the Mucumbura area between May and November 1971.

The Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim (Tanzania), commenting on this new and shocking account of atrocities, said that this only corroborates the previous findings of the UN and "confirms once again the characteristic contempt and callous indifference with which the fascist regime in Lisbon responds to the pleas for reason and sanity . . ."



Fr. Adrian Hastings testifying before the Committee of 24. Seated behind him are Marcelino Dos Santos, vice-president of FRELIMO and Sharfudine Khan, FRELIMO's representative in the US.

He recalled the fact that the General Assembly had condemned in particular the continuation by Portuguese military forces of the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, the wholesale destruction of villages and property, and the ruthless use of napalm and chemical substances in Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Cape Verde, and Mozambique and called upon Portugal to cease its colonial wars and repression. Yet the continued reports received by the UN from the representatives of the national liberation movements as well as this new report from Rev. Hastings are of further acts of atrocity against the people of the territories held by Portugal.

Referring to the killings which "far exceeded the horrors of My Lai," the Chairman said, "This is not the time to fraternize under whatever excuse with those who have flouted all norms of civilized behaviour." He continued that it is obvious that Portugal can only wage its colonial wars because it is permitted to receive material, political, and diplomatic support from its allies, particularly those in NATO, namely France, the UK, and the US. The Special Committee adopted a resolution on June 22 which condemned Portugal and its allies, reaffirmed the national liberation movements as the legitimate representatives of Angola, Guinea-Bissau & Cape Verde, and Mozambique, and drew the attention of the Security Council to the urgent need arising from the explosive situation resulting from Portugal's policies. (UN & Southern Africa, Bulletin No. 19, July 1973; Press Release GA/COL/1434, July 20, A/AC.109/429, July 20, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, June 16, 1973).

LUSAKA DECLARATION ON NAMIBIA

The UN Council on Namibia adopted a firm declaration on the situation of Namibia (Southwest Africa) on June 14, reaffirming its former decision that the UN's contact with the South African regime to secure a peaceful transfer of power in South Africa have been futile, and instead the South African government has "attempted to use the UN contacts as a means of delaying UN action while at the same time further consolidating and strengthening their hold on Namibia by hastening the implementation of their apartheid policies on Bantustans aimed at destroying the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia." The Council declared the contacts must be ended. A similar view was also expressed recently by the Oslo Conference on Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa and by the Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity. The National Executive of SWAPO, liberation movement of Namibia, has taken the same stand, and the UN council said it will intensify its collaboration with SWAPO to pursue its objectives. The UN, having assumed responsibility for the Territory and the legality of its administration having been confirmed by the International Court of Justice in 1971, will intensify actions to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and allow the UN Council for Namibia to take over administration.

The Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization recalling that it has been six years since the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia similarly declared that it is clear that the Government of South Africa has no intention of



Billboard in Windhoek Namibia, 18th June, 1971, announcing World Court decision.

withdrawing, or of abolishing its policy of apartheid, but instead has aggravated the situation there, in particular through the recent arrest and detention of ten nationalist leaders in Ovamboland. The Committee also condemned the support which South Africa receives, especially from member states of NATO, which continue to collaborate and trade with the racist regime, and have joined in exploiting the country's natural resources.

On June 25, a delegation of the Council for Namibia also concluded consultations with UN specialised agencies on the question of associating the Council with the work of these agencies, including the possibility of admitting the Council for Namibia as an associate member of these bodies. Increasing agency assistance to Namibians in education and health services was also discussed. (UN Press Release NAM/74, June 20, 1973; Namibia: working

paper prepared by Secretariat, A/AC.109/L.863, June 15, 1973; A/AC109/425, July 3, 1973; UN Press Release NAM/76, June 26, 1973)

Meanwhile, it is reported that Waldheim will appoint a Syrian official, Mr. Najmuddin Rifai, as UN Commissioner for Namibia, to succeed Mr. Aga Abdul Hamid of Pakistan whose term expires shortly.

EFFORTS TO PREVENT EXECUTION FAIL

The Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation sent an urgent telegram to Mr. Kenneth Jameison, Charge d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of the UK to the UN, after having been informed on May 31 by Rev. L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund (London) that two African political prisoners were to be executed by the Smith regime. The telegram said in part: "Bearing in mind primary responsibility of United Kingdom Government as administering Power and having regard to relevant United Nations resolutions, . . . request immediate intervention by your Government to prevent illegal executions of persons concerned." But on June 25 the Special Committee had to adopt a statement expressing its profound sorrow at the recent murder of those African patriots of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia. The Committee said it regretted that up to that time the Government of the UK had not informed the Committee of any action taken by it in response to the UN appeal. (UN Press Release GA/COL/1419, June 25, 1973, & GA/COL/1408, June 5, 1973)

METHODISTS REPLY TO UN SANCTIONS VETO

Two United Methodist leaders in international affairs said here May 23 it will be difficult to expect African nations to interpret a US veto of a United Nations resolution aimed at South Africa and Portuguese territories in Africa as "motivated by anything other than racism and economic self-interest."

The US cast the veto May 22, only its fourth in UN history, in the Security Council against a resolution that would have extended to South Africa and the Portuguese territories economic sanctions invoked by the UN against Rhodesia in 1967. Britain also vetoed the resolution; 11 nations favored it, and two abstained. Supporters contended Rhodesian goods pass through South African and Portuguese African ports in violations of the sanctions.

Peggy Billings of the United Methodist Women's Division, New York, and Herman Will, Jr., Associate General Secretary of the United Methodist World Peace Division, Washington, also expressed hope "the move underway in Congress to repeal the Byrd amendment will be successful, and may undercut the negative effect of our government's action in the United Nations." They said they deplored the US veto.

The Byrd amendment permits importing into the US of Rhodesian chrome and other strategic materials in violation of UN sanctions. Twenty-four Senators have introduced legislation that would repeal the amendment and restore US observance of the sanctions. The trade embargo was voted two years after Rhodesia's white minority government declared independence from Britain. (United Methodist Information, May 23, 1973)



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES ACTIONS

WACHOVIA BANK DENIES LOAN TO SA, BUT REFUSES TO GIVE PROOF

Wachovia Bank, one of the banks named in the "Frankfurt documents" (see *Southern Africa*, June/July) as lending money to South Africa (a \$2 million participation in the loan to Southern African Iron & Steel Corp. arranged by the European American Banking Corp. of NY) has denied ever making the loan, after the Southern Africa Committee (South) highlighted Wachovia's complicity in a news release in North Carolina. In an interview with a reporter for the *Summer Chronicle*, Duke University's student newspaper, bank spokesman Paul Reinhard said Wachovia did about half the work involved, but then backed out "because it wasn't worth the heat it would attract." After a demonstration initiated by the Progressive Workers Committee of Durham was announced, Wachovia quickly contacted the Southern Africa Committee (South) to say that it was all a mistake, and that they could supply proof that they were not involved. The demonstration was postponed pending more information on the loan, but Wachovia's "proof" turned out to be only a one-sentence letter they then obtained from EABC, saying "This is to certify that Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, NC, did not participate in the US \$20 million loan to South African Iron & Steel Corporation, Ltd. (ISCOR) as alleged in a June 15, 1973 news release prepared by the South African Community (sic)."

Further questions to Wachovia by SAC/South representatives asking for documents showing the loan had actually been withdrawn (such as a letter of withdrawal), information on Wachovia's possible participation in other loans to South Africa, and what policy, if any, they have on such loans, only met with the reply that "there is no further information we can provide you on this subject."

Plans to press Wachovia for disclosure of any and all information about such loans, and to protest whatever loans have been made, are being considered by several North Carolina organizations.

RIGHT WING SCHEMES

The Washington Task Force on African Affairs (PO Box 13033, Washington, DC 20009) has revealed an insightful if somewhat bizarre internal memo between two members of the conservative American African Affairs Association (303 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10016). The memo from F.X. Maier to Co-Chairman of the AAAA, Walter D. Jacobs, suggests an admittedly "little crazy" idea for an offensive action on Southern Africa. Maier proposes that skilled, unemployed (and implicitly) white American workers, together with unskilled black workers unite in a "tour of duty" with a "Cabora Bassa Peace Brigade" to work on the dam now under construction by the Portugese in northwestern

Mozambique. With these American volunteers at the dam site the FRELIMO "terrorists," says Maier, "wouldn't dare" blow up the dam. Black workers from the US would learn skills and have experience for future work, while all the countries involved in receiving electric power would benefit. Maier admits a few problems, but says that black labor leaders might be found to coordinate the "Peace Brigade," that money could be found from "private sources" and that the hurdle of possible US Government opposition to such immigration might be overcome.

The AAAA is the most "intellectual" and the longest lasting political group on the right concerned with Africa. Past publications have included so-called exposes of the Communist threat in southern Africa, secret maps of guerrilla bases, and a pamphlet on the Indian Ocean Cold War question. (*Washington Task Force on African Affairs Information Bulletin*, July 13, 1973)

On the way home the other night I tagged over to a showing of a FRELIMO propaganda film, with a "rap session" later by FRELIMO representatives. I was digging for ideas, but the film was so well done and effective that just one impression came through: we've got to match them with some equally imaginative stuff! Please let me know if we have your O.K. to investigate this?
—quote from letter to Co-chairman of AAAA from F. X. Maier. Reference is probably to A LUTA CONTINUA.

BLACK ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONFERENCE PLANNED

On June 16, 75 Black representatives from Chicago and other area groups met to plan an anti-imperialist solidarity meeting on Africa to be held September 28 in Chicago. The meeting was sponsored by the African American Solidarity Committee, FREEDOMWAYS magazine, and the AFRO-AMERICAN AFFAIRS journal.

The Conference is expected to attract 2,000 people from unions and political, student, and Pan African groups. The planning committee which emerged from the June 16 meeting has issued a call for the conference described as "national in form and anti-imperialist in content" aimed at galvanizing the "support of progressive Afro-Americans" for African struggles. The call also included support for OAU and UN resolutions, opposition to the US role in southern Africa, concrete actions for material and moral support to people of the area and specific study on subjects such as the "anti-monopoly struggle for jobs" in the US and its link with anti-imperialist action abroad. (*African Agenda*, P.O. Box 1941, Chicago, Ill. 60690).

SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS PLANNED

Plans are underway for a June, 1974 Pan African Congress to be chaired by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, with sponsorship by scholars and activists such as C.L.R.



Pickets

Pickers at the Gulf Oil Co. service station in Iowa City Saturday protested the company's involvement in the Portugese colonies in Africa.

The protestors drew mixed reactions from Gulf customers.

Photo by Kathie Grissom

GULF BOYCOTT COMES TO IOWA CITY

On July 7 and 14, members of the Southern African Support Committee, a local group that supports liberation activities in southern Africa, began a leafletting campaign with pickets outside of two Gulf Oil stations in the Iowa City area. The leafleters attempted to give literature to each customer about Gulf's operations in Angola and support for the Portuguese. According to the *Daily Iowan* they drew mixed reactions from customers. Co-chairwoman Penny Morse reported that "When school begins again (at the University of Iowa) we plan to begin a campaign to collect Gulf credit cards and find other ways to put pressure on the company."

The local paper also carried a "dialogue" between Jonathan Penner, of the committee, and B.R. Dorsey, Chairman of the Board at Gulf. As per usual, Dorsey argued the company's "neutrality," and claimed that Gulf gives equal pay for equal work. In his reply, Penner was quick to note that Dorsey had failed to mention Portugal in his comments and argued, "So long as Gulf sustains Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, I would be wrong to sustain Gulf. I have cancelled my credit card by cutting it in half, and enclose it herewith." For more information, contact: Eric J. Schiller, 433 Hawkeye Drive, Iowa City, Iowa 52240. (*Daily Iowan*, July 16, 24, 1973, SASC press release)

GULF BOYCOTT COALITION NEWS

The Gulf Boycott Coalition is encouraging people to purchase for \$1.50 the Gulf Boycott Vacation Kit to counter Gulf Oil's Travel Clubs program. The kit includes buttons, stickers, and miniposters. Write: GBC, Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

The Black Publishers Association has rejected Gulf Oil money for an award at its Houston, Texas convention. The Community Automotive Cooperative with the University of Texas Committee to Oppose Racism and Apartheid, two Austin based groups, with more than 2000 members are also joining the Gulf Boycott as announced on July 4.

The Dayton based Gulf Boycott Coalition now includes an advisory board with Congressman Diggs, Ms. Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers, Dr. Harvey Cox and Dr. James Cone, noted theologians, and Womens International League leader, Ms. Dorothy Steffans. (*GBC Newsletter*, May and June, 1973; Community Automotive Cooperative, 2434 Guadalupe, Austin, Texas 78705)



UNIV. OF CAL. LOSES LAND DONATION

Katherine W. Tremaine wrote to the University of California Regents that upon discovering that the university invests large amounts of funds in US companies investing in Southern Africa (some 32 per cent of its

portfolio), and that the university had voted for management at stockholder meetings where the South African issue was involved, she had decided that the university system apparently endorsed *apartheid* and thus she no longer planned to give 100 acres in beach and cliff land to the UC Natural Land and Water Reserve System. Ms. Tremaine also commended other universities for their action on the SA corporate question. (Letter, June 8, 1973)

Bishop C. Edward Crowther, former Bishop of Kimberley in South Africa, who was expelled from that country in the mid-sixties, is urging more California student action on the South African investment issue. Some University regents have become interested in the issue.

All of this discussion has grown from a California legislators' submission of bills to the end to such state involvement in southern Africa. (See *Southern Africa*, June-July, 1973)

MACSA PUSHES FOR \$500 TO IDAFSA

By June the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa had raised more than \$300 for the International Defence and Aid Fund, \$125 of which was collected at a concert given by Afro-American musicians in Madison. The Madison Committee also distributed literature at the concert of the South African singer, Aliza Ngono, on May 19 and sponsored several meetings in Madison for Andrew Lukele and Winston Nagan, two South African Lawyers. (MACSA News, June, 1973)

BLACK GROUPS CALL FOR DROUGHT AND FAMINE ACTION

18 groups have coalesced with CoChairman Congressman Charles Diggs and former Upper Volta Ambassador Elliott Skinner to form a group called Relief for Africans in Need of the Sahel (RAINS). The groups, including the African Heritage Studies Association, African Information Service, National Council of Black Churchmen, IFCO, African Liberation Support Committee, Pan African Liberation Committee, National Welfare Rights Organization, Congress of African People, and others plan to apply pressure on the US Government to increase aid for the West African famine, and also to "coordinate and monitor fund raising for West African Famine Relief." Action is being called to support the amendment to the House Foreign Aid bill asking for \$30 million for relief and reconstruction in drought/famine areas.

The Washington Office on Africa has called for action on the famine issue which may result in the death by starvation of up to 6 million Africans by the fall. Telegrams and letters should be sent to Senator Hubert Humphrey, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Sub-Committee on Africa; to Senate Foreign Affairs Chairman, J. William Fulbright; and to House Foreign Affairs Chairman, Thomas Morgan. (*New York Times*, July 28, 1973; Washington Office on Africa, letter, July 16, 1973; RAINS press release, July 24, 1973).

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

WORKERS PLAN PROGRAM AGAINST APARTHEID

180 million of the world's workers, organized in 200 major Trade Unions and Trade-Union Federations were represented by their delegates at the International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid which met in Geneva on June 15 and 16. The Conference was an official part of the 58th Assembly of the International Labour Organisation, and the workers' delegates, meeting in the United Nations building, were joined by officials from the United Nations. Nigerian ambassador Edwin Ogbu, Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, whose members and staff had played an important role in helping to organise the Conference, speaking at the opening session of the Conference, stressed the importance and potential effectiveness of international worker actions as a weapon in the struggle against apartheid. He pointed out that the South African economy was sustained from outside, stating, "Multi-national companies, which are usually referred to as big business are among the principle sinners in operating and strengthening the system and maintaining the terrible injustices imposed on South African workers."

A draft resolution, which denounced "the inhuman policy of Apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, which is a crime against humanity" and which expressed "full support and solidarity with the African workers of South Africa" set out in detail the proposed basis for action against the white minority racist regime.

Worldwide Boycott Proposed

The resolution, which was adopted by the Conference without substantial alteration, was supported by a wide variety of trade union delegates, (including Mr. Cyril Plant of the powerful British Trade Union Congress, the US AFL/CIO delegation, as well as speakers from many Latin American, African, Asian, and East and West European Trade Unions). It called upon trade union organisations to boycott the loading and unloading of goods to and from South Africa or Namibia (South West Africa) and to boycott South African ships and planes, as well as goods imported from South Africa. The resolution urged the United Nations to make sanctions against South Africa mandatory, and trade unions to take all measures within their power to "bring pressure on economic or financial groups which collaborate with South Africa to cease such collaboration." Finally, as an indication of the serious desire to increase the effectiveness of international actions against apartheid, the resolution requested the United Nations to increase the membership of the Special Committee on Apartheid to include members of the international trade union movement "with a view to associating the representatives of the various tendencies of the international and African trade union movements in the application of all measures taken to end apartheid."

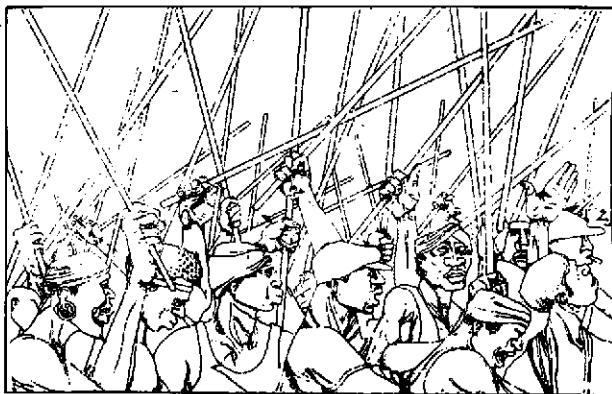
Liberation Movement Speakers Address Conference

Members of the National Union of Namibian workers, who stressed that they were fighting not only against

apartheid but against South Africa as a foreign occupier, and of the members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU); of the Zimbabwe African Congress of Trade Unions, and of the National Workers of Guinea Bissau were among the delegates who addressed the Conference. All stressed the role South Africa plays in the continued oppression of the whole of southern Africa, and of the importance of concerted international workers action, which could effectively focus on ending the vital support that the South African regime now receives from such Western allies as the United States, Britain, France, and Germany.

An interesting sidelight to the Conference was the importance with which it was regarded inside South Africa. There was an attempt by white South Africans, through the Trade Union Congress of South Africa (TUCSA) which specifically excluded African trade unions from membership, to be allowed back into the international labour movement "unofficially." They lobbied hard to be allowed to address the Conference, in order to prevent the passing of a "hard-line" resolution. Using the argument that there is now significant change occurring inside South Africa, that black workers are being upgraded in their jobs, and paid more money, and that workers are coming to recognise the inevitability of black worker organisation (under white auspices), they tried to manoeuvre the Conference organisers into granting permission for a black woman Trade Unionist from South Africa, Mrs. Lucy Mbuvelo to speak on their behalf. This ploy was rejected. Many speakers at the Conference pointed out the danger of confusing repairs to the machinery of Apartheid, which sophisticated the basic demand of the black population for the destruction of the system of oppression.

Drawing of striking South African workers.



Nilsa Bernstein, Sechaba

ILO INVITES LIBERATION REPS

The International Labour Organisation meeting in Tanzania in late June moved to allow representatives of four liberation movements in Portuguese controlled territories to address the annual conference. The 48-member governing body then authorised invitations to be sent to the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA), the Mozambique Revolutionary Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). Portugal subsequently withdrew in protest, while the US,

British, and Canadian delegates expressed reservations about the recommendation and said they could not support it. (*Daily News, Tanzania, June 22, 1973*)

NEW DUTCH GOV'T. MOVES ON SA

In response to pressure from a Dutch Solidarity Week Committee (including Anti-Apartheid Movement, Defence and Aid, Pax Christi, Angola Comite etc.) the new Center-Left Dutch Government announced that it would be more active on southern African issues including NATO-Portugal ties and increased economic aid to people in liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique, and Guine. As evidence of the new policy, a Dutch frigate and destroyer assigned to land at South Africa's Simontown base by the former Dutch Government, did not dock, and further, the SA Government Minister of Housing, travelling in Europe, was not received for a scheduled meeting in the Netherlands. The new Dutch Prime Minister Den Uyl has promised to tighten the arms embargo against South Africa, and to impose tighter sanctions against Rhodesia. He did not exclude the possibility of some "dialogue" with South Africa, however. (*Observer, UK, June 3; Daily News, Tanzania, May 25; Evening Standard, UK, June 6; Zambia Daily Mail, May 30, 1973; Times, UK, June 6; Daily Mail, Star, Johannesburg, May 26, 1973*)

DUTCH GROUPS BEGIN ANTI-CORPORATE ACTIVITIES

An organization entitled Workgroup Kairos began anti-corporate activities by posing penetrating questions about South African involvement to Royal Dutch Shell at its annual shareholders' meeting in late April. For detailed information write: C. Groenendijk, Workgroup Kairos, C-Houtmanstraat 17, Utrecht, Netherlands.

DUTCH CARDINAL—SUPPORT NOT WORDS

The primate of Holland, Cardinal Alfrink, has criticized the situation in South Africa before a conference of the International Pax Christi Movement. The Cardinal said that more than verbal condemnation is required, and that people should provide support for anti-apartheid groups and for the humanitarian needs of peoples struggling for liberation. (*Agence France Presse, April 5, 1973*)

LABOUR PARTY PROMISES NEW POLICY ON SA

In echoes of times past, the British Labour Party has issued a document on its proposed foreign policy which suggests examining new policies toward southern Africa. These include the ending of export credits, loans, and guarantees to South Africa; the end of banking links; a cut back in investment or withdrawal of some British firms; and support for UN trade sanctions if enforceable. Such options will be discussed at further Labour Party meetings, as well as policy proposals to close gaps in arms embargo and to give aid to the liberation movements' economic programs. (*Times, UK, May 25, 1973*)

CHURCH ACTIONS ON CORPS. ESCALATE

In line with the growing popularization of British company practices in South Africa, churches are beginning to examine their own SA connected invest-

ments. To date, American church bodies and the World Council of Churches have taken the lead. The British Council of Churches has now been presented with several strategy papers on economic involvement. The Rev. Elliott Kendall of the BCC International Affairs Dept. has been severely critical of the role of corporations, even those which have recently increased wages. His department presented a report which called for selective withdrawal of companies and for other companies to give a proportion of their investment returns in South Africa to programs which advance

NIGERIAN LEADER FIRM ON ENGLISH SELL-OUT

General Yacubu Gowon, the newly elected chairman of the OAU and leader of Nigeria, met with Prime Minister Heath of England. While discussing important economic issues he stated his opinion that Britain had sold-out on Rhodesia. (*Guardian*, UK, June 14, 1973)

The Church of England, which apparently was planning to sell 70,000 shares of its Consolidated Gold Fields stock, has now withdrawn from such a move by a motion for the Church to continue studying the problem of British companies in South Africa. The Rev. Paul Oestreicher had initiated the plan for the sale of Consolidated Gold, and had also presented a resolution to pressure companies to close wage gaps between races and consider pressure for the sale. Two Roman Catholic bodies in England have sold \$140,000 worth of Consolidated Gold. (*Times*, UK, April 12, 1973; *Guardian*, June 12, 15, and 16, 1973)

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE PROTESTS CULMINATE

Long preparation to oppose the celebration of the 600 year alliance between England and Portugal culminated when Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano paid a state visit to England from July 16-20. The success of the protests was helped by the London *Times*' front page story on the Portuguese massacres in Mozambique reminiscent of Mai Lai. (See Portuguese Territories) There were a number of demonstrations in the streets during Caetano's visit. The *New York Times* reported that 5,000 people and 500

London demonstration against Caetano's recent visit to England.



police gathered in London. There were smaller protests at the Royal Naval College, Whitehall, and other places where Caetano went. Trade unionists working at the British Museum protested an exhibition on the Alliance by distributing a leaflet on the Portuguese repression of trade unions. In Parliament, opposition leader Harold Wilson denounced the alliance celebrations and the revealed Mozambique massacres. The *New York Times* reported that there were also a small number of pro-Portuguese leaflets distributed during Caetano's visit. It was discovered that the distributors were hired from an employment agency. The Portuguese claimed no knowledge of this. (*Morning Star*, UK, June 9, *New York Times*, July 16, 1973)

FRENCH TO PLEDGE TO ACT

The French trade union confederation (CGT) met with the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions and issued a subsequent joint statement calling for strong action on the southern African question. The CGT promised it would work to have the French Government limit its arms sales to South Africa. (*Times of Zambia*, May 24, 1973)

SWEDEN INCREASES LIBERATION AID AGAIN

During a UN Decolonization meeting, Swedish Government representative Lofgren announced that his government would give more aid to the liberation movements in the "Portuguese" territories, including \$2 million to PAIGC. The representative of Iran also pledged money. (*Sunday News*, Tanzania, June 17, 1973)

NEW ZEALAND LEADER PRESSED ON AID TO SA PRISONER

The Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE), a New Zealand anti-racist group, has asked Prime Minister Norman Kirk to allow a Coloured South African, incarcerated by the South Africa police after being handed over by Botswana authorities, to settle with his family in New Zealand. The South African prisoner has apparently expressed this desire. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, May 16, 1973)

INDIA TO HONOR CABRAL

In tribute to assassinated leader of Guine, Amilcar Cabral, and in dedication to the 10th Anniversary of the OAU, the Government of India has established a scholarship for an African student, preferably one connected with the liberation movements or involved in anti-racism work. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, May 29, 1973)

ARGENTINA WOOS SA UNDER PERONIST GOVERNMENT

Along with a growing influence of the right within the new Peron Government of Argentina, Dr. Solano Lima, the Conservative Vice President, met with H. Muller, South Africa's Foreign Minister and said, "We are not interested in how the South African government came to power nor in the social situation of the country . . . we are only interested in tightening still further the links between us." The venue for this statement was a meeting of the Argentina-South African Chamber of Commerce. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, May 30, 1973)

YUGOSLAVS PROMISE MORE LIBERATION AID

The Council of the Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions announced during a meeting in Zambia, that it would increase its aid to the southern African liberation movements. An earlier international trade union seminar held in Yugoslavia pledged to support activities in this area and to raise these actions at a non-aligned conference to be held in Algiers. (*Times of Zambia*, May 25, 1973; *Zambia Daily Mail*, May 24, 1973)

UGANDA AND GAMBIA PLEDGE AID TO PAIGC

Following up on Ugandan aid to MPLA, General Idi Amin gave \$5,000 to a PAIGC representative along with 500 uniforms. The Gambian Foreign Minister Camara said that aid will be offered to set up a PAIGC office in Banjul (Bathurst). (Radio Uganda, May 9, 1973; *Agence France Presse*, May 23, 1973)

ZAMBIA RADIO TO BROADCAST TO SA

Programs in 12 languages will be beamed from Zambia into countries in southern Africa. Zambia has also suggested that the OAU sponsor such programs. The Zambian Government is aiding the UN World Food Program in enabling refugees from Angola, Namibia, and Mozambique to become self-sufficient in food production in their refugee camps. The Government is also helping with school and health programs. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, April 3, May 12, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, May 3, 1973)

OMAN BANS TRADE WITH SA

The oil rich Sultanate of Oman has instituted restrictions against trade with South Africa and assigned the administration of the boycott to its "Arab Boycott of Israel" office in Muscat. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 30, 1973)

WARSAW MEETING OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The *World Peace Council* is to establish a fund for collecting and distributing material aid to the southern African liberation movements, it was decided at a meeting in Warsaw. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, June 5, 1973)

ALGERIAN PLEDGE

The *Pan African Youth Movement* in Algiers pledged "active support for the people of South Africa and all people fighting for freedom and peace" and praised South African strikers. (*Washington Post*, June 27, 1973)

TORONTO EDUCATION AND ACTION GROWS—GULF BOYCOTT INITIATED

The newly formed Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Portugal's African Colonies (TCLPAC, 121 Avenue Road, Toronto 5, Ont., Canada) has gotten off to a good start with several actions and conferences as well as the production of various papers related to Canada's involvement in southern Africa. Members of TCLPAC attended the April meeting of Gulf Canada and raised questions of Canada's role in refining Canadian imports of the Angolan oil have grown and indicate perhaps US

actions on Gulf. The Chairwoman of the Gulf Boycott Committee visited with TCLPAC people and together they met, in late May, with the Gulf Canada Board Chairman and a PR executive to announce the beginning of a Gulf Boycott in Canada. The Canadian company is 69 per cent owned and its president is a Texas oil man. In the Toronto area alone there are 170 Gulf stations.

Other actions of the TCLPAC include an investigation of Canada's NATO links. Sietse Bosgra of the Dutch Angola Comite, sponsored by the OAU, visited with Canadian groups in May as part of a lobbying effort to persuade Canada and other countries to bring pressure on NATO to end aid to Portugal's wars. The group also plans a large counter-conference in Ottawa at the time of the British Commonwealth Conference. The conference will stress the British-Zimbabwe situation within the wider context of southern Africa policy.

The TCLPAC has begun to produce several background papers on Gulf Canada and NATO.



CANADIAN CHURCHES ON PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The 19th Annual Meeting of the British Columbia Conference of United Church of Canada voted on a resolution calling for "ethical purchasing" including avoidance of major instant coffee brands containing Angolan coffee, and Gulf Oil. The Montreal/Ottawa Conference of the United Church voted in June to ask the Canadian Government to urge the end of NATO aid to Portugal (TCLPAC paper # 4)

CANADA'S ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT CRITICIZED

Canada's economic stake in southern Africa has been the subject of more and more media inquiries. An April TV program involved Tim Smith (a Canadian, member of Southern Africa Committee, and employed by a national council of church coalition) and personnel from Massey Ferguson and Alcan corporations. On the program Alcan, a huge Canadian metals firm, promised to increase wages. They presently pay below the poverty datum line. A South African journalist has outlined in a Canadian newspaper the role of those firms in southern Africa plus that of Garfield Weston (food processing), Falconbridge, Polymer, and others. (*Ottawa Journal*, April 18, 1973; *Ottawa Citizen*, May 7, 1973)

QUEBEC ACTIONS ON ANGOLA

Operation-Quebec Angola, members of which include OXFAM, a student group SUCO, Rallye Tiers-Monde, and Development and Paix, initiated a program on the Third World and, in particular, on Angola. Jacques Roy, who has visited Angola, announced the actions at a press conference which are aimed at ending Canadian imports of Angolan coffee. Canada is the third largest importer of this coffee. (*Montreal Star*, May 10, 1973)

OAU FUND ESTABLISHED

The Fund for Assistance to the People Struggling Against Colonialism and Racism has been established by the Organization of African Unity as a recipient of non-African external aid in the area of non-military assistance for the southern Africa liberation movements—food, medicine, economic, educational, and health projects. The OAU Fund will be administered by the Bureau of Decolonization of the OAU Secretariat. African government funds have gone through the African Liberation Committee of the OAU, but the new fund encourages assistance from non-African sources. Earmarked funds will be welcome, or if materials are collected in kind, the Fund will give addresses where goods can be sent. The OAU also welcomes direct assistance to the liberation movements. For information, contact: OAU Fund for Assistance to the People Struggling Against Colonialism and Racism, P.O. Box 3243, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.



VIEWS ON AFRICAN COMMAND

President Idi Amin of Uganda has consistently called upon united military action under OAU aegis against the Southern African regimes. A number of other African leaders, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania for one, believe such a command cannot be created before unified political structures exist. The OAU Liberation Committee, the committee that deals with such issues, will meet in Somalia at the end of July to discuss the creation of unity among the liberation movements, military developments, and OAU delegations' visits to Europe. Some feel that the new military outlook of the OAU is evidenced by the new Chairman of the OAU Liberation Committee, Major Baah of Ghana. (*Times of Zambia*, May 26, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, June 8, 1973; *Ethiopian Herald*, May 19, 1973)

book reviews

Jim Hoagland, *South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972. \$10.

This book has its origins in a series of articles written by an author for the *Washington Post* in 1970 and 1971, for which he won the Pulitzer prize. They represent the first sensitive reporting by the American press about Southern Africa since Joseph Lelyveld of the *New York Times* was expelled from South Africa in 1966. Hoagland visited not only South Africa, but also the Portuguese colonies, filing a series of unusually frank reports of the wars going on there. His book, in spite of some serious limitations, is a well-written introduction to the area and avoids most of the pitfalls characteristic of western reporting of the South African scene.

The range of coverage is one advantage in Hoagland's presentation. One large section entitled "Inside the Laager" deals with South Africa itself. Another, "Outside the Laager" deals with Rhodesia, Portugal, the "Black Satellites," and US involvement. A major omission is Namibia (South West Africa), which received no more attention than half a page in the introduction. Another is that there is no discussion of the Asian population in South Africa, although a chapter is devoted to the "Cape Coloured." The section on Rhodesia is also very sketchy, reflecting the author's very short stay there.

Hoagland admits that he deals more with the white rulers than the black communities, both because of the present power relations on which he focuses, and because of the difficulties for a white visitor in judging what is going on in the black communities. But the book would have been substantially strengthened if he had devoted more time and effort to talking with the leaders of the African liberation movements in exile, and perhaps arranging visits inside the liberated areas of one of the Portuguese territories.

One of the virtues of Hoagland's account however, is his recognition that white supremacy stems not only from the Afrikaner, but that the white community as a whole is involved. So a chapter on the Afrikaners, and one dealing with the particular horrors of apartheid such as "Law and Order" and the resettlement schemes, are supplemented by ones dealing with the English-speaking whites, and the structure of the South African economy. He also discusses, and rejects, the notion that industrialization will bring about the downfall of apartheid.

"Outside the Laager" gives most detail about the Portuguese colonies. But his failure to see things from the African side as well not only limits the value of his description but also affects his conclusions. Thus he suggests that it is unlikely that military threats in the border states could be dangerous enough within the next decade to warrant South Africa intervention (and the consequent problem of overextended white forces). But the fighting in Tete (already visible in 1971), now extended into Manica e Sofala, and the stepped-up attacks in Zimbabwe, are already confronting South Africa with the dilemma of seeing its white partners in increasing difficulty, or of intervening more actively itself.

His conclusions for US policy are essentially ambivalent. He suggests two alternatives—one that white power will persist indefinitely, and that the US should help alleviate conditions by supporting Bantustan leaders such as Chief Buthelezi; the other, that support should be provided for the African liberation movements, perhaps in cooperation with both China and the Soviet Union. He says, "The reader who has surmised that intellectually I see the white-power option as the only realistic one for

South Africa, while emotionally feeling that we should do whatever we can to help bring about a chance for the black majority to gain control over itself—by violence if that is the only way in which that objective can be achieved—is correct. It is an agonizing ambivalence for which I do not apologize." His ambivalence also leads to an omission in his discussion of disengagement. Rightly rejecting the idea that disengagement itself would bring down white supremacy, he fails to see its possible effects in weakening South Africa as the guerrilla conflict in the area intensifies, and in lessening the probability of more active western intervention on the side of the white regimes.

This book then, provides a good descriptive overview of the Southern African white regimes, in spite of some omissions. For a picture of the present reality of black Southern Africans, or of the potential of the liberation struggle, or of alternatives for American action, it is only of limited usefulness.

SHORT REVIEWS

FREE COPY OF THE FRANKFORT DOCUMENTS, the evidence of new secret loans by 40 US, European and Canadian banks to the South African govt. (See *Southern Africa*, June/July, 1973). Available from: Corporate Information Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

BOOKLET ON EEC AND PORTUGAL

For only 75 cents one can obtain an important booklet produced by the Dutch Angola Comite entitled **PORTUGAL AND THE EEC** which includes analysis of Europe's stake in Portugal, EFTA and Portugal, new EEC free trade agreements for Portugal, and Portugal's African economic structures. For copies write to the Angola Comite, Da Costastraat 88, Amsterdam, Holland.

RACE TO POWER: THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA is now available in reprint form from the New World Resource Center, 1546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. \$2.00 each. Also available, **INTELLIGENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY** (also reprint form) for \$1.00. Add 10% for postage. Both booklets were published by Africa Research Group

JIHAD PRODUCTIONS, Box 663, Newark, has begun a series of beautifully produced small paperback books by African and Afro-American writers. Included so far are Julius Nyerere's paper **UJAMAA—THE BASIS OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM**; Ahmed Sekou Toure, **THE POLITICAL LEADER CONSIDERED AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A CULTURE**; and Imamu Amiri Baraka, **A BLACK VALUE SYSTEM**. Others to come are the speeches given by Amilcar Cabral at Kwame Nkrumah's funeral, and by Sekou Toure after Cabral's assassination.

BOOKS RECEIVED:

Listing in this space does not preclude later review.

1. Arrighi, Giovanni and John S. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973. 416 pp. \$12.50.

2. Duggan, William Redman. *A Socioeconomic Profile of South Africa*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973. 200 pp. \$15.
3. Kapungu, Leonard T. *The United Nations and Economic Sanctions in Rhodesia*. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973. 160 pp. \$12.50.
4. Khaketla, B. M. *Lesotho 1970: An African Coup under the Microscope*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. 360 pp. \$10.
5. Makler, Ian. *Pattern for Profit in Southern Africa*. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1972. 120 pp. \$8.50.
6. Mathews, A.S. *Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. 338 pp. \$15.00.
7. Mokgatle, Naboth. *The Autobiography of an Unknown South African*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 349 pp. \$7.95.
8. Paulme, Denis, ed. *Women of Tropical Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 308 pp. \$3.65 paperback.
9. Potholm, Christian P. *Swaziland: The Dynamics of Political Modernization*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. 183 pp. \$8.
10. Stonim, Solomon. *South West Africa and the United Nations: An International Mandate in Dispute*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. 352 pp. \$13.50.



resources

A DWELLING PLACE OF OUR OWN—THE STORY OF THE NAMIBIAN NATION. by Randolph Vigne. Published by International Defence and Aid. A concise but informative history of Namibia, providing an important background to present developments in the territory. Available from International Defence and Aid, Room 201, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass 02138. 45¢ for individual copies. Bulk prices on request.

ANTI-APARTHEID NEWS BULLETIN

A new series entitled "Action against Apartheid" has been started by the UN Unit on Apartheid at the request of anti-apartheid movements, and in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid, as a means to keep movements informed of the activities of UN organs against apartheid, and to promote an exchange of information. It will contain: notes on current activities of the Special Committee on Apartheid and other UN organs, agencies, and the OAU; notes on relevant activities of governments and organizations around the world; a list of current UN documents and publications; bibliographies of relevant publications of anti-apartheid movements and other groups.

PARTIAL LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS WORKING ON ISSUES RELATED TO SOUTHERN AND COLONIZED AFRICA

Africa Information Service
112 West 120th Street
New York, New York 10027

Africa Activist Association
African Studies Center
University of California
Los Angeles, California

African Information Center
1016 East 75th Street
Chicago, Illinois

African Liberation Support Committee/Boston
25 Holyoke
Boston, Massachusetts

African Liberation Support Committee/New York
261 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

African Liberation Support Committee/Washington
1648 Roxanna Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Afrikan Information Bureau
P.O. Box 1554
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Afrikan Youth Movement for Liberation and Unity
(House of Kuumba)
108 West 112th Street
New York, New York 10025

Afro-Asian Peoples Liberation Movement
144 Leicester Causeway
Coventry, England

Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee
Montreal, Canada

Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization
89 Abdel Aziz Al Saud
Cairo, Egypt

All African News Service
P.O. Box 21366
Greensboro, North Carolina 27420

American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Angola Comité
Da Costastraat 88
Amsterdam, Holland

Anti-Apartheid Movement
89 Charlotte Street
London, W. 1, Great Britain

Black Concern
Box 513
Bronx, New York 10472

Black Unity and Freedom Party
15a Lausanne Road
Peckham, London, S.E. 15
Great Britain

Chicago Area Committee for the Liberation of Angola,
Mozambique, and Guiné
2546 North Halsted
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Committee for a Free Mozambique
616 West 116th Street, #1-A
New York, New York 10027

Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guiné
531 Caledonian Road
London, N.7
Great Britain

Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization
Room 560, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Liberation Support Movement/California
Bay Area Branch, Box 814
Oakland, California 94604

Liberation Support Movement/Canada
Information Center, Box 338
Richmond, B.C., Canada

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa
731 State Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Medisch Komitee Angola
sekr. Minahassastraat 1
Amsterdam, Holland

Pan-African Information Bureau
c/o Nairobi Book Store
1621 Bay Road
East Palo Alto, California

Pan-African Liberation Committee
P.O. Box 514
Brookline Village
Brookline, Massachusetts 02147

Pan-African Skills Project
Room 560, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Pan-African Students Organizations in the Americas
PASOA
304 Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

Southern African Liberation Committee
310 Triphammer Road
Ithaca, New York 14850

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Southern Africa Committee/New York
244 West 27th Street, 5th Floor
New York, New York 10001

Southern Africa Committee/South
P.O. Box 3581
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Youth Organization for Black Unity
Box 20826
Greensboro, North Carolina 27420

MPLA PRINTSHOP PROJECT

In August 1972 the LSM Information Center sent the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) an AM/1250 offset press. Prior discussion of this project had taken place between the LSM Information Center Director and MPLA President, Dr. Agostinho Neto. Following receipt of the MPLA letter reproduced below, detailed discussions of a complete PRINTSHOP PROJECT were held in December 1972 in Lusaka, Zambia between LSM representatives and the head of MPLA's Department of Information and Propaganda (DIP), Paulo Jorge. MPLA's need for a self-sufficient printshop to produce their bulletin, *ANGOLA IN ARMS*, communiques, educational and medical texts, informational leaflets, posters, etc., was thrown into very sharp relief and it was agreed that the LSM Information Center would launch a campaign in 1973 to supply the DIP with a COMPLETE PRINTSHOP as well as technical people to train MPLA cadres in printing and darkroom procedures. Facilities are now being prepared by MPLA for the PRINTSHOP in Lusaka and we are hoping to coordinate the arrival there of necessary equipment, supplies and training cadres for mid-September 1973.

To meet this target, however, we will need the support and cooperation of a large number of progressive individuals and groups in North America. We believe that **BY COLLABORATING IN THIS MPLA PRINTSHOP PROJECT YOU CAN STRIKE AN EFFECTIVE BLOW AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM, AND FOR A FREE AND PROGRESSIVE ANGOLA!!!**

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA
(M. P. L. A.)

D. I. P. DELEGATION IN TANZANIA

OUR REF. DIP - LSM

YOUR REF.

DATE 28th Sept. 1972

REQUIREMENTS

The LSM Information Center is planning, largely through contributions made during its SPRING FILM TOUR to raise sufficient monies to purchase & ship three essential pieces of printshop equipment. They are:

Vertical Press Camera
Foot-operated Stapler
Paper Folder

Estimated cost: \$4,000.00

Individuals, groups and organizations can participate in this project by (1) contributing funds to cover the purchase and shipping expenses for essential equipment and/or supplies through the Information Center or (2) pledging to send any of the following equipment or supplies directly to the MPLA.

To the
LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT
Information Center
p.o. box 338 - RICHMOND, B.C.
CANADA

Dear Comrades,

We are very pleased to learn that you sent us an AM 1250 offset printing press.

Needless to say, this machine will be very useful in the work of our Information Department.

In order to further assist the D.I.P. in its work, we would like you to try to acquire and send us the additional equipment and materials necessary for us to establish a complete and self-sufficient printshop in Dar es Salaam.

We take this opportunity to wish you all the best and thank you for all the work that you have done for us.

Yours sincerely,

M. C. Boavida
MPLA-DIP Dar es Salaam

Andreise Lukoki
Chief Representative of MPLA in
Tanzania

EQUIPMENT

1. Typewriters: two. IBM "Selectric II" with interchangeable 10 and 12 point type; Price in Canada: \$755.00
Elements: \$22.00 each; a dozen required.
2. Plateburner: NuArc Flip/Top 23" x 27" suggested.
U.S. price: \$895.00
or reconditioned unit.
3. Collator: 20-bin reconditioned suggested.
Estimated cost: \$300.00
4. Darkroom sinks: Fiberglass or Stainless Steel unit.
Suggest obtaining used unit in good condition.
5. Paper Cutter: Large size required as paper is supplied in 35" x 47". Estimated cost of rebuilt cutter: \$3,000 to \$4,000.

AUXILIARY EQUIPMENT

"Media groups", familiar with the following list of items necessary for the smooth functioning of a self-sufficient shop may be best suited to pledging all or part of the auxiliary equipment:

light table	scissors
x-acto knives	graduates (two)
brushes	funnel
tape dispensers	stirring paddle
set squares, T squares	1 gal. jugs for chem. (four)
rulers	buckets for mixing chemicals
pens, extra points	8 x 10 trays (four)
pencils, various	11 x 14 trays (four)
waxer	thermometer
Pre-Cop-Tic magnifyer #20	squeege
reduction wheel	safelights/filters
Litho manual	written filters
Kodak instruction bks	anti-static brush
magenta negative screens: 133 line & 150 line	

Estimated total cost for auxiliary equipment:
\$650 to \$800 plus shipping.

SUPPLIES

In addition to sending initial quantities of the following essential materials, we urge that groups send particular items from the list on a regular basis. Supplies are unavailable in Zambia for several months at a time, so the establishment of a continuous flow of these items is necessary if the PRINTSHOP is to function with any consistency.

Lay-out & darkroom supplies

masking sheets	film
knife blades	film cleaner
india ink	lens cleaner; lens paper
opaque: white/red/black	stop bath
tape: clear/ruby/masking	fixer
transfer type	developer
typewriter ribbons	contact paper
rubylith; amberlith	blotter roll
clear base	extra lights for camera
rubber cement & thinner	marking pens

Press room supplies

paper	press blankets
inks	anti-skin spray
photo-sensitive plates	sheet separators
paper plates (for short runs)	form covers
plate developer	ductor covers
plate lacquer or finisher	rubber rejuvenator
gum arabic	hand cleaner
glaze cleaner	wrenches
blanket wash	staples (for binding)
fountain solution	

"OUR STRUGGLE IS NOT AN ISOLATED STRUGGLE IN THE WORLD. IT IS PART OF A GLOBAL STRUGGLE BY HUMANITY TO BRING AN END TO THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, AND IT IS WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK THAT WE MUST VIEW OUR STRUGGLE". Agostinho Neto

ASSIST THE MPLA AND THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA!
PLEDGE YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE MPLA PRINTSHOP NOW!
EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES, FUNDS -- ALL ARE REQUIRED.

Send all pledges, donations and enquiries to:

MPLA PRINTSHOP PROJECT

P.O. Box 94338
Richmond, B.C. Canada

604-278-2992

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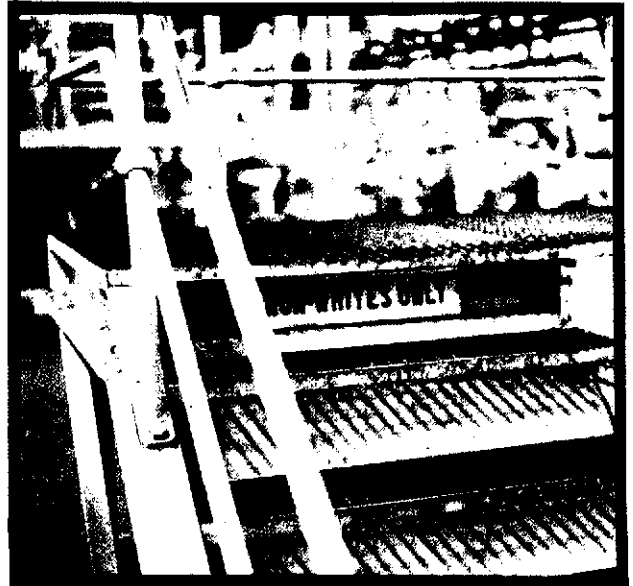
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