

# southern africa



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**Front cover:**

Aristides Pereira, Secretary General of the PAIGC  
addressing the National Assembly     • Bruna Amico •

We apologize for the lack of the section on Namibia.  
A review section will appear next month.

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# a salute to the people of guinea-bissau and cape-verde

On the 24th of September 1973 the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed at the first meeting of the People's National Assembly of Guinea. A new stage in the consolidation of the Revolution and War for National Liberation waged by the People of Guinea-Bissau has been reached.

Seventeen years of struggle has elapsed since the founding of PAIGC in September 1956. Steadily under the genius of Amilcar Cabral, the Party accomplished the enormous tasks of establishing a National Unity, fighting a War of Liberation and reconstructing the nature of Guinean society. After massacres by the Portuguese had shown that a peaceful road to independence was barred, ten years of armed struggle that gradually liberated more than two-thirds of the territory of Guinea-Bissau, preceded the declaration of the State.

During the years of armed conflict PAIGC had established itself as a *dé facto* government over most of the territory of Guinea-Bissau, providing health services and education where none had existed before. It regulated trade, the production of goods; and set up and administered a system of laws. But its greatest task was the transformation of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

The people, who had been exploited for over a century, coerced into forced labor, robbed of their land, sunk in poverty and ignorance, were without health and welfare services or even schools. Kept in this state of

isolation and human misery so that a few Portuguese could be rich, the people are now developing, through the process of revolution, a new society—a society not ruled by a group subservient to imperialist interest or robbed so that others might be rich.

A people experiencing the process of making a revolution, becoming aware of themselves, broadening their political horizons, feeling their strength grow as they fight the military campaign, experiencing the warmth of human dignity return to them after the long slavery under the Portuguese colonial masters. This was the great achievement and political work of Amilcar Cabral until he was struck down by assassins in January this year.

Now they reach out to the mainstreams of international life to participate in councils and take their place among other nations. Over sixty nations have recognized the new government of this people. Noticibly the Western Powers are absent from the list in spite of their professed belief in freedom and democracy.

We are heartened to know that a great man's work has borne fruit. The task is not over, the struggle must continue, but at the historic moment of the Proclamation of the state, after years of struggle and achievement by the people and the Party, they have reached a great goal and created a new reality, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. May this heroic People prosper and be free.



Bruna Amico • Afrique-Asie

Leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau:  
Left to right: Aristides Pereira, secretary-general of the Party; Nino Vieira, Commissioner of the Armed Forces and President of the National Assembly; Luiz Cabral, President of the Council of State. Far right: Chico Mendes, Chief Commissioner, Council of State Commissioners.

## PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU BY THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The current era of man's history is characterized by the struggle of peoples for their full emancipation from colonialism, imperialism, racism and all other forms of domination and oppression hampering human development and dignity, peace and progress.

In the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, our people, guided by the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) under the enlightened leadership of its founder and No. 1 militant, Amilcar Cabral, has, in the course of 17 years of political and armed struggle, constructed a new life and now possesses a constantly-evolving administrative organization, social and cultural services, a judicial system, a steadily developing economy and national armed forces.

The visit of a United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau from 2 to 8 April 1972 served to confirm to the international community what has been attested to by dozens of impartial, honest observers from every continent: the self-determination of our people and the *de facto* existence of an efficiently functioning State structure.

In flagrant violation of modern international law, the Portuguese colonialists are still encroaching upon some portions of our national territory. The United Nations has repeatedly recognized the illegality of the Portuguese presence, the inalienable right of our people to freedom and sovereignty, and the legitimacy of its struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

On the basis of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have reaffirmed the inalienable right of our people to self-determination and independence, particularly in General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 and Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972. Furthermore, on the proposal of the Special Committee on Decolonization, the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session recognized PAIGC, the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, as the only and authentic representative of the people of that Territory.

The People's National Assembly, which is the result of PAIGC's successes in the fight against Portuguese colonialism, was constituted on the basis of the principle that power derives from the people and should serve the people. The Assembly is composed of representatives elected by universal and direct suffrage by a secret ballot, being the expression of the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

At its meeting of 24 September 1973 in the Boe region, the People's National Assembly, expressing the sovereign will of the people:

### SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMS THE STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU

The State of Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist State whose primary objectives are the complete liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the forging of a union between those two territories for the purpose of building a strong African homeland dedicated to progress. The arrangements for this union will be determined, after these two territories are liberated, in accordance with the will of the people.

The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes the sacred duty of taking action to expedite, by every means, the expulsion of the forces of aggression of Portuguese colonialism from that part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau which they still occupy and to intensify the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands, which form an integral and inalienable part of the national territory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

In due course, the People's Assembly of Cape Verde will be established in the Cape Verde Islands, with a view to the creation of the supreme body having full sovereignty over the people of Guinea and Cape Verde: the People's National Assembly of Guinea and Cape Verde.

The State of Guinea-Bissau regards the strengthening of the links of solidarity and soldierly brotherhood between our people and all peoples of the Portuguese colonies as one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy; it stands in solidarity with the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America and with all Arab peoples

fighting against zionism.

The State of Guinea-Bissau is an integral part of Africa and strives for the unity of the African peoples, respecting the freedom of those peoples, their dignity and their right to political, economic, social and cultural progress.

As regards international relations, the State of Guinea-Bissau wishes to maintain and develop ties of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with its neighbours—the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal—with all independent African States and with all States throughout the world which recognize its sovereignty and support the national liberation struggle of our people. These relations shall be based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect for national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes responsibility for promoting the economic advancement of the country, thereby creating the material basis for the development of culture, science and technology, with a view to the continuing improvement of the social and economic living standards of our population and with the ultimate aim of achieving a life of peace, well-being and progress for all our country's children.

Having as a foundation our heroic People's National Liberation Army, the State of Guinea-Bissau will provide our national armed forces with all necessary means to accomplish the task of bringing about the complete liberation of our country, and defending the achievements of our people and the integrity of our national territory.

From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal, and their acts are null and void. Consequently, from that moment on, the Portuguese State has no right to assume any obligations or commitments in relation to our country. All treaties, conventions, agreements, alliances and concessions involving our country which were entered into in the past by the Portuguese colonialists will be submitted to the People's National Assembly, the supreme embodiment of State power, which will proceed to review them in accordance with the interests of

our peoples.

The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wishes to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship.

The State of Guinea-Bissau adheres to the principles of non-alignment. It supports the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and, to that effect and in accordance with the resolutions of the highest international organs, it declares its willingness to negotiate a solution which will put an end to the aggression of the Portuguese colonial Government that is illegally

occupying part of our national territory and committing acts of genocide against our populations.

The frontiers of the State of Guinea-Bissau delimit the territory situated between latitudes 12° 20' and 10° 59' north and between longitudes 16° 43' and 13° 90' west, that is to say bounded by the Republic of Senegal to the north, the Republic of Guinea to the south and east and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The territory consists of a mainland part, a string of coastal islands and all the islands comprising the Bijagos archipelago and covers a land area of 36, 125 square kilometres plus the respective territorial

waters and corresponds to the area of the region formerly designated as the colony of Portuguese Guinea.

The State of Guinea-Bissau appeals to all the independent States of the world to accord it *de jure* recognition as a sovereign State in accordance with international law and practice. It expresses its determination to participate in international life, particularly the United Nations, where our people will be able to make its contribution to solving the fundamental problems of our times both in Africa and in the world.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
Boe region, 24 September 1973

*After 17 years of political and armed struggle and incalculable sacrifices on the part of our people, who have watered the sacred soil of our country with their sweat, their tears and their generous blood, we are today gathering a harvest which repays us for all our past sacrifices, for we are planting the tree which is our Party and we are nurturing its growth precisely so that this harvest will flourish—to the despair of the Portuguese colonialists and their allies, of the African traitors and of all those who never believed in the capacity and ability of the African peoples in general, and of our people in particular, to cast off the shackles of foreign oppression and exploitation.*

*Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC,  
address to the first meeting of the People's National Assembly*

*On October 23, 1973, a group of people met informally with Comrade Silvino da Luz, PAIGC militant presently representing his party and the newly proclaimed State of Guinea-Bissau at the United Nations. During the General Assembly session last year, Amilcar Cabral came to New York and addressed the Fourth Committee on Decolonization, using the newly established observer status granted to the liberation movements from the Portuguese Colonies. This year there was no need to use this observer status, as the sovereign state of Guinea-Bissau had been proclaimed on September 24, shortly before the convening of the 4th Committee.*

*At this informal meeting Comrade da Luz discussed the proclamation of the State, how the struggle for the liberation of Cape Verde is an integral part of the liberation of Guinea but why it is not presently included in the proclamation, negotiations on the diplomatic front at the United Nations and the concept of "agression".*

Comrade da Luz began his talk by greeting the "friends of our country, the friends of our state in the making". He expressed thanks for all the efforts being made by people in the United States in trying to urge the United States Government to recognize the right of the people of Guinea-Bissau to sovereignty and independence. "... So that they will be in accord with certain correct political principles... [and] that they do not place friendship with an ally that still lives in the middle ages".

Meeting with  
Comrade da Luz,  
P.A.I.G.C.

## Proclamation of the State

One of the important events to take place recently inside Guinea-Bissau was the PAIGC Party Congress (18 to 22 July). It was held despite the enemy's belief that they would be unable to organize it in the short time after the assassination of Comrade Cabral.

The Congress called for the first meeting of the People's National Assembly (elected by the people in the liberated territories in October, 1972) to be held as soon as possible. And it was at this meeting that the State of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed.

Comrade da Luz placed strong emphasis on the fact that the proclamation of the state simply made official what had existed in reality. The PAIGC has liberated over two thirds of their country and are seen by many outside the country as the true representatives of Guinea-Bissau. Hence a contradiction existed which needed to be resolved.

The State was proclaimed on September 24th, and on the same day the National Assembly approved the constitution and named the executives of the state. The constitution calls firstly for a Council of State, headed by a President. Secondly, for a Council of Commissioners, comprised of 8 commissioners and 8 sub-commissioners. (The term 'commissioners' is preferred to the term 'minister'.) In order of precedence then, is the Secretary-General of the Party, the President of the Council of State and the President of the Council of Commissioners, or Chief Commissioner. "For us it is the Party which is the supreme organ of the State, defining, the politics which we follow. And right now it is the Party which most represents the unity of our people who live in Guinea-Bissau and on the Cape Verde Islands".

### The Liberation of Cape Verde

The newly proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau does *not* include the Cape Verde Islands.

Comrade da Luz stressed the fact that the people of Guinea-Bissau and the people of the Cape Verde Islands are a single people. When the Portuguese arrived on the islands, they were uninhabited, and they proceeded to populate them with people from the mainland. After colonialization had begun the Portuguese, using the phenomenon of racial mixing, waged a continual propaganda campaign to convince the colonized people that they were therefore two different peoples, the Cape Verdians and the Guineans. But the distinction is an artificial one and is rejected by PAIGC. Therefore the Party was established to struggle for national liberation from Portugal and to create a single unified state after liberation.

The geographical isolation of the islands (some 400 miles from Guinea-Bissau) does not permit the struggle to develop at the same pace as it has in Guinea, where virtually all the national territory has been liberated. In Cape Verde the almost complete domination of the population by the Portuguese military persists. There political work is clandestine, to prepare the people for higher and different levels of struggle that must follow.

The State of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde was not proclaimed, said da Luz, for the simple reason that whereas they have effectively won the war in Guinea, the Portuguese dominate Cape Verde almost entirely. Where colonial dominance remains, independence can not be



Silvino da Luz, PAIGC (right) and Sharfudine Khan, FRELIMO representative to the United Nations at the informal meeting.

proclaimed. This does not mean that Cape Verde is not regarded as part of the national territory. But in order to advance the struggle to a higher level, the State of Guinea-Bissau had to be created, to demand and win recognition of its independence from Portugal, representing a clear diplomatic advance.

"We could have said that the Cape Verde Islands are a national territory still occupied by the Portuguese colonialists. Some friends criticize us and say we should have said this, but... it would have been to proclaim something that in fact does not exist. This reality is clear in our constitution. But also in our constitution, it is clear that the main task of our state... is to struggle for the liberation of Cape Verde."

"We think that the proclamation of our state will greatly aid the struggle on the Cape Verde Islands. We think in terms of global strategy. It is not only we who benefit, but also the people of Angola and the people of Mozambique."

### Diplomatic Maneuvers: Towards Recognition

Da Luz informed us that more than 70 countries have recognized the State (not all members of the United Nations) and have sought to open diplomatic relations. The most important repercussion of this will be the isolation of Portugal. In the General Assembly even the closest allies of Portugal are embarrassed by having to defend their non-supportive position.

Many friends thought that they would perhaps demand membership of the United Nations immediately. "We could have done this. Even though there would have been vetoes from the allies of Portugal, namely the United States, Britain and France, there would have been a majority vote". It would have served as a diplomatic maneuver to unmask the imperialist alliance involving the colonial powers. "Right now we are in the process of observing the evolution of the situation". A vote was taken the previous day to include an item on the General Assembly agenda, to discuss Portugal as an aggressor country, illegally occupying certain areas of Guinea-



Carmen Pereira, vice-president of the People's National Assembly and member of the State Council. She is the highest ranking woman officer of the new Republic and one of the most experienced members of PAIGC with a long record of work in the struggle.

Bissau. The initial vote for inclusion on the agenda resulted in 88 for, 20 abstentions, 7 against (United States, Portugal, South Africa, Brazil, Bolivia, Greece, Spain). Some of Portugal's NATO friends abstained—Britain, France, Italy. "They are willing to have the situation discussed but not under the label 'illegal occupation.' Rather they wish to have it called *'the new situation in Guinea-Bissau after the proclamation of the State'*"\*

It is interesting to note, said da Luz, that a country such as the U.S., is taking a position completely contrary to the way it gained its own independence. Independence was proclaimed in 1776, one year after the war for independence began. This did not prevent France, today one of the countries that aids Portugal, from sending General Lafayette and his troops to the defense of the sovereignty of the newly proclaimed state—not only did they recognize it, but they sent guns and troops to guarantee it. "To pursue the comparison a little further, one can say that the United States today would be in the position of not recognizing the United States of 1776."

Portugal itself is a semi-colony. The industries in Portugal—port wine, mines, railroads, telephones—do not belong to the Portuguese people. 60% of the exports from the colonies go directly to other countries—France, Britain, the United States, friends of Portugal and NATO. It is clear that if Portugal continues to hold the colonies, it is because these countries want it this way.

But, said da Luz, two things are absolutely sure. "First, with or without recognition by these countries, we shall be completely independent. Secondly, one day they will recognize us. But that moment will be chosen by ourselves." It will be necessary to first clear up the situation of foreign interests in Guinea-Bissau. The proclamation states that any agreements reached between Portugal and other foreign powers concerning, or done in

the name of, Guinea-Bissau are null and void. Perhaps tomorrow there will be another kind of struggle.

"We are absolutely sure that with our friends around the world, our people will be independent."

#### Aggression—not simply armed

The last point that Comrade da Luz discussed was the concept of aggression. "For us aggression is not simply armed aggression." When speaking of Portuguese aggression it must be described in all its forms: armed, economic, political and cultural. Political aggression is enacted in areas which are not yet liberated, where people are forced to live under a government which they did not elect; economic aggression is perpetrated when the Portuguese sign agreements in the name of the people of Guinea-Bissau and give out parcels of national territory to colonial settlers; cultural aggression is manifested when foreign institutions are imposed. Although they wish to profit from the positive aspects of foreign cultures, their own culture must be respected. "We want our culture to have the freedom to grow".

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\*On November 2, the U.N. General Assembly passed Resolution 3061 (XXVIII) by a vote of 93 in favor, 7 negative votes (U.S., U.K., Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Greece and Brazil) and 30 abstentions. The Resolution welcomed the "accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau thereby creating the sovereign State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau," and demanded that Portugal desist from illegally occupying various "sectors" of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, calling for its immediate withdrawal. The Assembly invited member states and U.N. agencies to render all assistance to the Government of Guinea-Bissau. It also called the attention of the Security Council to the critical situation resulting from Portugal's illegal occupation.



## Special: Mid-East War, Israel and Southern Africa

With Israel's position in Africa growing more isolated after a new round of African countries severed diplomatic relations, attention on South Africa was diverted at the United Nations while efforts to bring about a cease-fire in the Middle East were deliberated. Plans by the African bloc nations to challenge South Africa's credentials in the General Assembly and to attack South Africa at the Security Council meeting on Namibia had to be postponed during the Mid-East crisis. Another major initiative by the African nations to attempt to seat representatives of South African liberation organizations for the first time may be affected as well.

Zionist organizations in South Africa, like in the U.S., launched major fund raising appeals, and the South African Zionist Federation reported being inundated, as in 1967, with volunteers to join the Middle East war. While official government comment was cautious, South African Minister of Defense, P.W. Botha, in a Kruger day festival speech alluded to the special relationship between South Africa and Israel. "Just as Israel controls a gateway between East and West, South Africa controls a gateway between North and South".

### Portugal implicated:

The 'gateway' for war supplies from the U.S. in the west to Israel in the east, however, was controlled by Portugal. After Turkey, Greece and Spain refused to service U.S. supply ships to Israel, Portugal agreed to the use of the strategic Azores' base. The U.S. and Portugal have in fact signed a pact which gives the U.S. five years of continuous use of its air and naval bases on the Portuguese island of Terciera in the Azores. In return the Portuguese government is to receive substantial economic assistance from the U.S. in the form of long term loans and financial grants. The costly African wars which annually drain over 50% of Portugal's budget can only be maintained with aid from the outside, like the \$436,000,000 gift from the U.S. under Nixon in 1970. The U.S. consistently bails Portugal out of its financial troubles stemming from the liberation wars in Africa in return for favors, like the use of the Azores' base.

### Israel in Africa:

With the 4th Mid-East war, Israel's diplomatic isolation in Africa is rapidly increasing. On October 23rd Ethiopia became the 20th African nation to break diplomatic ties with Israel in the last 19 months. With Senegal, Ghana, Central African Republic, Malagasy Republic and Zaire, these most recent breaks came dramatically in response to the outbreak of new hostilities in the 1973 Mid-East war. Emperor Haile Selassie said the break came "because Israel refused to withdraw from Arab territory it occupied in 1967". The breaks initiated by Ethiopia and Zaire came unexpectedly since Israeli presence in these countries has been especially strong. Israeli "advisors" reportedly controlled Ethiopia's internal security and were training police and soldiers in Zaire. At the 10th anniversary conference of the O.A.U. earlier this year, Ethiopia tried to stand firm against attacks from North African countries, initiated by Libya, who wished for the O.A.U. headquarters to be removed from Ethiopia

due to Selassie's close relationship with Israel.

The Republic of Guinea was the first African nation to sever diplomatic relations with Israel immediately following the 6 day blitzkrieg in 1967 when Israel occupied new Arab territories. Between March and December 1972, five more African states, Uganda, Chad, Niger, Mali and the Congo, followed the Guinean initiative and broke relations with Israel. Since 1967 many African capitals have opened their doors to the Palestinian resistance organizations—in the case of Uganda, Idi Amin turned the former Israeli Embassy over to the offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization. President Tombalbaye said he "opens the doors of Chad to Palestinians so they can fight Zionism, the agent of imperialism". During the October 1973 war Tanzania accused Israel of being entirely responsible for the latest Mid-East war and reaffirmed its support of the Arab countries. This spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity which appears to be emerging as a force among Arab and African peoples was reflected recently in a conference of Arab-Americans which dealt with the theme of settler colonialism in Israel and South Africa. Most recently the pro-Western Ivory Coast severed ties with Israel.

Up until 1956, Israel had no presence in Africa except for an embassy in South Africa. Israel then sought to establish good ties with the emerging African nations, and in 1960-61 Israel established ties with eight of newly independent African countries. By January of 1970 Israel had cooperation treaties with 20 African nations and had sent over 1200 experts to developing African countries.

Israel's position in Africa has been weakened severely by its expansionist wars in the Middle East, by its close economic and political ties with South Africa and by its interference in internal African affairs. For example, Israel supported Biafra against Nigeria and it provided training and military assistance to the southern Sudan separatist movement, the Anya Anya.

### The Mid-East, Oil and Africa:

More than any moral considerations over lands and to whom they rightfully belong, settlement of the Middle-East conflict will revolve around oil; who gets it and who doesn't. Saudi Arabia has refused to send oil to the United States and other European countries until Israel has withdrawn from occupied Arab territories and there is a settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem. Other Mid-East countries, including Algeria, have reacted similarly and Saudi Arabia has recently added South Africa to its embargo list. An Arab oil boycott against Portugal has also been implemented.

Nigeria, quick to respond to the impending crisis over oil in the west, has doubled the posted price of its crude oil from \$4.287 to \$8.310 a barrel. Nigeria is the largest foreign supplier after Canada of crude oil to the U.S. Meanwhile Israel is pumping \$150,000,000 worth of oil out of occupied Sinai which satisfies its own domestic needs.

Israel, like South Africa, grows increasingly isolated from the world diplomatic community and each has one consistent ally and friend, the United States.

# SOUTH AFRICA

## SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO PUT MORE SCREWS ON PRESS

South Africa's press has been called the only major gap in the cloak of self-deception which encircles white South Africa and shields it from the inhuman realities of apartheid. The Nationalist Government has been stitching away at that gap for 25 years through various restrictions placed on the press and through the self-censorship system engendered by police state conditions. Prime Minister Vorster has now made it clear that he intends to seal the gap completely by introducing legislation soon that will give him powers to "remove from the streets" newspapers found guilty of "racial incitement." Under such legislation, the term "racial incitement" will undoubtedly have as many meanings as the term "communism" has under the infamous Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, "so that in effect the press is being ordered to pretend that there is no internal problem in South Africa to which race is a contributory factor." (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 21, 1973; *Washington Post*, Sept. 23, 1973)

According to informed sources, the legislation Vorster intends to introduce will be "drastic and wide ranging," and "will go much further than any of the laws passed by the Government in the past 25 years to restrict press reporting and comments on matters such as defence, prisons, the bureau for State Security, utterances of banned people, and so on." (*Observer*, London, Sept. 23, 1973)

Vorster, who already has extensive power to control the press and has used it on a number of occasions before, launched this latest and most serious attack in a series of speeches before Nationalist Party Congress audiences. He was thus assured of enthusiastic backing when he ordered the newspapers, and in particular the *Rand Daily Mail*, to "put their house in order" or suffer the consequences. While Vorster and his Ministers accuse the Press of "trying to talk South Africa into a revolution," one counter argument insists that South Africa "has changed, and the Press is simply mirroring this change." Vorster, suggests an Opposition politician, "wants to smash the mirror." (*Observer*, London, Sept. 23, 1973)

It may be that Vorster underestimated the degree of negative response his attack would engender and the extent to which it would unite, at least temporarily, newspapers not only critical but supportive of government policy. No doubt Vorster expected a strong response from Raymond Louw (*Rand Daily Mail* editor), who observed that the P.M. was not asking newspapers to censor themselves in terms of taste and conformity to the law but to "stop exposing the failures of his separate development policy," but he may not have expected to find less outspoken English language newspapers and a number of Afrikaans papers (often totally supportive of Government) siding with the *Rand Daily Mail* in opposition to his charges and orders. Yet in varying

degrees, this is precisely what has happened. South Africa's biggest daily, the Johannesburg *Star*, has urged other newspapers not to let the *Rand Daily Mail* be isolated and made a scapegoat, pointing out that all newspapers would ultimately suffer. In addition several Afrikaans-language papers, including the government mouthpiece *Die Transvaler*, have asked whether it is the duty of the Press to "hide the irresponsible utterances and actions of political and other leaders," implying, of course, that responsibility should lie with those whose statements and actions were "sometimes shockingly wilful and sadly tactless—even stupid—..." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1973)

Other individuals and groups within South Africa lined up on the side of the press include the South African Society of Journalists, the Newspaper Press Union, and various United Party and Progressive Party spokespeople. In September, Hans Strydom, President of the South African Society of Journalists, requested a meeting with pro-Vorster Interior Minister Connie Mulder in hopes of persuading him to withdraw his suggestion of a government-controlled register for journalists. To have journalists placed on and removed from such a register by ministerial decree would, insisted Strydom, be "dangerous and totally unacceptable." (*Times*, London, Sept. 21, 1973)

In U.K., both the *Guardian* and the *Times* have been highly critical of Vorster's threats, while the International Press Institute in Geneva, Switzerland has announced plans to mount a "very strong campaign" against the P.M.'s tactics of intimidation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

## APPEAL COURT OVERTURNS TERRORISM CONVICTIONS

On October 28, 1971, Ahmed Timol died while in police custody, before he was ever tried in a court of law. One year later, two of his friends, Yousef Hassan Essak and Indhrasen Moodley were sentenced to five years imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. They were found guilty of distributing literature which advocated the overthrow of the government, literature they allegedly received from Ahmed Timol. Their association with Timol was central to their conviction.

Both Essak and Moodley have recently won an appeal. The appellate court ruled that the State had failed to prove that the men were involved in conspiracy against the State. Tragically, Timol was not so fortunate.

Significant testimony at the trial came from Mr. Moodley who explained that he had given pamphlets to two people to make them aware that the South African Communist Party still existed. Moodley was trying to convince people of the need for reviving the Natal Indian Congress. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973)

## A SECOND LOOK AT CARLETONVILLE

In the aftermath of the slaying at Western Deep Level Mine in Carletonville, where 11 African miners were killed by police (see November issue of *Southern Africa*), the inadequacy of initial responses from both the South African Government and Anglo-American Corporation, owners of the mine, becomes increasingly apparent.

Following the incident, Prime Minister Vorster defended police action and utilized the opening of the Orange Free State National Party Congress to attack

Lesotho's Prime Minister Chiet Leabua Jonathan for blaming South Africa and calling the shootings a "massacre of 11 innocent mineworkers," five of whom were Lesotho nationals. Referring to a statement by Lesotho's U.N. representative in which the South African police were accused of "deliberate acts of irresponsibility," Vorster stated, "I reject this allegation with the contempt it deserves." He remarked that "if ever a country had reason to be grateful to South Africa for its assistance it was Lesotho." "It is not our fault," Vorster argued, "that Lesotho was so badly managed by the British and the Lesotho Government that its people come to work here." Loud applause greeted these comments on Lesotho's position, and especially Vorster's statement that the government would refuse entry into South Africa of any U.N. observer who might be sent at Lesotho's request to attend the inquest into the death of the miners. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

### "Communication Breakdowns" Cited

While defensiveness, anger and the desire to shift the blame to the victims of South Africa's migrant labor system characterize the Government's position as expressed by Vorster, Anglo-American Corporation Chairman Harry Oppenheimer admitted in a B.B.C. interview that a serious failure in communication between black miners and white mine management had existed at Western Deep Levels prior to the disturbances. Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, General Secretary of the T.U.C.S.A., called the Carletonville incident "a classic example of the complete breakdown in communications and the inability of management to spell out to its work force what it was trying to do." Grobbelaar and others who picked up this theme were referring to the fact that a widening of the pay differentials for black miners was unexplained by management and ill-understood by the machine operators who allegedly led the disturbances which resulted in the police killings (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973). The term "communication" within the South African context must be redefined as in fact there has been no attempt at real communication between white mine owners and black workers at any point in history—only the communication of violence, apartheid, "boss boys", compound living.

In any case, this was not the only "communication" problem connected with Carletonville. Journalists seeking to report the tragedy were "locked out, shooed away, sworn at, had their phones cut off" at the mines, and fared only slightly better at Anglo-American headquarters, where it took six hours to learn the pay scales of the machine operators in question. Police on the scene at the mine refused to tell reporters the number of arrests made. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

### A Wider Context Recognized

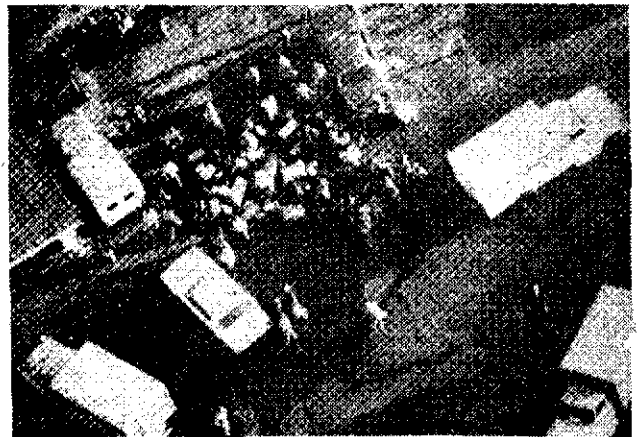
Both within and without South Africa, comparisons between Carletonville and Sharpeville have been drawn. One *Star* editorial, reminding its readers of the widely held view that the country could not stand another Sharpeville, noted that they had now experienced one, and questioned whether the police killings were both "by-products of migratory labour." (*Star*, Sept. 15, 1973)

Adam Raphael, the *Guardian* reporter who recently exposed the starvation wages paid to Black workers by British firms operating in South Africa, pointed to the irony of a situation in which the most serious mine

disturbance in 25 years occurred at a "show place" mine run by one of the "more progressive employers." According to Raphael, this may illustrate "the old adage that it is only when things begin to improve that suppressed discontents begin to surface." At the same time, it seems clear that South Africa has reason to fear the future at other larger mines, "where discontents have even greater force. . . ."

At Western Deep Levels, wage increases of 26% instituted last April brought the average weekly earnings of Black miners to \$10.80. Although this meant that wages there were slightly higher than elsewhere, they are still too low to attract South African Blacks, so that 70% of the labor force is imported from Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Poor in relation to industrial wages in South Africa, black gold mining wages are shockingly so in relation to mining profits. Last year, South African gold mines paid out a total of \$120 million for its black wage bill, while its profits before tax came to five times that figure. More specifically, figures for Anglo-American's profits in 1972 show a rise of 56% to more than \$375 million, with distributed dividends up 24% to \$135 million and even higher profits expected this year. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 13, 1973; *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 23, 1973) More shocking still is the fact that according to industry statistics, the wages of black miners in *real terms* did not increase *at all* between 1889 and 1969, while the ratio between white and black mining wages increased to 20 to one. In face of collusion between the mine owners, the white mining union and the Government, African miners have been powerless to alter their conditions. Moreover, they have been prevented from acquiring skilled status and are continuously threatened by the importation of even cheaper foreign labor. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 13, 1973)

As the indications of African frustration and bitterness multiply (Durban, Ovamboland, Carletonville) what further responses can we expect? Vorster will continue to blame "agitators" rather than legitimate grievances and may accelerate his attack on newspapers and organizations which expose such grievances as part and parcel of the apartheid system. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 13, 1973) Some White politicians in South Africa will use Carletonville for their own political purposes as is evident from the statements by Dr. Gideon Jacobs, Deputy Leader of the United Party in the Transvaal. Issuing a



WHERE it happened—police round up Africans following the shootings at Western Deep Levels Gold mine.

warning that the mine disturbances "could be the 'first bubble' in the highly explosive 'boiling pot' of South Africa," Jacobs has urged non-aligned elements in the electorate and businessmen to "back the UP in its effort to assure a positive future for South Africa." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973) Without doubt, the killings at Carletonville dramatically and horribly expose the basic elements in the South African situation. The future depends on what patterns will emerge from the relationship between the peoples' actions, and institutional responses and plans, be they governmental, corporate, or multi-national in nature. Continued repression yet continued resistance on the part of workers, students, and rural people brings the country into a new intensified phase moving toward change.

### GOVERNMENT GOES AFTER CRITICS

Passport withdrawals are the latest development in Government action against four liberal organizations, the Christian Institute (C.I.), the Institute of Race Relations (I.R.R.), the National Union of South Africa Students (N.U.S.A.S.), and the now disbanded University Christian Movement. All four organizations are being investigated by the Schlebusch Commission, which was set up in February, 1972. Since that time, NUSAS officials have been banned, a member of the Institute of Race Relations, Ilona Kleinschmidt, has been sentenced to a \$70.00 fine or 25 days in prison for refusing to testify before the Commission, and a number of others who have refused to testify have not yet been sentenced. (Four members of the I.R.R. and nine of the Christian Institute have refused.)

The Government has now removed the passports of the Rev. Beyers Naude, director of the C.I., the Rev. Theo Kotze, Cape director of the C.I., and the Rev. Brian Brown, deputy director. Brown's passport was taken from him at the airport as he was about to board a plane for Europe. Although there was no official explanation of the reason for the passport seizures, the government controlled radio said it was because they had refused to testify before the Schlebusch Commission. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, Sept. 29, Oct. 6, Oct. 13; *Guardian*, London, Sept. 29, 1973)

### SPRO-CAS REPORT RELEASED

A number of the people called to testify before the Schlebusch Commission have been directly or indirectly related to SPRO-CAS, the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society. Although there is not unanimity among the four organizations under government investigation (see above), the SPRO-CAS report gives an indication of the kind of analysis of South Africa that the government finds intolerable.

Written by Peter Randall, who has refused to testify, the report takes the following position: There is increased polarization of the races in South Africa, and developments that other commentators see as hopeful, Randall sees as "marginal." By this Randall means that the government will make marginal adjustments in the system to meet changing circumstances. There may be a loosening of sports apartheid, the granting of black workers restricted strike action rights and improvements in wage scales and advancement possibilities. Nevertheless, the white power structure, according to the report, is restrictive and not innovative. There is hope in the fact

that Blacks are becoming more organized and militant. In sum, Randall says, "The greatest hope for peaceful change in South Africa lies in the possibility of there being opportunities . . . for Blacks to exert constructive pressure on Whites and within White controlled institutions. In the long run the crucial question must be the extent to which the White power structure is prepared to bargain on basic issues." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973) What Randall is not free to say is that the Government will never bargain away its grasp of the reins of power, and thus change that involves a redistribution of power will never come by peaceful means.

### SA FEARS GROWTH OF THIRD WORLD

According to Gerald L'Ange of the Johannesburg *Star*, (Sept. 22, 1973), the growth of the Third World, its independence from the United States and the Soviet Union, and the detente between the two big powers means trouble for South Africa. The growing independence of this block of nations, which includes most of the oil producing nations of the world, threatens South Africa's traditional alliances. Western nations, dependent on oil and on other Third World resources, and formerly sympathetic to South Africa, will be less willing to continue friendly relations if such relations jeopardize access to needed raw materials.

South Africa therefore, needs for its security continued tension between the major powers so that it can be allied with the West on the side of anti-communism. And South Africa needs neo-colonialism to continue to control the Third World, so that the West will be able to call the shots in relation to the use of the natural resources from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The cost of apartheid in the international arena is the threat of war between super-powers and the perpetuation of a neo-colonialist world order.

### BLACK LEADER CONVICTED UNDER TERRORISM ACT

In a trial that lasted only five days, Black People's Convention (B.P.C.) leader Mosibudi Mangena was found guilty and sentenced to five years imprisonment. If one can believe the state's witnesses, this is what happened: Two black policemen were riding on a train, and Mangena came into their compartment, told them he was an organizer for the Black People's Convention, and asked them to join the B.P.C. Mangena allegedly said that the object of the B.P.C. was to recruit people to go overseas for military training. When they returned they would kill whites, homeland leaders, ministers, chiefs and police. The State witnesses said that they were not in uniform, which is why Mangena felt free to speak with them.

The facts are not verifiable, and it is difficult to believe this story. The Black People's Convention came into being in July, 1972. It is the first black political movement to emerge since the banning in 1960 of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. The B.P.C. advocates black consciousness, and states emphatically that it will refuse to operate within the structures of apartheid. Thus it is in direct opposition to the Bantustan leaders who claim to oppose the government from within. The B.P.C. is also one of the few strong opponents of foreign economic involvement in South Africa. Already, the Government has crippled the organization by banning most of its top leadership. The question must be asked if

Mangena's conviction is simply another attempt on the part of the South African Government to silence all significant opposition. (*Times*, London, Sept. 28, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 13, 1973)

### SASO LEADERS FLEE FROM SOUTH AFRICA

In order to avoid bannings, or other forms of silencing by the South African Government, the leading officials of the South African Students Organization have fled the country. All but one are without travel documents. The only name mentioned in the *Johannesburg Star* of Oct. 10 was that of Ben Langa, Secretary-General of SASO, who the Security Police are reported to have been seeking.

Along with the Black People's Convention, SASO has advocated the withdrawal of foreign economic involvement from South Africa. It has suffered a similar fate, with many of its key leaders being banned. The people who have recently gone into exile obviously decided not to be trapped within the country as the earlier leadership has been.

### ZULUS REFUSED RADIO STATION

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's request for a radio station in the Kwazulu Bantustan has been rejected by the South African Government. The Government claims that there is no need for such a station because the state-controlled, South African Broadcasting Corporation already provides programs in the Zulu language. (*Times*, London, Sept. 22, 1973)

### DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL IMPLEMENTED

The Ciskei Bantustan seems to be learning its lessons well. Its Minister of Justice, D.B. Myataza is planning to enforce laws in the Bantustan which will allow detention without trial, something that the white government has been doing for decades. Admitting that there is opposition

to the Bantustan Government within the Ciskei, Myataza said his move is designed to stamp out subversive and violent activities that are aimed at the Bantustan Government. According to Myataza, persons guilty of acts of violence or subversion against the government could be sentenced to death. (*Star*, Johannesburg, October 6, 1973)

### BLACKS RESIST EVICTIONS AND ARE TEARGASSED

Africans assigned by the white government to new homes within a consolidated Lebowa Bantustan resisted the effort by officials to move them from their homes. As a result, the police used teargas to enforce the move. About 300 people were taken from traditional homes at Groblersdal to a new site at Steelpoort River some 37 miles away. (*Times*, London, Oct. 8, 1973)

## ECONOMICS

### HIGHER SKILLED JOBS, BUT NO UNIONS

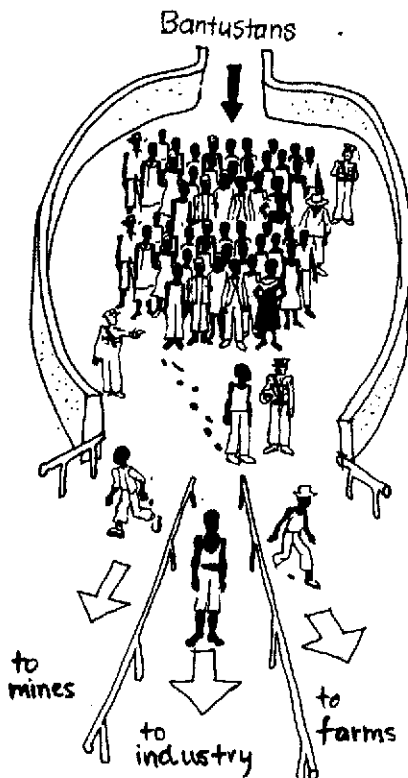
In several statements during October and November, Prime Minister Vorster and Minister of Labor, Viljoen made clear that Africans can fill those jobs which whites vacate, although they will not be allowed to form recognized trade unions. Vorster, in a speech to the Motor Industries Federation in Cape Town, said that it was not his government's policy "to prevent employers, with the cooperation of the trade unions, to take the necessary steps to bring about improvements in the productive utilization of non-white labour." (*Guardian*, London, Oct. 4, 1973)

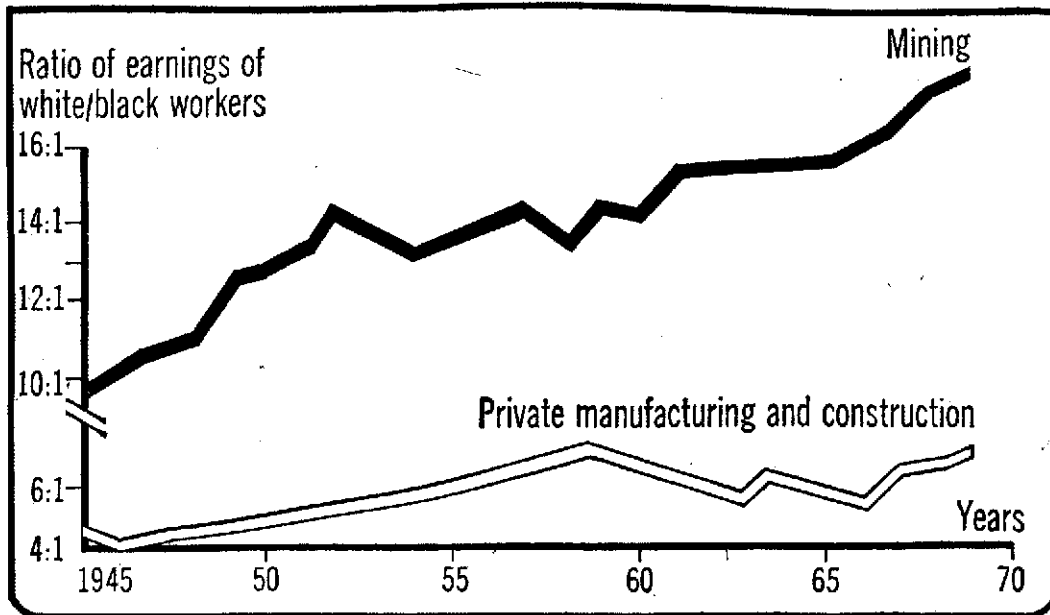
Stanley Uys, writing in the *Guardian*, London (Oct. 4) suggested that Vorster had made concessions to "enlightened white businessmen." While South Africa's business community, including foreign investors will certainly be pleased by the speech, it does not represent a significant shift in labor patterns. For decades, black workers have been moved into higher-skilled jobs when there were no longer enough whites to fill them. Such "advancement" results from economic growth, not the erosion of white supremacy.

On November 5, Vorster told white trade unionists in Pretoria that many of the country's semi-skilled jobs could and should be given over to African workers. Referring to an almost chronic shortage of skilled labor, he said white workers should no longer waste their time on routine tasks. He called upon employers and white trade unions to negotiate the re-classification of jobs with lower skill levels which have traditionally been held by whites.

Reuters, the British news agency, reported after Vorster's Pretoria speech that "observers see the Prime Minister's remarks as a significant dent in South Africa's job reservation system." (*BBC*, News of the African World, Nov. 6)

Business representatives have often criticized the government for being too slow in relaxing traditional patterns to meet the labor demands of a fast-growing economy. Vorster defended his government's policies in the Cape Town speech, pointing out that "substantial concessions had already been made in the advancement of blacks on the Government-owned railways and in the mining, iron and steel and engineering industries." (*New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1973)





The clearest indication that easing of racial job descriptions will not mean important changes in the country's discriminatory labor system, was Vorster's re-emphasis that there will be no official recognition of African trade unions. Africans are forbidden to join "registered unions"—the only bodies which have legal sanction to bargain with employers, deduct dues, operate on working premises, and call strikes.

Vorster told the Pretoria audience that African works committees, established under the government's new Bantu Labour Act, made trade unions for Africans unnecessary. Minister of Labor, Viljoen, took a similar line in an October address to an Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce meeting. The new law, he said, would even allow Africans to strike, under certain limited conditions. He emphasized, however, that it would take some time before blacks had enough training to use the procedure properly! (*Star*, Sept. 29, 1973)

Although the recent statements probably indicate that African movement into semiskilled jobs will move faster, the country's racist labor structure won't be re-shaped. In the past five years, all of South Africa's employers have had to rely on black labor more and more for semi-skilled and even skilled jobs, and the process of slow increases in the skill level of black jobs has been going on for decades in South Africa. It is a symptom of rapid economic growth and not of the erosion of white supremacy.

However, fast expansion of the African labor force is a development which holds serious implications for South Africa's future. Vorster's refusal to allow black trade unions is more than a sop to conservative forces; it is a recognition that the survival of white domination will require continued utilization of the violent force and brutality which have always characterized class struggle in South Africa.

#### ALCAN TO SELL SOME OF ITS SUBSIDIARY

Alcan Aluminium Ltd., Canada's largest aluminum producer, is negotiating with a South African company for the sale of 60% of its interest in Alcan Aluminium of

South Africa Ltd. Hulett's Corporation, headquartered in Durban, will pay more than \$12 million to Alcan for the purchase, according to the *Wall Street Journal* (Nov. 5, 1973)

Currently, ownership in Alcan South Africa is divided between the Canadian parent (60%) and public stockholders in South Africa (40%). If the agreement is finalized, Hulett's plans to offer to buy some of the publicly-held shares. Successful completion of all negotiations would result in Hulett's owning 60 percent of Alcan South Africa, Alcan Canada holding 24 percent, and the South African public 16 percent.

Hulett's, with assets of about \$230 million, ranks fifth in the South African Financial Mail's survey of "Top Companies". Its primary interest has been in the sugar industry, but has now diversified into other fields. Alcan South Africa operates three aluminum plants in South Africa.

In Canada, the firm has faced criticism for its South African investment. Although the company gave no reason for its move, officials may feel that reduction of its interest from more than half to a minority position could reduce public pressure. And, since the company is selling only part of its share, it is not likely to face major obstacles to removing the funds from the country—restrictions which the government might impose if Alcan sought a complete sell-out immediately.

#### MERCK EXPANDS, CONFIDENCE EXPRESSED

Merck, Sharp and Dohme (MSD), the third largest pharmaceutical firm in South Africa and a subsidiary of the U.S. Merck Corporation, has announced a major expansion program. "This expansion is indicative not only of the high level of confidence we have in the future of South Africa but also of our belief in the continued growth of the vital Southern Africa market," the firm's vice-chairman, H.C. McGarity, told the Johannesburg *Star* (Sept. 15, 1973)

Dewey Stallard, vice-president of Merck, Sharp, and Dohme International, flew from New York for ceremonies

marking the beginning of construction for the firm's new research center and administration block. The 40-acre facility will include an artificial lake and bird sanctuary, as well as buildings for administration, animal health, pharmaceuticals, and one for a conference room, workshop, snack bar, security room, and warehouse. (*Star*, Oct. 20, 1973)

Cost of the facility, which is scheduled for use by mid-1975, is about \$6 million.

South Africa's pharmaceutical and ethical drug industry is growing at a rate of about 16 per cent a year—one of the fastest for any industry. By the end of 1973, sales are expected to exceed \$120 million annually. (*Star*, Sept. 15, 1973) The country's increasing ability to manufacture its own prescription and over-the-counter drugs is an obvious boost, not only for saving the foreign exchange needed to pay for imports, but also for supplying troops engaged in fighting or offsetting the effects of a trade boycott.

### IBM INTRODUCES "CALL" SYSTEM

IBM South Africa has initiated a computer time-sharing service in Johannesburg. The service, named CALL 360, represents another technological contribution to the country, technology which contributes to maintenance of the current social order.

CALL 360 can help users with investment and budget problems, engineering design, and a wide range of problems in management science, statistics, mathematics, etc. CALL's capacity to perform these special functions distinguishes it somewhat from the other, competing time-sharing services, whose business is concentrated in accounting and wages work. (*Financial Mail*, Aug. 31; *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Sept. 2)

IBM seeks to promote itself as a progressive company, in South Africa and throughout the world. Because of the high-skill component of its operations and the fact that it employs no un-skilled workers, its South African wages are the highest on average of any U.S. firm there and perhaps of all employers. Yet, its role in the country cannot be evaluated without considering the importance of its technology.

During a recent controversy over a British computer firm's sales of equipment for the South African pass laws system (see *Southern Africa*, November), the *Guardian* (London) reported that IBM "said that it had refused to tender for the contract on the grounds that the political risks were too serious." (Sept. 6). Company officials have also stated that IBM will not supply the government with equipment for military applications, and the three IBM computers in the Ministry of Defense are said to be used only for administration!

According to the *Financial Mail*, CALL is already being used by the government. (About one-fourth of IBM South Africa's business is with the government.) Its special capabilities for assisting in financial planning should be extremely useful as government strategists seek to guide the economy through the morass of labor shortages, job reservation, more and more strikes, dependency on foreign capital, rapid inflation, and ten different African areas that are supposed to have economic viability.

## STUDENTS

### MORE SASO LEADERS BANNED

The newly elected President Henry Issacs and administrative assistant Mervyn Josi of SASO (South African Students Organization) have been banned. Four of the past five presidents of SASO have now been served with restrictive orders.

Along with SASO, BPC (Black People's Convention) has condemned the action. BPC stated, "The fascist action taken against Henry Issacs should not be viewed by blacks as . . . action directed against the students only. It should be seen as a direct attempt to extinguish and dehumanise the black community as a whole." (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Sept., 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 25, 1973)

### STUDENT UNREST IN BLACK COLLEGES

A new wave of student unrest spread in many of South Africa's segregated black colleges during the past six months.

At Fort Hare University, out of a student body of 1,000, only 200 students were left on the campus at one stage of the actions. It all began when more than 100 students demanded the resignation of the warden of one of the men's dormitories for his refusal to deal with the house committee of the dormitory and other alleged misconducts. According to a university authority, the students "terrorised" the warden and hence the university decided to suspend the students involved. This led to a boycott of lectures, and the demonstrations led to clashes between students and police for several days running. The situation came to a standstill when about 800 students were forcibly sent back home. Recent reports indicate that the university is prepared to re-admit only 300 of these students.

Fort Hare has not had a Student Representative Council for a long time. Students feel that the members of such a student government body if formed would either be victimized or be stooges of the university.

At the Coloured University of the Western Cape more than 1,000 students walked off campus after 13 students had been suspended for three months. This latest protest followed some success for the student movement in July when the Minister for Coloured Relations announced that all students would be allowed to return to the campus without giving any new assurance of abiding by rules and regulations.

The University originally closed after students demanded that more academic posts be filled by Coloureds and that there should be an end to pro-apartheid lectures. The University has only 12 Coloured lecturers yet 79 Whites, and not one coloured professor.

The latest report shows that the Western Cape has suspended 362 of the above students and claims that the situation is "back to normal" with "935 students back on campus."

Reports of student unrest also came from Perseverance Training College at Kimberly and Bethesda Training Institute at Pietersburgh. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Sept., 1973; *Guardian*, London, Aug. 29, 30, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 1, 8, 1973)

# STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

## angola

### LABOR STRIKES IN ANGOLA

The *Star* of Johannesburg reported a series of illegal labor strikes in September in Luanda, the capital of Angola. Strikers included stevedores from the docks, street cleaners, and workers from the Coffee Institute of Angola. The largest action was by the dockworkers. Approximately 600 workers marched on the palace of the Governor-General demanding pay increases. They were dispersed by armed police by a wage increase was granted. Their *daily* wage now stands at nearly \$2.25. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

### BENGUELA RAILWAY DEFENSE

The Benguela Railway crosses Angola to Zambia and the copper belt. It passes through areas where African nationalists have control of large portions of the land and move about relatively freely. Because Zambia depends on the railway, the guerrillas have, with only a few exceptions, left it unmolested.

Nonetheless, the Portuguese armed forces are kept on full alert throughout the length of the railway line. *Portugal* magazine (No. 31, 1973) reports: "There has been no letup in safety precautions. . . . In the eastern zone the VHF telecommunications network has been completed, to ensure permanent contact between trains, track cars and stations. Air and land patrols have been intensified. . . . The system of piloting by track cars has made a decisive contribution to avoiding derailments because of sabotage of the line . . . but unhappily, it was unable to prevent a serious derailment on 29 July, 1972 which caused the death of the train crew and considerable material losses. Since the outset terrorism has caused 46 deaths among employees of the Company. . . ."

### PORTUGUESE WAR COMMUNIQUE

The Portuguese claim to have killed or wounded 72 "terrorists" in Angola in August and "removed" 1,304 persons from the liberation movements. Over a hundred weapons plus a variety of ammunition were reported captured. It is unclear what is meant by the word "removed." It may mean civilians forced into aldeamento-

os, the notorious fortified villages, into which the Portuguese move civilian populations in an attempt to isolate guerrillas from them. (*Facts and Reports*, Holland, Oct. 27, 1973—translation from *Diario de Noticias*, Portugal, Sept. 26, 1973)

## mozambique

### PORTUGUESE CLAIM DESERTIONS

Recent reports from the Portuguese have cited several so-called FRELIMO commanders who are said to have deserted to the Portuguese. One of them, Jose Dias Mukanga, is confirmed by FRELIMO to have been a member of the Central Committee. He was engaged in clandestine organizing and political education in preparation for opening a new front in Zambezia province in a year or so. (BBC correspondent David Martin Oct. 17, 1973) Lazaro Nkavandame and Miguel Murupa, the only other FRELIMO officials of any importance to have deserted, and both suffered demotions before their desertion (in 1969 and 1970, respectively). According to Martin, FRELIMO commented re Mukanga that "the war is taking a long time and sometimes people become demoralized."

The Portuguese claim there have been seven other deserters in the last three months, but the only other known name was cited by the Portuguese as someone who had deserted from the Portuguese Army to FRELIMO in 1969, a situation which immediately raises questions about whether he may not have been under Portuguese orders the whole time. We recall the comment of Samora Machel, FRELIMO president, after revelation of the role of deserters from the Portuguese army in the assassination of Cabral. Machel said that reception of deserters into guerrilla forces was indeed a problem since about one in four is found to be a Portuguese agent. (see *Southern Africa*, June-July 1973; *Radio South Africa*, October 25, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, September 22, October 20, 1973)

### SECRET POLICE IN MOZAMBIQUE

The September issue of *Objective: Justice*, published by the United Nations, included a detailed article on the interrogation and torture of prisoners in Mozambique by Niall MacDermott of the International Commission of Jurists. Most of the article details the conditions suffered by over 200 Mozambican churchmen when under arrest and interrogation by the Portuguese Secret Police in 1972. We quote below the introductory comments on the powers which the security police hold within the Portuguese system. This is important background for understanding not only the particular cases MacDermott details, but also other news of persons arrested or of confessions made under interrogation.

"Formerly known as PIDE, and now called the General Security Administration (D.G.S.), the security police operating in the Portuguese colonies come directly under



the orders of the Government in Lisbon. Unlike the ordinary police, they are not answerable to the Governor-General of the colony concerned. They are, therefore, already outside the framework of the law in the sense of the normal administrative structure. But, in addition, they are outside the law in the sense that they have exceedingly wide powers of arrest, detention, banishment, and even of secret trial by their own officers, without being subject to any effective supervision or control by the courts.

On 18 July 1972 their powers . . . were redefined in a Decree No. 239 . . . Under this Decree they may order preventive detention in an "agricultural colony" or forced residence in a particular locality for up to three years. . . . This police power is not subject to judicial appeal or control. The police can make these orders against any person who they consider has committed, or collaborated in, any acts 'contrary to the territorial integrity of the nation.' As Portugal maintains the legal fiction that its colonies form provinces of Portugal, this means that anyone who takes any action in support of the right of self-determination and independence of these Territories is liable to be detained for up to six years by order of the security police alone. . . .

When the ordinary police arrest a subject, they have to bring him without delay before a magistrate who is thereafter responsible for conducting a preliminary judicial inquiry into the case, with the assistance of the judicial police, who are at all times under his supervision, orders and control. Under this new Decree, the powers of the magistrate during the preliminary examination are now conferred upon all officers of the D.G.S. of the rank of inspector and above. Accordingly in all security cases, the conduct of the preliminary inquiry and the interrogation of the prisoner, and the making of orders for arrest or for release on bail, are now entirely in the hands of the security police. As if this were not enough, the Decree goes on to say that:

'the power of the public prosecutor's office during the preliminary examination will be exercised by inspectors of police'

and the presence of defense lawyers at the interrogations:

'may be prohibited when it is inconvenient for the investigation or is justified by the nature of the crime; in this case he may be replaced by an ad hoc defender or by two qualified witnesses pledged to secrecy.'

In practice, the two 'qualified witnesses' are also members of the police. The Decree also gives officers and members of the D.G.S. wide powers of search, without the need for any judicial authority, and, for good measure:

'the administrative, judicial, military, naval, and police authorities shall give the D.G.S. any cooperation which it requires.'

A State in which the police have these unrestricted powers over the liberty of its citizens is in the strict sense of the term, a police State. As experience in many other countries has shown, powers of this nature are also a recipe for torture."

## FRELIMO CONSOLIDATES POWER

David Martin, a correspondent based in Dar es Salaam, who recently visited Tete Province of Mozambique with FRELIMO says a major task in that province is

consolidation. "Tete is the key to Mozambique. . . . Supplies for guerrillas operating in Manica e Sofala, and those destined to fight further south, must pass through Tete. . . . FRELIMO has considerably extended its supply lines and it now takes three weeks or more to march supplies to the guerrillas operating furthest to the south. So in the first place FRELIMO must secure those areas through which supplies pass. Secondly . . . FRELIMO can be expected to attack Portuguese camps and garrisons in the 'liberated areas' in larger numbers. . . . Large Portuguese bases are still in the areas FRELIMO describe as liberated (where a Portuguese administration no longer exists) and these have to be tackled as part of the process of consolidation.

In Cabo Delgado and Niassa, FRELIMO say they have consolidated their civilian base with schools, co-operatives, a village structure and medical centers. Peanuts, sesame seed, cashew nuts, beeswax and Makonde carvings are among items being sold in Tanzania in return for supplies for the FRELIMO shops, and a FRELIMO "commerce officer" has been to Europe to try to "open up direct trade links with the Scandinavian countries." (*Financial Times* (London) Sept. 28, 1973)

There is no current FRELIMO communication of their military activities but Portuguese sources, as reported by the BBC radio, have mentioned several instances in October of FRELIMO attacks in both Tete and Cabo Delgado, most notably heavy shelling of Palma on the coast on October 17. (*BBC*, October 13, 17, 18, 21) The Portuguese always say the targets are "villages," only occasionally slipping and confirming what is usually the case, that attacks on "villages" are attempts by FRELIMO to release local populations from fortified hamlets into which they have been grouped by the Portuguese.

## PORTUGUESE PLANES NAPALM FRELIMO SCHOOL

FRELIMO reports that on October 4, Portuguese helicopters attacked a FRELIMO school in Matambalala in Cabo Delgado Province, killing 10 pupils, 2 teachers, and wounding 15 others. A two day battle followed, during which FRELIMO made 6 different attacks on Portuguese positions. Finally on October 6 the Portuguese again withdrew but returned the 7th, bombed the village, and napalmed the school. However, by that time the school was empty.

The BBC, which carried the report on October 15, indicated that it has long been a pattern for the Portuguese to bomb schools and other civilian structures when they locate them. It is part of an attempt to force the population out of those FRELIMO controlled areas and into the fortified hamlets under Portuguese control.

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

## STATE OF GUINEA-BISSAU PROCLAIMED

On September 24, 1973 inside the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau at Boe, the PAIGC proclaimed the State of Guinea-Bissau. The declaration stressed the unity of struggle with the Cape Verde Islands and the other Portuguese colonies.

The Organization of African Unity responded by sending a grant of \$250,000 to the PAIGC. The Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, Hashim Mbita, said that the declaration is an historical and

progressive step and an "open challenge" to the other freedom fighters to work harder to win independence. The Portuguese dismissed the declaration as a "propaganda stunt".

The declaration comes after more than a decade of armed struggle and after the PAIGC has liberated more than three quarters of their country. The PAIGC has initiated a drive to gain international recognition for their country at the United Nations. Well over 60 countries have already recognized the new republic. Some of these are: Algeria, Congo Republic, Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea (C), Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauretania, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Syria, Tanzania, Zambia, Togo, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, and India. In addition, Zaire, P.R. China, G.D.R., Sudan, Central African Republic, Cambodia-GRUNK, Cuba, Ivory Coast, USSR, Tunisia, Vietnam-PRG, Burundi, Rumania, Kuwait, Sierra Leone, Iraq, Bangladesh, Uganda, DR Yemen, Egypt, Morocco, Niger, Chad, Ethiopia, and Cameroon. The only countries in Africa which have not given recognition are Malawi and Swaziland. Neither have any of the so-called Western bloc countries.

When asked to comment, the United States, West Germany, and Britain said that it was unlikely that they would grant diplomatic recognition. It is hoped that these great powers will, at least, not use their vetoes in the United Nations Security Council of Guinea-Bissau applies for admission in the coming weeks. A Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has been established in New York City (164 Madison Avenue, NY, NY 10016) to develop pressure at the U.S. State Department to grant recognition. (See Feature article, informal talk by Silvino da Luz, representative of PAIGC to the U.N.)

In the Second National Congress held in liberated areas from 18 to 22 July 1973, steps were taken which lead to the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau. Since late 1972 the PAIGC stated it would occur before the end of 1973. The Portuguese hoped to upset these plans with the murder of Amilcar Cabral, but PAIGC moved ahead regardless.

### The New Constitution

The constitution of the new Republic has been adopted and contained 58 articles. The constitution has been implemented by the four principal political organs. 1.) The Party, 2.) The National Assembly, 3.) The State Council, and 4.) The council of State Commissars. The State Council exercises the functions of the National Assembly when it is not in session. The State Council has fifteen members elected by the National Assembly. The President of the State Council, Luis Cabral handles foreign relations and is Commander of the Peoples' Revolutionary Armed Forces. The Council of State Commissioners has eight Commissioners and eight Sub-Commissioners. President (chief Commissioner) of this body is Francesco "Chico-Te" Mendes; in charge of Armed Forces is Nino Vieira; Foreign Affairs is handled by Victor Saude Maria; Fidelis Almada is in charge of Justice and Populations; Commissioner for the Interior is Bari Abdulai. This Council is responsible for political, economic, and social program in addition to defense and security.

The right to vote is based on universal suffrage over the age of fifteen. The equality of all citizens is guaranteed by the constitution. Some of the chief objectives\* of the new state are:

Complete liberation of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands with their ultimate unification. Article 20 of the Constitution states that the people of the two areas have the same rights and duties in the new nation;

End the exploitation of man by man;

Build a revolutionary, democratic, sovereign, anti-imperialist, and anti-colonialist state;

Men and women to have equal rights within the family, at work and in public life;

Reaffirm that the PAIGC is against Portuguese colonialism but seeks warm and cooperative relations with the Portuguese people.

The National Assembly will soon begin writing and revising all treaties and agreements which relate to the new country. Moreover the status of the Portuguese now becomes, even more clearly, a foreign aggressor against an independent nation, not simply a colonizing power.

Actually the day of declaration was to have been on 19 September but communications between the Republic of Guinea and Senegal were broken on September 18 so that the communique was not released on schedule. The 19 September date would have been the 19th anniversary of the founding of the Party. (See following news item) Sources: *New York Times*, Sept. 28; Sept. 29; Oct. 14; *Times*, (London), Sept. 26; Sept. 27; Sept. 28; *Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Sept. 28; *AFP* Sept 27; Sept. 29; *Le Monde*, Sept. 27, 28, 29; *Le Devoir*, Sept. 27; *Journal de Geneve*, (Switzerland), Oct. 1, 1973.

### PORTUGUESE COMMANDERS PUNISHED

The Commander of the Military Region of Guinea-Bissau was punished with ten days' imprisonment because he supported the refusal of airmen to fly over the regions controlled by the PAIGC. The Commander of Guilege base, which was taken by the PAIGC on May 25 after a prolonged siege was also imprisoned in Bissau for fleeing from the base where he left his decorations and texts of messages he sent to the High Command. Also, Vaz Pinto, Chairman of the Board of TAP (Portuguese airways) resigned from his post after he proposed the suspension of the air services to Bissau due to the danger involved. Earlier the rumor of the suspension of flights has been denied. (*Radio Free Portugal*, 0700 gmt, Sept. 30, 1973.)

### MILITARY PROGRESS

The war continues. PAIGC communique from Conakry indicate that as of October 15, the Portuguese have lost 28 aircraft since March 23, 1973. Two additional Fiat G-91 NATO-type fighter-bombers went down in Mores in the North on August 29 and September 1. A helicopter was shot down near Catio on August 25. On September 16 and 20 two more jets were down in the South Front. Another jet crashed near Tombali after it was approached the Bissalance airbase. Then on September 28 a fourth enemy jet was brought to the ground at Cubisseco in the South Front.

There were also many heavy ground actions. The greatest activity continues to be in the South Front. On August 19 an area near Cabedu was attacked destroying 2 vehicles and killing eleven enemy soldiers. Between the 25th and 28th of August the heavy shelling of the fortified camp at Gadamael continued as it has for several months. In the Tombali sector ambushes on August 31

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\*See Feature section for reprint of the "Proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau".

and September 4 killed thirty colonialist soldiers including a Lieutenant. A road-mining operation near Cubumba also killed three soldiers and destroyed their vehicle. Action around Cameconde was heavy with shelling of the fortified camp on September 10th and 15th and a mining operation of September 12 which killed seventy enemy troops.

Action continued in the East with an attack on the entrenched camp of Dulombi in the Bafata-Gabu region of September 4 and with an ambush on August 29 on the road to Pitche from Camquelifa.

In the North Front attacks were reported for August 21 and 25 in which 5 vehicles were put out of action, some weapons and ammunition was captured, an enemy arsenal blown up and 8 enemy soldiers killed. On September 26 two enemy vehicles hit PAIGC mines on the Farim-Binta road killing at least a dozen colonialist troops. (*Hsinua*, Sept. 10, 21, Oct. 5, 12, 1973)

## INSIDE PORTUGAL

### MORE OFFICERS DESERT PORTUGUESE FORCES

The Swedish government granted political asylum in October to 6 Portuguese officers, at least five of whom deserted from their ship in late September when it was in Danish waters on NATO manoeuvres, to avoid service in Portugal's African wars.

In Portugal every male between the ages of 18 and 45 is required to spend at least two years in the armed forces in Africa. An estimated 20 thousand deserters and conscientious objectors leave Portugal each year for other parts of Europe, most of them joining the thousands of other migrant workers in France.

Sweden has been fairly selective in granting asylum only to truly political deserters, and not to persons simply wishing to evade the draft. Nonetheless, Sweden has reportedly granted asylum to over 300 Portuguese military men so far. (*Radio Ghana*, October 15, 1973; *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Switzerland) Sept. 20, 1973; *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletins* for 1973)

### PORTUGUESE MILITARY HEADQUARTERS BOMBED

The *New York Times* of October 28, 1973 reported a bomb explosion in the military headquarters of the Oporto district in Portugal, which touched off a fire and broke windows. The records section of the headquarters suffered the most damage. The Oporto headquarters was bombed once before in April of this year. Both bombings are part of actions by groups opposed to the continuation of Portugal's African wars. Over the last few years, a number of other military targets inside Portugal have also been bombed.

### OPPOSITION WITHDRAW FROM ELECTION

One of the major issues the opposition Democrats tried to raise in the recent campaign for the Portuguese National Assembly was that of ending the African wars, bringing home the Portuguese troops, and negotiating with African leaders in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Near the end of their campaign they released statistics on Portugal's casualties in the colonial wars in Africa: that 10,000 Portuguese soldiers have died in the African wars, and another 50,000 have been wounded, including 20,000 who are permanently disabled.

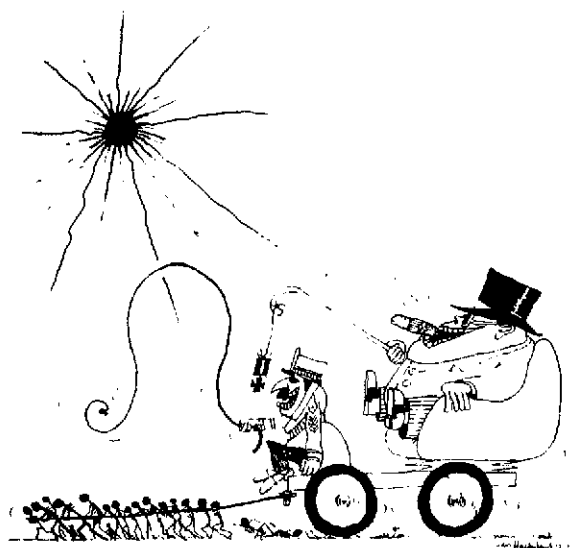
This is the first time aggregate casualty estimates have appeared in Portugal. Although the Portuguese Government issues regular communiques on military action, it does not summarize previous action or give any statistics on injuries.

Although the month before the election was supposed to be one of "free" political activity, the Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano, in a speech two days before the election accused the opposition of subversion in their call for what Caetano called "abandonment of the overseas provinces."

Throughout the pre-election period the opposition had been harassed by police who ringed their meetings or closed them down. People who put up posters or distributed leaflets were arrested. Press reports of the opposition campaign were heavily censored, especially in any reference to the wars in Africa.

Finally, the opposition Democrats withdrew all candidates from the election, four days before it was held. They termed the October 28 election a farce and asked people to boycott it. This had been their procedure in previous elections but the government had sought to force them to remain candidates to the end by threatening to remove their civil rights if they withdrew. One opposition candidate who withdrew with the others commented, "How can they remove something you don't have?"

The electoral turnout on the 28th was low and the party in power won all national assembly seats, with a slate of candidates considered more conservative than that listed for the last election four years ago. (*New York Times*, Oct. 26, 27, 29; *Guardian*, (London) Sept. 29; *Washington Post*, Oct. 26; *BBC*, Oct. 28, 29; *Le Monde*, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 1973)



# SWAZILAND: Conservative Turnabout as King Sobhuza Entrenches Supremacy

Swaziland celebrated its fifth anniversary of independence in the first week in September. The week-long celebrations had a decided international flavor with the kings of Lesotho and Kwazulu attending as royal guests, soccer teams being present from Malawi and Lesotho, 7 foreign nations exhibiting goods at an international trade fair and the week culminating in the opening of the new Swazi campus of the University of Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho—a unique type of multi-campus university straddling the three former British Protectorates in Southern Africa.

A sense of satisfaction and pride attended the festivities as the Swazis surveyed the past five years. The country's most singular achievement has been to remove itself from the list of the world's 25 poorest nations with the development of a modern economy with one of Africa's fastest growth rates. The economy's strength lies in its export of five products—sugar, iron ore, timber, asbestos and citrus fruits—and in a booming tourist industry which is earning the tiny kingdom \$17 million per year. Investment capital, primarily South Africa, is entering the country at a steady rate and all this has made the average Swazi more than twice as prosperous as the average Botswanan or Lesothan. Progress has been made in the expansion of educational facilities with secondary school enrolment having been doubled in 5 years while the public service, overwhelmingly top-heavy with expatriates in 1968, is now more than 90% staffed by Swazis.

Until recently, too, Swaziland with its population of 400,000, was characterised by two features which made it an unusual and interesting country. The first was its

membership in an highly exclusive club—that of nations without armed forces—and, secondly, the fact that it was one of Africa's very few two-party democracies with only minimal curbs on individual liberties. Swazis drew much satisfaction from these features and enjoyed contrasting them with the repressive political systems of the white-ruled states surrounding it. But, of late, Swazi politics has adopted some of the characteristics of its reactionary neighbors and there is less optimism about the political future than there is about the country's future economic prospects.

This conservative turnabout in Swazi politics came about on April 12 this year, when King Sobhuza II repealed the independence constitution, dissolved Parliament, banned all political parties, assumed supreme legislative, judicial and executive powers and put on public display an army which had been formed only a few days earlier. The suddenness of the king's move staggered the nation; only a handful of men closest to the monarch knew in advance of his intentions and it is upon the character of the 75 year old Sobhuza, and his conception of authority, that one must focus for an explanation of the events of the last six months.

Sobhuza has ruled his people for 52 years and is the head of state with the longest tenure of authority in the world, and Swaziland is probably the last country on earth where a king is really a king. A man of infectious personality and revered by the people, Sobhuza has been the most powerful figure in Swazi political life almost since the end of World War I. He has proved to be a shrewd and perceptive ruler though, not unexpectedly, paternal and autocratic in manner, unappreciative of dissent outside of the traditional tribal councils and suspicious of political parties, regarding them as foreign and divisive elements in the nation.

Swaziland attained independence a full two years after Lesotho and Botswana, the delay being caused by a protracted constitutional wrangle. The eventual constitution, reluctantly accepted, theoretically limited Sobhuza's powers and vested real authority in an elected legislature. As it turned out, the king has had little to worry about, for his creation, the Imbokodvo Party, won all the seats in the first general election, the government has taken no important decisions without his approval and he has, in effect, run the country. Everything went his way until the first post-independence general election in May 1972.

In this election, the opposition group, the Ngwane National Liberation Council (N.N.L.C.) surprised everyone, including itself, by winning three seats. It defeated, in the process, a Cabinet minister who happened also to be the king's nephew and replaced him with an illiterate peasant farmer, Thomas Ngwenya. Sobhuza was not amused: his nephew was nominated to the Senate and given a newly created cabinet post while, three days after the election, Mr. Ngwenya was deported to South Africa on the contentious grounds that he was not a Swazi. Mr. Ngwenya, however, returned secretly to Swaziland where he contested his deportation in the High Court and won, the court finding that Mr. Ngwenya had been able to show that he was a Swazi by birth and, thus, entitled to full citizenship rights, including the right to be a Member of Parliament.

The government's reaction was to boycott the opening of the new Parliament, thereby preventing Mr. Ngwenya from being sworn in as an MP due to the lack of a



quorum. Thereafter, Mr. Ngwenya was restricted to an area of the country which prevented him from attending Parliament, while the Immigration Laws were amended to empower a tribunal to over-rule the courts on citizenship matters. In the first and, as yet, only case to be heard by the tribunal, Mr. Ngwenya was duly found to be a non-Swazi, but, before he could again be deported, Mr. Ngwenya challenged the constitutionality of the new law and, for a 2nd time, won his case.

The king's response came two weeks later when he declared a state of emergency, seized absolute power and accorded the police the power to detain persons without trial for recurring periods of 60 days. In the weeks that followed the opposition leader, Dr. Zwane, and up to a dozen other opposition figures, were detained for approximately 4 weeks and then freed. Dr. Zwane has, however, been re-detained and was still being held at the time of writing. Mr. Ngwenya was duly deported for a second time but again he re-entered Swaziland and is now believed to be under arrest.

The country responded with apparent indifference to the king's move; there were no riots, protests or even demonstrations. The police took 3 weeks to begin detaining the king's opponents, while, in almost every area, life has continued unchanged. The only exception has been in the cultural sphere where a censorship board has become active, banning magazines such as Playboy, Oui and the film, 'Last Tango in Paris.' This last decision has probably cost the country many thousands of dollars in tourist revenue for the film had been scheduled to run for six months and South African travel agencies were planning elaborate week-end package tours around the 'Last Tango'. Likewise, South Africans had been spending thousands of dollars monthly on Playboy and similar magazines; no official reason has been advanced for their sudden proscription and it is difficult to offer any rational explanation. It is indicative, however, of the new era of traditionalism and conservatism which the country appears to be entering.

On Independence Day, the king announced the formation of a commission with the task of drafting a new constitution "having regard to the History, the culture, the way of life of the people of Swaziland..." Speculation is that this document will not make provision for multi-party activity but may well create a no-party system with possibly a nominated lower house and an upper House of chiefs. There seems to be little likelihood of a return to electoral party politics under the new constitution. In short, political life will be reshaped in such a way as to conform to the king's conception of the supreme place and role of the monarchy in the nation's life and to bolster the traditional tribal forces in the society.

This latter must be a primary concern of the king for there appears to be a rising tide of resentment from elements in the modern sector to the traditional and tribal way of life and this tide can only swell as the educational level of the Swazis rises and as more and more persons enter the modern sector with the continued expansion of the economy. By entrenching the dominance of the tribal authority structure in the society the king undoubtedly hopes to ensure the continued supremacy of his royal line.

The question of Sobhuza's succession obsesses the minds of Swazis and expatriates alike for it is fraught with uncertainty. The system of succession contains inherently



● King Sobhuza II

destabilizing features. Swazi custom does not allow for an heir to be named before the reigning monarch dies and the successor can be any one of the king's 60 sons. Furthermore, potential heirs should live much of the time outside of the country and there are many Swazi princes in Europe and North America. This means that the image and reputation of the heir cannot be cultivated, nor can he slowly move into public life and gain political experience nor win the public's affection and respect in the way, for example, that the British heir has. The next Swazi king, then, will not be particularly well-known in the country. He will have no real power base outside of the royal family and will have the unenviable task of succeeding a man with a towering reputation built up after decades of rule. He may well have to face, too, a challenge to his authority from the modernists and it is in this context that one must understand Sobhuza's attempts to reshape the political system and his decision to establish an army.

The Army is about 800 strong and is drawn from two ceremonial age-grade regiments close to the king, now well armed with FN rifles supplied from South Africa and trained by veterans from World War II, men staunchly loyal to the king. The new army barracks straddles the main road en route from the nation's police college to the royal homestead and this is not without significance for the king is rumoured to be uncertain of the extent of the police forces' allegiance to the monarchical order. The police force is superbly trained, thoroughly professional, exceptionally able and modern in outlook; and it is conceivable that it is seen as the major threat to the traditional structure of the country. Hence the army has been created to act as a counter-force to the police and, as virtually Sobhuza's private army, it will be there to protect the monarchy if there is ever a serious challenge to its political supremacy.

—special correspondent

# Zimbabwe

## LIBERATION STRUGGLE

### MT. DARWIN HIT AGAIN

After a month's lull, the Mt. Darwin district in Rhodesia's northeast reports two more farms attacked by guerrillas. One white woman was injured. Three guerrillas were killed and arms and equipment were seized by Rhodesian security forces. In late August the guerrillas opened fire on a copper and nickel mine. In another incident, a white woman's car was fired on as she drove along the Bindura-Shamva Road. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

### ZANU CONFERENCE

The recent Congress of ZANU, held in Lusaka, has strengthened their military thrust in two ways: 1. a women's army has been created for an active role in the liberation struggle. 2. Congress created the post of Chief of Defense at the executive level of ZANU. The former commander of the Zimbabwe African Liberation Army was named the first defense chief. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Oct. 8, 1973)

### TOURISTS KEEP OUT

National Parks of Rhodesia no longer book tourists to the Mana Pools Game Preserve. Four landmine blasts have been reported there since last August and at least one person has been killed. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 6, 1973)

### GUERRILLAS SENTENCED

George Mhene and Elias Chiredzo were hanged in Salisbury prison after being convicted of violating the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. They admitted they had laid landmines and possessed arms and said they are dedicated and unrepentant. A 16 year old cook for a group of guerrillas who killed a white woman, was sentenced to 12 years in jail for guilt by association with guerrillas. He said he had been beaten by African police and was suspended while wearing leg irons. (*Times*, London, Sept. 15, 1973)

## BLACK POLITICS

### ZVOBGO QUILTS ANC POST

Edison Zvobgo, principal overseas representative of ANC has resigned. In a letter dated September 14 to ANC headquarters in Salisbury, he said that he questions the "political maturity" of Bishop Muzorewa and is fearful of the outcome of talks the Bishop has been having with Smith. Mr. Zvobgo said, "I admire the Bishop. I believe he is a man of great courage and sincerity. But I am convinced that he is not an experienced negotiator. Remember that he has not been schooled in the crucible of real nationalist politics. He is not able to speak with more than one voice. . . . Whites must be led down the garden path to the place of slaughter. Morality does not enter into it. What frightens me and other nationalists abroad is that the Bishop might not be able to demonstrate this versatility. This may result in the wholesale sale of the people."

Mr. Zvobgo has been serving as ZANU's deputy secretary general and believes that he cannot serve the ANC given his commitment to the ZANU military struggle. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 27, 1973)

### TOP ANC OFFICIALS DETAINED

The African National Council has kept a low profile publicly for the past few weeks, in spite of the fact that 20 of its members have been detained and that its meetings have been banned in African townships. It may fear being banned altogether. Edison Sithole, publicity secretary for ANC, addressed the Rhodesian National Affairs Association and said that the Africans want an immediate sharing of power—not an immediate African majority rule. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 15, 1973)

Bishop Muzorewa has challenged the detentions of the 20 ANC supporters and says they should be put before the courts to determine if they are security risks as the regime's Minister of Justice, Law and Order, D. Lardner-Burke contends. Lardner-Burke maintains that the ANC detainees have aided the "terrorists" and that the ANC is trying to subvert the university and to urge support for the "terrorists" throughout the country. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 4, 1974)

In London, Rev. Canaan Banana, ANC Deputy President, presented five ANC demands to the British Government: 1. That the Smith-Home settlement proposals be removed from the table as an insult to the integrity of the African people, 2. that pressure be put on Smith to release political prisoners, 3. that Britain assist refugees swarming into Zambia and Botswana from Rhodesia, 4. that Britain pressure South Africa into withdrawing its "troops" from Rhodesia, and 5. that Britain call a constitutional conference on Rhodesia, with or without Smith's cooperation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

## RHODESIAN MILITARY ACTION

### RHODESIAN SLAUGHTER IN TETE

Simon Chaola from Mozambique was interviewed by journalist David Martin about the activity of Rhodesian troops inside Mozambique. These troops have carried out systematic campaigns of killing villagers and burning huts and food stores in an effort to cut off the ZANU guerrillas who enter Zimbabwe through Mozambique as well as to weaken the FRELIMO impact in the Tete province. Mr. Chaola gave an eye-witness account of how Rhodesians crossed the Zambesi on July 21 and encountered FRELIMO cadres. On the 26th Rhodesian bombers strafed the villages and jet bombers attacked. Troops were landed by helicopter. Over 100 villagers were killed when they went to the river for water the next day. Some were decapitated. The Rhodesian soldiers could be distinguished from the Portuguese by their language, their uniforms and equipment, and by their determination to find ZANU rather than FRELIMO guerrillas. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 4, 1973) (A report of a similar interview was carried in *Southern Africa*, October 1973, page 14)

It was revelation of Rhodesia's military involvement in Mozambique that led to the detention and trial of white Rhodesian journalist Peter Niesewand who was released earlier this year. Details of his trial revealing facts on the collaboration between Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa are given in his book *In Camera* published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

## PAY RAISE FOR SOLDIERS

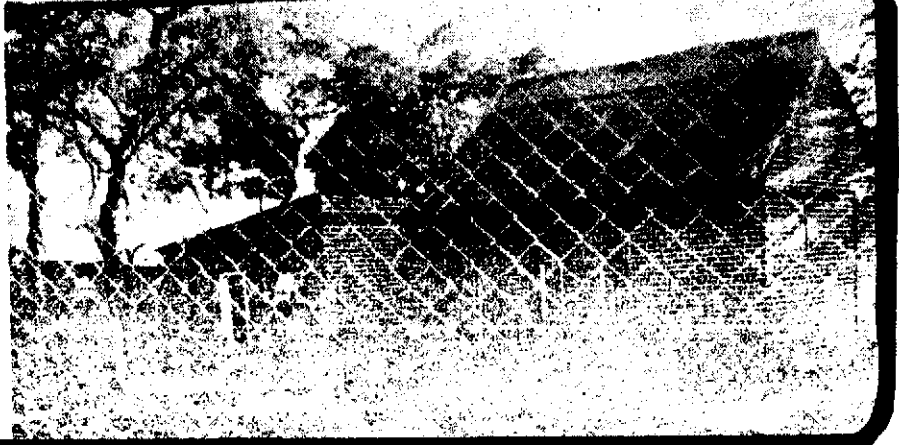
Mr. Smith paid a visit to one of the security forces outposts in the northeast. He was pleased to greet friends from South Africa there and to announce pay raises to Rhodesian troops. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 6, 1973)

## CENTENARY ON GUARD

Life for white farmers in the Centenary district is beginning to return to normal after 9 months of intense guerrilla activity. But normality means living with sand

bags at the windows, wire mesh and steel plate covering on the windows, high fences and bright lighting outside, and an ever-ready FN automatic rifle in hand. The farm houses have special warning devices and radio contact with security forces. One of the farmers said that they had to live a somewhat normal life, making rounds and driving to town. He said that having the rifles at hand was becoming as common as brushing your teeth. Otherwise, life is nearly like it used to be. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

With guns  
in his  
bedroom,  
a white  
Rhodesian  
farmer  
waits



Behind the security fence: waiting for the dogs to bark outside...

## FRONT FACES GUERRILLA INCREASES

One of the major concerns of the annual congress of the Rhodesian Front, the ruling party, will be security measures. Methods of strengthening the army and of encouraging men to stay in the armed forces will be discussed during the secret sessions of the congress. Mr. Des Frost, chairman of the Rhodesian Front, addressed the meeting publicly and said that the war against the guerrillas, whom he called "communist scum" was going better than expected. He advocated a new Ministry of Birth Control to enact prohibitions to the growth of the African population. He chastized those defeatist Rhodesians who were running away because of increased "terrorist" activity. Mr. Frost said he was sure of the future of Rhodesia: "In the process we can and will take the African population with us. . . . Without the European they will revert to chaos and barbarism as seen elsewhere." (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 21, 1973)

The congress will also consider a plan for separate development areas, ways of stopping Asian and Coloured infiltration into white areas, and the Anglo-Rhodesian impasse. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 7, 1973)

Mr. Frost gave thanks to Rhodesia's friends for support and urged "more drive and energy into a common Southern African economic market with a co-ordinated defence pact while retaining our individual sovereign integrity." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

## DEATH PENALTY

The Rhodesian Parliament is expected to pass yet another amendment to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act—this one introducing the death penalty for harboring guerrillas, failing to report their presence, training or

recruiting guerrillas or encouraging anyone to undergo training. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 8, 1973)

## RHODESIAN "BANTUSTANS"

Lance Smith, Minister of Internal Affairs, announced the initial stages of two regional authorities for Africans in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Local and community affairs will be handled by provincial bodies; national matters will be handled by the central government. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973)

## "RESPONDENCY" OUTLAWED

A new amendment to the Rhodesian Emergency Powers Regulations reveals the need for restricting comment on the guerrilla activity in Rhodesia. "Any person who communicates to any other person orally or in writing any statement, rumour, or report relating to matters connected with national defence, public safety or public order which is likely to cause alarm or despondency, shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding \$150 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months or to both such fine and such imprisonment." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

## WOMEN STUDENTS BANNED

Four African women university students, Monica Mutamba, Olivia Mutsonziwa, Margaret Mucheri, and Annie Lois Ruredzo were ordered not to come within 12 miles of Salisbury because of their participation in the August disturbances. Other students are on trial, including student leader Witness Mangwende, who has denied links with ANC or outside politicians. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 5, Sept. 12, 1973)

## AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

Sir Alec Douglas-Home reported that Bishop Muzorewa and Smith were talking again when he addressed the annual conference of the Conservative Party in Britain. He encouraged the Party not to call for recognition of Rhodesia as an independent state and not to lift sanctions. He said that such a move would be disruptive to the long term goal of independence under terms acceptable to all Rhodesians. Mandatory sanctions should never have been imposed, he said, and the issue should not have gone to the U.N. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 13, 1973)

Bishop Muzorewa denied that talks were in progress and said he wanted to dispell any speculation about talks between him and Smith since they broke off conversations in July. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 26, 1973)

Smith claims he has been talking with African leaders, whom he would not name, about the possibility of some measure of agreement on the basis of the 1969 constitution. He assumes he will get nowhere with Britain. (*Times*, London, Sept. 24, 1973)

## ANC/RHODESIA PARTY TALKS

Since July, the ANC and the all-white opposition Rhodesia Party have been talking and have agreed on a set of principles for a new constitutional settlement. There would be a common poll with a highly qualified franchise. Public racial discrimination would be eliminated though a color bar would be retained in certain social sectors. A non-racial parliament would be the goal, though some racial representation may be necessary. A coalition is not envisaged. The Rhodesia Party has backing from businessmen for whom settlement is vital and from liberal and paternalistic whites. (*Times*, London, Sept. 15, 1973; *Guardian*, London, Sept. 19, 1973)

## ECONOMICS

### RHODESIA WELCOMES INVESTMENT

The *Journal of Commerce*, published daily in New York, says the Rhodesian government welcomes foreign investment. The paper's two-column article, which

appeared on September 13, never mentions that the United Nations has imposed mandatory sanctions for all its member countries.

"What are the conditions for foreign capital investment in Rhodesia?" asks the article. The answer: easy transfer of funds into the country, repatriation of capital usually in a maximum of six years, a 15 percent non-resident shareholder's tax and a 15 per cent tax on profits. The article mentions a number of other concessions available to investors in mining and export-earning industry.

A recent report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "Business as Usual," suggests that the paper may have violated U.S. law regarding sanctions by publishing a sixteen-page supplement about the country (see *Southern Africa*, October). The supplement, paid for by Rhodesian firms, contained articles on the economy and advertisements about industry, banks, hotels and other companies. It appeared on June 19, 1972. Articles and advertisements have been published regularly in the *Journal* this year, according to the Carnegie report.

## REYNOLDS METAL INDICTED FOR SANCTIONS VIOLATION

The Reynolds Metal Company, famous in American kitchens for its aluminum wrapper, has been indicted in a New Orleans federal district court for violating sanctions against imports from Rhodesia. The company is charged with importing 197 tons of petalite, a substance used to manufacture aluminum. A Reynolds official said the imported material was "a sample quantity of petalite ore for research purposes." (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 2, 1973)

According to the indictment, the customs documents falsely described the contents as feldspar from South Africa. The spokesperson stated that "it has always been the company's policy to support government policy and we intend to respect the government sanctions against trading with Rhodesia." He said that Reynolds officials "have taken steps to prevent such mistakes in the future."

In the three years since total embargo was enacted, U.S. authorities have prosecuted only four other firms for violations—although there have been allegations of many other such actions (see previous item).

## NEW FILMSTRIP AVAILABLE ON "PORTUGUESE" AFRICA

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# U.S. and SOUTHERN AFRICA

## **ACTION ON DIGGS' FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES BILL SLOWED**

The House Judiciary Committee is having to postpone its consideration of the Fair Employment Practices Bill (see *Southern Africa*, November 1973) because of its assignment to consider the confirmation of Gerald Ford as Vice President and the impeachment of President Nixon. In the meantime, the South African press has expressed alarm at the dangers of the Diggs bill.

Ken Owen, the Washington correspondent for the *Johannesburg Star*, has criticized the bill saying that it could "raise South African hackles and give [Diggs] the permanent means to create friction between the two countries." Mr. Owen's largest complaint is that the bill is "an unprecedented attempt to apply the social policies and standards of one country to the social life of another." For example, the labor union representative on the commission (which would establish a roster of American corporations that do follow fair employment practices in South Africa) would be "especially hostile to 'cheap foreign labor'," backbone of some S.A. economic sectors such as mining. Owen also complained that the bill "would provide an endless source of disputes over company behavior and over the commission's actions, all of them involving major American businesses and therefore calculated to put South Africa on the front pages of American newspapers."

Mr. Owen is concerned about the good chances for passage of the bill, and he quotes a "Congressional observer" as saying that fair employment practices is a "motherhood issue" in the current U.S. political climate which House members will find difficult to oppose. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 10, 1973)

State Department legal affairs officer, Keith Huffman, has submitted a legal memorandum to the committee and is expected to testify pointing out the potential legal conflict between the South African law and the proposed U.S. statute. In his view, South African administrators are likely to react in a hostile fashion to enactment of the bill and will exercise their considerable discretion to tighten up job reservation and discrimination. Congressman Diggs, however, continues to emphasize that U.S. corporations could be held only to a "best efforts" standard by the United States administrator.

## **DIGGS BACKS GUINEA BISSAU STATE**

At a press conference on October 16th, Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., and D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy threw their personal support behind the newly announced Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Diggs called for U.S. recognition since Guinea-Bissau possesses the machinery of state, substantial control of territory and the consent of the governed which are prerequisites of statehood. If

the U.S. government refuses to do so, it should at least "state fully and honestly its policy reasons and not hide behind the subterfuge that it does not have sufficient facts to make a determination" and further it should not block admission of Guinea-Bissau to the U.N.

Other members of Congress who support recognition include Representatives Dellums, Young, Chisholm, Abzug, Stokes and Fraser.

The State Department would like to avoid vetoing an application for U.N. membership by the young republic but it is not anxious to offend Portugal either.

## **AID TO PORTUGAL QUESTIONED**

The House and Senate conferees on the foreign aid bill may not retain a provision calling for increased monitoring of the use by Portugal of U.S. aid to ensure that it is not being used in Portugal's African colonial wars, in spite of the fact that the provision was included in some form by both houses. In July, the House agreed to an amendment introduced by Representative Andrew Young (D-Ga.) calling on the President to report to Congress on the use by Portugal of U.S. foreign aid, agricultural commodities and defense materials and services. In October, the Senate passed a stronger measure introduced by Senator John Tunney (D-Calif.). The Tunney measure broadened the scope of the House-passed version by including items that have a military application for which validated export licenses are required. (This would mean inclusion of items such as the Boeing 707s and 747, Bell helicopters, Rockwell light aircraft, and herbicides which have been exported to Portugal during the last three years in spite of continued reports that the Portuguese military are using U.S. planes for troop transport and reconnaissance, and U.S. herbicides to destroy food crops of villages suspected of aiding freedom fighters.) The Tunney bill also called for annual Presidential reporting, rather than only one report following the enactment of the foreign aid bill. Both versions stipulate that any aid would be suspended if it were discovered that it was being used in Portugal's colonial wars in Africa.

Representatives of the Portuguese Government have been working directly and indirectly to eliminate the provision from the conference report. Persons from the Portuguese Embassy have reportedly said to the conferees that the U.S. should stay out of internal Portuguese affairs if the U.S. wishes to retain use of the military base on the Azores Islands. This threat has been particularly strong as Portugal has been the only NATO ally to allow U.S. aircraft bound for Israel to refuel on its territory. Portugal released this information to U.S. newspapers and radio news services soon after the Middle East crisis began.

Several public interest groups are lobbying for

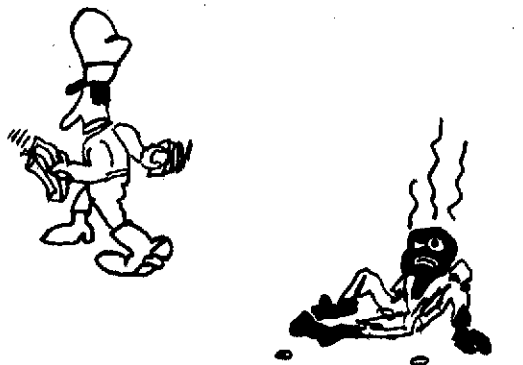
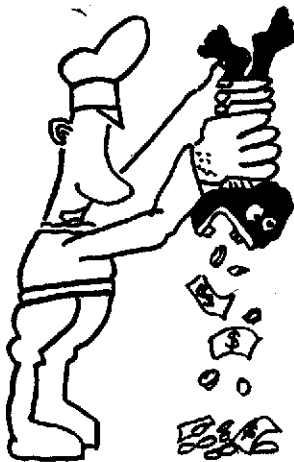
retention of the Tunney-Young amendment in its strongest form, but this may now be an up-hill battle.

### STATE DEPARTMENT SPONSORS AFRICAN VISITORS FROM MOZAMBIQUE AND LEBOWA

The State Department is continuing its program of encouraging visits to the U.S. by African leaders assimilated into the power structure of Mozambique and South Africa. In June, the American Consul General in Lourenco Marques recommended two members of the Legislative Assembly of Mozambique for leadership grants Leonardo Buchucha and Armando da Silva. Buchucha, a member of the Mozambique Provincial

Commission of the A.N.P., Portugal's political party, is expected to make this first leadership-grant visit by a Mozambican African in late fall. He is branch manager of an appliance store in Lourenco Marques and in his second term on that city's City Council. His alternate, da Silva, is a journalist.

Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa Homeland, has arrived from South Africa for a 42-day State-Department-sponsored trip. He is expected to follow the line of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Chief Mangope, executive officers of the Zulu and Tswana homelands, in urging American aid and investment in Bantustans. Mangope was pictured in a third-of-a-page advertisement in the *Washington Post* on September 6 declaring "Economic sanctions make me shudder." His message was sponsored by the Trust Bank of Africa, Ltd., an aggressive liberal Afrikaner bank. (See *Southern Africa*, October 1973)



### BYRD AMENDMENT REPEAL GAINS NEW SUPPORT

On October 17th, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs unanimously recommended passage of the Fraser-Diggs bill (H.R. 8005) to reinstitute Rhodesian sanctions after hearing strong favorable testimony from both Administration and Republican spokesmen.

Highlights of the hearings which preceded the vote were a letter from Secretary of State Kissinger and the testimony of conservative Republican Congressman John Buchanan of Birmingham, Alabama. Kissinger's letter stated:

*I am convinced now, as I was then [in 1971] that the Byrd provision is not essential to our national security, brings us no real economic advantage, and is detrimental to the conduct of foreign relations.*

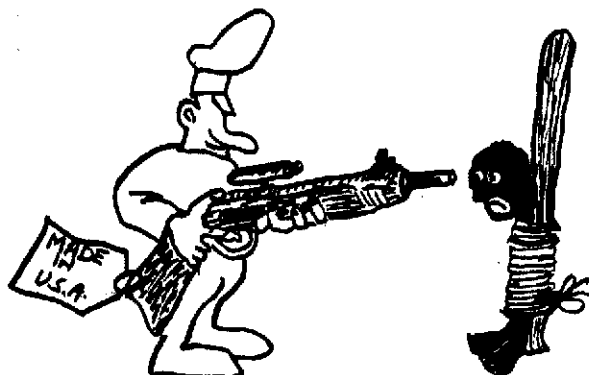
He particularly cited Nigeria's failure to understand or support the U.S. position as an example of the harm caused by breaking sanctions, noting U.S. reliance on Nigerian sources of energy (oil) and U.S. investment there of over \$1 billion.

Representative Buchanan was also impressed with the unfavorable economic consequences of sanctions-breaking. He said that the overthrow of the Smith regime was not out of the question, and if it came, "we could find ourselves totally cut off from access to Rhodesian ores."

Turning to moral aspects, Buchanan felt our support for Rhodesia contradicted the ideals and principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and civil rights laws. He said that the civil rights movement was the most important event in this country during his lifetime because it "sounded the death knell for the consummation of a system of discrimination and apartheid. . . ." To cast our lot with the "transient and repressive regime of Ian Smith" would be to build on sand rather than on the rock of a "position which is economically, politically, and morally right."

Buchanan's switch from support for to opposition to the Byrd Amendment is a sign of a new Southern politics in which the potential Black vote is becoming a real factor. Further, it had the effect of changing the votes of two Republican members of the Subcommittee, Winn of Kansas and Mathias of California, who declared themselves satisfied by Buchanan's testimony.

The change in Administration attitude has lent momentum to the lobbying for Byrd repeal being orchestrated through the Washington Office on Africa.



# International Organizations

## united nations

### CHALLENGE TO SOUTH AFRICA AT GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Mauritius Ambassador to the U.N., Mr. Radhakrishna Ramphul, led the move to challenge South Africa's UN accreditation which resulted in total suspension of General Assembly debate while the Credentials Committee ruled on the matter. Although the Credentials Committee voted 5 to 4 that South Africa's credentials were in order, the General Assembly took the report and reversed it by a vote of 80 to 26. The U.S. cast its vote in favor of South Africa. The protest began when the South African Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller, was recognized to speak and African states raised a point of order challenging that right since he represented only the white minority of that country. The President of the General Assembly ruled that the vote was a strong condemnation of the South African government but that South Africa had the right to speak. African delegates and their sympathizers walked out of the UN when Foreign Minister Muller spoke leaving only Malawi and less than three dozen others in the audience. Prime Minister Vorster said in Pretoria that South Africa would withdraw from the UN if its representative were ever prohibited from speaking. The Johannesburg *Star* reported that "South Africa has emerged legally intact but politically more scarred" and that Prime Minister Vorster had decided to continue to "consult" with the UN on South West Africa (Namibia). (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 6, Oct. 13, '73; *Africa News*, Durham, NC, Oct. 11, '73)

A continuation of the confrontation has erupted over the invitation of the Decolonization Committee to leaders of African Liberation Movements to take part as observers in debates on Portuguese held territories, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South-West Africa (Namibia) and over the General Assembly's Special Political Committee move to allow the banned African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) take part in the debates on apartheid. Western states, led by Britain and the U.S., insisted that ANC and PAC representatives should be heard merely as individuals while African states insisted that they take part as official representatives. UN sources said that the ANC and PAC had indicated that would refuse to participate as individuals. (*Daily Nation*, Sept. 29, '73; *Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 13, '73)

### CONFUSION ON O.A.U. STAND ON UN NAMIBIAN TALKS

The O.A.U. Sec. Gen. Mr. Ekangaki of Cameroon, told a news conference on the opening day of the General Assembly session that Dr. Waldheim "should appoint a

U.N. Commissioner, demand that he travel freely to the territory and assume his duties." He said that the "dialogue" with South Africa is finished. Later, General Gowan, Nigeria, the chairman of the OAU, departed from that policy and told reporters he personally favored continued contacts between the UN Secretary General and South Africa on the South West Africa question. (*East African Standard*, Sept. 20, '73; *Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22 & Sept. 29 '73) Meanwhile Dr. Waldheim and South Africa's Ambassador, Mr. Carl von Hirschberg, held a lengthy meeting at Dr. Waldheim's request. A range of subjects was to have been discussed, including South West Africa and the Carletonville massacre. The *New York Times* in an editorial called the shooting as "senseless" as the larger Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and said that the South African government cannot contend that the Western Deep Levels mine shooting was strictly an internal matter for South Africa.

### WEST GERMANY'S ENTRY INTO U.N. STIRS CONCERN

West Germany was admitted into the UN without formal opposition but both the African states who dislike her ties with South Africa and Portugal, and South Africa, who is fearful of assurances made by the Bonn government to the Anti-Apartheid Committee, reacted with concern over West Germany's role in future debates on apartheid, racism and the question of Namibia. West Germany is South Africa's third biggest trade partner and in return is supplied with manganese, chrome, asbestos and copper as well and semi-manufactured and agricultural goods. South Africa is also concerned over difficulties that may arise when she tries to negotiate terms with the nine nation European Common Market. Chancellor Willy Brandt has assured the UN that West Germany would not agree to common market preferential treatment of South Africa. Nevertheless, West Germany is expected to maintain trade with South Africa except in military equipment and to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa as well as to support only "peaceful" political change. Bonn continues to maintain its consulate in Windhoek in Namibia on the grounds of protection for the 10,000 German citizens there. Bonn's Foreign Minister, Mr. Walter Scheel, said in a TV interview that "We support the rights of peoples to self determination. We support human rights. We are against racism. . . . On the other hand, we have good relations with South Africa and Portugal." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, '73; *East African Standard*, Sept. 21, '73)

### CANADA TO INCREASE AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Canada, along with Norway, told the General Assembly

that non-military aid to African liberation movements would be increased. Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Canadian Foreign Minister, said that Canada would find ways to broaden its humanitarian assistance through bilateral and multilateral organizations. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr. Dagfinn Varvik said that his country would have preferred to see liberation through peaceful negotiations but that armed struggle becomes inevitable when one of the parties persistently refuses to negotiate. Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, Foreign Minister in the new Labour government of the Irish Republic, also took a stronger stand on Southern African questions.

## world bank/imf

### MASS WALKOUT FROM MEETING

Despite the Kenyan Government's statement that it "will not tolerate any demonstrations during the forthcoming World Bank and International Monetary Fund conference" in Nairobi (*Daily Nation*, Nairobi, Sept. 19, 1973), the African Group and several non-African nations staged a mass walkout September 26. The trade union movement in Kenya had accepted the Government

ruling that there should be no demonstration against the South African delegation to the conference protesting the shooting of 11 African mine workers in South Africa, though both KANU (Kenya African National Union) and COTU had earlier applied for permits to demonstrate. (*East African Standard*, Sept. 20, 1973) But the representatives of African countries attending the meeting decided to stage a walkout whenever representatives of South Africa and Portugal addressed the various sessions. A statement issued by the Assistant Secretary-General of the O.A.U., Mr. J. Buliro, said it would be unnatural and abnormal if as representatives of OAU member states and as Africans, they did not show in some form or other their absolute opposition and hatred of colonialism and apartheid when representatives of these regimes were among them. (*East African Standard*, Sept. 26, 1973)

Delegates from Black Africa were joined in the walkout by Arab delegates, when both the representative from South Africa and from Israel spoke. During the speech by Dr. Diederichs of South Africa, only Malawi and Swaziland, both of which have close ties with South Africa, stayed. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 26, 1973)

Later in September KANU sent a message to Vorster urging him to adjust "yourself to the wind of change before your army raises up its hands." (*Daily Nation*, Nairobi, Sept. 30, 1973)



Delegates walking out of the IMF meeting in protest, when Dr. Diederichs, South African Finance Minister spoke.



# ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

## CORPORATE ACTIONS

### RHODESIAN CHROME FOCUS

75 Black demonstrators marched before "Biaggi for Mayor" headquarters chanting "Bye Bye Byrd", and other slogans in New York City on October 21. Sponsored by the Bronx African Liberation Support Committee, the protest aimed at exposing Congressman Mario Biaggi's (D-Bronx) support for continued U.S. imports of Rhodesian chrome and other metals. The ALSC held anti-Rhodesian demonstrations at U.S. Federal Buildings in other cities. In Baltimore the group leafletted longshoremen asking them not to unload a shipment of chrome ore carried on the U.S. ship "African Dawn." Together with efforts by Congressman Parren Mitchell (D-Baltimore), the American Committee on Africa, and the International Longshoremen's Association, the ALSC action resulted in the successful boycott of the ship.

After two days in port "African Dawn" left to be unloaded elsewhere. Rank and file longshoremen were more involved in this boycott (which occurred on September 23 and 24) than in previous ILA boycotts. (American Committee on Africa Press Release, Sept. 24, 1973; eyewitness demonstrators, New York City)

In Oxford, Pennsylvania, Lincoln University students carried a protest against local Congressman John Ware's support for the Byrd Amendment to the local Presbyterian Church where the politician was supposed to speak on September 30. "Chrome on Monday, Church on Sunday" read the posters, but Ware did not even come to the church that day. (*Chester County Press*, Oxford, Pa., Oct. 10, 1973). The students plan to continue the effort by taking their views to Ware's office or to his home.

### PROFITS FROM MOZAMBIKAN CASHEWS GIVEN TO FRELIMO

The Starflower Company of Eugene, Oregon is a wholesale distributor of organic foods, and sells about half a ton of cashew nuts each month. Cashews are imported into the United States primarily from Mozambique (often via shelling factories in India) and Brazil. The U.S. is the largest importer of shelled cashews from Portuguese Mozambique.

A spokesman for Starflower said that the company would use the profits from the cashew sales for political education about Mozambique and to help FRELIMO'S (Mozambique Liberation Front) medical program, channeling the monies through the Oakland branch of the Liberation Support Movement. "We don't want any blood money . . . it is fitting that some share of the profits . . .

should go to help poor farmers and forced laborers of Mozambique to free themselves from colonial rule," the Starflower representative said. Food coops in Madison, (Wisconsin) Minneapolis (Minnesota), and New England have begun to sell cashews imported from Tanzania or give monies to FRELIMO. (FRELIMO grown nuts are sold through Tanzania; Tanzanian cashews make up only 2 per cent of U.S. imports at this time) (*Africa News*, Durham, Sept. 20, 1973)

### ITHACA, N.Y. BOYCOTTS NEW PORTUGUESE WINE

There's oppression all over Africa  
from Guinea to Mozambique  
In Portuguese Angola they're shooting  
people in the streets  
'Cause the Portuguese said you're our  
colony  
And the people said "we're not!"  
So they're fighting for their independence  
And it looks like its gonna get hot.

So before you pour some Allegria wine  
It's time to switch  
Cause Allegria's aiding Portugal  
Make's the Portuguese Government rich

So if you want to help people who wanna be free  
But ya gotta have a drink  
Buy Italian wine or Milwaukee beer  
Before *your* "Allegria" you'd better think . . .

So sings a balladeer on an Ithaca, New York radio station as part of a campaign to boycott a new Portuguese wine called Allegria ("Happiness" in Portuguese). Ithaca, site of Cornell University, was chosen for market research by the distributor of Allegria wine, Heublein Wines of Hartford, Connecticut, and the community has been flooded with advertising and telephone call research about it. So the Attica Brigade, African Students Association, African Liberation Solidarity Committee and the Southern African Liberation Committee quickly organized a boycott, and succeeded in getting four local liquor stores to stop or promise to stop (upon stock depletion) selling the new wine, and one store to stop the sale of all Portuguese wines. Ms. Sandi Schlueter of Nelson Research (Chicago) was sent to Ithaca to conduct telephone surveys about the wine, and when trying to sleuth about the boycott, she admitted that 10 per cent of all people she telephoned were not buying the wine. The Allegria public relations people had tried to push the new wine through

clever radio ads ("make it summer all year round"), jingles sung by a Dylan type voice, and other ads. It seems they will fail in pushing their own form of "Happiness".

Other college communities should be on the look out for other market consumer tests. The Ithaca groups plan to continue their efforts and secure not only an Allegria boycott but one covering all Portuguese wines. A group entitled "The Rest of the News", a counter media organization, has helped in the boycott. For more information contact: Rest of the News, 306 E. State Street, Ithaca, New York, 14850. The group has made radio tapes on other African issues including the independence of Guinea Bissau, Gulf Oil in Angola, the Ethiopian famine, etc.

The wine boycott has also been picked up by some Boston groups including the Boston African Liberation Committee and the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement. Their list of wines to be boycotted include: Mateus, De Silva, Lancers, Isabel Rose, Casaleiro, Madera and Costa Do Sol.

### GULF BOYCOTT ACTIONS CONTINUE

"Profit or People?" read the sign; "Gulf Oil Recruiters—Nip Em in the Bud" chanted some 75 marchers at a protest rally against the Gulf Research and Development recruiter who visited the Cornell University campus on October 10. Protesters unsuccessfully tried to meet with Gulf's man but only succeeded in meeting with a university official. Credit cards were burned at the demonstration also. The Attica Brigade sponsored a protest against a Gulf recruiter at Columbia on October 31 as well. (*The Cornell Daily Sun*, October 11; *Columbia Daily Spectator*, Nov. 1, 1973)

The Dayton based Gulf Boycott Coalition reported that the American Friends Service Committee sold 2,000 shares of Gulf stock a year ago, and that pickets against



**GOING AFTER GULF:**  
Attica Brigade protest the presence of recruiters for the Gulf Oil Company on Columbia campus.

Gulf have been held in Iowa City, with rallies in Detroit and New Orleans. The Coalition has produced a list of suggested anti-Gulf actions which range from oil spills, pickets and media actions to opposing city contacts and Gulf station drive-ins. GBC has researched cities with Gulf contracts and when these agreements expire; it urges local actions in the following cities:

Pittsburgh, September  
Houston, September  
Cleveland, this fall  
Detroit, October  
Nashville, October  
New Orleans, November  
Charlotte, February '74  
St. Paul, June '74  
Louisville, June '74  
Atlanta, June '74  
Ottawa, June '74

For more info. contact: Gulf Boycott Coalition, Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

The Pan African Liberation Committee which has been active in a black community boycott effort strongly condemned the decision by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its leader Rev. Ralph Abernathy to accept a gift of \$50,000 from Gulf Oil Corporation. (*Mutual Black Network News*, N.Y., October 27, 1973).

### CHICAGO BANK TO STOP SOUTH AFRICAN LOANS

Each month there are new developments concerning the Euro-American Bank loans to South Africa. During the summer the President of Central National Bank in Chicago promised that his bank would not enter into future loans to South Africa. Exposed in a black community newspaper, *The Chicago Courier*, President Robert Logan then met with an associate editor of the paper and explained that he believed Central National's \$1 million Euro-American Bank loan was actually to finance "internal improvements" in South Africa beneficial to the "non-white majority", but recognizing that it was a debatable issue, the bank decided that there would be no future loans unless it were to find that "the loans made real breakthroughs for Black South Africans. . . ." In spite of this loophole, Central National is the first U.S. loan participant to admit the possibility of the negative effect of monies for the South African Government. (*Chicago Courier*, July 26, 1973). A spokesman for the United Virginia Bank (\$2 million participation) expressed the opposite viewpoint in a letter, stating:

The proceeds of the loan were to be used for general governmental purposes, and we see no racial or adverse implications in making such a loan to a stable and non-hostile foreign government. . . . We simply do not believe that our participation in a credit of this type is detrimental to the interests of the black population of South Africa; to the contrary, we feel that such loans benefit all the people of the country of which the blacks are in the majority.

(Letter, President Richard H. Dilworth  
United Virginia Bank, Oct. 22, 1973)

In Maryland, a boycott of the Maryland National Bank (\$2 million participation) was launched at a press conference on Oct. 6 by black community groups, including: Baltimore African Liberation Support Committee, Black Workers Congress, Pan Afrikan Union, Local

1199 [drug union workers], Postal Alliance, Black Student Union of Baltimore Community College and others. The group extended support to the Inner-City Federation of Federal Credit Unions which withdrew \$470,000 from the bank, and called on others to boycott Maryland national. "While Maryland National Bank sees fit to make loans to South Africa, it rarely makes loans to Black people in this City . . ." and it only employs Blacks on local lower levels. "We, as Black people in the United States, support the struggles for liberation of Black people in South Africa . . . We will not deal with financial institutions which, by their actions, support the oppression of Black people in South Africa. Maryland National must be made to recognize that dealing with South Africa to make profits on slavery will cost them dearly in this country." (Press Conference, M.N.B. Boycott, Oct. 6, 1973)

Elsewhere in Maryland, the United Church of Christ, the office of Congressman Parren Mitchell, and the Washington Office on Africa have planned a strategy on the bank issue for Montgomery County, Maryland. The Potomac Association of the Central Atlantic Conference of the U.C.C. has recommended the withdrawal of funds from Maryland National Bank also. (*Afro-American*, Baltimore, July 28, 1973)

In Petersburg, Virginia, the City Council voted down a move to reverse its September decision to investigate City funds relations with the United Virginia Bank (\$2 million participation). There was an attempt to have the Council apologize to the Bank. At William and Mary College there was a Southern African week in early November emerging from interest shown about South Africa resulting from exposure of the bank loans. (Letter, Corporate Information Center, National Council of Churches, Oct. 10, 1973).

Finally action is developing in Indiana concerning the Merchants National Bank and Trust Company (\$1 million role) via Black, church and community people. (For more information contact: Indiana Committee, 3955 N. College, Indianapolis, Indiana 46205)

## POLITICAL ACTIONS

### PEOPLES' RECOGNITION OF NEW GUINEA-BISSAU REPUBLIC

77 persons have agreed to be the initial sponsors of a new committee organized to encourage thousands and thousands of U.S. citizens to recognize and support the Republic of Guinea Bissau. The Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea Bissau is circulating a petition as a peoples' support movement which also calls upon the Department of State to recognize the new Republic.

The Hon. William H. Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa and former chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, is chairman of the Committee. Among the seventy-seven sponsors are: The Hon. Louis Stokes, the Hon. Shirley Chisholm, the Hon. Julian Bond, Angela Davis, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Douglas Turner Ward, Noam Chomsky, Carey McWilliams, Vine Deloria, Jr., Sue Thrasher and others.

For copies of the petition or other information contact: Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea Bissau, 2nd Floor, 164 Madison, NY, NY 10016.

Other support statements have emerged from various



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groups including the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, Americans for Democratic Action, the African Studies Association, and various Congressmen. The Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614) produced a silk screen poster to commemorate the declaration, and on Oct. 15 held a special film showing to celebrate the people's victory in Guinea Bissau. It has issued a call for people and groups to send congratulations to the PAIGC (B.P. 298, Conakry, Republic of Guinea), to urge U.S. recognition, and to send donations to the PAIGC as well.

### DEMONSTRATIONS ON PORTUGUESE ISSUE

The War Resisters League organized a small but vigorous demonstration in front of the Portuguese Consulate and UN Mission on October 5, Portugal Nation Day. In Boston, the Portuguese Consulate was spray painted on September 25, FRELIMO day.

Other groups commemorated September 25 with leaflettings, distribution of posters, radio programs and so forth.

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to the Carletonville killings by passing a resolution which instructs members to "avoid involvement in advertising features and news stories projecting South Africa as a holiday resort or as a suitable country to which to emigrate." Members are also warned not to write about the country's food products. (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 15, 1973)

### SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The recent meeting of the *All Students Unions in Free Africa*, held in September in Tanzania, unanimously agreed to admit representatives from liberation movements as full participants. They admitted the movement representatives as delegates since the unliberated areas they represent have no student unions. (*Sunday News*, (Tanzania) Sept. 30, 1973)

The *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (ICFTU), as reported recently by its General Secretary Otto Kersten, will "support the liberation movements in Southern Africa to the very hilt of their struggle." He said ICFTU was totally opposed to the white-dominated minority regimes in Southern Africa and would do anything in its power to help the liberation movements in their struggle. The proposed assistance included finance. Kersten said the organization would also be giving advice to the workers in the oppressed countries on how they could organize and mobilize themselves into workers' movements to enable them to become more effective. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, Sept. 26, 1973)

*Sweden* has also announced that it will set aside \$3,750,000 for PAIGC as credit for non-military use in the liberated areas of Portuguese Guinea. FRELIMO was recently given credits worth \$1,250,000. Sweden has budgeted during the present financial year a total of \$8,250,000 for liberation movements and for victims of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa. (*AFP*, Sept. 6, 1973)

A recent visit to Zambia by Michael Manley, Prime Minister of *Jamaica*, brought offers from both his country and *Guyana* of volunteers to "stand side by side" with "freedom fighters" of the liberation movements. Hitherto, actual foreign aid that has been granted has been in the form of donations of cash and arms and of moral support, but never of manpower for the liberation movements.

Manley had accompanied President Kaunda to Lusaka from the non-aligned summit conference in Algiers and was hailed by Kaunda before a cheering crowd as a "committed revolutionary." Manley in turn referred to Kaunda as a "symbol for the heroic resistance of the Zambian people to the illegal, evil racist regimes to the south." (*Guardian*, UK, Sept. 9, 1973)

*East Germany* is shipping medical supplies and other necessities to Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola where liberation armies are fighting Portuguese colonial forces. The supplies, which come from Western European groups as well as Eastern European supporters, are sent by freighter to ports in the liberated regions, such as Conakry in Guinea, or to seaports in sympathetic countries like Tanzania. (*Peoples Translation Service*, Oct. 6, 1973)

### CANADIANS LAUNCH BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN

The following is a summary of boycott activities undertaken by Canadian anti-racist groups for the fall months:

## INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

### SOME INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO THE CARLETONVILLE MURDERS

In a major stance that seems to have been sparked by the recent Carletonville murders, the *Liberian Government* has banned all political contacts and commercial dealing with South Africa. An executive order announcing this said violations would be punished by a fine of \$10,000 or seven years' imprisonment or both. The order said the ban was intended for South Africa "and other colonial powers which have failed to recognise the rights of Africans to self-determination and independence." (*Daily Nation*, Sept. 18, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973)

In addition, *Australia's* Prime Minister, Mr. Gough Whitlam, recently made clear his determination to amend the Postal Act to bar the Rhodesian Center in Sydney—and hinted that such a ban "would apply in future to other Southern African countries." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 22, 1973) Whitlam said he did not like denying services to anybody except in exceptional circumstances, which he thought applied to Rhodesia, and "which very well in the future could apply to other countries in Southern Africa." His threat is to the South African embassy in Australia and its trade offices.

Two demonstrations, in *London* and in *Canberra, Australia*, highlighted the increasing unhappiness at the presence of South African official offices, that may have been accentuated by the recent shootings of mine workers in South Africa. About 100 demonstrators staged a picket outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square in protest of the Carletonville shooting, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in UK wrote a letter to Dr. Carel de Wet, Ambassador for South Africa in Britain, expressing outrage at the incident. (Earlier this year 15 people were arrested in Melbourne as a result of a city demonstration against the visit of a Portuguese trade mission to Australia and against alleged Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique. These demonstrators also threw stones at the South African Airways office in Collins Street.) (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 22, 1973)

Finally, journalists belonging to the Bradford branch of the National Union of Journalists (U.K.) have responded



September 17: Windsor and District Labour Council officially launched an Angolan coffee boycott, coordinated by Indeedact. The Labour Council, with 38,000 members, asked coffee suppliers to remove Angolan coffee from places of work. They published 40,000 leaflets for the shopping plaza campaign, and leafletting was done by Indeedact and the United Presbyterian churches.

September 19: SHAIR in Hamilton kicked off the boycott and started leafletting at University Plaza in Dundas on Oct. 5.

September 22: Calgary Coffee Boycott began. Leafletting at two shopping centers where 4,000 leaflets were given out; 95% of the shoppers took leaflets.

September 29: Three shopping centers were covered in Ottawa. The manager of the East End Shoppers City allowed the picketers to put the 99% DEHUMANIZED poster up in the store window. He also allowed them to boil water and give out free coffee.

October 3: Kitchener-Waterloo area begins coffee boycott.

October 9-13: Halifax SAIG committee had a booth at the Halifax Fall Fair to distribute the coffee information. They gave out 13,000 leaflets and 1,250 stickers.

During the first six months of 1973 the importation of Angolan coffee went down by almost 50% over last year, a decided success for the boycott campaign.

An important part of the Canadian campaign has been carried out by Jacques Roy, a former project engineer for Bell Canada, who went to Africa in 1967 as an electronics teacher under Canadian University Service Overseas and who has been working for the MPLA since June 1968. Recently the General Council of the United Church of

Canada through its Board of World Missions gave Roy a \$5,000 grant for the African Relief Services Committee to assist in carrying out of an effective educational program in Canada. His campaign also includes a boycott of Gulf Oil, provision of information, and collection of blankets, school supplies, tools, utensils, clothing, and other items needed by the movement.

#### HOLLAND BOYCOTTS SOUTH AFRICAN ORANGES

One of the most effective campaigns has taken place in Holland, with the resulting possibility of an embassy being set up in opposition to the official South African embassy in the Hague. The keystone of the campaign is Outspan oranges. This past summer the trip to Holland of the team of pretty, white South African women to promote sale of the oranges was cancelled. Waiting to confront the team in Holland was a multiracial group calling themselves the "Inspan girls" drawn from 800 local boycott committees and including black exiles from South Africa.

The speaker of the Dutch Parliament, Dr. Vondeling, has banned South African "outspan" oranges from parliamentary dining rooms in protest against the exploitation of black laborers. In response to the slogan "Don't squeeze a South African dry," more than 2,000 shops, including four giant supermarket chains, have followed suit. The alternate embassy scheme, still mostly on paper, would be to provide information about conditions in South Africa and to protect the interests of exiles. (*Observer*, London, Sept. 19, 1973)



# books ...

William Redman Duggan, *A Socioeconomic Profile of South Africa*. New York: Praeger, 1973. \$15.00. 181 pages.

Irving Kaplan et al., *Area Handbook for the Republic of South Africa*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971. \$4.75. 843 pages.

Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969*. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1972. \$14.95. 218 pages.

Francis Wilson, *Migrant Labour in South Africa*. Johannesburg: SPRO-CAS (P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein, Transvaal, South Africa), 1972. R1.95 (\$2.80) 281 pages.

Duggan and Kaplan provide, respectively, a short and a long survey of South Africa, both competently written, not very interesting, and with some of the limitations one would expect from publications coming from U.S. government sources. Duggan, former American consul general in Durban, South Africa, is a liberal diplomat who supplements his survey of the situation in South Africa with a chapter of "conclusions and recommendations" which is a good summary of the current liberal line in the State Department, supporting reforms. His premise is that "if South Africa does not adapt to change in time by evolutionary means, then change will undoubtedly be forced upon the nation by revolution". The *Area Handbook* is one of a series "designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts". It contains much information, and is useful as a reference. But neither it nor Duggan's book should be used uncritically. For example, although both contain extensive discussion of the Bantustans, or homelands, neither thinks it worth mentioning that in the first Bantustan, the Transkei, emergency regulations introduced in 1960 still remain in force, providing for rigid official control of meetings, and making it an offense to say or do anything that may interfere with the authority of the State (internal security remains in the hands of the South African government).

If one may well balk with justification at laying out \$15 for Duggan's summary volume, Wilson's book "Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969" in contrast is well worth the price. Readers of *Southern Africa* are probably already familiar with one of the conclusions of his research, that real wages for black mine workers have not increased since 1911, while the wage ratio of white to black wages has almost doubled, from 9 to 1 in 1911 to 17.9 to 1 in 1969. But there is much more in this book than this one aspect. The study is a detailed investigation into the economic and political forces at work in creating and maintaining a low-wage black migrant labor force in this industry so central to the South African economy, and, indeed, because of the importance of gold to the world monetary system, to the world economy. While the tables, charts, and economic terminology may on occasion be intimidating to the non-economist, Wilson takes the effort to explain everything clearly enough so that the reader, with careful reading, can get the point.

One example of the light Wilson's book throws on current developments is a discussion of a wage raise for black workers proposed by Anglo-American Corporation

in 1961. The mines face a recurrent problem of labor shortage, since manufacturing in South Africa pays higher wages. This has been met by employment of blacks from other less developed countries of Southern Africa, and by the channeling of African labor inside South Africa through the pass laws. But when, after Sharpeville, the risk of losing the foreign labor was increased (Tanzania, for example, prohibited recruitment for the South African mines), increasing wages in South Africa seemed worthwhile, particularly for the Anglo-American Corporation, which had in its richest mines a high percentage of non-South African workers. When South Africa's 'outward' policy seemed to be going well, the pressure to increase supplies of South African workers was decreased, and no further wage increases were suggested. Recently (and subsequent to publication of Wilson's book) events seem to confirm his analysis. With rising wages in the manufacturing sector (the minimal gains of the recent strikes), and protest at the Carletonville killings coming even from Lesotho, the pressure to ensure black labor from within South Africa is on again, and again it is the Anglo-American Corporation that has taken the lead in increasing wages.

The mine owners, Wilson contends, would like to move in the mines to a more flexible color-bar, as already exists in industry, where the ratio of black to white workers can be adjusted, and the precise location of the dividing line between black and white workers can be shifted to respond to economic changes, particularly the shortage of skilled white workers. White workers, fearing that this might be the first step towards ending their privileged position, resist such flexibility. In any case, although Wilson argues for a number of substantial reforms, including unionization of the black work force, the prospect for such reforms, which would require basic changes in the balance of power within the industry and the society, seems remote. There will, however, be adjustments, many of which will be presented as 'reforms'. The factual material in Wilson's book is invaluable in analyzing these adjustments which are sure to come.

Wilson's other book, on *Migrant Labour*, was prepared as a report to the South African Council of Churches. Using material from his research on the gold mines, Wilson adds to it whatever other information could be collected, by extensive research in all areas of South Africa. The result is a detailed, if spotty, picture, area by area, of how the system of African migrant labor is not only dominant, but also being expanded, in its role in the South African economy. Conditions of housing, conditions back in the 'homelands', the role of migrants in industry, in mines, and in agriculture, are all surveyed. The detailed presentation is extraordinarily helpful in showing just how the South African system works. Again Wilson concludes with suggestions of reform, which would eliminate the migrant system and make it possible for African workers to live in urban areas with their families.

Apparently Wilson's implicit political strategy is to present the case for reform, with indisputable data and reasoned argument, in the hopes that those in power will recognize the need for adjustment, and make possible evolutionary change, without violence. Evidently it is not too different a strategy from that of Duggan. But one does not have to agree with Wilson's proposals for solution to recognize the substantive contribution to understanding the political economy of South Africa that his two books represent.

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