

SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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JUNE-JULY 1973



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NOTE TO OUR READERS

In order to build up our subscriptions and to keep the magazine going, we have had to selectively exchange our mailing list so that we can send out mailings to other lists. We hope that you will be interested in the materials you receive from other groups, and that this exchange causes you no inconvenience.

JUNE-JULY 1973

Cover Photos: top; Exhibit area entrance outside Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia during the OAU 10th anniversary celebration. bottom; Dr. Agostinho Neto, president of MPLA, greeting Jason Moyo of ZAPU at the exhibition. To his left is Sergio Vieira, FRE-LIMO delegate.

photos by S. Urdang

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OUR COLLECTIVE

laverne brandon
 laura brown
 jennifer davis
 charlie ebel
 peggy halsey
 janet hooper
 tami hultman
 paul irish
 marci kerr
 reed kramer
 dick leonard
 rick lobben
 margaret marshall
 mary mcannally
 davis mgabe
 bill minter
 ruth minter
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 don morton
 marie orth-pallavicini
 dipankar ray
 penelope roach
 david robinson
 susan rogers
 tim smith
 susan strane
 jinny stroman
 john stroman
 stephanie urdang

THE O.A.U.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY

From May 17 to May 29th, the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) celebrated its 10th Anniversary in Addis Ababa. It began with the meeting of the Council of Ministers, led into the celebrations and ended with a summit meeting of Heads of State and Government.

Liberation of those parts of Africa dominated by colonial and white rule was a vital and highlighted aspect of the Conference, in spite of lack of Western press coverage which favored Arab-African or Ethiopian-Somali rivalries. Amongst the usual amounts of talk that mark such events, verbal recommitment to the struggles for liberation being waged on the African continent was made, and new emphasis put on the need for greater support by the independent countries, with promises for increased funds to the Liberation Committee, O.A.U.'s arm responsible for attending to the needs of the liberation movements. The Liberation Movements recognized by the O.A.U. have observer status, and were represented by large delegations. Attending the Conference, among others, were Samora Machel and Marcelino Dos Santos, President and Vice-President of FRELIMO and Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA. The movements of Southern Africa which are recognized are the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa; the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO); the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU); FRELIMO of Mozambique, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). Movements which are not recognized also had representatives present, for example the Unity Movement of South Africa, UNITA of Angola and FROLIZI of Zimbabwe.

O.A.U. Liberation Committee

At the inaugural meeting of the O.A.U. in 1963, the Liberation Committee was established. What was called the "Spirit of Addis Ababa" emerged out of this founding meeting, when Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, called upon the conference to look more seriously at the problems of decolonization: "... we must all agree to die a little so that African unity may not be an empty word." This was supported by President Nyerere of Tanzania. "In our approach to the final liberation of Africa we are all agreed without single exception that the time for mere words is gone, this is the time for action. . . . that from now on our brethren in non-independent Africa should be helped; by independent Africa . . . we are prepared to die a little for the final removal of the humiliation of colonialism from the face of Africa."

As a result of this 'spirit' the O.A.U. Liberation Committee was established. Its work was projected to entail coordinating, unifying and aiding liberation movements from those territories fighting for independence. Its headquarters were established in Dar es Salaam. Funds were to come from voluntary contributions from the African governments. No sanctions would be used

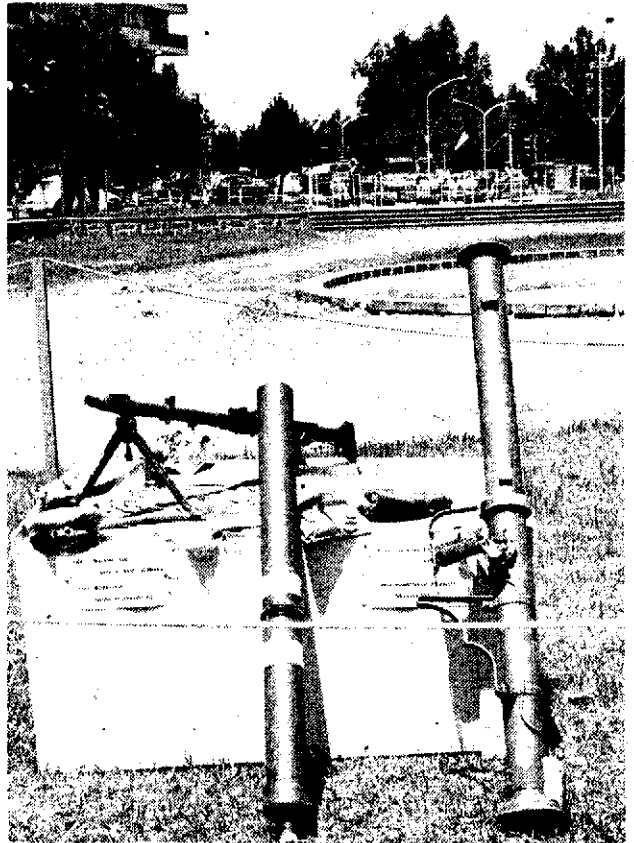
against any state not living up to its promises, and as has been clear over the years, many states have not honored their promises or refused to do so. For the budget of 1971-1972, it was reported in Addis, only one third of the promised amount had been collected. This has seriously hampered the work of the committee, which in addition has come under increasing criticism for alleged ineffective use and mismanagement of funds. This tenth year did show that strong efforts are being made to eradicate this latter problem.

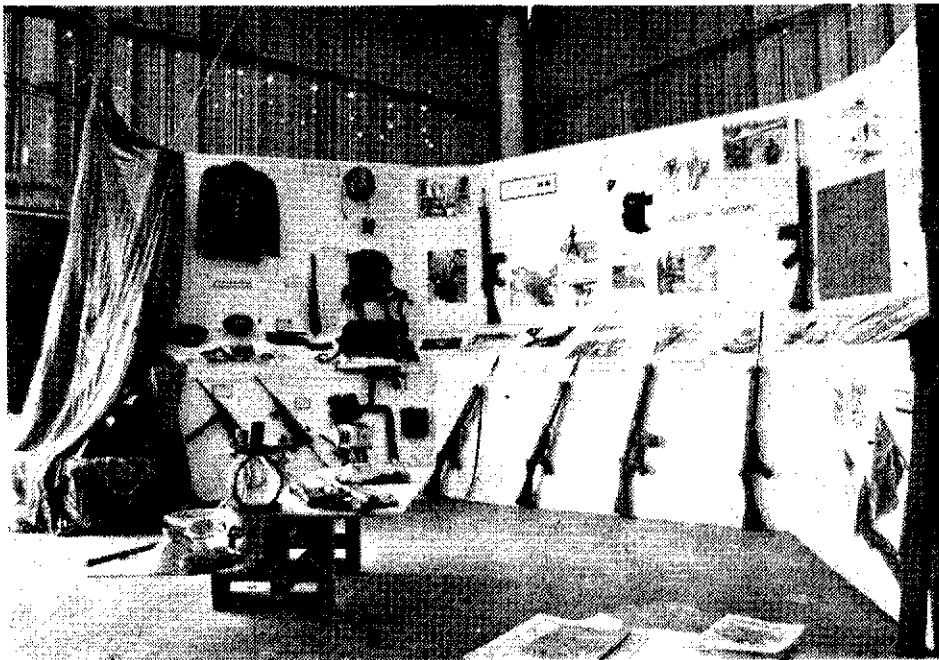
Has the O.A.U. 'died a little'?

It is worthwhile reviewing the progress in the field of decolonization. Despite the remarkable and growing successes of the liberation movements over the past 10 years, the O.A.U. history on this subject leaves much to be desired.

The first real test to Africa's commitment to decolonization came with UDI Rhodesia in 1965. At a meeting in Addis Ababa that same year, a unanimous resolution was passed to sever all diplomatic relations with Britain by the end of the year if the Smith regime had not been checked and positive steps had not been taken by

Rocket launches, made in the USA and West Germany, captured by FRELIMO.





MPLA exhibit with parachute made in the USA on the left, and captured rifles.

photo by S. Urdang

Britain to resolve the crisis. When it came to the crunch, barely ten states took steps to break diplomatic relations, with Tanzania in the forefront. As Guido Magome points out (*Daily News*, Tanzania, May 25, 1973): "This cold shoulder by African states to the Rhodesian crisis did lend much credibility, if not legitimacy, to colonialism; it was, too, one step backwards in the cause of liberation."

Then in December 1967, Malawi established diplomatic relations with South Africa and later some countries, with the Ivory Coast at the helm, began talking about solving the problems of South Africa through 'dialogue.'

On the other hand, the liberation movements have grown in strength over the past ten years, and particularly in the case of the Portuguese territories, have scored many major victories with new evidence that the struggle is gaining momentum in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Three countries *have* prepared "to die a little." They have given strong support to the liberation movements, not without considerable cost to themselves. These are, of course, Tanzania, The Republic of Guinea, and Zambia. Without the strong support of these countries the individual liberation movements would have had difficulty in achieving the successes they have. As a result their borders have been bombed, Guinea invaded by Portuguese troops, and Zambia blockaded by Smith. All three countries have resolutely continued their material and moral support.

Secretary-General Stresses Liberation

In his report to the Council of Ministers, the O.A.U. Secretary-General, Mr. Nzo Ekganki outlined the achievements of the liberation movements of the past year and stressed that the year had been characterized in this area by an intensification of the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and by the achievement of unity of action by the liberation movements of Angola and Zimbabwe.

In Mozambique nationalist activities have been extended to two new provinces, the Zambezi, and Manica

and Sofala, "whose strategic importance is considerable because they control the most important railway traffic towards the interior."

In Angola the achievement of unity of action between MPLA and FNLA "constitutes an important step in the liberation struggle of that country."

In Zimbabwe the situation is quite serious "in view of the fact that the Ian Smith regime is being supported militarily by the South African racists and that a real *de facto* alliance of the Salisbury-Pretoria-Lisbon triangle has been formed to maintain the status quo in southern Africa."

Mr. Ekganki noted that two important events had occurred this year in the field of decolonization: the Conference of the Liberation Committee held in Accra at the beginning of January and the Conference of experts in aid of victims of colonialism and Apartheid held in Oslo in April. "The importance of the Accra Conference lies above all in the redefinition of the objectives and strategy of liberation struggle."

In South Africa "the series of strikes which have hit the Port of Durban and the numerous mines in Natal province bear testimony to the dynamism of our oppressed brothers."

In his speech to the Heads of States Ekganki emphasized that the O.A.U. must continue to give aid to the liberation movements on a continually increasing scale. "The struggle against colonialism in all its forms remains the basic primary challenge of the Organization of African Unity. Colonialism as we know can take various forms. In its naked form it is the domination and subjugation of one country by another, the occupation of the territory of one country by another, the exploitation of the riches and resources of one country by another, and finally the complete dehumanization, disregard and disrespect of one people by another. The hideous and ultimate end-product of this form of colonialism is racism and apartheid. But colonialism can also take some more

subtle forms such as too much economic dependence on one country by another, certain forms of undesirable but wedded technical assistance in the co-operation agreement between one country and another, and cultural brain-washing which leads a people to lose faith and confidence in their own intrinsic values, develop an inferiority complex and have a sense of shame to assert an independent identity and forge a respectable and respected personality. It is against this many faceted single complex of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism that we must engage, in eternal vigilance, a fierce and resolute struggle."

Resolutions Passed:

Resolutions were passed on all those areas dominated by foreign rule. In summary:

Zimbabwe: The resolution reaffirmed its total and unconditional support for the people in their struggle and condemned Britain for refusing to bring an end to minority rule and the imposition of apartheid measures by the illegal regime; commended the Lusaka agreement between ZANU and ZAPU on the strategy of liberation of Zimbabwe.

South Africa: The resolution commented with satisfaction on the development of political activities especially the recent wave of strikes and popular resistance, in spite of the extremely difficult conditions and reaffirmed the program of action adopted by the Oslo international conference in April this year, including a call to the liberation movements to close their ranks and form a united front against their common enemy.

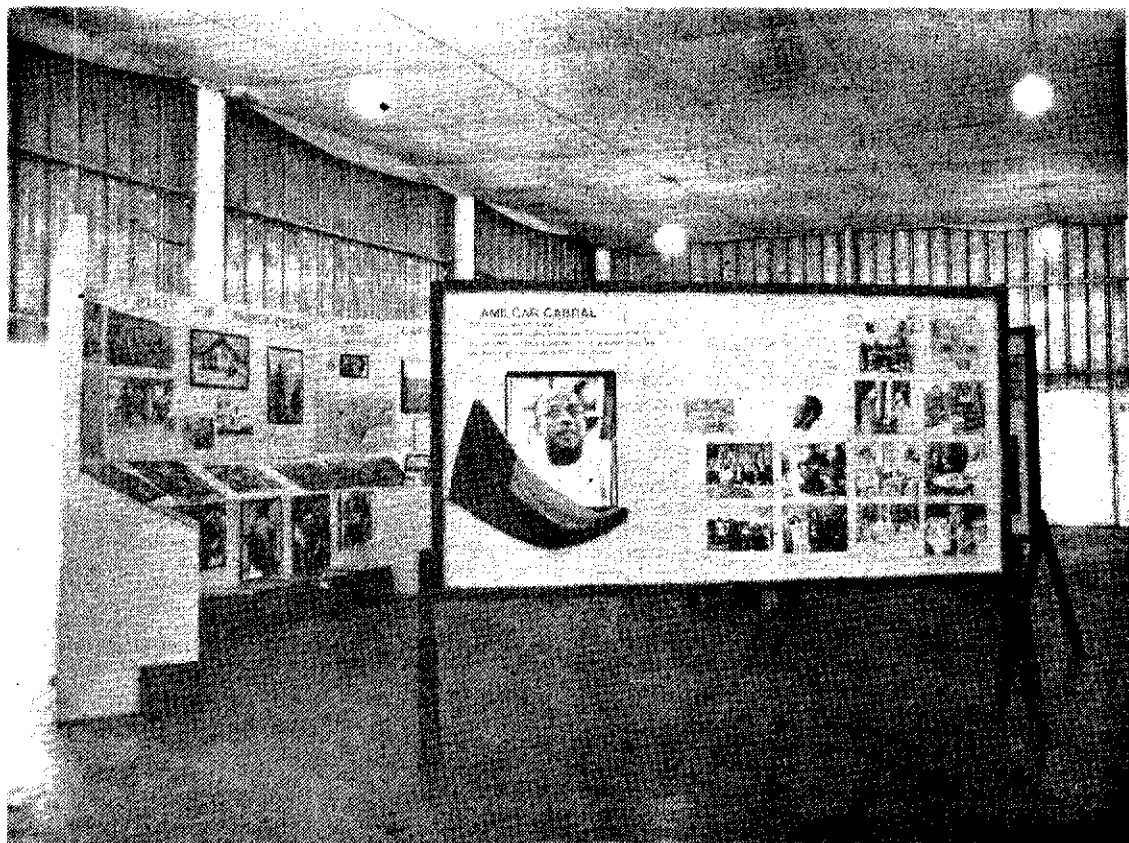
Namibia: This resolution called upon the United Nations Security Council to terminate the contacts of the Secretary-General with the South African racist

authorities as this proved ultimately to be detrimental to the interests of the people of Namibia and the early attainment of independence, and of course, called upon the Security Council to force South Africa to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Portuguese dominated Territories: This resolution was the longest and most detailed, giving details of recent victories in Angola, Guine-Bissau, Cape Verde islands, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, and covering the alliance between Portugal and Britain, and the massive assistance Portugal receives from its allies, especially the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany and Japan.

"The African states therefore decide to reinforce their moral and material support to the struggle for national liberation, either through the O.A.U. or by stimulating bilateral aid, so that the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies will be better able to deal with the gigantic tasks of armed struggle and national reconstruction."

Malawi registered reservation to most of the resolutions, saying that although it was firmly against apartheid, there are other ways than armed struggle and violence of bringing an end to white domination. Lesotho on the other hand, a country completely surrounded by South Africa, strongly supported the resolutions, as did, but to a lesser extent, Swaziland, who is also surrounded by hostile territory. In Lesotho's speech to the Heads of State, the Prime Minister said "it is my sincere hope that the forthcoming session of the Heads of State and Government to take a hard and frank look at whether the support given to the liberation of these territories has been the most efficient." Although omitting to mention South Africa, it supported the O.A.U. in its dedication to



PAGIC exhibit

eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa. " . . . We in Lesotho . . . have continued to cherish the tradition of decolonization . . . and are continuing to press for the independence of our fellow Africans in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Rhodesia and Namibia."

Several Liberation movement delegations privately commended Lesotho on its stand. The Ivory Coast was more supportive of the liberation movements than before. Although continuing to support 'dialogue,' it appeared impatient with the lack of results.

Liberation Movements hold Exhibition:

As part of the celebration, an exhibition was held in which all the movements of Southern Africa and Guine-Bissau participated. The displays presented by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC were particularly impressive. FRELIMO and MPLA displayed captured arms and other war material, as did to a lesser extent SWAPO and FNLA.

Amongst the FRELIMO articles were: the wing of a Harvard T-6 bomber, made in the USA; the bomb carrier of a Fiat G-91 bomber; a rocket launcher 3.5 inch calibre, made in the USA; door and seat from an Alouette III helicopter, made in France.

Included in the MPLA exhibition was a parachute made in the USA from a Portuguese pilot shot down on the Eastern front, and rifles from Belgium, West Germany and France.

SWAPO displayed a communications radio made in Britain, and rifles made in Belgium.

Political Charter committed to support for armed struggle:

The speeches given by the Heads of State or foreign ministers placed great emphasis on the importance of the liberation of all of Africa through armed struggle. Generally the theme was that Africa cannot be free or united until all Africa is liberated from foreign rule.

The political charter adopted at the end of the summit showed a new attitude in acknowledging that armed struggle is the only way to achieving independence, at the same time pledging greater support for the struggles. "Today, more than ever before, we are firmly convinced that armed struggle is the principal factor in the liberation effort. We reaffirm, on behalf of all African peoples, our determination to increase the moral support and material assistance to the struggle our brothers are waging for the common ideals of justice, dignity and independence."

However, the Liberation Committee's most serious problems are caused by the failure or refusal (e.g. Malawi) of many member states to pay their dues. As mentioned earlier, only one third of the amount budgeted for 1971-1972 was received. Many liberation movement leaders felt the tone of the conference in regard to the question of liberation was encouragingly serious, but skepticism was expressed that the strong words spoken would in fact give rise to greater action.

As pointed out by Karim Essack in the *Daily News* (Tanzania, May 25, 1973), "at present Vorster's yearly defense budget has reached a staggering total of \$450 million. The three minority regimes now spend a total of \$2 million a day on the war against the freedom fighters. There was great enthusiasm when at the last summit in Rabat a sum of \$7 million was agreed upon tentatively. In other words if all the states remain faithful to their commitments, then the Liberation Committee will be able to spend in a whole year what Vorster and his partners

spend in less than 3 days. It does show the seriousness with which the Fascists are prepared to defend their privileges."

There is the danger of viewing Africa from the North American continent as one progressive continent represented by the O.A.U. One must be aware of the realities and not pretend otherwise. Africa has a long way to go before reaching the goal of unity—ridding itself of foreign rule, of neo-colonialism, of economic dependence on western powers and indeed in some cases, on other African states. But the very fact that the O.A.U. could celebrate its 10th anniversary in an atmosphere of general seriousness, and increased commitment—if verbal—to its goals is important. Ten years is not a long time in the history of Africa, and many predicted doom for the O.A.U. at its inception. The O.A.U. is here to stay.

But one cannot help wishing that we could be confident that the resolutions adopted at this past conference, particularly in reference to the liberation of non-independent Africa, will be carried out once the delegations have returned to their respective countries. The growing power of the movements themselves will naturally influence the next decade in O.A.U. history. But so too will these decisions of the states affect that escalating struggle.

S.U.—Dar es Salaam



photo by S. Urdang

Liberation movement delegates in fronts of the PAIGC exhibit. Left to right: Toure Boubalaz (PAIGC), Homenteni Kaluenja (SWAPO), Pio Gomes Correia and Alberto Lima Gomes (both PAIGC).

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW ANC UNDERGROUND PUBLICATION

The ANC (African National Congress of South Africa) has hailed the issuance of *Sechaba-Isizwe* now being distributed inside South Africa, calling it "a vehicle for the propaganda and defence of the genuinely popular line of the revolution . . . it fights for the seizure of political power by force, from the hands of the racist white minority, and for the establishment of Black, democratic majority rule." The paper calls upon people to use it and to defend the principles it represents. (*Sechaba*, London, May, 1973) The ANC also issued a recent statement supporting mass strikes inside SA, cheering them for creating confusion in the ranks of the international capitalist world. (*Workers Voice*, May 3, 1973)

Like all banned persons, they cannot be quoted, cannot meet with other banned persons, nor communicate with them by letter. They cannot leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg, and must report weekly to the police. (*Guardian*, London, May 18, 1973).

Braam Fischer

Braam Fischer has spent the last seven years in prison in the Pretoria Central Prison, along with a dozen or so other white political prisoners. He is serving a life term for conspiring with the African National Congress to commit sabotage to destroy the existing Government. In 1964, he was defence advocate for eight men accused of plotting revolution in the Rivonia Treason Trial. Nelson Mandela



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe

In 1960, Robert Sobukwe, President of the Pan Africanist Congress, was sentenced to three years imprisonment for incitement in the PAC campaign against the pass laws. It is ten years since his term was completed, but he is not a free man. Following the expiration of his sentence on May 3, 1963, he was held in detention on Robben Island under a special amendment of the Suppression of Communism Act. For six years he was kept in the island prison, isolated from fellow detainees and prisoners. On his release, he was banned, and restricted to the village of Galeshewe on the outskirts of Kimberley. He is confined to his home at night and the magisterial district of Kimberley during the day. He may not be quoted in the press. The reason for his continued banning, according to Minister of Justice Pelser, speaking in 1968, is that "he has not changed his attitude or aims . . . he was the star that the PAC needed to rally its scattered, fratricidal remnants abroad." (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 12, 1973).

Naidoo, Vandeyar, and Nanabahai

Three Indians, Indris Naidoo, Reggie Vandeyar, and Shirish Nanabahai, have just completed ten year sentences on Robben Island. They were caught in a police ambush while attempting to blow up a railway signal outside Johannesburg. Having completed their time in prison, they are not free. Each was served with a five-year banning and house arrest order on release from prison.

and Walter Sisulu of the Africa National Congress were among the eight sentenced to life imprisonment. Fischer was detained under the 90-day detention procedure. He was released, rearrested, and eventually jumped bail and went into hiding. After almost a year's search he was captured and tried. During his trial he explained why he had joined the Communist Party.

In prison, 65 year old Fischer is prohibited from having any physical contact with members of his family. He is allowed two visitors for half-hour periods twice a month, but must communicate with them through a glass panel. He is not allowed to see newspapers nor listen to news broadcasts. He can receive only three letters per month and they must be no longer than 500 words each. There is little hope of Fischer being released in spite of efforts on his behalf. Prime Minister Vorster has stated that as long as he has any say about it, Fischer will not leave his cell alive. (*Guardian*, London, April 23, 1973).

Nelson Mandela

Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, is serving a life sentence on Robben Island. An Australian journalist, David McNicoll, was allowed to interview him, and brought out the story of life on the prison island. There are 593 prisoners on the seven-mile-circumference island. Of these 383 are maximum security, (30 for life), and 210 are "ordinary" criminals. The jail is divided into sections—the single cell section for the "leaders", the hospital section, the general section, and the "terrorist section" inhabited mainly by Namibians (South-West Africans).

There is a difference in treatment between Coloureds, Indians, and Africans. The Coloureds and Indians get bread with butter every day, but Africans only get it twice a week. The Africans are also given less milk.

Mandela said that although they are allowed no newspapers or radios they have devised ways of getting news from the outside, and McNicoll found him well informed on current events. Mandela claims to be optimistic about the future. He stated, "I can say I have never had a single moment of depression, because I know that my cause will triumph. I am satisfied with the way things are proceeding." (*The Observer*, London, April 22, 1973).



Nelson Mandela

AFRICAN POLICEMEN KILLED IN AMBUSH

Four Black South African policemen were killed by guerrillas in the Caprivi Strip on April 20th. They were among nine soldiers and policemen in South Africa and Rhodesia killed in two separate clashes with guerrillas over that weekend. According to the Commissioner of Police, General J.G. Joubert, the four men were fully armed and equipped. He explained they were led into an ambush—something that could happen to anyone. He refused to give further details of the attack. However, it is important to note that, according to Joubert, South African Blacks are being armed to fight guerrillas. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 28, 1973).

NEW RESTRICTIONS ON DEMONSTRATIONS

The Gathering and Demonstrations Act has become law, and open-air protest meetings are now banned in a wide area surrounding the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town. Both the Nationalist and the United Parties backed the bill, with Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party as the only dissenter. Violation of the Act could bring a maximum fine of \$420 or imprisonment for six months, or both. All gatherings, demonstrations, and processions

as well as the distribution of literature are prohibited in the area around Parliament. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 12, June 1, 1973).

THE TRANSKEI—TEN YEARS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

South Africa's showcase Bantustan, the Transkei, has marked its tenth year of "self-government." What does this self-government mean? Power resides ultimately in the White South African Government, as all legislation in the Transkei must have the assent of the State President. In the Transkei Legislative Assembly, typical issues under debate include road traffic, conservation, and agricultural regulations. The 1963 constitution curbs the legislation that may be discussed, and it has not been changed.

In administration, Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima, and his brother, Chief George Matanzima, who is Minister of Justice, do exercise control over their departments. The other four departments are run by White Secretaries. At the lower levels of bureaucracy, it is the 7.2 percent of the staff that is White that makes the decisions. Africanization of positions is made from the lower levels upward, ensuring that no White will ever serve under a Black. At the local level, the Transkei is run by village headmen. These chiefs are paid extremely low stipends by the Government. In the Transkei they receive from \$210 a year to \$630 a year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 31, 1973; May 26, 1973).

The Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) is responsible for economic development in the Transkei. Its critics call it the Xhosa Destruction Company. Its major activity has been the buying out of white businesses and turning them over to Africans. Some 420 white traders, over 18 garage owners, several bottle store owners, and three hotels have been bought out. In addition, the XDC owns eight blocks of flats in Umtata which are rented to Government employees. In Butterworth the XDC has built 123 houses for White personnel. Some of these are very lavish. More modest housing for 15,000 Blacks has also been built. So far most of it is unoccupied because the rents are too high.

Other XDC concerns include a furniture and a weaving factory which were already succeeding and which the XDC simply took over.

The General Manager of the XDC, Mr. Franco Maritz, has recently announced that foreign investors are showing interest in the Corporation. No details were given, and many in the Transkei are suspicious of the XDC's plans. One incentive that is being offered to foreign investors is that of low wage scales. Since the maximum average wage paid to unskilled workers in the Transkei is \$42 a month, the fear is that foreign investment in the Transkei will simply perpetuate poverty for the masses of workers. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 31, 1973).

The paramount chief of the Transkei has functioned within the framework of "separate development" for ten years, giving credence to the White Government claims that the African population goes along with the Bantustan policy. However, Matanzima is at odds with the Government on a number of issues. Land is key, and Matanzima has stated that without more land, there can never be independence for the Transkei.

Matanzima has also backed the federation of the Transkei with Kwazulu, along with Chief Buthelezi of the Zulus. This the Government rejects. Matanzima has accused the security police of tailing the cabinet ministers

in the Transkei, evidently in relation to the question of federation. The Deputy Minister of Police, Mr. Kuger denied any knowledge of Security Branch "tails."

Matanzima has warned the White Government that unless his demands are met and a viable Transkei is created, matters will go from bad to worse and there "will be a bloodbath in South Africa." He further stated that unless the "homelands" are given the White-owned land they demand, "the rising generation of Black youths would seize it by force." He continues to work for separation of the races and "an equal division of land," claiming that this is the only way to maintain peace. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 31, April 7, May 19, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, May 8, 1973; *Zambia Daily Mail*, May 14, 1973).

BANTUSTAN CONSOLIDATION PLANS

More than 360,000 Blacks and an undisclosed number of Whites will be uprooted by the White Government if it carries out announced plans for Bantustan consolidation. In order for consolidation to succeed, 874,000 ha of white-owned land will have to be purchased and turned over to Blacks. This is one of the major obstacles to the plan, as Whites have been very reluctant to give up the property, even though the Government is paying fair prices.

At present the Bantustans are made up of scattered pieces of territory. Consolidation is necessary to make administration possible. More than ease of administration is involved, however. In the case of Vendaland in the Northern Transvaal, the Venda border with Rhodesia is being totally removed. The strip of land involved is already used as a military exercise area and will be kept in the hands of the Whites.

According to the *Johannesburg Star*, the Venda, Lebowa, Gazankula, and Swazi, Governments have accepted the White Government's proposals. The KwaZulu Government has rejected the plans because, according to Chief Buthelezi, the end result will not be a meaningful consolidation, and thousands of people will have to be moved unnecessarily. Chief Mangope of Bophuthatswana has also rejected the Government's plans, calling them "totally unacceptable." The Transkei, which is the only Bantustan which is a geographic unit, is also demanding more land than the Government sees fit to allocate to it. The Ciskei has a new Government which is demanding that land be consolidated from more than twenty scattered areas that now exist to a single area. The White Government has proposed a five block consolidation. The Ciskei also demands that the land area be increased fourfold. (*Johannesburg Star*, May 31, April 28, May 5, May 26, 1973).

Cape Point, South Africa



BRITISH FUROR OVER WAGES

Ninety-seven out of 100 British companies are paying starvation wages to their black employees according to articles published in London's *Guardian* newspaper. The series, which documented pay and working conditions in South African operations of British-owned firms, provoked strong defensive reactions from companies, touched off a national controversy, and resulted in the establishment of a Select Parliamentary committee to investigate the allegations.

The revelation that conditions are poor in British-based industries has caused far more public response than similar studies released in the United States about American firms. Part of the reason may be the importance to both Britain and South Africa of the ties between the two countries. Of South Africa's top 100 companies, 25% are at least partially owned by British firms. UK investments account for 60% of all foreign investment in South Africa, and have a book value of close to \$4 billion—four times that of US investment there. About 30% of all South Africa's export goods go to Britain.

For both countries, the arrangement is profitable. Exports to Britain help South Africa with its balance of payments deficit, while Britain earns more profit from direct investment in South Africa than in any single area. In mining, for example, returns are in the neighborhood of 25% to 30%.

Another reason for high British interest in South Africa is due to historical factors. Not until 1910 was British colonial control of parts of South Africa terminated, and South Africa was a part of the British Commonwealth until 1961.

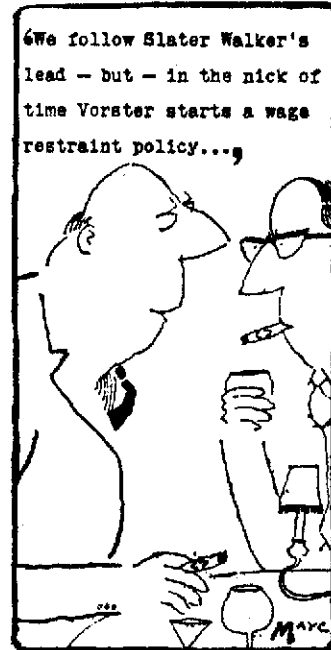
The *Guardian* reported that average wages of the lowest skill levels paid by 30 British firms were only \$82 monthly. Johannesburg's City Council—an all-white body—estimates that \$110 per month is needed by the average African family living in that city. The figure, called the Poverty Datum Line, includes only the essentials of food, clothing, and shelter, plus transportation to work, but makes no provision for medical care or other emergencies, for furniture or household utensils, or for recreation or savings.

Some of the newspaper's more dramatic coverage dealt with specific conditions of work. At a Slater Walker associate, Natal Tanning Extract, all children on the company-owned plantation were constantly ill, with open sores caused by malnutrition. A former manager of the company told the *Guardian* that parents had neither money to properly feed children, nor medical facilities to turn to. Wages as low as \$0.65 a day were withheld completely if there was rain, or if a worker was sick.

Company response was immediate. Slater Walker sent a senior executive to Natal to investigate, and soon announced a 50% average pay hike, with a 100% increase for employees at the bottom end of the scale. It further announced eight actions designed to aid black Africans, including free milk for employees' children, free work garments for male workers, a personnel and welfare officer for African employees, and the building of twelve schools on company land. It promised to strive towards

providing medical clinics on all company-owned farms.

Though conditions at its associate's property had been exceptionally bad, Slater's response was exceptionally good. Many companies were indignant. Some claimed that African workers were paid what they were worth. "If these people earn too much they simply go on vacation," said the managing director of a Courtauld's subsidiary. (Courtauld's did, however, send two executives to South Africa to visit the company's timber farm in Natal.)



Chairman of the UK South Africa Trade Association told Parliamentary investigators, "We do still live in a Capitalist world. And we do expect to get a return on our investment which we do not if we pay a high wage to incompetent labour." His argument that Africans had low productivity and little aptitude was a common one.

At the height of controversy in the press, South Africa's Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller flew secretly to London for talks with Sir Alec Douglas-Home about the proposed visit of a parliamentary team to review the performance of British companies in South Africa. The South African government issued a statement that it would not respond favorably to visa requests from groups who wanted to interfere in South Africa's internal affairs.

On May 12, it was announced that the Borough of Kensington and Chelsea in London would sell thousands of dollars worth of stock in South African Gold Fields. At the same time, the Greater London Council was called upon to sell its shares in companies with South African operations.

Defenders of company policies say that "half a loaf is better than none," that if they paid higher wages they would be forced to automate, thus costing Africans jobs. Their argument is that profit must always come first, and

that low wages are justifiable in the South African context. (Sources: *The Times*, London, March 14; *The Guardian*, London, March 7, 17, 22, April 9, 10; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, March 14; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 12; *New York Times*, April 8; and the *Observer*, London, April 18; 1973)

SA SEEKS LOCAL CONTROL OF BANKS

Local control of all banks operating within the Republic will be required under legislation recently proposed by the South African government. As explained by the Minister of Finance, Dr. Nicolaas Diederichs, the measure would require banks to reduce their foreign shareholdings to 50 per cent during the next ten years and ultimately to 10 per cent.

Two British controlled-commercial banks dominate the financial sector in South Africa—Barclay's Bank and Standard Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank of New York owns about 15% of the Standard and Chartered Banking Group. The next largest institutions, Nedbank and Volksas, are owned by South African interests and have assets about half as large as the big two.

The government plans to ask Parliament to enact the new measures next year. Earlier this year, a special government commission which had studied the country's fiscal and monetary policy published its recommendations; but the government's proposals are more far-reaching in their attempts to restrict foreign control of banks. (*Financial Times*, London, May 11, 1973)



Malnutrition on Boscombe Estates in SA (owned by Slater-Walker).

INFLATION HARDEST ON AFRICANS

Recent consumer price figures reveal that South Africa's soaring inflation is most damaging to the country's black population. The Consumer Price Index, now increasing at a rate of 15% a year, is compiled by the Department of Statistics based on expenditure needs of an average white urban family. No official data is released on black cost of living. However, several surveys have shown that Africans spend a larger portion of their incomes on food than whites, more than 40% as compared to 20%, according to one study, and the figure jumps to 60 or 70 per cent for poorer families.

The rise in food prices is the major reason that consumer prices have risen faster. The increase for food was 17.5% over last year. (Consumer price figures from *Star*, Johannesburg, May 12, 1973; food expenditure data from S.A. Institute of Race Relations)

"OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE"

Prime Minister Vorster gave Parliament the "other side of the picture" on rising living costs. He reported that salaries had risen faster than prices since 1948, when the Nationalist Party government came to power. He also predicted a decline in the rate of inflation later this year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 28, 1973.)

CLAN ROBERTSON IN DEEP WATER

The Union Castle line freighter, the Clan Robertson, became the center of a wage dispute while docked in Gothenburg, Sweden, when 17 African seamen walked off the job. They were supported by Swedish dockers who refused to unload the cargo of deciduous fruits from South Africa.

The action was backed by the International Transport Workers' Federation. Internationally-agreed-upon wages laid down for able-bodied seamen are \$322 a month, but the striking Africans who crewed the Clan Robertson received on \$112 monthly.

Discussions between international union officials and officers of England's Transport and General Workers' Union resulted in an agreement that the Clan Robertson would be "blacklisted" at its next scheduled docking in Southampton unless African wages were brought up to standard. Union Castle then decided to divert the ship, and the unions issued a general warning to European dockers to watch for its arrival. The company also announced that 14 of the workers had agreed to rejoin the ship, after talks with management, while the three remaining strikers were kept from journalists and flown by South African Airways back to South Africa. (*Guardian*, London, April 22, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, April 17, 1973)

BLACKS GAIN RIGHT TO STRIKE

Three major shifts in the South African government's stance towards African labor seem to reflect the increased power of "verligte elements" ("enlightened") in the administration. In recent weeks the government has liberalized its labor laws to allow Africans the right to strike, has upped wages for unskilled African labor (although minimums are still below the Poverty Datum Line), and has decided to hold talks with urban African leaders.

The legalization of African strikes comes in the form of an Amendment to the 1953 Bantu Labor Act. Provisions of the Amendment allow black workers to strike if they

are not subject to a very recent wage-regulating measure or employed in an essential service industry. The law also requires that the "matter giving occasion for the strike" has not been referred to the Wage Board for recommendation. (*The Star*, Johannesburg, May 26, 1973)

The new law is the government's attempt to defuse the mood of African labor, which has been especially explosive in the last six months, and it constitutes a direct reversal of a thirty year old policy.

In raising wages for unskilled African workers, the Government has issued a list of legal minimum wages which will adduce an increase between 32% and 54% over the wages now paid in 60 jobs and 30 trades in five areas of the country. Tens of thousands of workers will be affected, according to officials at the Wage Board. They are located in these five areas: East London plus Port Elizabeth plus Uitenhage (where Volkswagen, Ford, and General Motors are located); much of the Transvaal, excluding Johannesburg; Bloemfontein plus Kimberley and Welkim; Durban, plus Pietermaritzburg and Pinetown; and the Western Cape Province. (*The Guardian*, London, May 19, 1973)

In late May the Department of Bantu Administration announced its intention to hold meetings with urban African leaders on the problems of the seven and a half million Africans living in white areas. Though the government has in the past denied that problems exist, a recent speech by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration not only admitted the problems but projected that they would remain for many years. The official set a goal "to create the happiest possible relations" with those Africans living in white urban areas, and mentioned a possible charter for migrant labor.

It is expected that the talks will be held with African township councillors. (*Times*, London, May, 19, 1973)

These shifts in government policy follow a period of consistent pressure from many corners. Though the reforms are significant, they do not constitute a basic change in the goals of government policy. Though workers now have a limited right to strike, they are still denied trade union rights which would provide an effective context for collective bargaining.

What the reforms do indicate is a victory for the interests of international capital and that segment within the ruling Nationalist group which sees its long-term interests in making reforms calculated to stem the forces of revolution. Those who emphasize a purisitic commitment to white supremacy above economic stability have suffered a defeat.

FORD

After several months of negotiations the Ford Motor Company has modified its contract with Rustenberg Platinum. New provisions will stipulate that palladium is to be made available to Ford, but the amounts have been reduced.

At the same time, the US Bureau of Mines predicts that the country's need for platinum may triple by 1976, when all new cars must be fitted with emission control devices. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 19, 1973.)

The Ford Motor Company in South Africa has announced a 25% increase in wages for black workers. The boost, which will mean that no worker receives less than \$150 per month, has brought the assertion from Ford officials that they are paying the highest minimum wages in the South African auto industry. (*New York Times*, April 20, 1973.)



BRITISH STEEL CORPORATION

The British Steel Corporation has added its name to a growing list of businesses attempting to improve wages for black South African workers and quiet those urging their withdrawal. At a meeting of International Pipe and Steel Investments (IPSA), BSC representatives initiated proposals agreed upon by the IPSA board to bring all wages above the poverty line, expand educational facilities, and increase job opportunities for black workers in both skilled, and non-skilled, categories. BSC owns 35% of IPSA. (*Times*, London, April 26, 1973.)

BARCLAYS

Responding to a government recommendation that foreign finance houses should gradually cede control to South African shareholders, Barclays National Bank, the Barclays subsidiary in South Africa, has made a share offer on the South African Stock Exchange to investors of that country.

In his annual report, the Barclays Chairman commented that the Bank continues to receive criticism for its presence in South Africa, but he insists that the Bank's departure would only ensure the success of a South African heir with a "narrower" outlook. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, April, 1973.)

• sports •

SMITH AND ASHE LOB CRITICISMS OF APARTHEID

American tennis star Stan Smith recently had the opportunity to examine the workings of apartheid at close quarters. After conducting a coaching clinic at Soweto, a black township near Johannesburg, he described what he saw as "frightening" and likened Soweto to a "huge concentration camp." Said Smith, "I will have to give careful consideration to coming here again." He added that he was "sickened" by the lack of electricity, by the fences, and by the restrictions to freedom of movement for so many urban people. Smith admitted that he was amazed by the legality of color discrimination and its blatant application. Referring to tennis star Arthur Ashe, who has been refused visas to South Africa, Smith

remarked, "... if he saw what I have seen he would go right out of his mind." (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 28, 1973; *Afro-American*, Washington, May 5, 1973)

Ashe himself recently condemned American and British "hypocrisy" regarding South Africa, noting that financial commitments to the South African economy and concern for gold supplies make them wary of the black majority. He labeled South Africa's so-called improved racial attitude superficial. "There has been some improvement in the treatment of visiting black athletes for public consumption," he noted, "but internally it hasn't changed at all."

Ashe, who cites 1969 as the year of his political awakening, was denied visas to South Africa in 1970 and 1971. He had indicated that he would like to pursue his interest in Africa and Latin America through a job in politics and international affairs when he retires from tennis, and admits that he doesn't say very nice things about South Africa. "But," he declared, "they are all true." (*Afro-American*, Richmond, March 31, 1973)

In other developments in tennis, the Rumanian government surprised international tennis officials by giving their federation cup women's tennis team permission to play South Africa in the semi-finals of competition. (*Times of Zambia*, May 6, 1973—

FINA TO RULE ON SWIMMERS

Following a two week fact-finding visit to South Africa and Rhodesia, FINA, the international swimming association, is likely to decide at an August meeting in Belgrade whether or not admit the two countries into the association. According to Dr. Harold Henning, president of FINA and a member of the three-man commission which conducted the investigation, the commission will present its report without specific recommendations to the Belgrade congress. The congress will then rule on the question of admitting South Africa and Rhodesia.

The recent success of Springbok swimmers in the West German Open International Championships at Hamburg (three South African swimmers won six gold medals and a bronze in seven starts) has convinced Mr. Vic Myburgh, team manager, that South Africa's swimmers have world-class potential. Other swimming authorities note that concentrated competition rather than training is the key to ultimate success in world-class swimming.

Whether South African swimmers find such competition will, to a large extent, depend on FINA's decision at Belgrade. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 14, 1973)

NON-RACIAL SPORTS COUNCIL FORMED

At a March meeting held in Durban, representatives of nine non-racial sports federations established an umbrella organization, the South African Council of Sports, pledging opposition to official sports policy and condemning the government's "multi-national" concept—the basis for the South African "mini-olympics" held in early April in Pretoria. The Council stated its intention to seek direct membership in relevant international organizations in competition with whites-only South African sports bodies.

According to Dr. Koornhof, the Minister of Sport, the government had not, as of mid-May, reached any decision on establishing any official sports council to counter; or preempt the new non-racial council. (*New York Times*, March 20, 1973; *Anti-Apartheid News*, April, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973)

As it turned out, the reaction of South African sports fans to Blacks and Whites pounding each other in the boxing ring and blocking each other on the soccer field was enthusiastic beyond all official expectation. As the *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg editorialized, "The games have shown that the races can play and compete together without the sun falling from the sky." The problem is, of course, that the rest of the world already knew this. Moreover, international critics of apartheid were quick to point out that the event itself did not represent as significant a departure from South African racial policy as pro-game propaganda suggested.

First, there was the question of terminology. The games were not multi-racial, much less non-racial. They were "multi-national," and the distinction is an important one. South African sportsmen were not permitted to participate as individuals or equals; rather, they participated as they always have in separate groups—Whites, Blacks, Asians, Coloureds. As Peter Hain points out, in this sense, "the Games can be seen as a direct manifestation of apartheid..." with "multi-nationalism... simply a glossy wrapping over an unjust system." (Hains, letter to the *Times*, London, April 18, 1973)

Second, while a small "mixed" area of the stands was reserved for a necessarily racially mixed audience of Olympic officials, foreign dignitaries, and others the South African government hoped to impress, South Africans themselves were, as always, segregated.

Third, those racial barriers that did go down in Pretoria for the Games went down only temporarily. Whether any really significant alteration of the apartheid sporting structure will follow (and many South African sporting officials are hopeful that it will) remains to be seen. Meanwhile, a group of white South African sportsmen in the Eastern Cape, calling themselves the Athletes for Athletes Committee, have issued a strongly worded statement rejecting the officially held view that the Games themselves presented a clear case for South Africa's readmission into the international sporting arena. They point to the drastic differences which continue to exist between facilities available for White and Black athletes, the fact that Whites had every encouragement and opportunity to qualify for the Games while Blacks did not, and the availability of good coaches and athletic programs in schools for Whites as contrasted with the paucity of these for Blacks. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 28, 1973)



Part of an ad that appeared in The New York Times last Sunday, sponsored by the Committee for Fairness in Sport, of Johannesburg, South Africa.

NEW ZEALAND BARS SPRINGBOK TOUR

On April 10, New Zealand's Prime Minister Norman E. Kirk requested the New Zealand Rugby Union to call off the planned tour of the South African Springbok rugby team until such time as selection on a genuine merit basis replaced racial selection in determining the team's composition. In so doing, Kirk brought an end to what has been widely regarded as New Zealand's "most intense and prolonged controversy of recent times." (*New York Times*, April 11, 1973)

For the past two years two anti-apartheid groups, CARE (Citizens' Association For Racial Equality) and HART (Halt All Racial Tours) have provided the backbone of New Zealand's opposition to the Springbok tour. Prior to the election of Kirk's Labour Government last November, these organizations and others opposing the tour were forced to argue against the National Government's policy, which stressed "building bridges" with South Africa as the way to change apartheid policy. In countering this approach CARE has stressed that forty years of sporting contact between New Zealand and South Africa has seen the apartheid system become more, not less, restrictive and that as long as the South African Government and rugby union label the bridges "whites only," 82 per cent of South Africa's population cannot cross them. In addition, CARE has attacked the standard "keep politics out of sports" tactic by pointing out that it was the South African government which introduced politics into sport in the first place by denying non-white sportsmen the chance to participate on equal terms and represent the country internationally. (CARE pamphlet, "The Springbok Tour")

In recent months, numerous other organizations and interest groups have joined CARE and HART in calling for cancellation of the tour, among them, church and labor organizations, university and student teach associations, and Maori groups.

Division on Tactics

By March there was strong debate within New Zealand's anti-apartheid movement regarding how opposition to the tour could best be organized and carried out, with supporters of a mass-action perspective, led by New Zealand's Young Socialists, calling for mass protest and education and against the disruptionist strategy advanced by HART and to a lesser extent by CARE. (Socialist Action, Wellington, March 2, 1973; Intercontinental Press, New York, March 12, 1973) Those opposing the disruptionist strategy argued in particular that it "played into the hands of the pro-apartheid, pro-tour forces, allowing groups like War Against Recreational Disruption (WARD) to divert the issue from racist sport to one of the democratic rights of New Zealanders." CARE's own action program for the tour entitled "Operation Prism," involved 1) legal purchasy of tickets for Springbok matches, 2) peaceful occupation of playing fields, 3) neither seeking nor resisting arrest, and 4) disavowal of physical harm to players, police, or spectators. (Flyer on Prism "Passive but Resolute Invasion of Springbok Matches")

Kirk's Decision

Public opinion polls conducted just prior to Kirk's ruling showed a majority of the population opposed to the tour. Increasingly, it was clear that for very practical, as well as moral and political reasons, Kirk would find it necessary to cancel the tour. In February he advised the

New Zealand Rugby Union that continuing the tour would, according to police forecasts, cause "the greatest eruption of violence this country has ever known." But the Rugby Union refused to withdraw its invitation or to urge the South African Rugby Board to withdraw on its own. Supporters of the tour insisted that it was the responsibility of the New Zealand police and government to provide protection and to control any situations that might arise from demonstrations or disturbance. But the demonstrations which had occurred on March 21, the anniversary of Sharpsville, were a clear indication of what was in store for the country if the Springboks came.

In his April 10 letter to the Rugby Union, Kirk explained that the massive police and possible armed forces intervention which would be required if the tour took place would damage police morale, divide the community, generate feelings of bitterness, and possibly even necessitate the declaration of an emergency which would place restrictions on normal civil rights. "I do not believe any government could contemplate such a course when it is avoidable," stated Kirk. In addition, the Prime Minister expressed the conviction that a tour by a racially selected team would exacerbate differences of attitude on racial matters in New Zealand and would damage its broader international relations by "reducing its standing and credibility as a decent humane country with a successful multiracial society." Also at stake, according to Kirk, was New Zealand's reputation in the eyes of Commonwealth countries and neighbours in the Pacific area. As the *Guardian* put it, Kirk "recognized that to have persevered with the apartheid-based tour would have been inconsistent with a foreign policy which takes more account of Third World, and in particular Asian, sensibilities than that of his predecessor." (*Guardian*, London, April 12, 1973) Specifically, it was clear that a Springbok tour would jeopardize the Commonwealth Games to be held in Christchurch, N.Z., in 1974 (*Times*, London, April 11, 1973)

Effects of Kirk's Decision on South Africa

At least partly as a result of South Africa's traditional ties with former commonwealth partners, rugby and cricket are the national sports of white South Africans. Now New Zealand has joined Australia in refusing to put traditional sporting ties above opposition to South Africa's policy of racial discrimination. In saying no to the Springbok tour, New Zealand's Labour Government has "delivered the heaviest blow it could to South Africa's apartheid policy." (*Guardian*, London, April 12, 1973)

The Star (Johannesburg) stresses that South Africans are disappointed rather than bitter over Kirk's decision. They prefer to emphasize that the tour has been "deferred" not cancelled permanently, and Dr. Danie Craven, President of the South African Rugby Board, insists that other tours will go on. Craven, who earlier this year supported the selection of a team on merit (the Government refused to permit it) points to the South Africa Games as proof of changing sports attitudes in South Africa and stated that Kirk had gone too far in "giving us instructions." He also indicated that he hoped Kirk's decision would not "lead to a hardening of opinion in South Africa and a retrogression in the evolution of the South African sports policy..." (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 14, 1973) Prior to the cancellation of the Springbok tour, Craven had already told the South African Rugby Union that mixed trials would take place before the South African tour of France next year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973)

Jon Thompson, chairman of the United Party's Sports Group said that it was a tragedy that the current change in the government's sport policy had come too late to save the tour, and blamed interference by both the South African and New Zealand governments for wrecking the tour. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party, said that Kirk's decision came as no surprise. Pointing out that South Africa was prepared to do so with regard to Olympic sports Eglin stated, "Let us now get on with electing sports teams on merit. . . . This is the only way in which we will be able to compete in international sport." It is clear that the South African Nationalist Government will now come under heavy pressure to allow merit selection of "representative" sports teams. It can do so by the extension of its own "multinational" position regarding soccer, Olympic sports, tennis, and golf to rugby and cricket. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 14, 1973)

Consequences and Reactions—Short and Long Term

In Britain, top rugby players and officials viewed Kirk's decision as appalling. Opinions expressed ranged from surprise through sadness to bitterness. New Zealand rugby officials seemed equally disappointed and in some cases, angry, while the chairman of WARD denounced "political control of sport." (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 14, 1973) There are also reports by New Zealand journalists with South African connections that some pro-tour groups are planning to harass Black African competitors at the Commonwealth Games and to demonstrate against Prime Minister Kirk. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 28, 1973).

In contrast, anti-apartheid forces all over have hailed Kirk's decision and the World Council of Churches has sent its congratulations to the New Zealand Government stating, "We hope the attitude of your Government will serve as an example and an encouragement to other Governments so they comply with United Nation's resolutions aimed at eliminating the inhuman policy of apartheid." (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973) Most significantly, perhaps, New Zealand trade unionists have taken their anti-apartheid position beyond the sports arena to suggest that New Zealand companies with South African subsidiaries should be boycotted until their workers in South Africa are paid living wages. This suggestion met with approval at the powerful New Zealand Federation of Labour's annual conference, where a section of the annual report denouncing racial discrimination was adopted without amendment. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973)

SOUTH AFRICA GAMES

Few people in or outside of South Africa would deny that apartheid in sport has led to that nation's almost total isolation from international sporting competition. Similarly, few would deny that the South Africa Games held in Pretoria (soccer matches in Johannesburg) from March 23 to April 7 were essentially aimed at reversing that situation by creating circumstances under which South Africa would appear as a nation of racial harmony and good will. For the promoters of the Games, the task of organizing and selling them was both formidable and expensive. Over \$1.4 million was spent and Dr. Piet Koornhof, South African minister of sport, is thought to have staked his political reputation on them in so far as a good response within South Africa was by no means a certainty.

In February, the Government even made a rather unobvious bid to finance the Games at the expense of

African development when it sent out a circular requesting all municipal councils to vote funds for the Games from the Bantu Revenue Accounts—funds specifically designated for housing, subsidized rail and bus fares, and education for Africans. (*Africa Bureau Fact Sheet*)

It is difficult to know how many non-South African sportsmen actually took part in the Games. South African advertisements claim 900 athletes from five continents. Press accounts range from 300 athletes from 28 countries to 670 athletes from 32 countries. The American AAU, in accordance with decisions made by world governing bodies for sport, refused to permit its members to participate. So did the Swedish Sports Federation, the West German Government, and the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

Stung by these boycott actions and by what was, from the South African perspective, a lack of adequate coverage of the Games and their significance in America and Britain, a propaganda organization called The Committee For Fairness in Sport took out full-page ads in both the *New York* and *London Times*. In the £2,640 *London Times* ad, British newspapers were accused of ignoring the Games because they didn't fit into the stereotype of South Africa that these papers wished to portray. (*Guardian*, London, April 17, 1973) In the *New York Times* ad, entitled "Who is Discriminating Now?" a finger was pointed at the AAU and Supreme Council of Sport in Africa as the guilty parties. Responses to the ad, including those from ACOA, AAU track and field coach Stan Wright, and Dennis Brutus, Chairman of the International Committee on Racism in Sport, challenged on various grounds the basic assumption implied in the ad—that racism had suddenly been removed from South African sport. (ACOA press release; Brutus reply; *New York Times*, April 20, 1973)

US WRESTLERS BARRED FROM LIFE

In the May issue of *Southern Africa*, it was reported that the US wrestlers who defied the AAU ruling and participated in the South African games were likely to be barred from all international sports competition. On April 6, a spokesman for FILA, the International Wrestling Federation, confirmed the fact that competing in South Africa meant automatic suspension from all events organized by member associations of FILA. (*Washington Post*, April 7, 1973)

KARATE TEAM INVITED TO JAPAN

Japan has invited a five-man South African karate team to world championship competition organized by the Japan Karate Association. Some 3,000 participants are expected to attend the June competition which is being held to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the introduction of karate into Japan. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 12, 1973)

NETBALLERS AND CRICKETEERS SCORE SA

As a result of the All-England Netball Council's decision to send a team to South Africa, one coach, a former England player, has resigned and the Jamaican Netball Association has decided not to tour England as a part of the West Indian cricket team. The coach, Mrs. Judy Day, now a deputy headmistress, remarked, "Many of the girls in this school are Coloured and they will not take kindly to a sport the governing body of which makes

a decision like this." (*Star Johannesburg*, April 14, 1973.)

In a related action, the English Women's Cricket Association withdrew its invitation to five South Africans to play in an invitation XI for the forthcoming "world cup" women's matches in England. The withdrawal came after Trinidad and Tobago joined Jamaica in threatening to pull out of the tournament if South Africans competed. (*East African Standard*, May 5, 1973)

churches

COUNCIL TO PROBE WAGE STRUCTURE

The South African Council of Churches has received a grant of 28,000 pounds from the British Council of Churches in order to enable it to conduct a full-scale inquiry into wages paid to black workers in the country, including more than 1,500 British firms, some of whom have been the subject of recent criticism in the British press and parliament for their policy toward black workers. (*Times of Zambia*, April 18, 1973)

A study published in April by the South African Institute of Personnel Management says that wages of black workers in South Africa need to be increased by one-third every year for the next ten years if the black-white gap is to be reduced to "acceptable dimensions." (*Sunday Express*, Cape Town, April 17, 1973) However, Dr. Baldwin Sjoelima, director of the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism has warned both the British and the South African Councils that the improvement of wages by British companies is not the answer to the problem of oppression of black South Africans. (*Guardian*, UK) One possible outcome of the investigation of the South African Council of Churches may be to ask companies to give between two and four percent of their annual profits to the Council to help Africans. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973)

Rev. White, warden of Wilgespruit



WILGESPRUIT: SOUTH AFRICA'S WATERGATE

Some would say that it's because the US is sex-engorged, and that's why our scandals are full of political intrigue and conspiracy; whereas sexually repressed South Africa erupts most violently around sex scandals. Consider the recent Wilgespruit scandal.



The Wilgespruit Fellowship Center has long been a conference grounds for church and church-related meetings in South Africa, and has in the past few years been the center for much of the current popularity of T-groups, or sensitivity training sessions conducted by religious and secular organizations. Now Vorster has seen fit to condemn such goings-on as a threat to State security. In a report compiled by the Schiebusch Commission (South Africa's parallel to the former House Unamerican Activities Committee), the center was referred to as a "den of iniquity." (*Sunday Express*, Cape Town, April 29, 1973) Located in Roodeport, near Johannesburg, the center is operated by the South African Council of Churches, who are trustees of the land and owners of the property. The center is financed largely from donations received from churches in the US, Holland, and Germany. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 21, 1973)

South Africa's newspapers have been full of charges made by various MP's that the "University Christian Movement services at Wilgespruit reflected a picture of exaggerated and crude sexuality and eroticism mixed with blasphemy," (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, April 26, 1973) and countercharges and denials from those involved in the center's activities. The Commission summed up its report on the center by saying that the overall picture presented by the evidence on Wilgespruit "points to the fact that the institution is working towards radical social and political change and that certain of its procedures run counter to accepted religion and religious practice. . . . It wants to achieve this (radical change) by, among other things, the misuse of sensitivity training into which young people acting as leaders in various organizations are drawn under other pretenses, and that it acts under a cloak of being connected with the church in a Christian ecumenical way. This picture is supported by the fact that some of the people who are active at Wilgespruit are also playing an active political role in other spheres and in other organizations and that Wilgespruit serves or has served as a training organization for organizations which play a part in the broader political field. This state of affairs is further complicated by the fact that Wilgespruit is financed virtually exclusively from overseas financial resources." (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 26, 1973)

At the request of the center's executive council, Vorster's three-week deadline to clean up the center has been extended, and it appears that some changes will be

made; but basically the council rejects the inquiry's findings as "a collection of half-truth, second-hand impressions and contextual inaccuracies." (*Times of Zambia*, May 16, 1973) Meanwhile, all T-group courses have been suspended. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, April 30, 1973) while the Council of Churches conducts its own private investigation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973)

THE NEW OFFENSIVE

1971 and 1972 were the "years of dialogue," with South Africa waging an offensive to win friends in Africa and to publicly consolidate old alliances and sympathies in the West.

That was rather crude diplomacy. It placed too many strains on budding relationships, and the South Africans, who learn quickly despite their reputation for inflexibility, have changed their tactics, abandoning the open handshake in favor of less public links.

In Africa, they are trying to build a network of relationships based on South Africa's economic and technological advantages. In Western Europe and the United States, they are developing a sophisticated two-pronged strategy to achieve their ends. This involves primarily stressing the strategic importance of a stable Southern Africa to Western 'real-politik', and secondly, building confidence internationally that there will be no revolution in South Africa and that South African stability, entrusted to the white supremacists, is in safe hands. In the past they did this very simple by naked displays of police state power, brutality, and control. The current technique adds a new element—an implied admission that some "changes" may be desirable, and the use of various black and white agents to persuade the world that such changes are both possible, and are in fact taking place within the present framework of South African society. If this tactic succeeds it will strengthen the white regime by gaining renewed Western support in return for the few "reforms" which do nothing to alter the basic relations of power.

A few examples from newspaper reports during the last year probably reveal only the tip of a growing iceberg of ways in which South African money, scientific knowledge, technical expertise, and political muscle are being used to create spheres of influence in the rest of Africa.

South Africa's major mining and industrial corporation, Anglo American Corporation (Chairman, Harry Oppenheimer), is playing a crucial role in this area. Directly and through interlocking capital in companies such as Roan Selectric Trust, De Beers, Charter Consolidated, and others, Anglo American has established a strong economic base in several independent African countries, including Zambia (copper), Mauritania (copper), Sierra Leone (diamonds), Zaire, and most recently Botswana. Some examples:

Pre-Investment News: June 1972

Anglo American and its related companies will control almost 30% of the new Botswana R.S.T. Limited—a corporation set up to develop a giant \$200 million nickel-copper mining complex in North Eastern Botswana. The South African Government-controlled Industrial Development Corporation will also reported-

ly provide financing, in the form of \$18 million export credit, for the project. American Metal Climax is also heavily involved.

Barclay Bank, Overseas Review: September 1972

"The full-scale plant at the Orapa mine came into operation on schedule at the beginning of July . . . De Beers has invested R21,500,000 (\$30 m.) in developing the mine. It is the biggest single investment in Botswana's economy to date. The Government has a 15% interest in the operating company . . . and appoints two directors to the Board."

There are numerous other links deliberately being fostered, as indicated by the following reports:

Rand Daily Mail: July 20, 1972

"A South African importer has revealed that Government directives have determined the source of imports of certain commodities so as to favour African States promoting 'dialogue' with SA. Thus, for example, 18% of the country's coffee was to come from Malagasy, and 25% from Angola, and 7% of tea imports were allocated to Malawi, 11% to Mauritius and 11% Rhodesia. A senior spokesman for the Department of Commerce refused to confirm or deny the existence of such control"

Financial Gazette: September 22, 1972

"The EDESA Development Bank, launched in Luxembourg by Dr. Anton Rupert (leading Nationalist business-man) will provide management and technical services as well as cash to help the South African Black homelands and neighbouring Black countries launch new business enterprises. Headquarters will be with the Union Bank of Switzerland and Lesotho has offered to become the South African base of operations. The bank will have a working capital of R20 million (\$28 m.)."

Financial Gazette: October 6, 1972

Industrialists from Black African states, who will attend the congress of the International Council for Scientific Management in West Germany this month, will hold informal talks with the South African delegation, which could lead to increased cooperation. Topics expected to be discussed include ways of improving contact with SA businessmen, trade, investment, economic development and exchange of management information. The South African delegation will be led by Dr. Anton Rupert. The representatives that have expressed a particular desire to talk to the South Africans are from Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya and Ethiopia."

Non-economic broader links, involving scientific and other co-operation, are also being carefully cultivated. South Africa has started hosting international conferences on all sorts of topics, to which Black delegates from independent African countries are carefully encouraged to come. There is no doubt that the South Africans give their guests V.I.P. status, in fact according to them what has ironically been termed "honorary white" status. At one such conference—the sixth World Hereford Conference—Prime Minister Vorster pointed out that South Africa had made great advances in combatting cattle diseases and pointed out that South Africa was in a position to help the rest of Africa. He said that Onderstepoort, (the Government agricultural and experimental laboratory) was already sending five million doses of cattle vaccine every year to countries as far north as the Congo and Malawi.

South African aid is also being offered to assist in the development of the region's tourist industry. A recent communique from Blantyre, Malawi announced the formation of SARTOC (the Southern African Regional Tourism Council) with an official membership of eight countries—Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Portugal, South Africa and Swaziland. Rhodesia has apparently also been attending meetings.

The most sinister development is probably that referred to quite casually in a propaganda magazine put out by the South African Government itself, in an article dealing with the first "passing out" parade of six so-called "Bantu" police dog handlers from the South African Police Dog School in Pretoria. The article carries an illustration of a Malawian trained at the school, and goes on to report that South Africans have been doing police-training for the Malawi Governemnt for some years. "In May 1970 it was decided to send Sergeant G. Barnard (a white South African policeman) to Malawi to start a school at Zomba. Sergeant Barnard was to go there for three months only but he returned to South Africa after 18 months... The school was founded and Sergeant Barnard trained several Malawians..." "Shortly (thereafter) the Commissioner of Police in Malawi approached South Africa for help once more. Sergeant Sinclair left for Zomba in October 1971 and it is not yet known when he will return." (*Bantu*, July, 1972)

The same article also reveals that South Africa is providing similar training for the Swaziland, Lesotho, and Rhodesian police forces.

Anyone familiar with SA police methods will know that police-dogs are used primarily for the control of political demonstrations and for other such purposes. It is no secret that the United States of America has for a long time used its ability to train the police forces of the so-called "third world" and particularly those in Latin America, to exercise a high degree of control over these countries. Policemen tend to develop loyalties to those who provide them with their training; basic attitudes taught in such training programs include more than the proper way to hold a gun or make a theft arrest. The implications of South African penetration into the police and security apparatus of such independent countries is one that must cause immediate concern to all the forces in Africa seeking to strengthen the struggle for liberation and independence. It poses a real threat not only to the liberation movements of the countries still under white minority domination, but also a most serious threat to the independent countries of Africa. ■

This article has dealt with South Africa's tactics in Africa; the article next month will deal with the use of a varied assortment of image-building techniques, including so-called African leaders, in an attempt to win friends and influence people in Western Europe and the US.



(left) graduate of SA Police School in Malawi



(above) Police use dogs in hunt for "insurgents" in Rhodesia

NAMIBIA

NAMIBIA AND THE UN—NO DECISION IN SIGHT

Months of negotiations between the South African Government and United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim continue with no resolution in sight. According to a Security Council resolution taken earlier this year, the Secretary-General had to report back to the Council by the end of April on the progress of the negotiations. During the preceding months, Dr. Waldheim has had a series of exchanges with representatives of the South African Government, culminating in a meeting with South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller in Geneva in late April. The intention of these exchanges was "to clarify certain undertakings given by the South African government last year, to see if they could be reconciled with United Nations resolutions."

In his report to the Security Council on May 1, Dr. Waldheim raised the question of continued negotiations with South Africa. Security Council endorsement is necessary, and this will depend on the attitude of African members of the UN. In his report Dr. Waldheim stated that the South African position is "still far from coinciding with that established in the resolutions of the United Nations concerning Namibia." He stated further that if negotiations were to be continued "time and *protracted* discussion would be required if any progress is to be achieved." (Italics ours.)

The UN Council for Namibia discussed the Sec. Gen.'s report on May 15. Its views were transmitted to Paul Lusaka, Pres. of the Council for Namibia, so that he could set forth the Council views to the Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa on May 25. The Council's view that talks with South Africa should not be continued were supported in statements by various delegates from Nigeria and other African countries, the Soviet Union, and China. The Security Council debate on Namibia is scheduled to begin on June 20. (UN Press Release NAM/63, May 16, 1973; *Daily Mail*, Zambia, May 5 & 10, 1973.)

Immediately prior to the release of Dr. Waldheim's most recent report to the Security Council, the South African Government offered what appeared; to be some concessions in this dispute. The most important of these

was the implied promise that the South African policy of Bantustans would not be used in Namibia to pre-empt the creation of a unified country. The South African statement said: "Any exercise to ascertain the wishes of the population will not be compromised by any existing political and administrative arrangement." In all previous statements the South African Government has insisted that Namibia consists of heterogeneous peoples who can not be expected to reach unified independence. This view has been overwhelmingly rejected by the majority population in Namibia. Other statements included the "full and free participation" of "All political parties" and enforced independence within ten years. (*New York Times*, May 15, 1973)

While the "concessions" of the South African Government were hailed in South Africa by White liberals (the *Financial Mail* editorialized: "For the first time South Africa is talking about the population of South West Africa (sic) 'as a whole'. That's really something,"), they have greeted less enthusiastically internationally. The South West African People's Organization—SWAPO—which has urged termination of UN negotiations, was included among those condemning this latest stalling tactic of the South Africa Government. Meanwhile, in Cape Town, Hilgard Muller hastened to reassure Nationalist party members that no real concessions had been made to Dr. Waldheim, and that his (Muller's) statement to the Secretary General should not be interpreted as a departure from previous policy. (*Times*, London, May 3)

AFRICANS CONTINUE OPPOSITION TO "BANTUSTANS"

In fundamental contradiction to any so-called concessions, the South African Government is moving rapidly ahead with its Bantustan plans in Namibia. Two areas, Owambo and Kavango, have been granted "self-rule." However, particularly in Ovamboland where opposition to the Bantustan policy is intense, political repression has intensified. Special legislation to curb the opposition was accepted by the puppet Ovambo Legislative Assembly and arrests have begun. These arrests



Katutura compound where 4,000 African "contract" workers are housed and fed

have all been made by the South African police, but the Ovambo Assembly has made little attempt to curb them. Some of those arrested are members of SWAPO known for their leadership in the opposition to continued South African occupation of Namibia. They were theoretically arrested for organizing a protest meeting without the consent of the Ovamboland Chief Minister, Chief Philemon Elifas, to protest against Ovamboland becoming a self-governing territory. However this was denied by the opposition party. "They did not hold a meeting and nobody knows why they were arrested," opposition sources stated.

The arrests have been met with a series of protests that have been broken up by the South African police. In the "homeland" itself, armed police broke up a crowd of more than 1,500 people including students, women, and children who had gathered outside a magistrate's court where four of the arrested men were facing charges under the emergency regulations in force. Two kept in custody

are Johannes Nanqutuuala of the Democratic Co-operation Party and John Otto, a SWAPO leader. The printing press of an Ovambo Lutheran group was bombed in mid-May, no doubt because it printed a paper opposed to South African rule and the puppet Council. The entire area is sealed off to visitors although reports leaked from the territory indicate that tensions are growing.

While repression in Ovamboland is particularly intense, political activity throughout Namibia has been severely curtailed. A British journalist, Mr. Adam Raphael, visited Namibia and reported that there was "an atmosphere of thinly veiled police harassment and political intimidation." He went on to say that "... the South African Special Branch and the Bureau of State Security seem determined to silence anyone who could remotely be considered to be a threat to the continuance of "white supremacy" Mr. Raphael detailed how he had been followed continuously during his visit to Namibia and newspapers had been tampered with.

KANGAROO COURT FOR NEWSMAN

The international press has unanimously and angrily denounced the kangaroo trial and sentencing to two years imprisonment of newsman Peter Niesewand by the Rhodesian regime. The British Government and British community have bitterly attacked the Smith regime for the secret trial.

The international press and the sensitive world community, however, seem to have forgotten that there are at least 500 men and women detained without trial in Rhodesia and that trials of all Africans arrested for political offenses are in secret and the court transcripts are censored. Daniel Madzimbamuto is doing his fourteenth year and Robert Mugabe is doing his twelfth year in prison without trial. The only difference is that they are Africans and Peter Niesewand is European.

The same outpouring of anger was visible ten years ago when Guy Cluttonbrock was detained. Cluttonbrock was also British. It was also evidenced two years ago when Reginald S.G. Todd and his daughter Judith were detained and restricted at their ranch.

Peter Niesewand was arrested early this year for having "published secrets harmful to Rhodesia." The 28 year-old journalist was born in South Africa, but was brought up in Rhodesia and was a citizen of Rhodesia at the time of the arrest. He worked as a free-lance journalist for the *Guardian* (Manchester, England), the British Broadcasting Corporation, and several international news agencies. His office was raided in February 1973 and he was arrested and placed in detention by order of the Minister of Law and Order. In April he was tried *in camera* sentenced to two years imprisonment, for contravening the Official Secrets Act. In May three judges of the High Court (Appeal Court) set aside the two-year sentence on the grounds that the "State failed to prove that the material... was information which is likely either directly or indirectly, to be useful to the enemy." (*New York Times*, May 2, 1973)

A few days later Niesewand was allowed to leave the country on a one-way visa to England. His wife was allowed to follow, and they are now happily reunited in England. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 18, 1973)

When Robert Mugabe petitioned to be allowed to bury his only son who had been born a few months after his detention, the Smith regime would not even entertain the

Zimbabwe

SMITH'S PRISONERS

Rhodesian African nationalist leaders Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole have been held for 11 and 9 years respectively.

Nkomo is in Gonakudzingwa Detention Camp near the Mozambique border
Sithole is in Salisbury Jail.

SITHOLE
President, Zimbabwe African National Union
Born 1920

NKOMO
President, Zimbabwe African People's Union
Born 1917

Ten men remain in Gonakudzingwa out of the 1,344 originally detained there.

petition. When Madzimbamuto's wife appealed and won the High Courts order to release her husband, the regime set aside the order of the court.

Peter Niesewand was arrested for publishing the news

of freedom fighter attacks on the northeastern front, news which is now generally acknowledged as accurate. According to one of his articles which reached the United States, (*Africa Report*, March-April, 1973), Niesewand told of infiltration by freedom fighters into the northeastern front through Mozambique. His articles to the *Guardian* and the BBC first informed the outside world the threat to that front and how serious it was. Up to that time, the Smith regime had lulled its citizens into complacency, giving the impression that Africans were very contented with the government, and that guerrilla attacks were sporadic forays which the regime could contain. Niesewand's analysis of the security situation was too accurate for the Smith regime.

BRITISH PROTEST

British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home sent a protest to the Rhodesian regime against the sentence and the secret trial. (*Sunday Times*, London, April 22, 1973) An editorial of the *Sunday Times* called the sentence "savage" and concluded that the sentence "illustrates not only its (Government's) tyrannical nature but also its blind stupidity." An editorial of the *Guardian* said: "There are many reasons why Mr. Smith is not fit to govern. One of them is his own stupidity." (April 10, 1973). The *London Times* editorial (April 7, 1973) said the sentence and trial show "how shuttered from reality are the minds of the men who rule Rhodesia, how ignorant of the real world, how insensitive to British sentiment." Both British Prime Minister Heath and Labor leader Wilson denounced the Rhodesian action in lengthy speeches in the House of Commons (*London Times* April 10, 1973).

Three motions condemning and denouncing the trial and sentence came from the House of Commons. One of the motions was amended to include all people who had been tried and sentenced *in camera* and all those who have been detained without trial. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 11, 1973).

Letters poured into the all the major British papers denouncing the action of the Smith regime. The British Legal Association expressed concern at its annual general meeting on April 7, according to its chairman, J. Gordon. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 13, 1973) A writer to the *Times*, W. Kirkman, (*London Times*, April 12, 1973) said of the Smith regime: "They are utterly corrupted by the absolute power which they seized and which they are using to try and entrench white supremacy. No honourable settlement with Rhodesia is possible while such men pursue such policies."

Smith's reaction to the many sharp criticisms from all over the world was to take note of "the press criticisms relating to the trial of Mr. Niesewand." (*Manchester Guardian*, April 10, 1973)

SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT STILL ON

Moves towards a settlement of the Anglo-Rhodesian deadlock are still stalled because Smith wants an assurance from the ANC (African National Council) beforehand that the talks will not be a "waste of time." In an interview with a British TV journalist (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973) Smith rejected the idea of a British presence in Rhodesia, and insisted that in any talks with the ANC he "must know the agenda and whether it is going to be constructive and make headway without wasting time."

Earlier, former Federal Prime Minister Roy Welensky had told a London press conference that white



Rhodesians must face "hard facts" and realize that only agreement between the Government and the ANC would make a settlement with Britain possible. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972). Smith is more inclined to promote African groups which he has created and which are funded by the Rhodesia Front like the Rhodesian Settlement Forum and the African Settlement Convention.

In a renewed appeal to the British Government, Smith asked for a new initiative to open talks with Britain on Rhodesia. The appeal was made to the British parliament and not through the usual diplomatic channels, and has, therefore up to now, not received the normal diplomatic attention of the British Government. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 6, 1973). Patrick Keatley of the *Guardian* wrote that if proper channels had been followed, and there was some evidence of African support, there would be some working basis. The new initiative was announced at the same time that the Niesewand appeal was going through, another reason for the British Government's reluctance to respond to Smith. The *Star*, correspondent, Denis Sargent, came to the same conclusion that if the Smith Government can produce a plan "endorsed by his own government and by Bishop Muzorewa, the British Government will sit up sharply and take a good deal of notice." (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 14, 1973)

ANC WILLING TO TALK

The African National Council (ANC) dismissed Smith's call for a new initiative based on the old formula, but called for new constitutional talks on new grounds and new basis. The ANC statement said that talks, as outlined by Smith, would be "another futile exercise." "He should begin meaningful negotiations seriously with the ANC," The *Star*, suggests that "the ANC could make or break Mr. Smith's new initiative because Britain has stated that it will not countenance a settlement unless it has African support." (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973) The ANC has indicated that it is willing to talk. The *Star* suggests later that "talks, have in fact resumed."

The detention of some of the executive members of the ANC has caused some opposition to the talks, especially from the former members of ZANU and ZAPU who are now in ANC; but the ANC has decided to go ahead. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 24, 1973). The ANC is still pushing for a constitutional conference. The British Foreign Office denied that it had re-opened any talks with the Smith regime, but confirmed that it was in "contact with all sections of Rhodesian opinion." (*Times of Zambia*, March 12, 1973)

A Labor backbencher in the House of Commons asked the Foreign Secretary to treat any petition from the Smith regime "with the contempt it deserves". M.P. Phillip Whitehead, and other Members pointed to the arrest of ANC members and concluded that Smith would soon outlaw organizations like the ANC and therefore Smith should be told to keep his hands off the ANC. Mr. Whitehead was supported by several Members including some Tory Members. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 31, 1973)

PERSUASION OR GUN!

Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home warned Rhodesians that they now had only two choices, persuasion or the gun.

"The Europeans in Rhodesia know that there are many aspects of life today that are not just and ought to be rectified. They must also know that terrorism is on the increase and that, lacking a settlement, there will be more recruits. If they are honest with themselves they (Europeans) will admit that a country which is internationally ostracised cannot make good.

"No one is asking the Africans or the Europeans to surrender to the other. But we are asking each to recognise that unless they wish to destroy Rhodesia they . . . have to come together to design their future. The state of Rhodesia is deteriorating. It is for responsible Rhodesians to arrest the decline and to save themselves. An evolutionary settlement is essential for peace. No longer can either race avoid the choice between persuasion and the gun." (*Manchester Guardian*, April 18, 1973)

The secretary was speaking at a dinner of the South African Club in London. Earlier Labor leader Roy Jenkins had warned that the Rhodesian problem could lead to a full-scale war of Blacks against Whites on the continent of Africa. Mr. Jenkins made the remarks after a tour of Africa. (*Time of Zambia*, March 13, 1973)

A LUTA CONTINUA

While political games go on between the ANC, Smith, and the British Government, the war goes on. Following the Christmas offensive the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army launched a second wave of attacks which has now been sustained for six months. According to the *Johannesburg Star* (May 18, 1973) many battles have been fought and the war is still being fought in the northeast and in many other parts of the country. The paper lists the following actions since February:

March 9: farmer and police reservist killed in a clash north of Karoi.

March 11: farmer-reservist and another Settler seriously wounded in an action north of Karoi.

March 12: Freedom fighter hijacks car at Hartley, 50 miles south of Salisbury.

April 3: Settler farmer killed in an action at Wedza, 70 miles southeast of Salisbury and two security force officers killed in the Centenary area.

April 23: Four Rhodesia security force members killed in

an ambush between Centenary and Mt. Darwin.

April 24: Settler farmer escapes with his lie after a clash north of the town of Shamva.

May 8: Settler farmer escapes after clash at farm north of Bindura.

May 9: African beer hall attendant killed and two African women wounded in Mt. Darwin town.

May 15: Settler farm-pro prospector-reservist killed and two Africans taken captive in the Mt. Darwin area.

May 16: One settler farmer killed and another injured by land mines in the Game Reserve north of Salisbury.

According to the *Star*, the freedom fighters are now "hitting freely" in the northeast region of the country in a stepped-up campaign. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 19, 1973) According to the *New York Times*, the worst casualties suffered by the Smith regime were April 23 when four security force men were killed and five were seriously injured in Centenary area. (*New York Times*, April 25, 1973) A poignant incident was related by a Settler

woman, Mrs. Judy Barker, whose life and that of her four children was spared by a freedom fighter. His words were: "I will not kill you because you have four children." An hour later the freedom fighter was shot a mile away from her farm in the Miami district, north of Salisbury. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, March 14, 1973)

NOT AFRAID OF DEATH

Three African freedom fighters who were captured by the Smith regime were executed in Salisbury prison after summary trials. After his condemnation by the court, one of the freedom fighters addressed the court in the following words:



Zimbabwean freedom fighters inside the country

"Although you are going to sentence me to death, I am not afraid of that. I knew that there was death. It is not the first time that you people have killed people in this country. You started it the very first year you came to Rhodesia. I am fighting for my country." (*Zambia Daily Mail*, March 9, 1973)

The Settler who was captured by ZANU five months ago has written his family and indicated his desire to join ZANU as a freedom fighter. Gerald Hawkesworth told his family that he is well and urged his wife and other friends to "get out of that place." In a letter to ZANU leader, N. Sithole, Hawkesworth describes the nature of his capture

and asks if he could be allowed to work for ZANU." (*Zambia Daily Mail*, March 15, 1973)

Another Zimbabwe liberation movement has threatened to kill all Rhodesian captives if the Rhodesian settlers continue to execute freedom fighters that they have captured. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973)

CHURCHES

UN ASKED TO INTERVENE FOR BISHOP

The United Nations recently released the text of a letter asking the UN to intervene on behalf of Bishop Muzorewa of Southern Rhodesia, so he could travel abroad. Muzorewa, president of the African National Council, a coalition of African leaders opposed to the 1971 British-Smith "settlement" of the Rhodesian crisis, has not been allowed to travel freely in Rhodesia since 1970, and in particular has been banned from black tribal areas. The UN petition was written by Michael A. Mawema, organizing secretary of the African National Council. (Religious News Service)

A news analysis in the May 14 *New York Times* spoke of the pivotal position of Bishop Muzorewa and quoted one white political leader, Pat Bashford of the multi-racial Center Party, as saying: "I tell you, that little man is all that is standing between this country and a bloody holocaust." Muzorewa, also head of the United Methodist Church in Rhodesia, has been suffering several years now with bilharzia and stomach ulcers, and his doctors feel he should be allowed to leave Rhodesia if only for treatment not available there. (United Methodist Information, May 14, 1973)



CHURCHES URGED TO HELP FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Kitwe's district governor, Bill Chanda, has urged churches in Zambia to continue supporting freedom fighters in Southern Africa in their armed struggle for independence. Speaking at the second Synod of the Northern Diocese of the Anglican Church in Zambia, the governor told the delegates that as religious leaders they had a responsibility to take an active part in the affairs of the nation. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, May 7, 1973)

CHURCHES TO INVADE RHODESIA?

A report entitled "Nonviolent Action" produced by an ecumenical commission of the United Reformed Church in Great Britain, suggests the creation of a nonviolent Commonwealth expeditionary force to combat the Smith regime. Some members of the racially mixed force would be parachuted into Rhodesia and all would be trained under army-style discipline. If the suggested force were sent to Rhodesia, food supplies from outside would have to be arranged, as would reinforcements to replace those killed, imprisoned, or prevented from entering the country. (*Guardian*, London, April 17, 1973)

The plan would be prefaced by a proposal for a constitutional conference in Salisbury involving the British Government, the Rhodesian Front, and representative African nationalists. The "invasion," according to the report, would initiate nonviolent action by infiltrating the country through a number of routes. Volunteers would submit to internment, and thus persuade police, territorials, and guards over to their objectives and methods.

The report stated: "The nonviolent force would need discipline in exactly the same way as the regular army. If the method is to work at all it must remain nonviolent in face of provocation and casualties. Any turning to violence would be doubly disastrous. . . ."

The church commission suggested that Namibia would seem to be a suitable area for applying a similar nonviolent action strategy. There would have to be close cooperation with the churches in Namibia for this to happen. (*Guardian*, London, April 17, 1973)

It is interesting to note that this proposal comes out at a time when the All-Africa Conference of Churches has stated that force should be used in Rhodesia to bring down the Smith regime. The Rev. Burgess Carr, secretary-general of the AACC, said recently in Lusaka that "force is obviously one of the strategies to be used in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese held territories." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, March 26, 1973) He also said that the AACC stood firmly and actively behind the struggle being waged by the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

ECONOMICS

UNION CARBIDE

A letter from a great grandson of Frederick Douglass had some influence on the New York Urban League in its recent decision to withdraw the Frederick Douglass Award that it was to have presented Union Carbide this May. The letter described Union Carbide's heavy investments in South Africa and Rhodesia, and concluded that the company does not "give a damn about our Black brothers in South Africa." (*Amsterdam News*, New York, March 24, 1973.)

TOURISM AFFECTED BY ZIMBABWE STRUGGLE

The *New York Times* carried a lengthy article about elephant hunting in Africa in its Tourism section by a man who had once visited the Mana Pools Game Reserve in Rhodesia. The paper carried an important postscript to the article saying that the Reserve "had been closed for several months because of the infiltration of terrorists (sic) from Zambia fighting Rhodesia's white supremacist regime." (*New York Times*, May 6, 1973)

BOEING SALE TO RHODESIA

The West German government denies involvement in the sale of three Boeing jet airliners to Rhodesia. A Foreign Ministry spokesman claims that the jets were purchased by a Swiss company, and were not German property when sold to Rhodesia. The UN embargoes are at issue. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, May 4, 1973.)

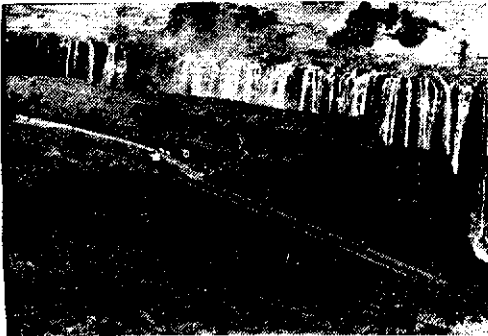
south africa's neighbors

ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE

ZAMBIA GETS AROUND BORDER CLOSURE

A US company, Taw International Leasing, has signed an agreement with the Zambian government for the hire of 300 heavy trucks to help transport Zambia's copper by land to the port of Dar Es Salaam. The trucks are part of a plan to insure an outlet for the nation's copper exports, after closure of the border between Zambia and Zimbabwe by the illegal Rhodesian government which was displeased over liberation movement activity in Zambia. Zambia's goods formerly traveled through Zimbabwe by rail.

The move turned out to be a strategic mistake for the Smith regime, because Zambia vowed to keep the border closed after Smith decided to re-open it, thus denying Rhodesia much needed revenue from the transporting of copper. In co-operation, the Tanzania government lifted a ban against South African goods to allow mining equipment destined for Zambia to unload at Dar harbor. More help came from the United Nations Development Programme which offered to meet all Zambia's local costs on UNDP projects in Zambia. Both British and Canadian officials announced plans to aid Zambia in developing alternative routes for its exports and imports. The US government reportedly refused a Zambian request for such aid. (*Daily Mail*, Lusaka, March 8, 21, and 31, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, April 27, 1973).



Zambia-Zimbabwe border

GET OFF MY NECK (for I. Smith and Company)

You've been breathing down my neck too long
Your breath is far from being a deodorant
You're just a rare specimen of bacteria
Penetrating to my very source of strength
Stop wading thru my waters of Zambezi
The fishes there have been trained to kill
My brothers' fight is my winning freedom
So I'll help them bleed your twitty-mind
The land you tread your flat-foot on
Is my land which my fore-fathers made
The air that keeps you very much alive
Is the breath that my ancestors created
I pray to them that it chokes you dead
You cling on feverishly to what is not yours
I pray the piece of earth you hold breaks
What's this you're singing loudly about
My brother to get out of his own house
My brother who is tall and wide like a continent?
Your song will be a sour cry of fear tomorrow
What fungii is this you're spreading here
The madness that Rhodes betwitched you?
Don't push too far beyond this point
A bazooka is trained on your heart, (heart?)
I am a revolution that whirls round madly
I feed the motor with more anti-Smith fuel
If you exist anywhere on this Lordy land
I refuse to see you because you're a rebel
Now the Zamrho heat is really turned on
Watch mother Africa squeeze your life dry
You've flung the mud much too far this time
Sit back and wait to feel burning action
A friend and I told Heath our pieces of mind
And told you and your co. our hate for you all
You coward, you never wrote back!
Yet my little puppy can chase a hyena far
It's maybe you don't have any mind left
Because you could've sought for intellectual asylum
It's my generation I am very worried about
It's our existence I want continued
It's my blood I don't want spilled
At the same time sprout yours like a spring
What I mean is easy: "GET OFF MY LAND!"
My being is being threatened and shot at.
Once you almost renovated my own mind
Into a "Made in South Africa" play-ground
Where Rhodesia white kids could bang around
And divide it into different color zones
Where you could've played hide and seek
With Vorster, Caetano, Heath and company
But I resisted you with anger, I still do
I have thunder for each one of you
And lightning in my hands if you get tough

Don't push me
I stand my ground
Don't push further
I have my thunder-bolt cocked
Don't push my brother
He stands a Continent tall
And armed to the hair
I am a revolution that whirls madly
My brothers' fight is my winning freedom
And I'll help bleed your twitty-mind.

Manuel Sakela

The Portuguese Territories

ANGOLA

ANGOLAN INSTITUTE BEGUN

MPLA announced the beginning of construction of an Angolan Institute of Education near Dolisie in Congo (Brazzaville) where secondary school education and training for specific practical tasks will become possible as a supplement to the network of primary schools which MPLA runs inside liberated Angola. The stages of construction are planned so that they will mesh with the agricultural production cycle and allow the school even while under construction, to be self-sufficient in food. So far people have worked together in clearing the land. The MPLA has since 1964 held some classes in the area of Dolisie, but this new construction will enable considerable expansion of their educational efforts. (*Vitoria ou Morte*, Brazzaville, Feb. 4, 1973)

MILITARY NOTES

Beginning March 1, 1973 MPLA forces conducted a five day assault on a Portuguese garrison in Cuando-Cubango, in which administration buildings, telephone installations, and several bridges were destroyed. Nearly 130 Portuguese were reported killed and a miscellany of equipment captured. Two helicopters trying to ferry support to the garrison were shot down, the fourth and fifth helicopters shot down by MPLA in 1973. Other ambushes and attacks by MPLA which reached the media occurred on March 21 near the Kuelo River (13 Portuguese died), on March 21 on the Ninde barracks, and on March 30 in Cuando Cubango where three Portuguese died but also an MPLA leader.

The Portuguese reported killing or wounding 154 Angolans in January while admitting to only 11 Portuguese soldiers killed in the same period and proclaiming the level of insurgency to be less than usual in January of previous years. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 3; *Brazzaville Radio*, Mar. 27; *Sunday News*, Tanzania, Mar. 25; *Daily News* (Tanzania), Mar. 19, Apr. 10; *Times of Zambia*, Apr. 10, 1973)

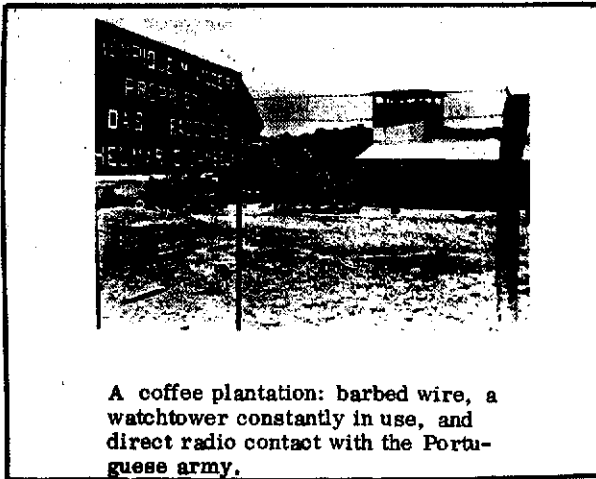
CANADIAN COMMERCE

In early February, 1973, the Canadian Government appointed Mr. Michael Chapman as Honorary Commercial Representative for Luanda. Mr. Chapman, Director of Angola Consultants Ltd., will assist the Canadian Commercial Delegation in Johannesburg to increase trade between Angola and Canada

Angolan exports to Canada now exceed \$35 million per year. Besides usual purchases of coffee beans, Canada in 1972 was the most important purchaser of oil from Cabinda. Imports from Canada to Angola total about \$1 million a year, and include railway equipment, tractors, automobile parts, heavy equipment for road construction, iron and construction steel, refractory material, tires for heavy vehicles, ferrosilica, pharmaceutical products, high-quality papers, and radio and telecommunications equipment. Canadian engineering and consulting firms have supplied services to Angolan industries in the fields of beer production, paper and pulp, etc. The Angolan

MPLA militants in Angola before an attack on a Portuguese garrison.





A coffee plantation: barbed wire, a watchtower constantly in use, and direct radio contact with the Portuguese army.

market offers good prospects for pure-bred Canadian cattle as well as for industrial and forestry machinery. (*Provincia de Angola*, Luanda, Feb. 22, 1973)

GULF EXPORTS FROM ANGOLA

Canada was the largest importer of Gulf Oil from Angola in December, 1972, with 288,318 tons. Trinidad-Tobago was second (140,529 tons), followed by the United States (114,336 tons). Japan and Portugal were fourth and fifth. (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, February 1, 1973)

ANGOLAN EXPORTS

Coffee, oil, diamonds, iron, and fishmeal are Angola's five largest exports, representing 74.4 of the country's total. Main countries of destination are Portugal, the US, Japan, West Germany, and Canada. (*Portuguese Digest*, February 13, 1973).

MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO IN ZAMBEZI PROVINCE

Agence France Presse of April 7 reported that while in Italy, Samora Machel, the president of FRELIMO, reported that FRELIMO was now beginning activity in the Zambezi Province of Mozambique, a central agricultural area. This would be the fifth province in which FRELIMO has activated the war. Mozambique has nine provinces.

SAMORA MACHEL ON DESERTERS

In an interview with *Afrique-Asie*, published April 30, 1973, Samora Machel, the president of FRELIMO in commenting on the discovery by PAIGC of infiltrators as prime causes of the plot resulting in Cabral's death referred to FRELIMO's own experience, saying: "We know that out of 100 ex-detainees or deserters, at least 25 or 30 are agents provocateurs ready for anything, trained according to methods reminiscent of the Nazis." He indicated that for several years the Portuguese have been submitting political prisoners to "special treatment" designed to transform them into useful agents who can infiltrate the movements.

UPDATE ON PRIESTS' TRIAL

Transcripts from the trial of two Catholic priests in Mozambique, Fathers Sampaio and Mendes, were made available in London and give some insight into what happened. Two of the three judges appear to have had some sympathy for the priests, acknowledging that the massacre which enraged them had taken place, agreeing that the priests' condemnation of such behavior was a "moral legal duty," agreeing that there was racism in Mozambique, and calling for it to be rooted out. The lightness of the sentences finally given may also reflect the fact that Portugal is now renegotiating its Concordat with the Vatican and didn't want the trial to disrupt those talks.

The massacre in point occurred about 125 miles up the Zambezi from the Cabora Bassa dam site. On January 1, 1972, Father Sampaio preached a sermon on the theme "if you desire peace, work for justice" to a largely white middle-class congregation including influential local leaders in Beira. In the sermon he cited instances of injustice to the black population, citing the "domination of one race by another, displayed by the mental conviction that we—the whites—are superior... the precarious economic condition of the blacks—the white man gets rich quickly in Africa, the African stays poor... Have you not noticed that the weakest, the poorest, the smallest always have more duties than rights: the powerful always have more rights than duties?" Father Sampaio said that a day of peace was being celebrated with a war in Mozambique. "We know from eye-witnesses that in November 1971 a group of 40 commandos arrived in Mucumbura region, burning and wiping out everything in their path; more than 50 huts were burned down... We know that on November 4 in the same area 16 women and five children (whose names we have) were herded into a hut and burned alive by the so-called forces of peace and order; we know of many cases of brutal anti-terrorism which it shames us to mention... We do nothing, we do not protest at this barbarity—some because of fear, others because of their economic interest in allowing this slaughter to continue, others because they are not nor do they wish to be, well-informed."

Father Sampaio was accused later of having preached "separatism and communism" which led to his trial and that of his fellow priest. (*Times of Zambia*, May 8, 1973)

MINERAL EXPLOITATION HALTED

Michael Westmacott, writing in the South African *Financial Mail* on March 18, 1973, tries to evaluate the fighting in Tete province of Mozambique in terms of its effect on the future of Mozambique—especially the economy. He says: "...of much importance to the development of Mozambique's currently frail economy is the planned exploitation of Tete's mineral resources. In this field and this field alone terrorist activities have all but halted prospecting, although surveys prior to 1970, when bush areas became unsafe for the prospecting teams, indicated the presence of iron, titanium, copper, chrome, nickel, gold, beryllium, barytes, flourite, lead, manganese, bauxite, and coal... The fact is that to date only coal is being mined."

TANZANIAN'S: IMPRESSIONS OF MOZAMBIQUE

Jenerali Ulimwengu, a Tanzanian journalist, visited Cabo Delgado province with an OAU Liberation Committee delegation. He writes:

"One thing rests in my mind: FRELIMO's successes do not depend on chance. They stem from the fact that the guerrillas are clear ideologically about what they are doing, and regard their struggle as more fundamental than the mere wielding of guns... The fact that a new life thrives in Mozambique today is a monument to what the ideological clarity of any fighter can do. The liberated areas have no electricity, no motor transport, no concrete houses, no tarmac roads. But they have confidence, they have freedom, they have willpower.

And all this they put into practice, by making the lives of the people, better, through economic production, to prepare the people for the inevitably protracted struggle. Soldiers and civilians, working shoulder to shoulder, produce the revolution." (*Mozambique Revolution*, No. 53, Oct.-Dec. 1972)



Samora Machel welcomes Tanzanian journalist, Jenerali Ulimwengu in Cabo Delgado province.

PORTUGUESE EDUCATION STATISTICS

As of March 1973 there were reportedly 33,416 pupils in secondary schools in Portuguese controlled areas of Mozambique, of whom 7,300 (22.3%) were of mixed blood, 16,057 (49.3%) were white, and 9,059 (28.4%) were black. During the same month 568,355 students were attending primary school, most of them black or mulatto. (*Africa Confidential*, London, Apr. 27, 1972)

Economics

PLAYBOY INTEREST

It has been reported that the international group of Playboy Clubs is negotiating for the purchase of a tourist resort at Vilanculos and the Paradise Islands in Mozambique. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 24, 1973)

MOZAMBIQUE AIRPORTS

An international airport near the site of the Cabora Bassa Dam was finished in 1972. The Quelimane airport has been enlarged for the use of Boeing 737's. Plans have also been made for the enlargement of airports at Vila Coutinho (near Malawi), Lumbo, Milanje, and Mocuba. Within a year, Lourenco Marques airport will be able to receive jumbo-jets. (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, West Germany, March 17, 1973).

GUINEA-BISSAU

NEW WEAPONS, NEW VICTORIES

In recent months the PAIGC has been able to reach new levels in military operations with newly acquired weapons. The weapons include 85 mm artillery, heavy mortars, 122 mm rockets, ground-to-air missiles, anti-aircraft guns, and improved motorized transport.

These weapons have had the effect of intensifying the military phase of the political struggle at the fortified hamlets and towns still under Portuguese control. The liberated areas can now be defended by the local militias so that the FARP (regular army) will be free to carry out more concentrated actions. With these new weapons the PAIGC has moved into the final stages of guerrilla warfare.

Action in the Air

The operational commander of Portugal's Air Force in Guinea (Bissau), Lieutenant-Colonel Almeida Jose Brito, was flying over liberated Southern Guinea on March 28 in the deadly Fiat G-91 jet fighter—a NATO aircraft—when he was shot down by a PAIGC missile. Brito had also seen much action in Angola and was a well-known flyer.

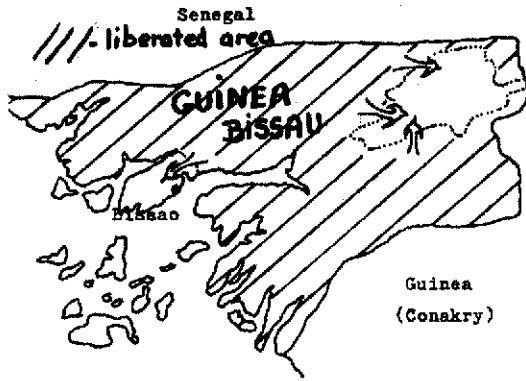
Brito's death provided the Portuguese with a sharp reminder that the PAIGC is now challenging the colonial rule of the skies over Guinea. In Lisbon any mention of this in the journals and newspapers was prohibited.

On March 23 two other Fiat G-91 planes were shot down in the south near Guiledje. Only two days later, still another Fiat G-91 was brought down as well as a North-American Texas-Harvard T-6. These planes were trying to relieve Guiledje under siege. Including Brito's plane, five planes were brought down in five days.

On April 6 PAIGC forces carried out heavy actions at Guidadje in the north. Again the Portuguese Air Force went to aid the fortified town but in this attempt three Dornier DO-27's and two more Texas-Harvard T-6's came crashing to the earth. In one day the coordinated defense of liberated Guinea by missile and anti-aircraft guns equalled the record of the previous week. In addition, freedom fighters killed 20 Portuguese soldiers and destroyed three lorries and a jeep during recent fighting in Southern Guinea-Bissau.

Action on the Ground

The increasing use of the PAIGC naval support and motorized transport on roads cleared for PAIGC use is also alarming to the colonialists since logistical supply, troop movement, and medical needs will all be improved. Accordingly, no town in Guinea is safe from PAIGC attack. Every major town under Portuguese control, including Bafata, Catio, Farim, Boloma and even Bissau has been attacked on numerous occasions.



GOMES KILLED

Imbanda Gomes, a leading field commander for the PAIGC was reported killed along with 33 guerrillas during a recent period of intensified attacks.

DAVIDSON ON THE ASSASSINATION OF CABRAL

Basil Davidson, English historian and member of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, has been investigating the events surrounding Amilcar Cabral's assassination in January 1973.

His investigation goes back to March 1962 when PIDE (Portuguese secret police not called DGS) arrested several activists of the clandestine PAIGC. Among those arrested was Momo Toure. Toure was kept prisoner in the dreaded Tarrafal prison on the Cape Verde Islands until 1969 when he was released. During this period the struggle for national independence was intensified and four Portuguese generals had been sacked for failing to stop PAIGC insurgency. In 1968 General Antonio Spínola was appointed Governor and military commander of Guinea-Bissau. Spínola concluded that he would never defeat the PAIGC militarily but would have to resort to political measures if the Portuguese were ever to succeed. Part of his plan was to give favors to certain traditional leaders so that they would keep "their" people in line. The other part of his program was to disrupt PAIGC support in neighboring countries and topple the PAIGC leadership.

In November, 1970, Portuguese commandos landed in Conakry with the immediate objectives of killing President Sekou Toure of Guinea and the PAIGC Secretary General Amilcar Cabral. While these raiders did great damage, they did not succeed in either of their prime goals. But Spínola was not a man to give up.

Already the plan to recruit agents to infiltrate the PAIGC had been moving forward, and Momo Toure had been brought into a plan to kill Cabral and take over control of the PAIGC. It is also now known that Momo Toure and his fellow-conspirator, Aristides Barbosa, had already worked for the Portuguese security apparatus in the capacity of "stool pigeons" in the Tarrafal camp.

The PAIGC permitted these two men to join their operation in Conakry. There they were able to gather "deserters" from the Portuguese mercenary army and also recruit some malcontents within the party. While only nine men were actually involved in the execution of the plot, about three dozen others had been organized for the action.

Aside from the assassination of Cabral the Portuguese agents had hoped to sow discord in the PAIGC by calling for independence of Guinea WITHOUT the Cape Verde

Islands—a political reality which the Portuguese might have been willing to accept.

However, as early as 1971 the PAIGC had learned of the activities of Momo Toure and Aristides Barbosa and had arrested them and placed them in the PAIGC prison in Conakry. Although sentenced to death for sedition, Cabral had given them their lives since he deeply believed in rehabilitation not punishment. This decision of leniency was to prove Cabral's undoing.

The conspiracy continued to move forward even with its leadership in prison. Innocencio Cani (or Canida), the actual assassin, had been drawn into the plot since he could provide naval support for the operation. But Cani was also known for illegal activities such as selling PAIGC property for his own gain. Joao Tomash, another conspirator had also been found guilty of crimes against the Party. Koda Nabonia and Mamadu Ndiaje were of a similar background as they had already been censured for misbehavior. It was Nabonia who freed Momo Toure and Barbosa from the PAIGC prison. (*Zambian Daily Mail*, May 9, 1973)

POSTSCRIPT ON THE ASSASSINATION

The elaborately conceived and brutally executed plot against the PAIGC in the assassination of Secretary General Amilcar Cabral on January 20 and the kidnapping of his successor Aristides Pereira must be seen in the context of the death throes of colonial rule. The Portuguese sought to salvage the Cape Verde Islands from their total defeat, but the force of history and culture are too strong for this to happen. Cape Verdean recruits to the Portuguese army have been showing more and more opposition to the colonial war. In an incident not reported in the Lisbon press, there was a revolt in a Lisbon barracks in which two officers were killed by Cape Verdean soldiers. (Sources for section: *Daily Nation*, Kenya, March 31, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, March 23, 1973; *The Daily Telegraph*, London, April 9 and April 19, 1973; *Africa Report*, March-April 1973; *Encore*, March 6, 1973; PAIGC Communiques from March 27 to April 14, 1973)



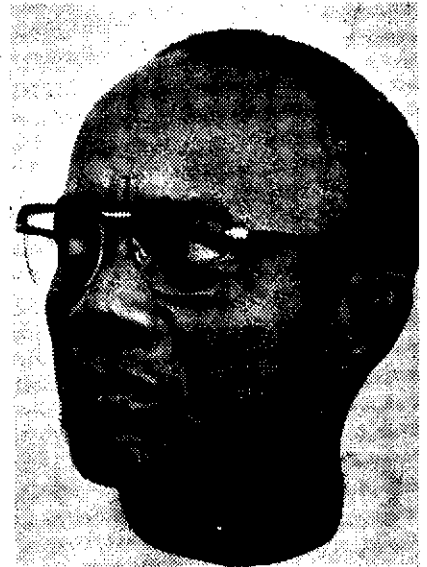
WOMEN members of local village committees in Guinea-Bissau meet in a forest clearing. They discuss the future their country will have when it declares its own independence and sets up "bush" parliament.



● DELGADO was slain



● MONDLANE was slain



● CABRAL was slain

CABRAL'S WIFE REVEALS MORE DETAILS IN PLOT

Because the press has carried much false information about the death of Amílcar Cabral, Secretary General of the PAIGC, his wife has sought to set the record straight. The couple was returning from a reception hosted by the Polish Ambassador in Conakry, Guinea when they were stopped by the assassins. Anne-Maria Cabral was forced to become a first-hand witness to her husband's tragic death.

The traitorous deed took place just in front of the PAIGC headquarters and the commotion soon brought Aristides Pereira running out of the building where he had been working. At that moment a chief conspirator, Inocentio Canida, fired his revolver at Cabral who was wounded by this shot. Meanwhile other soldiers had forced their way into the headquarters and captured Pereira. Canida ordered a machine gunner by the name of Bacar to fire his weapon at Cabral to "finish him off." Anne-Maria was then taken away and thrown into a prison cell.

The Army of the Republic of Guinea raced into action and immediately arrested many of the conspirators and went in pursuit of those who had fled with Pereira by boat. The chief plotters were identified by Anne-Maria Cabral as Momo Toure and Aristide Barboza. Both of these men had already been arrested, tried, and sentenced to death for treason, but Cabral had not carried out the sentence because he did not want "to bring grist to the mill of imperialist propaganda."

While in the PAIGC prison, Toure and Barboza had contact with a fellow prisoner, Joao Tomash who maintained contact with Portuguese authorities after receiving a PAIGC amnesty at the party's 16th anniversary. Cabral's hectic international activities forced him to drop his guard and the recruitment of conspirators gained momentum.

It is fully apparent that the conspirators were made up of such criminal elements who were working directly with the colonialists. The slander that there were divisions within the party is totally without basis since there was not a single member of the PAIGC leadership involved in the entire plot. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, April 13, 1973)

PORTUGAL'S PATTERN OF ASSASSINATION

In the last eight years three anti-Portuguese leaders have been assassinated: Eduardo Mondlane, who was killed in 1969 by a bomb blast in a book parcel; Humberto Delgado, noted leader of the revolution inside Portugal; and Amílcar Cabral who was murdered by agents of Portugal outside his headquarters in Guinea. In a recent interview, Herminio da Palma Ignacio, Delgado's successor, has outlined a clear pattern of Portuguese assassination and he fears for his own life.

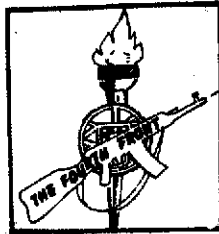
Da Palma is a revolutionary leader who comes from a working class background. He realizes that Portugal's ruling class is in a life and death struggle for survival. Da Palma has been living underground for most of his life. He is the leader of LUAR, League of Revolutionary Unity and Action, one of several urban guerilla formations operating within Portugal.

Membership of LUAR is predominantly composed of working class people and is put at close to 10,000. It is organized in virtually every Portuguese town and city. Armed with light weapons, grenades, bazookas, and explosives, LUAR intends to focus on military and police headquarters as well as bank hold-ups to finance operations. Another major aim will be to disrupt arms and equipment shipments to the colonies in Africa. While Da Palma considers himself to be a revolutionary socialist, he is remarkably non-doctrinaire and insists that "the future form of the government will be decided by the people, not by us."

Da Palma has pointed out that education and medical service in Portugal is very backward with about 30 percent of the population being illiterate. Millions have fled from Portugal to seek better employment opportunities in Europe and to avoid being conscripted into the colonial army. He states that when his movement comes to power one of the first things that will be done is end the colonial wars "immediately."

Da Palma is very optimistic about the struggle and he believes the time for revolution in Portugal is ripening since Portugal's ruling class must now fight for survival on four fronts. (*Times of Zambia*, April 26, 1973)

PORTUGAL



MILITARY JOURNAL ON LISBON BOMBINGS

The Portuguese military journal, *Jornal do Exército*, in its March 1973 issue had an editorial, a news article, and a picture of the bombings of military offices in Lisbon. The editorial indicated the seriousness with which the military viewed the bombing: "Three bombs exploded in military establishments in Lisbon... the escalation of such attempts reveals the intention to open in Europe a fourth front, if there should not be a firm reaction to this event. . . . Thus the authorities are decided not to tolerate those who join with those in Africa who put in question the legitimate cause of Portuguese sovereignty. The time is one for vigilance—intransigence."

OPPOSITION MEETING MEETS POLICE

During the first week of April, a collection of Republicans, monarchists, Communists, socialists, and liberals—all part of the Portuguese opposition—met in a small town in northern Portugal, the first such meeting allowed in four years. Heavy censorship kept most of the meeting from the press but it has been reported that there was consensus that Portugal's African wars have to be ended by self-determination and eventual independence. The final declaration said: "Twelve years of colonial war represent a crime against humanity by the destruction of African populations and cultures and by the absurd sacrifice that has bled the country in lives and resources and which constitutes a profound sapping of moral energies of a people that need to mobilize them to build the future."

Although the meeting was allowed, there were severe restrictions. On April 8, the final day, when 1500 delegates tried to march to a nearby square, the area was blocked by police. According to all accounts, the marchers, turned back, only to be attacked from behind by club-swinging policemen and dogs with 25-30 persons injured. (*New York Times*, April 10; *Daily World New York*, April 12; *The Times*, London, April 9 & 10; *Guardian*, London, April 9, and others)

ELECTIONS IN THE COLONIES

March 19-27, the electorate in the Portuguese colonies for the first time chose some of the members of their local parliaments. In Mozambique 20 of 50 members were elected; in Angola, 32 out of 50; and in Guinea-Bissau, 5 out of 17. The remainder were elected by official groups such as chiefs, traditional authorities, and business groups. A single slate of candidates approved by the one legal party was elected. To vote yes, a person simply handed in a ballot as it was received—to vote no a person crossed out the names opposed. A table of the small number of people voting follows:

	Population	# Registered	# Who Voted
Angola	5,652,000	584,000	86%
Mozambique	7,500,000	109,171	92%
Guinea	600,000	7,824	89%
Cape Verde	150,000	25,521	82%
Sao Tome/Principe	74,500	5,881	81%

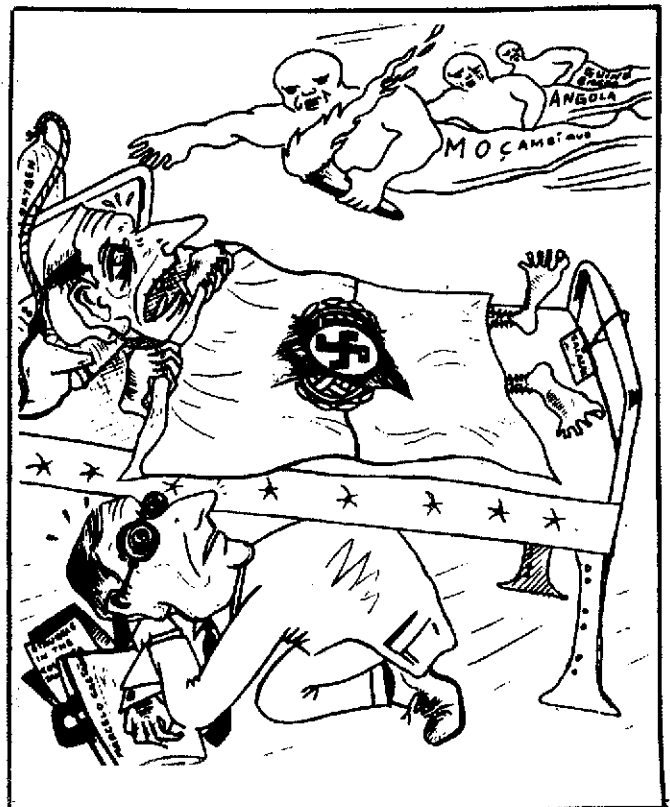
Besides residence requirements and other limitations, literacy was required, eliminating a heavy majority of the population.

The assemblies will be entitled to write local laws, vote the provincial budget and levy local taxes, determine future economic development and draft a regional application of a Portuguese law. If there is a disagreement with the Lisbon-appointed governor of any province, who can veto assembly action, the assembly can, by a two-thirds majority vote request arbitration in Lisbon. Lisbon retains control over defense and foreign relations. Although the approved candidates included a majority of blacks—who were elected—they will have little opportunity to do anything to change the province's relationship with Portugal. The nationalist movements of the territories rightly regard the elections as a window-dressing effort as Portugal tries to gain closer ties with Europe. (*Marches Trop.*, France, Apr. 6, 1973; *International Herald Tribune*, April 26; *New York Times*, April 18; *The Times*, London, April 30; *Daily Mail and Times of Zambia*, March 22, 1973; and others)

PORTUGAL WANTS REPARATIONS

Portugal may demand compensation from Rhodesia for losses resulting from closure of the Zimbabwe-Zambia border. Losses to ports in Portuguese-held Angola and Mozambique are estimated to be nearly one million dollars.

Intense Portuguese diplomatic pressure is seen as contributing to Rhodesian premier Smith's retreat from his original decision to close the border. (*Daily Telegraph*, London, February 5, 1973).





"OUR MAN IN SOUTH AFRICA"

James Baker, the black diplomat appointed as the No. 2 man in the economics section of the US Embassy in SA, has apparently charmed the press and the cocktail circuit, fielding questions well and even picking up an invitation to play golf. (*The Star*, April 15, 1973) However, Baxter Smith, writing in the March 9 edition of *The Militant*, has this to say about the Baker appointment: "Baker is this government's answer to the slave-like conditions in South Africa, which many Black workers recently struck against. While the appointment may provide new social circles and advancement for Baker, it will do nothing to advance the social, economic, and political status of the African majority. Cocktail parties just won't eliminate apartheid."

NEWSOM RETAINS POST

After much speculation to the contrary, David Newsom has been asked to remain as the State Department's Assistant Secretary for Africa. President Nixon is very satisfied with the way in which Newsom has launched the new policy of "communication," including the appointment of the first black American to Pretoria. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 21, 1973). Earlier speculation had centered on Ambassador Anthony Marshall and four Blacks: Republican newspaper publisher Beverley Carter, now Ambassador to Tanzania; ex-Uganda envoy Clarence Ferguson; Lagos Ambassador John Reinhardt, and Frederick Morrow, brother of Eisenhower's envoy to Guinea. Ambassador Robinson McIlvaine in Nairobi apparently declined an offer to take the post because of plans to retire. (Russell Warren Howe, *The Sun*, Baltimore, April 13, 1973).

POLAROID AND THE "GRAY AREAS"

Following a 1970 National Security Decision Memorandum ordering the bureaucracy to rule in favor of US business in SA and Portugal in all "gray area" cases (Bruce Oudes in *Africa Report*, January-February, 1973), Polaroid and government officials worked out an understanding about American investors in SA that has since become policy. Wyman met, on his initiative, with Assistant Secretary of State Newsom, two top deputies, a legal adviser, an information officer, and Oliver Crosby, the State Department's regional director for Southern Africa, on Jan. 14, 1971. Wyman explained that a Polaroid delegation to SA, consisting of two Whites and two Blacks, had found overwhelming support for American companies staying in SA but trying to ameliorate conditions there. He asked for, and got, US Government agreement to take informally "a positive attitude" towards Polaroid's experiment with improvement of working conditions. Since that time, IBM and Chrysler have pursued the same approach, America's business leaders are praised in Britain as exemplary, and the State Department has been able to say that it is "doing something" for humane change in South Africa. (Ken Owen, *The Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973)

In fact, the State Department has now published a 10-page booklet of guidelines for American companies in SA, suggesting R100 (\$140) as a reasonable minimum goal for "non-White" wages. The guidelines also call for equal pay for equal work, improvement of benefits, legal services, sick leave, worker training, employee stock purchase programs, worker committees, subsidized transportation, and assistance in finding housing. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 14, 1973) Assistant Secretary Newsom revealed to the Diggs African subcommittee that

FAIR PRACTICES LEGISLATION PUSHED

Congressman Charles Diggs together with 32 co-sponsors has introduced legislation, H.J. Res. 269 and 522 (268), requiring US firms operating in South Africa and Namibia to do so under American fair employment practices, such as equal pay for equal work, equal fringe benefits for all, equal hiring, training, and advancement opportunities, and stating that if the companies do not comply within one year they will lose Federal Government contracts.

In a press release from his office, Diggs states that his approach to the corporate issue is to support entire disengagement of firms, but because of "obvious practical and legal difficulties in accomplishing complete and sudden withdrawal . . ." he will concentrate on halting new investment, expansion of current investment, and, as evidenced in the above bill, on "ending US business exploitation."

For the last several years Diggs has sent questionnaires to more than 300 companies, and while at first he received few responses, he believes that there is greater concern today on the part of companies about their business practices. Hearings on the fair employment practices bill are to be held in a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. To support Congressman Diggs' efforts and the bill write to the Committee members who include: Don Edwards (Dal.), Chairman, Trent Lott (Miss.), M. Caldwell Butler (Va.), Robert McClory (Ill.), and Charles Wiggins (Cal.). For more information contact Ms. Goler Butcher, c/o Congressman Diggs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

Spokesmen for SAA denied the existence of racial discrimination in their employment practices at the hearing of the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington on SAA's request for a new route between Johannesburg and New York. Frans Swarts claimed that facilities were provided to foreign travellers in Johannesburg irrespective of race, while the North American manager, Reginald Brett, said that staff in the US was recruited solely on the basis of skills. Of 53 SA employees in the US, two—a typist and a mail room clerk—are not white and a third is joining the accounting department April 16. (*Times of Zambia*, April 11, 1973)

he is trying to enlist British and West German government support in the drive to ameliorate working conditions and "foster social change" in SA, and that he received sympathetic hearings from the foreign ministries in London and Bonn. He said that the State Department was aware of the competitive disadvantages for American companies if they alone try to improve conditions. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 31, 1973)

A WHITE WASH AT THE WHITE HOUSE

In his "State of the World" message to Congress, President Nixon outlined as his new policy goals in Africa the following: political stability, freedom from great power intervention, and peaceful economic and social development. On Southern Africa, he repeated the criticism of the white regimes for denying rights to the majorities, but rejected "violence" as a solution and noted the "gratifying" changes instituted by American companies. He countered that criticism with a new dimension, the condemnation of the massacres in Burundi (estimated by officials at from 120,000 to 200,000) and the attacks on Asians and African intellectuals in Uganda. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, May 4, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 5, 1973) In his annual foreign policy message, Secretary of State Rogers was somewhat less "gratified" than Nixon, stating that "the modest signs of greater openness in the South African scene observed in 1971 were less apparent in 1972," but he stressed the same goals of communication, amelioration of working conditions, etc. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 21, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, April 21, 1973)

In its February 2, 1973 issue, *Africa Confidential* analyzes Nixon priorities and goals in Africa. The White House has put the continent on a very cold "back burner" and does not trust the State Department Africanists and their desires for maintaining friendly relations with African countries. The distrust extends to American Africanists generally, for "You can count on the fingers of one mutilated hand the number of people writing about African politics in the US Press who exercise the same intelligent brutality that they would apply to the politics of Europe or Latin America," according to a White House aide. Still, Nixonians see Africa as more dynamic and malleable than Asia and the Middle East, as one policymaker indicated: "You know that you could go to an 'African socialism' hideout like Fernando Poo and offer to make it a showpiece of development and they'd drop all ideology overboard and beat your drum. The possibility of doing something for Africa is always there, and it's tempting." The White House sees Nigeria as by far the most important country in Africa, and American investments will pass \$800 million this year, ranking them with investments in SA and Libya. It believes that Portugal will provide some kind of statehood for Angola and Mozambique, and sees Pretoria's increasing armaments (especially the second-phase missile system and wider naval patrols) as suggesting warfare in the future. MacGregor in his statement on Rhodesia recognition probably did have encouragement from the Vice-President's office. Finally, *Africa Confidential* thinks that the Administration is not overly concerned about China's growing investment in Africa and the Tan-Zam railway, although it does expect a mutual security agreement between Dar, Lusaka, and Peking. It does not think that China is prepared to defend and support African concerns very far.

IT CAN'T HAVE BEEN US

Two American officials, Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom and Ambassador Clarence Ferguson, alternate US Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission on Southern Africa, said that the arms embargo against South Africa and Portugal has not been broken and that reports of the use of herbicides in Portuguese Africa were suspect. In testimony before the Diggs' subcommittee hearings, Newsom asserted that "no supportable evidence has ever been presented to us that such assurances (that any embargoed equipment supplied to Portugal be used only within the NATO area as defined in the North Atlantic Treaty) have not been adhered to." He said that MPLA claims that herbicides have been used have not been confirmed, and that the chemicals involved could have come from other than American sources. (Newsom testimony, April 6, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973; *Daily Mail*, Zambia, April 13, 1973).

Additional Resources on US Policy:

Gary Gappert, "The Emerging Political Economy of the Indian Ocean, and US Policy towards Africa," *Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (November 1971). Gives Gappert's testimony to a Congressional committee.

Willard Johnson et. al, "United States Foreign Policy towards Africa," *Africa Today*, Winter 1973. Johnson and the McGovern Task Force on Africa here give their basic criticism of the Nixonian and previous approaches towards Africa and outline their proposals to end colonialism and white domination and expand trade and development with independent African countries.

RHODESIA AND US POLICY—ISSUES EXPAND

The argument advanced by the Black Caucus of Congress and other groups, that the Byrd Amendment of 1971 had not specifically broken US treaty obligations to the UN and that therefore the embargo on trade with Rhodesia should be restored, failed to win a hearing from the Supreme Court. Previously, both the Washington District Court and the US Court of Appeals had ruled that Congress had the authority to "set treaty obligations at naught" and that the only recourse for restoring the embargo would be congressional action. (*New York Times*, April 17, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 21, 1973)

The Rhodesian picture of three Boeing jet airliners (sources disagreed as to whether they were 707s or 720s) points up the ability of the Smith regime to purchase almost anything so long as it can pay in foreign currency. Foreign currency, however, is in increasingly short supply and Rhodesian consumers and small industries are feeling the pinch more than ever. In the case of the planes, they were about 10 years old and had been used by Eastern Air Lines before being sold to a Munich-based company, Cal Aviation, that went bankrupt last year. They were then purchased by a Swiss Company and dispatched from Basel to Lisbon to Salisbury. They will go into service next September when crews are trained. (*New York Times*, April 17 and 18, 1973)

Diggs Challenges Rhodesia Information Office

Congressman Diggs is challenging the legitimacy of the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington and seeking to deport its two representatives, Kenneth Towsey and John Hooper. Towsey was in this country prior to UDI as representative of Southern Rhodesia under the umbrella

of the British Embassy. Having now obtained permanent residence status in the US, he is thought to be fairly secure. Mr. Hooper does not have permanent residence status since his application was not processed before the UN resolution of May, 1968 calling on members to bar Rhodesians from their countries. He has thus far been protected by a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, probably Senator Eastland. Diggs is directing his efforts towards establishing the fact that the Rhodesian Information Service lobbied on behalf of the Byrd Amendment of 1971, an activity clearly outside of its informational functions and violation of a Security Council resolution. He questioned Towsey sharply along these lines during Towsey's recent appearance at the House subcommittee hearings. (*The Star*, Johannesburg, May 19, 1973)

MacGregor in Rhodesia and its Implications

In his analysis in *Africa Report*, January-February 1973, Bruce Oudes suggests that the trip of Clark MacGregor to Rhodesia in December, 1972, shortly after resigning as chairman of the Nixon re-election campaign to become vice president of United Aircraft, may have many implications for American policy. MacGregor went on the rationale of a "hunting trip" at the invitation of Lee Grigg, a wealthy businessman and friend of white rule in Africa from MacGregor's home state of Minnesota. During the trip and in addition to two visits with Ian Smith, he went to Mozambique, toured the "pacified" areas of the north, talked with Portuguese commander Arriaga and held a news conference in Beira. Nixon knew of his trip and spoke with MacGregor on his return.

MacGregor confided to the *Financial Gazette* of Rhodesia, "For anyone in public life as I am, being on holiday can't mean that I switch off, I'm not a private citizen. . . ." He left the impression in Rhodesia that the black support of McGovern left Nixon free to follow what he regards as pragmatic policies in southern Africa, probably including a complete dropping of trade barriers between Rhodesia and the US in 1973. Oudes notes that MacGregor was the President's chief liaison with Congress when the Byrd Amendment came up, and his refusal to call key Republican Senators meant victory for Byrd. He also notes that the Rhodesian Information Office in Washington, now Salisbury's only diplomatic establishment outside of SA and Portugal with the closing of the Australian office by the new government there, has quadrupled its budget to \$175,000 during the Nixon years and is now showing its films routinely at US government installations.

DIGGS FIGHTS FOR SANCTIONS

On May 22nd, bills were introduced in both houses of Congress to re-instate United States compliance with United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia.

The bills, H.R. 8005 and S. 1868, call for the amendment of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome and to restore the United States to its position as a law-abiding member of the international community.

The effect of this legislation, if passed, will be to exempt regulations issued by the President to implement United Nations' sanctions from the operation of the so-called Byrd Amendment (section 10 of the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act), which forbids embargoes on importation of "strategic and critical materials" from any country which is not Communist-

dominated so long as the importation of such materials from Communist countries is not embargoed. This will effectively halt importation of materials from Rhodesia which has been occurring since January 1972 in violation of United Nations mandatory sanctions against the white minority regime in southern Africa.

In the Senate, leadership is being taken by Senator Hubert Humphrey, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Relations Committee. He is joined by 23 co-sponsors. In the House, Congressman Donald Fraser (Minn.) and Congressman Charles Diggs (Mich.) are the primary sponsors, in their respective positions as chairmen of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements and of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Affairs Committee. They are joined by 51 additional sponsors.

It is likely that these bills will come to the floor of the House and Senate as amendments to legislation from the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, with a vote in either July or September. Another possibility is that they will be voted on as independent bills. In either case, it is crucial to begin now to communicate public

Congressman Charles Diggs, Chairman House Subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Affairs Committee.



support for the sanctions program from national and local groups to members of Congress.

Representatives of the following organizations have so far expressed interest in working to re-instate US compliance with UN sanctions against Rhodesia: AFL-CIO; African Liberation Support Committee; American Committee on Africa; Americans for Democratic Action; American Friends Service Committee; Church of the Brethren; Friends Committee on National Legislation; Friends World Committee; Gulf Boycott Coalition; Mennonite Central Committee—Peace Section; National Council of Jewish Women; National Student Lobby; Oil, Atomic and Chemical Workers; Southern Africa Committee; Southern Africa Corporate Strategy Group (Coalition of Protestant church denominational representatives); United Church of Christ (Council for Christian Social Action Board of World Ministries); United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; United World Federalists; World Federalist Youth.

The sponsors have cited the failure of the predictions made in 1971 by the Byrd defenders and the destruction of the American ferrochrome industry because of forced-labor imports from Rhodesia and South Africa. American imports of chrome from Russia have *not* been reduced, and Russia's percentage of the world chrome market has remained the same. The large influx of ferrochrome from Rhodesia and South Africa has raised the percentage of imported ferrochrome in the American market from 17 to 40 percent in the last two years, forcing American ferrochrome producers out of business. Two plants have already announced their closing: the Steubenville, Ohio plant of Foote Mineral Company, one of the principal lobbyists in 1971, with a loss of 307 jobs; and the Brilliant, Ohio plant of Ohio Ferro-Alloy Corporation with a loss of 451 jobs. Other plants which may soon be forced to close include: three plants of Airco Alloys and Carbide Division (in Calvert City, Ky.; Niagara Falls, NY; Marietta, Ohio; and Alloy, W. Va.). (Washington Office on Africa, statement of March 12, 1973; Flyer, May 23, 1973; Senators' letter, April 27, 1973)

A committee of the UN Security Council is recommending that all member governments seize cargoes arriving from Rhodesia and apply the income from the sale of cargoes for an expanded program of sanctions, including a manual to instruct governments on how to detect disguised Rhodesian goods. The US has not opposed the recommendation since it is worded so as not to be binding on governments. (*New York Times*, April 28, 1973)

Diggs has called for the following actions

1. Cable and write your Representatives and Senators to join the movement to negate the Byrd Amendment.
2. Contact swing voters (see *May Southern Africa*)
3. Urge all groups with whom you are affiliated to join this national effort to stop the U.S. from violating its international legal obligations.
4. Visit your Congressmen in Washington and at their district offices to explain your concern about illegal Rhodesian imports.
5. Write letters to the editor of your local newspaper

explaining the urgency of this issue.

For more information contact: Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 or call (202) 546-7961.

churches

US BISHOP FEARS BLOODBATH

Bishop Hartford Brookins of the African Methodist Episcopal Church recently visited Zambia, Zaire, Malawi, and Rhodesia, and has returned to California with the feeling that a bloodbath is inevitable in Southern Africa unless the Whites there prevent it. The bishop said that he has asked the Council of Bishops in his church to take a positive position as to what the church should eventually want in Rhodesia. He said that his church stands for freedom of black people all over the world so there would be no compromise with the minority regimes in Africa. This is the first such strong statement from a leader of a black church in the States. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973)

at the



united nations

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATES RHODESIA SANCTIONS

A Security Council resolution extending trade sanctions against Rhodesia to include South Africa and Portuguese areas was vetoed by the US and UK. John A. Scali, the US delegate, called it unrealistic to extend sanctions until all states showed they were taking more seriously the present sanctions. However, Mr. Scali did not mention that the US under a 1971 law has resumed purchasing chrome and other strategic materials in contradiction to the five-year old ban. Sir Colin Crowe, the British delegate attacked the resolution as a "declaration of economic warfare against the whole of southern Africa." Supporters of the defeated resolution have called for a total trade blockade of ports in Mozambique in order to stop illegal violations of the trade embargo on Rhodesian goods. Eleven of the 15 member Council voted for the resolution. Austria and France abstained. It was the fourth US veto in Council history and the second on the issue of Rhodesia. Britain's was her ninth in the Council and seventh on Rhodesia. (*New York Times*, May 23, 1973; *New York Times*, May 16, 1973; UN Press Release WS/607, May 18, 1973)

Earlier, the UN had called on the US to revoke its law allowing the importation of minerals from Rhodesia. That

proposal was endorsed by 14 of the 15 members, including Britain and France. A report of the Security Council's committee on sanctions had recommended unanimously a series of 13 proposals to strengthen sanctions. They include the establishment of a board of experts to investigate the origin of cargoes from South Africa and Portuguese Africa that might have originated in Rhodesia, the seizure of such cargoes, and the use of revenues from their sale to help pay for the investigations. Sen. Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.), who twice led Senate floor fights against the US authorization of imports, said he was willing to try a third time if the White House would show the necessary support. (*Washington Post*, April 28, 1973)

Since then, 24 Senators have joined in introducing legislation to restore US observance of sanctions. Sen. Humphrey (D.-Minn.), speaking for the group, said US revocation of sanctions was looked upon as supporting white supremacy in Rhodesia. On April 16, the US Supreme Court rejected an appeal from Black Congressmen seeking to upset the 1971 revocation of sanctions. (*New York Times*, April 27, 1973; May 22, 1973) There is substantial evidence that many other nations, including Japan, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland, are, whether unaware or not, violating the embargo. South Africa says, for example, she exported only 355,000 metric tons of ore to Japan, which reported to the UN a figure twice that amount. (*Guardian*, May 15, 1973)

OSLO CONFERENCE CALLS FOR WORLD BOYCOTT

The International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa continued its work in Oslo during April, and delegates from more than 50 countries called for a world boycott of trade with South Africa in an attempt to cripple its apartheid system. Leaders of the nine nationalist groups from South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese African territories, met formally for the first time at the talks. Recommendations on South Africa included cutting off investments, a halt to immigration, an international boycott of South African goods, and the ending of all sports and cultural links. The conference rejected South Africa's claim to administer Namibia (South West Africa) and urged all governments to close their consulates there pending transfer of power to the African nationalists. On Rhodesia, the conference demanded recognition of the African nationalists as the real government and proposed the seizure of cargoes for Rhodesia which should be turned over to the nationalists. The report recommended an embargo on sale of weapons to Portugal, backed by the UN, and action by the Vatican to renounce the concordat and missionary agreements with Portugal relating to the African territories.

All countries represented on the Security Council and on UN bodies concerned with apartheid and colonialism were invited to Oslo, but Britain, France and the US did not participate, declaring it was one-sided without the participation of Portugal and South Africa. The Nordic countries met the cost of the conference. (*Times*, UK, April 16, 1973) The report of the conference also called for direct aid wherever possible to the liberation movements. (UN S/9061, May 7, 1973) In the view of the nationalist movements, this aid should include military supplies as well. (*Times of Zambia*, April 19, 1973; *Times*, UK, April 16, 1973)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL PLANS

The Social Committee of the Economic and Social

Council concluded its work on May 14 by recommending to the Security Council that it strongly condemn the detention without trial of striking workers in Ovamboland, Namibia, and their forcible return to reserves. The Committee also recommended the condemnation of the so-called transit camps for recruitment of forced labour in Southern Rhodesia and the existence of transit centres and similar camps in Angola and Mozambique. (UN Press Release ECOSOC/3461, May 14, 1973) Also a group of UN experts will investigate the disparity in pay scales between black and white workers in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, and Portuguese-held area as recommended by the Social Committee to ECOSOC and are to report not later than early 1975. (*Daily Mail*, Zambia, May 17, 1973)

APARTHEID VS. INTERNATIONAL LAW

The United Nations Human Rights Commission adopted a draft convention (April 2, 1973) making apartheid a crime against international law and punishable in any signatory country. Adopted by 21 votes to 2, it was forwarded to the ECOSOC to be put before the next UN General Assembly meeting.

The Human Rights Commission has been told by a special committee, appointed by the commission, of the torture of persons showing disdain for apartheid, including methods similar to those of the Nazi gestapo. More than a score of detainees have died in prison. The special committee said that it had every reason to believe that the police have been especially trained in the various methods of torture and their refinements. (UN Press Release HR/923, April 11, 1973; *New York Times*, April 3, 1973; *Guardian*, London, April 3, 1973)

MASSIVE SECRET BANK LOANS TO SA REVEALED

The Southern Africa Committee recently obtained the confidential internal documents known as the "Frankfort Documents" originating from sources within a U.S.-based multinational banking firm, the European-American Banking Corporation (EABC). These materials reveal that a group of forty banks from the United States, Europe and Canada have been jointly involved in direct loans totalling over \$210 million to the South African government and its agencies since late 1970.

Participants for two of the six loans, representing \$70 million of the total, include 11 American banks located in various areas of the U.S. It is likely that other American banks, as yet unknown, are involved in the additional loans. Representatives of the EABC confirmed the veracity of the documents in a meeting in New York with anti-apartheid representatives. The fact that these transactions were carried out in complete secrecy has extreme political significance. The banks involved were obviously seeking to avoid public protest such as that which occurred in the "Bank Campaign," 1966-69 when churches, community organizations, the United Nations and other organizations successfully achieved the cancellation of a \$40 million loan to the South African government from a consortium of American banks.

According to the documents, EABC of New York was the chief organizer of the credits, which are larger than any previously known to be given to the S.A. government. EABC is jointly owned by six of the largest banks in Europe—the Deutsche Bank, West Germany; the Societe Generale, France; Midland Bank, U.K.; Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank N.V. of the Netherlands; the

Societe Generale de Banque S.A. of Belgium; and the Creditanstalt-Bankverein of Austria. With combined deposits and loans of nearly \$1.1 billion, it is one of the top 70 banking organizations in the U.S. EABC is also probably the most important source of finance for the importers of diamonds in New York, providing a unique connection to South Africa.

By selling participation in the various credit arrangements to American and Multinational banks, EABC tapped the U.S. money market, largely through the offshore subsidiaries of these banks. It then re-lent the money to the SA government. Three of the transactions, each \$50 million, were arranged with the Ministry of Finance in Pretoria. The other three were made with ISCOR, METKOR and ESCOM, all government agencies. Sources within EABC have indicated a further credit of \$50 million to the Finance Ministry has been negotiated within the last few months.

The first Finance Ministry loan was arranged in September 1970, to be repaid in two years. This was shortly after the conclusion of the Bank Campaign when the government denied its need for foreign loans. Money drawn on the credit was held in the South African Reserve Bank, which suggests it was used for general balance of payments purposes. One year later, the bank approved another \$50 million loan. In both loans, EABC contributed \$5 million from its Nassau branch, the names of the other participants are not yet known, however.

The most recent credit was approved in June 1972. This loan is due to be repaid in July 1975, EABC contributing \$3.5 million, the other banks \$46.5 million. The names of the participants for this loan are known, including four American banks which sought to have their participation remain "undisclosed"—Wells Fargo, Central National Bank in Chicago, Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis and City National Bank of Detroit. An EABC official confirmed that at least one of these banks admitted it wished to remain anonymous because of the political sensitivity of its loan.

The other U.S. banks are:

AMERICAN	\$(Million)
Wells Fargo Bank (N.A.), Luxembourg branch	2.0
Central National Bank in Chicago	1.0
Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis, Nassau branch	1.0
City National Bank of Detroit, London branch	.5
First Israel Bank and Trust Co. of New York, Nassau branch	2.0
First National Bank of Louisville	2.0
Maryland National Bank, Nassau branch	2.0
United Virginia Bank, Nassau branch	2.0

In October 1970, EABC organized bank participation in a \$20 million credit for the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), which is wholly owned by the government, and presently supplies 75% of South Africa's steel requirements. The ISCOR loan is due to be repaid by the end of 1976. Though its use is unspecified, this loan is probably for the importation of machinery and other

equipment for industrial expansion. EABC contributed \$3 million from its Nassau bank. Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, Winston-Salem, with \$2 million, sought to participate anonymously.

In October, EABC organized an \$8.5 million credit for Metkor Investments Limited, a 79.8%-owned subsidiary of ISCOR. In late 1971, Metkor requested and received an extension of repayment to 1975, and an increase to \$10 million. Funds were used for the expansion of Wire Industries Steel Products and Engineering Co., in which Metkor holds an interest, and also apparently for general financing. EABC contributed \$2.5 million from its Nassau branch.

In late 1970, EABC contributed \$5 million towards a loan of \$28 million for the Electricity and Supply Commission of South Africa (ESCOM), a public agency whose members are appointed by the white government to supply the country's electrical needs. In June 1972, this loan was increased to \$30 million and extended to mid-1977. The purpose is to help finance additions to the generating, transmitting and distribution systems of ESCOM. It may be they are aiding ESCOM in supplying electricity from Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, which is under heavy attack from the Mozambique liberation movement FRELIMO.

The EABC and other banks' sponsorship of substantial credit arrangements represents a concerted effort to assist the government of South Africa in overcoming serious economic and financial problems. The secrecy surrounding these transactions confirms what the banks involved would no doubt wish to deny, that these loans have the important political effect of providing concrete assistance to the white supremacist government.

What can you do? The Southern Africa Committee suggests the following:

1. **LETTERS:** Write a letter of protest to the bank in your area or to all of them (see list of banks). Such a letter can be an "open letter," publicized through the media, or a "letter to the editor." Urge your congressmen, other legislators, your church or other organizations to publicly support the protest.

2. **MEETINGS, WITHHOLDING FUNDS:** Request a meeting with bank representatives to explain your concern. Should you not receive positive action from the bank, you may wish to withhold your funds. Publicize this action.

3. **SHAREHOLDER ACTION:** If you own stock in the bank, or know someone who does, you may attend the annual meeting to raise the issue. You may wish to buy a single share for this purpose.

A number of non-American banks were involved in these loans to South Africa. For a complete listing write to: Corporate Information Center 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

For a list of US Banks' addresses see page 41.

book and film reviews

Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christobel Gurney
The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid. London: Temple Smith, 1972. \$3.50. 352 pp.

The involvement of western business interests in the economy of South Africa is hardly news by now. Focused in its role of bolstering the South African economy after the shock of Sharpeville, this involvement has been the object of increasing debate as campaigns for corporate disengagement have intensified in recent years. Pamphlets, magazine and newspaper articles, and UN documents have taken up the debate and supplied much useful information. The recent small book by Pomeroy (see *Southern Africa*, April 1973, for a brief review) gave an account of American involvement. Other books have dealt with the issue in passing. *The South African Connection* is the first book to analyze in depth not only the role of a number of specific foreign companies, but also the basic character of South Africa's political economy, and the role that foreign capital plays there.

Among the most important sections of this book is the chapter entitled "The Floating Colour Bar." There the authors show that admission of Blacks into some jobs formerly occupied by Whites (because of the pressures brought about by the shortage of skilled white labor), far from eliminating white supremacy, has enhanced the flexibility with which the black labor supply can be manipulated. An examination of Polaroid and Barclays Bank's South African "experiments," and the pseudo-reform espoused by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, also upholds the conclusion that such experiments hardly challenge white supremacy in South Africa.

The role of foreign capital is investigated in detail in studies of particular industries, noting also the roles played by South African state capital, and private South African capital, both English-speaking and Afrikaner. Nine companies (seven British, two American) are examined in more detailed case studies.

The overall focus is on the close interconnection between South Africa and Britain, although there are also brief sections dealing with the United States, France, West Germany, and Japan. Thus the book goes into detail about the connections between British business involvement and the political institutions of the Conservative Party, as well as other sources of South African influence in Britain. There is a chapter on South Africa's campaign to recruit white immigrants. Another chapter deals with South Africa's expansion in Africa, forming a bridgehead for western firms based there to penetrate further north as well.

In short, this is a book that puts together some very useful information and analysis. There is one criticism that should be mentioned, however. Particularly in their polemic against the kind of "reformism" represented by Oppenheimer, the explanations seem to become too subtle, and the points made are likely to be obscure to someone not already familiar with the issues involved. At the risk of seeming didactic, would it not have been possible at some point to isolate and state clearly one by one, the criticisms made of Oppenheimer's position? Such a step would have made the book even more useful to

those who have to counter again and again such a position, or one of its variations. Still, this is an indispensable book.

DETROIT TO DURBAN: BLACK WORKERS' COMMON STRUGGLE, published by the Black Workers Organizing Committee, P.O. Box 24590, Oakland, California 94623.

This new booklet indicates the growing consciousness of the interrelatedness of the struggle in the U.S. and Southern Africa. While describing the nature of apartheid, it also draws parallels between the two areas with examples such as "Indian Reservations" and "Bantustans", Jim Crow Laws and apartheid laws, Sharpeville and protests by Blacks here, workers conditions in the U.S. and South Africa, capitalism and slavery and capitalism and apartheid, and finally the Detroit rebellion of 1967 with the Durban strikes of 1973. The political perspective of the book is the unity of workers' struggles and people in Southern Africa as their own liberators. But it indicates that any victory against companies in the U.S. will also contribute to liberation in South Africa. The Black Workers' Organizing Committee then calls for specific actions at the workplace (stopping speed-ups, lays offs, wage freeze) and support for Southern Africa, including African Liberation Day activities.

Liberation Films Reviewed

John Strong, history professor at Southampton College and long-time student of "Portuguese" Africa, has written a comprehensive review of five films on liberation movements in the Winter, 1972 issue of *Africa Today*. The films, all available in the US, include an old NBC "White Paper" on Angola called "Angola—Journey to a War" in which the station tried to cover both the "rebel" and the Portuguese side of the beginnings of the revolution; a Cuban film on Guinea-Bissau, "Medina Boe"; and three films on Mozambique, "Venceremos" (Yugoslavian), "Viva Frelimo" (Dutch), and "A Luta Continua" (US).

Strong concludes that the "weakest" film is the NBC study which, while trying to be "objective" in its coverage, reveals much about Portuguese colonial and racist attitudes, but distorts the nature of colonialism. The other more committed films show vividly the African consciousness of revolution, the relationship between people and their leaders, and the role of African tradition. The necessity of self-reliance and building the revolution from the inside is particularly evident with the later films ("Viva" and "A Luta"), while the other two films, done by socialist filmmakers, focus the struggle on a more international perspective.

Rhodesia Chrome—UNA Study

Following up on its study of alternatives for US policy toward Southern Africa, the United Nations Association financed five graduate and undergrad students to study the Congressional and government attitudes and assumptions about issues related to the renewed importation of Rhodesian chrome to the US. Using 90 interviews with various government people, the White House, Congress, and non-government experts, the 96 page report disproves

many of the major assumptions held by people who supported the imports. These assumptions include: 1) metallurgical chromite is essential during a national emergency; 2) sanctions against Rhodesia made the USSR the major supplier of chromite; 3) sanctions caused an increase in chrome ore prices; 4) sanctions damaged the domestic ferrochrome industry in the US and 5) USSR imports will be reduced by imports from Rhodesia. For the booklet write: UNA, 833 UN Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

Liberation is Certain—Guardian Supplement

The Guardian has produced an excellent and useful 16 page supplement entitled "Black Africa—Liberation is Certain." The supplement, timed to coincide with African Liberation Day, is dedicated to "the struggle for independence, liberation and revolution against colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascist oppression" and "to helping to convince the American people to join the people of Africa in their quest for freedom." It has well-written and comprehensive general articles on post World War II Africa and general US political and capital involvement by editor, Barry Rubin, plus summary studies on ideology and economics. But the supplement focuses more on active areas of liberation in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau. Although heavy with advertisements (including one for this magazine) and despite the poorly laid out resource section, the *Guardian* supplement should be used for a long time by all interested in Africa, in liberation struggles, internal developments in SA and Namibia, and in the growing confrontation between imperialists and the African people. (See Ad)



READING SUGGESTIONS ON THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN "PORTUGUESE" AFRICA

Basic Pamphlets

1. Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, *War on Three Fronts: The Fight Against Portuguese Colonialism* (London: 1971). 50¢. Good pamphlet for an overview.
2. Committee for a Free Mozambique, *Our Dream Has the Size of Freedom: The Struggle for Liberation in Mozambique* (New York: 1971). 10¢. Brief but clear and well-illustrated. OR FRELIMO, *Aspects of the Mozambican Struggle* (Vancouver: LSM, 1971). 25¢. FRELIMO document dealing with main aspects of the struggle. OR Africa Research Group, *Building Freedom: Mozambique's FRELIMO* (Cambridge: 1971). 50¢. More detailed with extensive quotes from FRELIMO publications.
3. Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, *Our People are Our Mountains: Amilcar Cabral on the Guinean Revolution* (London: 1972). 50¢. Two recent speeches by Cabral, and a 1971 report on the struggle in Guinea.
4. Liberation Support Movement, *Interview with Sixth Region Commander, MPLA, Seta Likambuila* (Vancouver: 1970). 75¢. An interview that deals with a number of the important questions in the Angolan liberation struggle.
5. Africa Today, *Allies in Empire: The US and Portugal in Africa* (Denver 1970). 50¢. Summarizes economic and military involvement of USA.

Basic Books

1. Amilcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea*, (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1970). \$2.25. A collection of articles by the leading

resources

revolutionary theoretician and liberation leader, recently assassinated by Portuguese agents.

2. Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969). \$1.65. Summary account of Portuguese colonialism and the liberation struggle in Mozambique, written by the first President of FRELIMO before his assassination in 1969.
3. Basil Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1972). \$7.95. The best background account of the liberation struggle in Angola; includes description of Davidson's trip inside liberated areas of eastern Angola with MPLA.
4. James Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963). \$0.95. Still a useful summary of the character of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.
5. William Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972). Deals with U.S. policy, with military and economic ties, with involvement of other capitalist countries. (To be published in U.S. by Monthly Review Press, late 1973).

Additional Sources: Portugal and Portuguese Colonialism

1. David M. Abshire and Michael A. Samuels, eds., *Portuguese Africa: A Handbook* (NY: Praeger, 1969). \$15. Much useful information in spite of its pro-Portuguese bias.
2. Ronald H. Chilcote, *Portuguese Africa* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.:

Prentice-Hall, 1967). \$5.95 (paperback edition out of print). Summary up to mid-60s, focused on development of nationalist movements.

3. James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). \$11. A basic source, more detailed than *Portugal in Africa*.
4. A. H. De Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1972). The first comprehensive history of Portugal in English; volume 2 deals with the 19th and 20th centuries.
5. Mario Soares, *Le Portugal Baillone: Un Temoignage* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1972). Unfortunately not yet available in English, this book gives a unique account (combined autobiography and political history) of modern Portugal; by an exiled leader of the Portuguese opposition.
6. United Nations Decolonization Committee, Documents. This committee annually produces documents which are invaluable sources of information on all aspects of political and economic developments in the Portuguese colonies.

Additional Sources: Angola

1. Don Barnett and Roy Harvey, *The Revolution in Angola: MPLA, Life Histories and Documents* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1972). \$6.95. Particularly significant are the life histories included, which give a picture from the point of view of ordinary Angolans of life under Portuguese colonialism and the development of the liberation struggle.
2. Americo Boavida, *Angola: Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation* (Vancouver: LSM, 1972). Written by the former director of MPLA's Medical Assistance Services, who was killed in a Portuguese attack in 1968, this book documents the character of Portuguese exploitation of the Angolan people, as well as the role played by other capitalist powers.
3. Allison Butler Herrick et al., *U.S. Army Area Handbook for Angola* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1967). Summarizes quite a lot of background information.
4. Liberation Support Movement (Vancouver). A number of other pamphlets containing interviews with MPLA leaders.
5. John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution, (v. 1: The Anatomy of an Explosion)* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969). \$12.50. A detailed study of the early years of the revolution in Angola (1960-1962).
6. MPLA, *Revolution in Angola* (London: Merlin Press, 1972). 60p. Concise presentation of the context and direction of the struggle.
7. Douglas L. Wheeler and Rene Pelissier, *Angola* (New York: Praeger, 1971). \$11. Scholarly account with some useful information on Angolan history not available elsewhere.

Additional Sources: Mozambique

1. Allison Butler Herrick et al., *U.S. Army Area Handbook for Mozambique* (Washington: U.S. GPO, 1969). Summarizes background information.
2. Luisa Passerini, *Colonialismo Portoghese e Lotta di Liberazione nel Mozambico* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1970). Unfortunately not yet available in English, this important book contains not only a well-done introductory essay analyzing the development of the Mozambican revolution, but also selections of crucial documents from FRELIMO illustrating that development.
3. John Saul and Giovanni Arrighi, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa* (NY: Monthly Review Press, to be published in mid-1973). Contains several essays on

Mozambique, with perceptive analysis of developments in the struggle there.

Additional Sources: Guine

1. Gerard Chaliand, *Armed Struggle in Africa* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1969). \$1.94. Account by a French writer of his visit inside Guine with PAIGC.
2. Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guine* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969). \$1.45. Account by a British writer of his visit inside Guine with PAIGC.
3. *No Pintcha: The Liberation Struggle of Guine* (Tokyo: Taimatsu-Sha, 1972). Striking photography by a Japanese photographer who visited PAIGC areas. Captions in Japanese, Portuguese, and English. Available from Angola Comite.

Additional Sources: Western Involvement in "Portuguese" Africa

1. Angola Comite, *Portugal and NATO* (3rd edition) (Amsterdam: 1972). .75¢ Basic source on the support given Portugal by NATO countries.
2. Corporate Information Center, NCC, *Gulf Oil: Portuguese Ally in Angola* (New York: 1972). \$1. Latest information on the campaign against Gulf.
3. World Council of Churches, *Cabora Bassa and the Struggle for Southern Africa and Cunene Dam Scheme and the Struggle for Southern Africa* (Geneva: 1971). 75¢ each. Information on two hydroelectric schemes designed by Portugal and South Africa to solidify white control in Southern Africa; and on involvement in these schemes by European and American interests.

Periodicals

1. Publications of MPLA (*Angola in Arms*), FRELIMO (*Mozambique Revolution*), and PAIGC (*PAIGC Actualites*). The most convenient regular source in North America is Liberation Support Movement, which reprints all three.
2. *Facts and Reports* (Angola Comite). Biweekly, reprints clippings, especially on developments in "Portuguese" Africa.
3. *Southern Africa*, (Southern Africa Committee). Monthly news summary.
4. *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin* (London). Quarterly. Information from the Portuguese press and the Portuguese underground.
5. *Guerrilheiro*. Publication of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, London.
6. *CFM News and Notes*. Publication of the Committee for a Free Mozambique, New York.

Addresses of Organizations Mentioned

1. MPLA
P.O. Box 20793
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
2. FRELIMO
P.O. Box 15274
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
3. PAIGC
B.P. 298
Conakry, Guinee (Rep.)
4. Angola Comite
DaCostastraet 88
Amsterdam, Holland

5. Committee for a Free Mozambique
616 W. 116th St., 1-A
New York, N.Y. 10027

8. Liberation Support Movement
P.O. Box 94338
Richmond, B.C., Canada

6. Committee for Freedom in Mozambique,
Angola and Guine
531 Caledonian Road
London N7, England

9. Southern Africa Committee
244 W. 27th St., Fifth Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001

7. Corporate Information Center
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

10. World Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

The New World Resource Center, 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill.
60614 distributes all of the pamphlets in this list, and some of the
books.

The Guardian's Special African Liberation Day Supplement

Is a 16-page supplement devoted entirely to Africa. The supplement contains a number of lively articles written by people involved in the struggle for African liberation. It includes articles on:

South Africa & Namibia: Tami Hultman & Reed Kramer of the Southern Africa Committee
Africa's Struggle for Independence, Historical Background: Barry Rubin, Guardian foreign editor
US Blacks & the African Liberation Struggle: African Information Service
Africal Political Ideologies: Robert Allen
Imperialism & Africa: Winston Nvusi
Angola & Mozambique: John Saul
African Trade Unions: Amina Saoume
Overview of African Economic & Social Conditions: Jim Monsonis
Guinea-Bissau: Richard Lobban
Rhodesia: Hank Chase
African Women: Tiglu Yeketeal

Rates: 1-9 copies, 25c each; 10-24, 15c each; 25-99, 12c each; 100 or more, 10c each.

Name

Enclosed is.....for.....copies of the Africa supplement

Address

Order from: Guardian
32 W. 22nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010

SA

City

State Zip

Article continued from page 37 - List of US Banks involved in loans to South Africa

CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK IN CHICAGO
Frank E. Bauder, Chairman
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60603

CITY NATIONAL BANK OF DETROIT
John H. French, Jr., Chairman
Penobscot Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

EUROPEAN-AMERICAN BANKING CORP.
Jean Cattier, Chairman
10 Hanover Square
New York, N.Y. 10017

FIRST ISRAEL BANK AND TRUST CO.
Mendes H. Sachs, Chairman OF N.Y.
579 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF LOUISVILLE
Hugh M. Shwab, Jr., Chairman
216 South 5th Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

MARYLAND NATIONAL BANK
Robert D.H. Harvey, Chairman
10 Light Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21203

**MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANKS
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11 South Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK OF DALLAS
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Pacific Ervey & Bryan Streets
Dallas, Texas 75201

UNITED VIRGINIA BANKSHARES INC.
Edward F. Gee, Chairman
900 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

WACHOVIA BANK AND TRUST CO., INC.
Archie K. Davis, Chairman
Third and Main Streets
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101

WELLS FARGO BANK, N.A.
Ernest C. Arbuckle, Chairman
464 California Street
San Francisco, California 94120

NOTE: Copies of the documents, a "brief" on the loans (available in bulk for 15¢ each) may be obtained from the Corporate Information Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, tele. (212) 870-2295.



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES ACTIONS

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY—SOLIDARITY ACTIONS REACH NEW LEVEL IN 1973

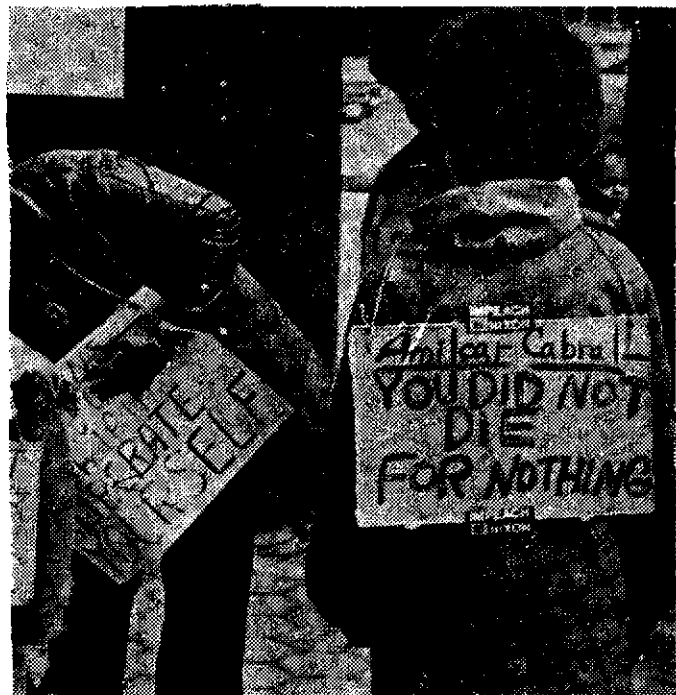
Marches, drumming, rallies, chants, speeches, dancing, banners, posters, shouting, festivals, barbecues, poetry—all of these activities and more became forms of commemorating the ideal and the idea of African Liberation Day on May 26. In Canada and the Caribbean, in the U.S. from Portland to Raleigh, from Baton Rouge to Detroit, several hundred, to thousands and thousands of Blacks gathered. In nearly 30 U.S. cities ALD was celebrated, dedicated to the spirit of assassinated Amilcar Cabral and calling for intensified Afro-American aid to the struggle.

The essential factor in the 1973 African Liberation Day demonstrations that represents a growth in the political maturity of the black people in North America and the Caribbean is the anti-imperialist content of the demonstrations. . . . As opposed to a vague 'support all of Africa' program devoid of political analysis, the African Liberation Day demonstration programmatically is supporting those countries and movements struggling for national liberation against imperialism, recognizing that such support both aids the progressive independent nations on the continents and the domestic struggle against imperialism and speeds up the isolation of those African governments in league with imperialism.

Nelson Johnson, ALSC, Raleigh NC, May 26, 1973

In Chicago people marched, banners read "We Are an Afrikan People." S. Toure, nephew of the Guinean President, led a moment of silence in memory of Cabral, and other speakers included artists Gwendolyn Brooks, Don Lee, Dick Gregory and local community people. In Washington, the 5,000 marchers were tailed by 35 police on scooters, and there were some confrontations leading to arrests and injuries. The demonstrators marched by the British and South African Embassies and the ITT building. In Oakland, 12,000 people heard a representative of the ZANU-ZAPU Joint Command, while in Houston 1,500 rallied in front of the Gulf Oil headquarters. A South African poet spoke before the crowd gathered in the vicinity of the old New Orleans slave block, and in New York, U.N. Plaza was renamed Lumumba Plaza for the day with thousands of Blacks moving up Madison Avenue past Union Carbide, GE, and the South African Consulate to rally in Harlem where they heard among others the Ambassador from Guinea, H. Toure.

"There is no peace with honor, Africa is at war" was the central theme of the day, while a general call was issued for Blacks to boycott Gulf Oil; Angolan coffee in brands including Maxim, Nescafe, Taster's Choice, Sanka, Hills, Decafe, Chase and Sanborn; and Portuguese wines such as Mateus, Costa do Sol and Lancers. African Liberation Day was sponsored by many many groups with both local and national coordinating committees.



African Liberation Day, 1973

Let me say something to you, you already know . . . and that is we're doing things today that two or three years ago we wouldn't have been able to relate to . . . African Liberation Day . . . and don't mean that we're about something across some water; that means until we start liberating ourselves, you ain't gonna liberate nobody down the street.

Dick Gregory, Chicago, May 26, 1973

Participants came from Pan-Africanist organizations, third world groups including Puerto Rican, Eritrean and pro-Palestinian bodies; student, community, church, educational organizations; YOBU, Congress of African People, Republic of New Africa—all were involved.

\$50,000 was raised through the United African Appeal, with 80 per cent of the funds being divided among grants to PAIGC, FRELIMO, Joint Military Command of ZAPU-ZANU, and UNITA of Angola. It was estimated that in all 100,000 Blacks participated in African Liberation Day in the West. In Africa, at the OAU, and in capital cities throughout the Continent, the Day was also honored. (*Amsterdam News*, May 19; *African World*, May 19; *Guardian*, N.Y., June 6; *Muhammed Speaks*, June 15, 1973)

CONFERENCES

Two conferences were held in the last several months in North Carolina which dealt with Southern Africa, including one at Duke University in Durham, and one sponsored by the UNA student affiliate, CIRUNA. Bishop Colin Winter, who served in Namibia, spoke at the Durham meeting, and former head of the Senate Africa Committee, Gale McGee, spoke at the CIRUNA gathering. In March a meeting was held at Indiana University in Bloomington which dealt with "colonial revolutions." Speakers on African issues were Edison Zvobgo of the African National Council of Rhodesia, and Robert Van Lierop of the Africa Information Service. Van Lierop also toured the mid-west and a number of groups were able to view his film, *A Luta Continua* for the first time.

LSM TOUR CONTINUES

The Liberation Support Movement has sponsored a successful tour of films, slides, and literature in a number of regions of the US aimed at raising consciousness about the southern African liberation struggles and gathering funds, in particular for equipping a printshop which LSM gave to MPLA last year. Having just completed its spring tour of the northeast, LSM is now preparing for its fall tour of the South and Southwest. (SEE AD) LSM has also prepared a leaflet about the best ways to send materials (medicines, clothes, food) to the movements which explains air shipments, sea routes, etc. For information on their tour and liberation support information sheet write:

Liberation Support Movement Info.
Center
P.O. Box 94338
Richmond, B.C., Canada

CAPE VERDEAN AMERICANS RETRIEVE THEIR AFRICAN IDENTITY

One of the most significant recent political developments among Afro-Americans has been taking place within the Cape Verdean American community. Cape Verdeans are people of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry who live on a group of islands off the coast of West Africa to the northwest of Guinea (Bissau). The Portuguese occupied these islands some 500 years ago as part of their colonial expansion in Africa.

The islands have enormous strategic significance. Originally established as a penal colony for criminals and deported non-Christians, the prisoners on the islands were actually freed and allowed to work for Portuguese naval operations. The prisoner population mixed freely with West Africans imported to the islands by the Portuguese as slave labor. The culture of Cape Verde Islands which emerged from this colonialist creation remained basically African, and the customs of the people are not unlike those of Senegalese people or other West Africans. The major Portuguese introductions were the Catholic Church and the Portuguese language. But the language of the Cape Verde Islands, Creole, is no longer comprehensible by Portuguese from Lisbon—its grammatical structure, its vocabulary, and idioms are derived from African languages. The conscious colonial policy of the Portuguese was to use these lighter-skinned, 'mestizo' people as lower level administrators and work-overseers in Portugal's coffee and oil-rich African colonies.

Cape Verdeans in this country number about 300,000, with the largest concentrations in southern New England. Cape Verdean Americans, unlike other Afro-Americans, were not brought to this country aboard slave ships, but through a system of contract labor whereby the Portuguese Government and American capital cooperated to bring cheap labor into America. As part of Portugal's vast holdings in Africa, the Cape Verdeans came to America as "Portuguese citizens" and this identity as "Portuguese" instead of "African" has held until very

African Liberation Day marchers in Boston



recent times. Yet in reality, Cape Verdeans are one of the only groups of Africans in America who know exactly where they come from in Africa and thus they can relate directly to a geographic part of Africa.

The Cape Verdeans were contracted into the sea industries, particularly into the whaling industry in New England, and into the textile and steel mills on the east coast and provided the supply of cheap labor for the berry industries of New England, particularly cranberries. Migration within the US followed these basic industries and today there are large concentrations of Cape Verdeans working in the steel mills of Ohio and Pennsylvania or as longshoremen in New York City or in California, Providence, Rhode Island and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

The "capital" of the Cape Verdean "nation" is New Bedford, Mass. where 80% of the minority population in the city is Cape Verdean. In Boston the second largest non-white minority are the Cape Verdeans, and in Providence, Rhode Island 50% of the non-white population is Cape Verdean. Cape Verdeans are not usually singled out as a separate ethnic or racial group because with their physical heritage they can blend with black, Puerto Rican, and white groups. However, Cape Verdeans themselves have maintained their ethnic identity through their common Creole language, culture, and through the development of strong community ties.

A major shift in identity is occurring now within this community. The "Portuguese" identity, once believed to be a way of "making it" in American society, (but which the dominant white society never accepted because of color prejudice) is being dropped by ever-increasing numbers of Cape Verdeans in favor of an African identity.

The Cape Verdeans today have been awakened by the struggles of Afro-Americans and more importantly by the successful struggle being waged by PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) to liberate Portuguese West Africa. In Duxbury, Mass. a PAIGC Support Committee, P.O. Box 1510, Duxbury, Mass. 02332, has been formed by Cape Verdean Americans with the intention of educating Cape Verdeans and other Americans to the struggle for independence in Africa and to their own particular history of colonization by the Portuguese and exploitation in this country. After the assassination of the leader of PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, the young PAIGC Support Committee with other concerned groups turned out 200 demonstrators at the Boston Portuguese Consulate to protest the slaying. The first regional conference of the committee was held February 25th in Plymouth, Mass. and more than 250 Cape Verdeans, Afro-Americans, and progressive Whites were in attendance while Cape Verdeans affirmed their African identity.

The political goal of the Committee is to kindle national pride and in the process educate people to the nature of the struggle in Guinea, and their relationship to it. Since their arrival, Cape Verdeans in this country have been sending relief supplies to their relatives in the islands where famine has been chronic. Many of these supplies never reach the hands of starving Cape Verdeans but fall into the hands of Portuguese administrators. The PAIGC Support Committee says this kind of aid is effectively assisting the Portuguese, and Cape Verdean Americans must begin to give aid to PAIGC and the liberation forces instead.

Members of the Support Committee are doing educational work in the Cape Verdean and other African



Car of PAIGC support group leader in Massachusetts blown up early this year.

communities and in colleges and universities in the area as well as speaking through the mass media. Recently the PAIGC Support Committee, in conjunction with the Providence chapters of the Attica Brigade, sponsored a lecture tour by the Liberation Support Movement on African Liberation movements, and was supportive of African Liberation Day, May 26.

The committee's work has already roused reactionary counter forces. Just two weeks after the successful PAIGC Support Committee regional conference, the committee's car was firebombed outside their office in Duxbury, Mass. (see photo).

Within the Portuguese community in southern New England changes are occurring too. Traditionally Cape Verdeans and Portuguese have settled in contiguous areas, but rarely have the two populations mixed. The movements for independence in the Portuguese colonies have reverberated in the towns and cities of impoverished Portugal and in the minds of recent Portuguese immigrants to this country. Forced by economic conditions or by political repression, many Portuguese people have emigrated to other European capitals and to America. Many realize that the extreme conditions of poverty and backwardness inside Portugal are linked to the government's continuance of the colonial wars in Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, and that in fact the struggles of the Portuguese for freedom from poverty and facism and those of the African peoples for independence are one. Recently the LPFP (Liberation Party for a Free Portugal) has been formed in southeastern Massachusetts with the intention of building political awareness among Portuguese in this country as to the nature of the African wars and how they drain the blood and economic resources of the Portuguese people. The role of America in supplying NATO guns and dollars to the Portuguese Government must also be explained to Portuguese living in this country.

The situation which is developing in this country parallels current political conditions in Africa and Portugal. Cape Verdean Americans are oppressed by racism and economic exploitation by a white majority, while the Cape Verdeans in Africa are enslaved by colonialism perpetrated by a Portuguese white minority. The Portuguese fishermen of Galilee, Rhode Island are

living in conditions of poverty much like the Portuguese fisherman who sails out of Lisbon. But just as Cape Verdeans in this country are beginning to renounce a Portuguese identity and link themselves to Africa and African liberation, so also Portuguese in growing numbers are resisting their own government's racist ideology and proclaiming that African liberation fighters are their brothers and sisters in common struggle. The ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action) in Lisbon has sabotaged NATO installations on several occasions in Portugal just as African forces have liberated 80% of Guinea and large parts of Mozambique and Angola. At the funeral of Amilcar Cabral, several Portuguese progressives eulogized Cabral as a fallen leader; of the African and Portuguese peoples. Such alliances in people's minds and political action pave the road to a Free Portuguese Africa and to a free Portugal.

—Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban

SUPPORT FOR PAIGC AND FRELIMO

The Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (731 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53703) raised nearly \$2,000 for the PAIGC, while a Milwaukee Hunger Hike in May plans to give \$22,000 to the IFCO campaign for PAIGC. In New York, the Committee for a Free Mozambique (616 W. 116, NY, NY 10027) held a fund-raising party, and collected approximately \$500 for FRELIMO. (MACSA News, April, 1973)

PRINCETON COMMITTEE ON NAMIBIA

The Resources Committee established at Princeton University in 1969 was one of the first college-based institutional committees to do research on the university's corporate connections with South Africa. Now the group is undertaking a comprehensive study on Namibia which will focus on the implications of the International Court of Justice's decisions on Namibia, the nature of *apartheid* in Namibia, and the role of four US corporations there including AMAX, Phelps Dodge, and Texaco and Standard of California (Texaco).

LONGSHOREMEN ISSUE STATEMENT

At their 20th Biennial Convention in San Francisco the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union passed a statement condemning US corporate links with South Africa, urging the US Government to end trade with SA (including all military aid), to refuse American facilities to SA craft, to push anti-South African policies in the UN and ILO, and to end business with companies functioning in SA. (Statement, April 30—May 4, 1973).

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED IN CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

In late March six resolutions, sponsored primarily by Assemblymen John Dunlap and John Burton, but also co-sponsored by nine Assemblymen and one Senator, were introduced to the California Legislature. For more than a year research has been published related to California's \$5 billion connection with US corporations in Southern Africa ("The State of California and Southern African Racism: The Economic Support of Firms Operating in South Africa") and more recently focus has been placed on the University of California's specific \$312 million ties with firms such as IBM, GM, GE, Caltex, Ford, and ITT.

The legislative packet contains general resolutions

about criteria for state and university investment (retirement and pension funds etc.) and the use of proxies; the determination of firms as to whether or not they are involved in "socially or environmentally injurious operations"; the role that the state can play to pressure firms to correct such activity, including divestment of funds; and the termination of state contracts with firms which discriminate. There are also two specific resolutions on Southern Africa, calling for no contracts or investments with firms in Southern Africa and "memorializing the President and Congress" to adopt a similar policy. For information and specifics on these legislative moves contact: Assemblyman John Dunlap, State Capitol, Room 5136, Sacramento, California, 95814.

RHODESIAN SHIPMENT BOYCOTTED

Seventy-five demonstrators greeted the June 9 arrival of the *S.S. African Meteor* in the ports of Baltimore, and although a small amount of Rhodesian cargo (which included 398 tons of nickel cathodes for Phillip Bros. and 1.6 million tons of ferrochrome) was unloaded by uninformed dock workers, the International Longshoremen's boycott soon stopped the unloading. It is rumored that the Rhodesian metals will be unloaded at a military pier. On June 6, three days before the ship arrived, Parren Mitchell, black Congressman from Baltimore, held a press conference together with Black activist Ron Walters of Howard University, ILA members, Baltimore African Liberation Committee reps, and people from the Workers' Action Group. The conference, similar to those held in the past protesting US imports of Rhodesian metals, received wide local news coverage. On Saturday when the ship docked, there was the demonstration which included people from a number of the above groups, plus from the American Friends Service Committee, Operation Omega of Philadelphia, and Judge William Booth of the American Committee on Africa. (American Committee on Africa letter, May 30, information June 11, 1973).

GULF BOYCOTT SPREADS

In cities throughout the US, BOYCOTT GULF posters have begun to appear. The posters are striking in their pictorial quality. One contains quotes juxtaposed to a woman fighter and child—"There are but two sides in a war—she fights on the side of African freedom—Gulf finances the other side." They were made by the Pan African Liberation Committee, (P.O. Box 514, Brookline Village, Mass. 02147) whose involvement in the Gulf question dates back to Harvard actions in 1971-72. For posters as well as a small brochure write to PALC. Gulf boycott committees or related groups function in some 38 US cities. The Boycott Committee has appeared before the House Sub-Committee on Africa, and held its second Liberation Celebration at the annual meeting of Gulf in Pittsburgh in late April. The Committee has met with groups in St. Louis, Atlanta, Birmingham, Boston, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Ithaca. Black members of the Dayton group have written to groups in the black community warning of Gulf's accelerated appeal to that constituency. For example, Gulf has hired a black public relations firm, Zebra Associates, and a new black PR man. (Newsletter, GBC, March and April, 1973).

At Oberlin College, the college's Gulf bond was an issue of debate at an April meeting of the Board of



Trustees. Although the board did not vote for divestment of the bond, a strongly worded statement prepared by the College Investment Advisory Committee was forwarded to Gulf management. (*Oberlin Review*, April 10 and 13, 1973).

The American Committee on Africa has produced a new up-to-date fact sheet on Gulf in Angola. For copies write to ACOA, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

IFCO GRANTS GO TO SA

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization has released information about its 1973 grants which include the following to Africa-related groups: \$4,200 for African Liberation Support Committee; \$5,708 to the Pan African Skills Project (which places Afro-Americans in jobs in Africa); \$3,216 for African Information Service; \$27,180 to the PAIGC with smaller grants to the Mozambique Institute. (IFCO, Press Release, May 10, 1973).

N.Y. TIMES FAILS TO STOP INQUIRY

Last October a group including the American Committee on Africa, African Heritage Studies Association, One Hundred Black Men and Judge William Booth, submitted a complaint to the New York City Commission on Human Rights alleging that the *New York Times* engages in discrimination by accepting ads for jobs in South Africa. The *New York Times* counsel argued at the Commission's public hearing on June 6 that the matter was one of foreign policy and therefore not within the purview of the City agency and that stopping such ads would "place an unconstitutional burden" on the paper to screen all such advertisements. The City Human Rights Commissioners denied the *Times* motion saying that the act of circulating the advertisements occurred in New York City and thus came under the agency's jurisdiction, and that no First Amendment violation occurred related to the *Times* editorial or news reporting. The hearings will therefore continue at some date in the future. (ACOA, Press Release, June 6, 1973)

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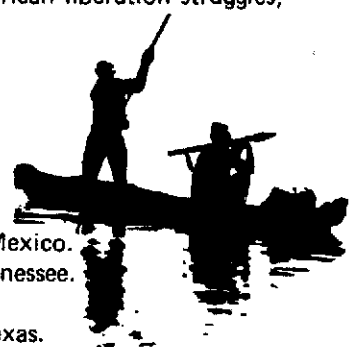
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SEASON OVER FOR CHURCH CHALLENGES

Church challenges to companies investing in Southern Africa has run through another stockholder season. This year seven Protestant denominations and one organization of independent Episcopal Churchmen banded together under an umbrella called the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa—1973. Each denomination filed resolutions with a different company.

Twelve companies faced a resolution urging them to make a full disclosure of their involvement in South Africa, including data on wages, benefits, contributions, laws affecting the company, and contracts with the South African government. The disclosures were to be sent to all shareholders. Seven companies—Xerox, Burroughs, ITT, Texaco, Eastman Kodak, Ford, and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.—agreed to make such a disclosure, and therefore the stockholder resolutions were withdrawn. The resolution was filed too late for consideration with Chrysler.

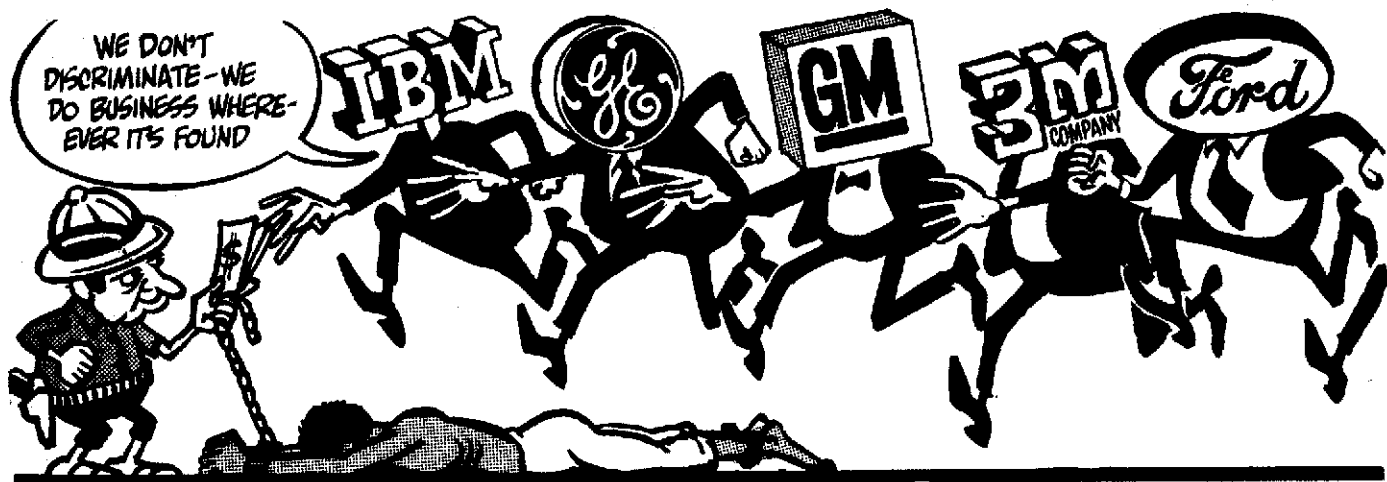
Four companies—GE, IBM, First National City Bank, and Caterpillar Tractor—refused to comply with the resolution, thereby ensuring a proxy contest in which all shareholders would vote on the issue.

Church, argued that the bank's position paper provided no concrete data on wages, benefits, the racial composition of the staff, or the laws affecting Citibank in South Africa.

Explaining the position of the American Baptist Church, the filer of the resolution, Joan Jewett argued, "We are also concerned with the method by which corporations earn their income and attempt to balance the benefits which they provide to society with the harm their operations may cause." A representative from Union Theological Seminary also supported the resolution.

The meeting was periodically interrupted by Evelyn Davis, a perennial corporate gadfly, who announced she had recently been to South Africa and found that black South Africans were very well off. "Many of them are wearing coats and ties now," she said.

Caterpillar Tractor Company—Resolutions such as those filed by the Church Project normally receive at most 3% of the votes. The resolution at Caterpillar however received one of the highest votes of the season—7%—with 14% of those voting abstaining. This may partly be explained by the pro votes of a number of large



Resolutions were filed in another category with four companies investing in Namibia—American Metal Climax, Newmont Mining Co., Phillips Petroleum, and Continental Oil—urging them to withdraw from Namibia.

Exxon faced a resolution challenging it to reexamine its decision to invest in Angola, where it has applied for a license to explore for oil offshore.

Finally Mobil Oil Company received a resolution requiring that "it adhere to principles of fair employment in its operations abroad." Copies of these resolutions and the arguments used by the Church Project to support them can be obtained by writing to the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa—1973 (475 Riverside Drive, Room 846, New York, N.Y. 10027). Ask for copies of the Church Project proxy statements. Copies of the corporate disclosures can be obtained by writing to the individual companies.

First National City Bank—When church spokesmen at the FNCB stockholders' meeting urged the bank to fully disclose data on its involvement in South Africa, Citibank replied that its paper "Citibank in South Africa" included as much information as it would supply.

Otto Folin, speaking for the United Presbyterian

institutional investors—e.g., Harvard University and the college teachers pension fund TIAA-CREF.

Sensing the growing opposition, Caterpillar management late in the game indicated it would release its reply to Congressman Charles Diggs' recent questionnaire to any interested shareholder.

In a December 20 letter from Caterpillar to Florence Little of the United Methodist Church, management disclosed some financial data that other companies argued was "confidential data." Caterpillar revealed its investment (net ownership) was \$5.4 million and its profit after taxes \$1 million. It sold \$35.5 million worth of equipment to South Africa.

General Electric—Meeting in Denver on May 25, GE faced an outspoken flock of church challenges. Most eloquent among the speakers was Dr. Zeke Mphahlele, a black South African teaching at the University of Denver. "GE and more than 300 other US corporations have chosen to take advantage of South Africa's red-carpet invitation to exploitation," Mphahlele said. "South Africa is not only a police state, it is increasingly a military police state engaged in steadily mounting armament against the real

and imagined enemies of white domination within and without. The aim of this military establishment is self-sufficiency. Faced with often half-hearted arms embargoes from abroad, they are doing all in their power to encourage both local and international corporations to produce on South African soil both the weapons and the supply network to make this military machine work. General Electric supplies automation and control equipment to the South African steel industry, which lies at the very base of this effort. It invests in nuclear development in a state that aspires to nuclear armaments. It is now supplying 95 percent of South African railway diesel locomotives, and the quick movement of military men and equipment by rail is vital to the white minority's effort to defend itself against the majority and their friends," he argued.

Reginald Jones, GE's chairman, explained that he was a deeply religious man himself. He also said he opposed a minority of shareholders trying to impose its will on the majority. An alert Kenyan in the audience responded that in South Africa a minority was oppressing a majority and this was exactly what we were opposing. Jones finally replied that GE would disclose information only insofar as it would not threaten GE competitively in South Africa. Pressed to face the fact that many African employees are paid starvation wages, GE's chairman made no reply.

IBM—The floor fight at IBM was lengthy and vocal. The Episcopal Church, the sponsor of the resolution, had a particular "grudge" against IBM, since that company had promised to make a full disclosure to shareholders the year before and had backed out of the agreement. The resolution was resubmitted, since a short IBM commentary in its 1972 post-shareholder meeting report only included 25 percent of the information requested. At one point IBM Chairman Cary argued, "We are not in South Africa to foment revolution," to which Episcopal representative Neuhauser replied, "We hope you are not there fomenting repression." Cary angrily retorted that this was a very inappropriate comment. Churchmen argued that IBM equipment sold without restriction in South Africa could be and was being used by the South African Government for repressive purposes.

In the end Cary was also forced to admit that IBM could not be an equal opportunity employer in South Africa.

Phillips Petroleum and Continental Oil—Both Phillips and Conoco faced resolutions that would have required them to withdraw from Namibia, where they have recently begun exploring as part of a consortium. Paul Neuhauser, Professor of Law at the University of Iowa, represented the Episcopal Church. Neuhauser explained to stockholders the concession given to the companies. "The Republic of South Africa has no legal right to grant this concession. It is not the legal government of Namibia. It is a usurper and recognized as such by virtually all the governments in the world.

"Do not remain in Namibia. Do not pay taxes and royalties to an illegal, racist occupying power. Follow the lead of other corporations, such as Gulf and Phelps Dodge, that have declined to become involved in bolstering South Africa's position in Namibia. Do not provide an additional economic incentive for South Africa to remain in Namibia," he urged.

At Phillips, Neuhauser ironically urged management "to support President Nixon," since the US government

publicly discourages investment in Namibia.

Al Baugh, a black American Baptist representing 59,000 shares of his church's stock, stated, "What is happening in Southern Africa is no matter of idle curiosity for American churches or for millions of black Americans who feel a growing sense of solidarity with our African brothers and sisters."

The resolution at both Phillips and Conoco received approximately 4.5 percent of the vote, with 4.6 percent abstaining at Phillips. Again, the votes of large institutionalized investors such as the Ford Foundation made an impact in the vote size.

Clark Clifford, who sits on the Phillips board, was questioned on whether he supported this management decision.

American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining Co.—AMAX's stockholders' meeting was the most blatant in terms of the management's disregard for the resolutions. Chaired by Ian MacGregor, the meeting dwelt at length on normal items of the corporation's business. When the church speakers rose to make their appeal, MacGregor referred to them as a "parade" and quipped, "When can we get back to the company's real business?"

San Njuoma, President of the South-West African Peoples Organization, made a polite and reasoned appeal to stockholders. Elizabeth Landis, international legal expert on Namibia, Sean Gervasi, economist from Oxford University, and Bob Miller, of the United Presbyterians, followed Miller read a statement by Colin Winter, the exiled Anglican Bishop of Damaraland. In it Winter stated, "We are at present powerless to remove AMAX and Newmont from assisting in plundering the peoples of Namibia. We do not accept their excuses and we accuse them of being among the bandits of the twentieth century."

MacGregor promised at the meeting that a full report about Tsumeb would be published for shareholders. As yet that report has not seen the light of day.

Similar arguments were raised at the Newmont meeting. Speaking from the floor, Dr. Howard Schomer, of the United Church of Christ, argued that Newmont should apply equal opportunity employment principals in its Namibian operations. Speaking for the United Church resolution, Schomer explained that over \$1 billion had been taken from Tsumeb over the last twenty-four years and only \$8.7 million had gone into wages for workers.

Exxon—The challenge to Exxon was one of the most solidly grounded of the season. Exxon had applied to Portugal to explore offshore Angola. Any taxes or royalties would obviously strengthen Portugal as it fights against the liberation movements to keep its hold on the colonies. Exxon did not deny this reality but pleaded for an understanding that the overriding factor of the energy crisis made such exploration necessary.

Speaking against the Exxon Angolan investment was Mustafa Sam of the Organization of African Unity. "We are not against companies investing in Africa. But we feel that it is not opportune for Exxon to invest in Angola while the territory is still occupied by Portugal by rule of force.

"I do not think any of you would like to touch any profit made by a corporation which engages itself in the trade of human blood. Yet this is what the labor situation in Angola is tantamount to. Africa has its eyes on you this morning," Sam warned.

Larry Henderson, recently returned after twenty-two years as a missionary in Angola, explained that Angolan "Minute Men" are fighting at this very moment for independence. He explained that the cry would go out "the British are coming" or "Exxon is coming," which would encourage the Portuguese to stay in Angola.

President Grospron, of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, issued a statement urging Exxon to stay out of Angola. The resolution was also supported by the Ford Foundation, which voted 500,000 shares for it.

One interesting aspect to the Exxon meeting was the nomination of Dr. Neto, head of MPLA, to the Exxon board accompanied by a speech explaining that Exxon had made its decision without consulting any black Angolans. Since MPLA had been accepted by the UN as representing the aspirations of Angolans, Neto's name was put forth as an appropriate nomination.

Mobil—Mobil faced a resolution sponsored by the United Church of Christ urging it to "adhere to principles of fair employment in its operations abroad." While a modest and reasonable resolution, Mobil management still opposed it on the grounds that it might be against South African law. In fact, the resolution would only have pressed for affirmative action programs within South African law—e.g., raise wages. Even such an undemanding resolution as this was opposed by Mobil.

Johannesburg skyline.



Conclusion—It is unclear at this stage what the flurry of church stockholder activity on Southern Africa has accomplished. At the least, the demonstrations and leafletting have continued to raise public consciousness about US investment in Southern Africa. It has put companies on notice that their activities in Southern Africa are being carefully monitored. The embarrassment of US companies in paying starvation wages has pushed some of them to raise workers wages over the Minimum Effective Level (approximately \$150 a month, which allows an average family to cover basic human needs). It has created publicity within South Africa and has been one small catalyst in the growing dissatisfaction with labor conditions there. But it is recognized that there are many other ways to fight for majority rule and black control, and that higher wages within the flexible and well

controlled alliance of corporate and white South African power will not lead to political power and a black government.

What is clear is that the battle between the cross and the corporation will continue. Church actions are likely to proliferate in the future rather than decline.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR TO SUPPORT OAU

The International Labour Organization based in Geneva has extended recognition to the liberation movements from "Portuguese" Africa. A Committee headed by representatives from India and Finland and including trade union and employer participants has been delegated to meet with the OAU to work out the legal problems involved. (*Agence France Presse*, March 2, 1973).

NURSES APPLY PRESSURE

At an international conference in Mexico the International Council of Nurses voted to expel the South African Nursing Association unless Blacks were allowed to serve on its board. The resolution, pushed by the Dutch and Swedish delegations, granted the South African group until January 1, 1975 to comply with the principle of non-discrimination. The SANA tried to show how it had increased job opportunities for "non-whites" in the nursing field. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 19; *Times of Zambia*, May 16, 1973).

SHARPEVILLE REMEMBERED

Sharpeville commemorations in 1973 included special statements by the Secretary General of the United Nations and Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, E.O. Ogbu of Nigeria, at the Security Council meeting in Panama. Ambassador Ogbu of Nigeria called on the Council to act on the South Africa issue, and warned Latin American nations not to "fall prey to the manoeuvres of the racist regime [of South Africa] . . . lest those 69 men, women and children shot in cold blood in Sharpeville died in vain. . . ." Statements were also made at the New York UN Headquarters. In a more active commemoration, New Zealand longshoremen went on a one day strike, and in Kenya 300 students marched through the streets of Nairobi. Anti-Apartheid movement people in London marched to the South African Embassy and petitioned for the release of SA political prisoners. (*Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents*, No. 7/73, April, 1973; *Times of Zambia*, March 22, 1973).

ENGLISH STUDENTS OCCUPIED WITH SA

When students at Manchester University heard that the school had referred the issue of South African investments to a committee, 700 of them occupied a building and held a teach-in on Southern Africa. Two-thirds of the University's stock is in corporations with SA holdings, and members of the University Council are directors of these companies as well. Other student protests on the investment issue have occurred at York University and the Welsh college in Bangor.

At Bristol University, an educational venture on South Africa hit home when whites were treated as if they were South African Blacks through the posting of "Whites Only" posters and similar segregationist acts.

A British National Union of Students conference in early April passed a number of resolutions on Southern Africa including a call for the release of the "Pretoria Six", support for the anti-Portuguese "End the Alliance Campaign" of June-July, and condemnation of the banning of black and white students in SA. The meeting heard speakers from the PAIGC, ANC, Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine.

FRELIMO, ANC, and PAIGC reps spoke at a large meeting at the University of London in late March, while a month earlier there was a conference on "Rhodesia after Pearce—Freedom or Betrayal" at which Didymus Mutasa, a former Zimbabwean detainee spoke along with other organizational spokespeople.

ANNUAL MEETINGS GET REACTIONS IN ENGLAND

At the annual meetings of several British companies, the directors had to react to the recent *Guardian* exposes of their South African policies. (See Economics). Lord Stokes, Chairman of British Leyland, was forced to admit that his company had in fact sold Land Rovers to the SA defense forces, but claimed that workers in Leyland's South African plants were among the best treated. When the *Guardian* write up showed the existence of sub-standard wages, British workers in Leyland plants joined in the growing protest. Five out of twenty protesters were removed from the Barclays Bank meeting.

BRITISH WORKERS BOYCOTT FRUIT

British members of the International Transport Workers joined with Swedish and other workers to boycott the landing of South African fruit in solidarity with underpaid fellow workers in South Africa. Apparently Danish and French dockers supported the boycott.

BRITISH CHURCHES REVIEW POLICIES

The British Council of Churches, meeting in April, considered whether to establish a new body to act for the different denominations represented in presenting their cases regarding investments in Southern Africa to company boards. The overwhelming desire of the churchmen was to continue positive action against apartheid, but there was considerable debate over the best course of action. Many churchmen present questioned the position advocated by the World Council of Churches, a total withdrawal of investments from companies operating in or dealing with Southern Africa. There appeared to be greater support for retaining these holdings and using them to influence policy, such as related churches in the US have done for several years now.

The argument for the latter was that steady and gradual change through companies using black labor alone would reduce the risk of a bloody revolution, while total withdrawal of investments, and therefore of influence over the companies' policies, increased the likelihood of a holocaust. (*Guardian*, London, April 12, 1973)

However, the director of the World Council's Program to Combat Racism, Dr. Baldwin Sjollema, said in Oslo earlier in April that the improvement of wages by British companies was not the answer to the oppression of black South Africans. "We are not asking our member churches nor the churches in the United Kingdom to sell their shares in companies operating in Southern Africa," Sjollema said, "but we are asking them to use their

influence to press companies to withdraw from Southern Africa." (*Guardian*, London, April 2, 1973)

CITY COUNCILS ACT

Three city councils in England acted recently on the Southern African issue, with Hammersmith City Council selling its De Beers mining stock worth \$25,000, Lambeth stopping investments in companies which pay below the Poverty Datum Line, and Camden boycotting sale of South African and Portuguese goods.

NO MORE AND FUN AND GAMES

A British magazine, *Time Out*, has ended its former policy of advertising tours to South Africa. The Architectural Association of England will withdraw investments from companies in South Africa, while also contacting the Royal Institute of British Architecture about its decision to continue links with South Africa.

COFFEE BOYCOTT PERKS UP

A coffee boycott has now been launched in England, adding to the pressure in Holland and Canada against one of Angola's primary exports. The North London Haslemere Group, with church and community participation, initiated the coffee boycott, and when Nestles company (which uses Angolan beans for 8 per cent of its coffee) refused to negotiate, decided to concentrate boycott on major retailers.

A ROYAL HEARING

Prince Philip was met with demonstrators who declared that he would be continually approached on his planned trip to Portugal in June commemorating the 600 year British-Portuguese alliance. Philip, it is reported, said to the protestors, "You don't have to shout, I've got the message." Does he?

(Sources for this section: *Anti-Apartheid News*, London, April, May, 1973; *The New Internationalist* (London), March, 1973; *Guardian*, April 23, 1973)

AAM LAUNCHES ANTI-CORPORATE PROGRAM

No new investments, an end to European recruitment, no loans, and the continued exposure of corporate practices in South Africa made up some of the general planks of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's (AAM) new drive on British economic involvement. The AAM issued calls to university, church, trade union, and municipal bodies to act, and to sell shares in companies investing in South Africa. There have already been moves in a number of places, including the Anglican church council in reference to Rio Tinto Zinc and Consolidated Gold, and by two Catholic bodies which sold shares in Consolidated.

One political rationale which has been adopted by some is that increases in wages granted by British firms in South Africa will result in a reduced profit margin so as to eventually force the withdrawal of the company. But the African National Congress has called for the total withdrawal of all investments and the end to emigration, saying simply that "the investor is the ally of our oppressors" and that other campaigns (i.e. for better wages, etc.) simply delay "real change" in apartheid. Corporations only increase wages out of fear to maintain their privileged position. (Statement by Reg September, ANC Representative/Western Europe, *Anti-Apartheid News*, May, 1973).

The "Second Annual Trade Union Conference" of the AAM was held and attended by 16 trade union groups who heard speakers from the Movement, the South African Council of Trade Unions, FRELIMO, the father of one of the "Pretoria Six," and others. The conference called for more shop floor action on Southern Africa including internal education, the sale of stock in the 20 or so largest and key British investors, and discouragement of emigration to SA. Emphasis was placed on building workers' consciousness of working class situations in Southern Africa. The white Trade Union Council of South Africa's (TUCSA) invitation to the TUC of Britain to visit SA was seen as precarious. (*Anti Apartheid News*, May, 1973)

HOLLAND NEWS

The Angola Comite has challenged the Dutch foreign minister's denial of the use of Dutch Fokker Friendship planes in the "Portuguese" colonies, asking him to investigate the German and Portuguese press reports that the Mozambique airline DETA contracts Fokkers to the military. (*NRC-Hadelsblad*, Holland, March 12, 1973). The Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands held an anti-emigration conference in Amsterdam with exhibitions including an effigy of Vorster. (*Sechaba*, London, May, 1973). The Council of the Amsterdam Free University is contemplating a reconsideration of its links with Potchefstroom University in South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973). A group which has worked on raising issues about "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries recently held a "Dutch World Shop" game during which one could throw rotten South African oranges at a map of South Africa, and receive as a prize an "uncontaminated" orange if one hit the mark. (*Times of Zambia*, May 17, 1973).

Barend Schullema, Secretary of the Netherlands Anti Apartheid Committee gives the effigy of Vorster a cautious glance at their exhibition



INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONDEMNS CABRAL ASSASSINATION

The International Trade Union of Agricultural Forestry and Plantation Workers sent a telegram of public protest to the United Nations on January 26, 1973 condemning the "villainous assassination of Amilcar Cabral by agents of Portuguese colonialism." The Trade Union demanded sanctions against Portugal and a UN condemnation of the terror policy of the colonialists. (UN Press Release, April 10 1973)

DENMARK NEWS

The Danish Government has ordered an investigation of wages paid to Danish-South African firms in reaction to the *Guardian* article which cited two Danish firms as paying below the Poverty Datum Line. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 31, 1973). (For British reaction to the *Guardian* article, see economics section). The Danish Fur Center fired its temporary workers in fear of internal protest over the sale of karakul (persian lamb) fur. More protests have occurred at the forum in Copenhagen. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, May, 1973).

CONFERENCES IN GERMANY AND ITALY

Eighty action groups ranging from Christian student groups to socialist and communist organizations met in early January in Dortmund, West Germany. It was decided to develop campaigns against German companies, such as Krupp, Siemens, and AEG-Telefunken, which are heavily involved in Southern Africa. (*World Federation of Democratic Youth News*, Budapest, February, 1973).

In Italy there was a conference of political, student, and union groups with representatives of MPLA, PAIGC, and the President of FRELIMO, Samora Machel. There were marches in the streets of Rome, and a general affirmation of liberation movement support. A permanent support committee may be established in Italy. (Radio Free Portugal, March 27, 1973).

NEW GROUPS IN AFRICA AND EUROPE

An Austrian Committee for Angola, Mozambique, and Guine has been established in Salzburg, while in Zambia there is a new Anti-Apartheid Movement with offices at the Lusaka Liberation Center. (*Arbeiterzeitung*, Austria, April 10; *Times of Zambia*, May 2, 1973).

PROTEST DOWN UNDER

Australian activists have demanded that the Rhodesia Information Office in Sydney be closed, and protestors associated with the "Alternative Rhodesian Information Service" occupied the office after there was apparent federal government hesitation to simply shut the New South Wales office down.

A bomb exploded at the South African Consulate in Wellington, New Zealand, recently. (*Times of Zambia*, March 30, May 4, 1973).

AFRICAN AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Ghana plans to establish a \$150,000 fund for the OAU Liberation Committee, while the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar has given 12,000 uniforms to FRELIMO. President Nimeri of the Sudan has offered military facilities to the liberation movements, although in a recent interview he said that unity among them was more important than groups setting up "governments in exile." (*Zambia Daily Mail*, March 7 and May 8, 1973; *Radio Zanzibar*, March 17, 1973).

CANADIAN POLICY CRITICIZED

Canada's increasing trade, military, and diplomatic links with Southern Africa are the focus of an article in *Canadian Forum*, March, 1973. The author John Saul calls for efforts to modify present policy. Analysis of Canada's role is often confused by the country's liberal image. For example, Canada just gave \$74,000 to the UN education fund for Southern Africans and \$10,000 to the UN Trust Fund—UN organizations to which the US has not contributed in many years. (*Globe, and Mail*, Toronto, March 26, 1973).



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