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Front Cover:

Mine workers protest at stockholder meeting of the Southern Co.
[photo: Earl Dotter]

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feature:

UNITED MINE WORKERS OPPOSE SOUTH AFRICAN COAL

By DON STILLMAN

[Reprinted from the United Mineworkers Journal, June 1-15, 1974.]

Seven years ago Cliff Pierson had a good job working in the iron ore mines that supplied the big steel companies around Birmingham, Ala. The pay was decent, the work interesting and the future seemed bright.

Then, suddenly, Cliff Pierson was out of a job. Instead of mining the ore in nearby Jefferson County, the companies began importing it from Venezuela, a South American country thousands of miles away.

Pierson, like hundreds of other unemployed ore miners, eventually became a coal miner. And again the future seemed secure because of the growing demand across the country for energy produced from coal.

But now Pierson is worried about his job and so are many of the 8,000 UMWA miners who work in Alabama. The reason: a major utility company is planning to begin importing 2.5 million tons of coal from South Africa.

"I've been a victim before," Pierson says. "When they shut down the ore mines and started bringing the ore in from South America, I was out in the cold. Now it looks like it could happen again with this South African coal."

For the moment, Pierson and most other Alabama miners aren't in immediate danger of being laid off because of the Southern Co.'s purchase of coal from South Africa. But the move has sent shock waves throughout UMWA District 20 and has caused a massive effort now underway to block the coal from being imported.

"We want that coal stopped pure and simple," UMWA President Arnold Miller said. "It's an outrage that in a country with billions of tons of low sulfur coal under the ground that the Southern Co. would go out and contract for coal from a foreign country more than 9,000 miles away."

Miller, in a letter to Southern Co. chairman Alvin Vogtle, urged the company to void its agreement to import the South African coal and explore in detail the apparent availability of low sulfur coal in Alabama. The UMWA president also has asked Alabama Gov. George Wallace to support the union's efforts to see that the South African coal does not come in through the state-owned docks in Mobile, Ala.

The first shipment now is reportedly to arrive there about July 15 from South Africa. The Southern Co.,

which owns Gulf Power, Alabama Power, Georgia Power, Mississippi Power and the Southern Electric Generating Co., has contracted for 500,000 tons of coal from South Africa this year. Southern has contracted for 920,000 in 1975 and 1,050,000 in 1976.

The company claims it was unable to purchase low sulfur coal in the U.S. that can meet the 1975 air pollution control requirements in Florida where it is to be burned in Gulf Power Co.'s generating plants in Panama City and Pensacola.

One of those plants, the Crist Steam Plant Unit 7, was just completed last August, but the company failed to install adequate scrubber systems and other technology that would allow the burning of medium sulfur coal. Southern Co. claims that such equipment does not exist, although it apparently is being installed elsewhere.

Increased demand for coal has created a tight market, but company sources now say that supplies of low sulfur coal are available although at prices double or triple what they were last year.

One top Alabama coal official told the Journal that "plenty of low sulfur coal exists, if the Southern Co. or any other utility is willing to pay the price."

"In my opinion, and I've been in the coal business all my life, there's plenty of coal right here in Alabama that is available," he said.

Another company official told the Journal that "there's no question that coal of the low sulfur variety is available."

He said Southern may be fearful of driving up the purchase price for the bulk of U.S. coal it purchases from its regular suppliers. "They probably don't want to disrupt the decent prices they get for about 90 per cent of their coal by being forced to bid higher for the last 10 per cent," he said. "By going outside and buying South African coal they keep their regular supply and prices stable."

In addition to the availability of low sulfur coal being produced right now, other company officials in Alabama indicate that even greater quantities could be provided if the Southern Co. was willing to sign long-term contracts that could lead to the opening of new mines and expansion of existing mines.

U.S. Bureau of Mines figures indicate that Alabama has 2,045,500,000 tons of deep minable low sulfur coal and 33,000,000 of stripable low sulfur coal. Most of it is within 200 miles of the power plants that plan to burn the coal imported from South Africa.

In the eastern U.S., Bureau of Mines figures prove that

about 15,829,850,000 tons of deep minable low sulfur coal exist and about 724,000,000 of strippable low sulfur coal exist.

Nevertheless, Southern Co. officials still claim they intend to try to bring coal into Mobile next month. A company spokesman told the *Journal* that the coal has not been loaded aboard ship in South Africa yet. It reportedly will take about 30 days for the coal to reach Mobile after it is loaded. The Mannesman Pipe and Steel Corp. of New York City, made the sales arrangements between Southern and the South African operators.

If that coal does arrive at Mobile, it appears clear that it will have a welcoming committee of thousands of angry coal miners. Just days after UMWA members learned of the South Africa deal, more than 90 per cent of the 8000-man district walked off the job in protest.

The protest occurred May 22, the day that stockholders and the board of directors of the Southern Co. held its annual meeting in Birmingham. About 500 miners established a picket line around the Kahier Plaza Hotel where the meeting was held. They carried signs protesting the South African coal imports.

Pinkerton guards employed by Southern swarmed around the area as did Southern Co. plainclothesmen who carried walkie-talkies, cameras and portable videotape equipment. They attempted to take photographs of the picketing miners during the six-hour work action.

Tom Youngblood, a UMWA miner at Mary Lee #1 in L.U. 1881, was allowed into the Southern Co. stockholders' meeting as a guest of representatives of the Georgia Power Project, a group opposed to the South African coal imports which had stock proxies entitling them to be admitted.

After hearing board chairman Alvin Vogtle, Jr., tell the shareholders about the "ever present need for greater profits," Youngblood finally got the floor and told the executives and stockholders that the UMWA "is going to fight this South African coal 100 per cent."

"You want to know how to get low sulfur coal?" Youngblood asked. "Well, I'll tell you how. Go out and open up some new mines. Don't put us out of our jobs for miners in South Africa who only make \$66 a month."

"You people are always looking down for a nickel or dime," he said. "If you owe your allegiance to this country, then get your coal from it. Deep down in your hearts you know what is right. We want you to do it."

The day before the picketing of Southern's annual meeting, District 20 officials and delegates from UMWA local unions in Alabama made the rounds at the State Capitol seeking support from officials for UMWA efforts to stop the South African imports.

Sam Littlefield, District 20 president, Frank Clements, IEB member and Lloyd Baker, secretary-treasurer, led the lobbying group that met with Jere Beasley, Alabama Lt. Governor, and William Baxley, attorney general.

Assisted by State Senator Robert Wilson and Representative Bobby Tom Crowe, the UMWA members told Beasley and Baxley that the union expects the state to act to protect the jobs of Alabama miners. The docks

at Mobile, where the coal is expected to land, are operated by the state government.

Littlefield later met with Alabama Gov. George Wallace and asked for his help.

"We're ready to do just about anything we have to do to stop this coal from coming in here to Alabama," Littlefield told the *Journal*. "We are seeking the full support of the longshoremen's union in Mobile and we are confident they will stand together with us."

A group of miners is expected to meet soon with local union officials of the International Longshoremen's Association in Mobile to explain fully the issues involved in the UMWA's opposition to the South African coal imports.

By taking a strong stand against the South African coal imports, the UMWA is joining with a broad coalition of other labor unions, church groups and social activists opposed to South African policies.

In addition to saving the jobs of UMWA members, the union is opposed to the import deal because of the slave conditions under which that coal is produced in South Africa. Black miners there are brought in from remote tribal areas and forced to work as conscript labor.

Black miners in South Africa work without union protection and earn only \$3 per day. They are forced to live in concentration camp conditions with 20 or more crowded into a single room sleeping on concrete slabs. The men are kept separated from their wives and children for months at a time.

South Africa's government officially enforces strict separation between white and black persons there. The UMWA has joined with other American unions and various international labor organizations to condemn those practices.

The UMWA was one of the first in this country to admit black members from its inception and to oppose company efforts to divide the union by turning brother against brother. Richard Davis, a black miner, was elected to the UMWA's International Executive Board with the highest vote of the convention in 1896.

While other unions barred black members in the early 1900's, the UMWA had more than 40,000. Despite these moves, however, vicious discriminatory practices were common on the part of most coal operators for most of the UMWA's history.

"It doesn't matter if these people in South Africa are black, green or purple," Earl Askew of L.U. 5933 in Traffors, Ala. said. "It's slave coal no matter what their color. We're a union state and we don't need any slave labor coal brought in here."

"Slavery in the South went out a long time ago," Howard Tedford of L.U. 1500 in Adger, Ala. said. "We don't believe in slavery. Slave labor in Africa is real cheap and it's my information that this coal is produced under slave labor conditions."

"Our people feel pretty much the same way about this importing of coal from South Africa: one ton or fifty million tons, it's got to be stopped. Not tomorrow, but today." ■

special:

GUINEA-BISSAU RECEIVES ITS FIRST AMBASSADORS

by stephanie urdang

In most countries the presenting of credentials by new ambassadors is only a formality. For the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau such a ceremony on May 10th was a momentous occasion. It was a milestone in the 13-year old struggle against Portuguese colonialism, a statement that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, proclaimed just seven and a half months earlier and now recognized by 86 countries, is a reality; it was a reaffirmation by the people of Guinea-Bissau that the country belongs to them, and not to the Portuguese Government.

Some two weeks after the coup in Portugal, five Ambassadors presented their credentials to Luis Cabral, President of the Council of State, in the liberated area of

the South Front. The Ambassadors were from the Republic of Guinea, Algeria, the Soviet Union, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

By chance I was in the area at the time, having spent three weeks in the South Front, and attended the day of ceremony and celebration. The Ambassadors were able to drive to the base for the ceremony. This road was opened a year ago, after Guilege, a major Portuguese base which straddled the road, fell to PAIGC in May 1973—a major PAIGC victory.

"It is a historic occasion" commented Victor Saude Maria, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs with pride. "We are the first liberation movement anywhere that has been able to do this." Later when talking about the coup—and there was much talk of the coup—he said that PAIGC had been a catalyst for it. "It would not have happened if Spinola had not been losing the war against us."

At mid-day the ambassadors were presented in turn to Luis Cabral. Standing at his side were Carmen Pereira, Vice-President of the National Assembly, Victor Saude Maria, Foreign Commissioner and Nino Vieira, head of the Armed Forces. Each Ambassador read a statement, Luis Cabral replied and after about an hour the ceremony was over.

Following a grand banquet in a forest clearing, a meeting was held with the population. A few representatives from many of the villages in the South came to greet the Ambassadors, most walking for many, many hours to reach the base. I arrived at the meeting place ahead of the Ambassadors and walked into an atmosphere that was alive and joyful, electric and contagious. The bright flags and colorful dress of the women added dynamism to the occasion. Women were dancing energetically to the sound

Attending the meeting of the population to welcome the new ambassadors are left to right: the Ambassador from the Republic of Guinea, Luis Cabral, and the Ambassador from Algeria. Behind him are the Rumanian and Yugoslav Ambassador.



Stephanie Urdang

of a drum, joined enthusiastically by one of the male Party responsables. As the Ambassadors entered the clearing, led by Luis Cabral, the crowd stood and loudly clapped its welcome. The dancing stopped when a group of young pioneers (the organization for youth aged 10 to 15) marched in singing the Pioneers' song. Speeches followed from Carmen Pereira, Luis Cabral and the Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea. After the meeting the crowd surged forward, singing and dancing, clapping and laughing, carrying painted wooden replicas of airplanes, bazookas, guns, and continued their festivities late into the evening. I watched transfixed, and as I watched I thought there is no doubt that Guinea-Bissau belongs to the people, its people.

Reaction to the Coup

The effects of the coup continued to be noticed. One of the most striking in terms of the official Portuguese attitude to Guinea-Bissau were the broadcasts that followed the credential-giving ceremony. Up until then the radio announcers on Portuguese Radio Bissau had continued to use the words "terrorists" and "bandits" when referring to the guerillas, the news well flavored with anti-PAIGC propaganda. Suddenly the same voices reported on the news that "Comrade Luis Cabral" received credentials of five ambassadors in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau. From then on the tone of the broadcasts changed. At the beginning of the negotiations, the announcers spoke of "our delegation in London", of "our Party", and referred to the delegates as comrades or brothers. I myself heard the broadcasts peppered with "Camarada Gil Fernandes", quoted often because he was acting as liaison between PAIGC and the press. One militant commented to me two weeks later, "I don't know if I am listening to Radio Bissau or PAIGC radio any longer!"

When the first news of the coup broke I was inside the South Front. My interpreter came to me with an excited air, but told me almost casually. Casually no doubt because of the scepticism with which the news was initially greeted by militants around me. Disbelief was often expressed that this would have any effect on their struggle—knowing that too much hope could undermine it. As it became clear that it certainly would have an effect, excitement grew. But caution was never dispelled. The radio—always closely listened to for news—became a magnet. They were constantly scanned for news in Portuguese or French—and English for me. The coup was constantly discussed and the political commissars explained it to the population at village meetings I attended. But always the feeling was expressed that the struggle continues. "We know Spínola" said a military commander from the East Front to me, "We know Spínola very well. We do not trust him. He is extremely shrewd, and we cannot place much hope in what he promises us".

PAIGC began negotiations—just one month after the coup—feeling strongly that they had, and have, the upper hand. They will continue fighting if necessary. But will the Portuguese? One heard many stories about how the Portuguese soldiers inside the country were showing support for the PAIGC. And that the likelihood of them being prepared to take up arms and fight again seems slim.



Stephanie Urdang

For instance prior to the negotiations, an intensive letter-writing campaign was launched to family and friends in Portugal, telling them to keep up the pressure to end the wars—that they did not want to fight any longer. They sent some copies of the letters to PAIGC in Conakry.

Cape Verde openly supports PAIGC

PAIGC was also very encouraged by the response to the coup in the Cape Verde islands. A military commander, a Cape Verdian himself, told me that PAIGC had worked underground for many, many years. But because the work had to be clandestine it was impossible to really gauge the extent of the support for the Party. The reaction to the coup dispelled any possible doubts. The demonstrations in support of PAIGC were overwhelming, leaving them with little doubt that the people of Cape Verde support the struggle and feel themselves linked with the mainland.

Although there was much feeling in the air that independence was likely, few expressed to me the feeling—unless flippantly—that independence was around the corner. This was reflected in a comment by a PAIGC doctor. Part of the hospital in Boke, the administrative center in the Republic of Guinea near the border, had been destroyed by the first storms of the rainy season. Should it be rebuilt now in Boke?, or should this wait until independence for construction inside? Dr. Boal felt it should be built in Boke. "We won't be independent for at least two years," he said, "meanwhile we need the hospital".

The possibility of a countercoup cannot be ruled out. Nonetheless PAIGC remains firm on the principles for negotiating—i.e. recognition of the State of Guinea-Bissau, and the right of independence for the Cape Verde islands, and granting the same right to Mozambique and Angola. PAIGC can wait. But time is not on the side of Portugal where the pressure to end the wars as soon as possible continues. Maybe the next few months will be decisive.

Stephanie Urdang, a member of our collective, has recently returned from a 4 week visit to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau. In the next two issues of the magazine we will publish reports on her visit, which focused on the role of women in the struggle and their own struggle for liberation.

south africa

SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: POSTMORTEM

For the first time in South African history a white man may be prosecuted for inciting racial hostility. The case grows out of the election campaign and is being brought against Jaap Marais by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Natal University Professor Barend van Niekerk. Marais is deputy leader of the extreme right wing Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP). At a pre-election rally in Pretoria, Marais declared, "I would rather be accused a thousand times of being a racist than of being a traitor to the cause of the white man. . . . If the white man doesn't wake up in time, the Government will give the whole of South Africa to the *kafirs*." At this, the crowd took up the cry, "*Kafirs, kafirs. . .*" (*Times*, London, April 20, 1974)

Buthelezi and van Niekerk have brought charges, but it remains to be seen if the Attorney General will prosecute. Nevertheless, the fact that the case has come up is indicative of the mood of a small, but vocal, opposition to the Nationalists in South Africa. Offering a clearer alternative to apartheid than the old opposition United Party, the new voices are calling for "non-racialism" in South Africa. Seven members of the Progressive Party which holds this view will be in Parliament. Until now Helen Suzman has been the only Progressive M.P. The Progressives see themselves as a new kind of opposition, standing between Afrikaner nationalist rule and black nationalist demands, and tempering both (*Observer*, London, April 28, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 11, 1974)

However, it is important not to overestimate the significance of the Progressive victory. The Nationalists increased the seats they hold, winning back most of the seats lost in 1970. (Nationalists: 123 seats, United Party: 41 seats, Progressive Party: 7 seats). Prime Minister Vorster polled more votes than any other candidate in the election. Further, the right wing HNP has been virtually eliminated. Thus Vorster and his party are in a strong position to carry out their policy of "separate development."

Before the election, Minister of the Interior, Dr. Mulder, used a significant metaphor to explain the policy of setting up tribal Bantustans for South Africa's 16 million Africans. He said, "I would prefer to live in a paddock next to a fenced bull than walk around with a black mamba in my bosom." (*Times*, London, March 29,

1974) The question is one of alternatives. The Nationalist leaders are aware that South Africa could not win a battle against African guerrilla invaders if those guerrillas had the support of the masses of Africans. Implementing the Bantustan program is the Nationalists' way of "fencing the bull." They are counting on the Bantustans to create a class of Africans who have a vested interest in the policy of apartheid, and who would resent any African guerrilla movement that sought radical change.

But, the recognition that there is an intimate connection between military success and the loyalties of the majority sounds like a lesson learned recently in Portugal. In fact, far more significant for the future of South Africa than the election on April 24, was the Portuguese coup on April 25. (*Guardian*, London, April 26, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, 1974) (See *Southern Africa*, June, 1974 for initial reporting on the election.)

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET

Finance: Dr. N. Diederichs

Justice, Police & Prisons: Mr. J. T. Kruger

Defence: Mr. P. W. Botha

Tourism and Indian Affairs: Mr. J. C. Heunis

Foreign Affairs: Dr. H. Muller

Economic Affairs: Senator O. P. F. Horwood

Labor, Posts, and Telecommunications: Mr. M. Viljoen
Bantu Administration & Development and Education: Mr. M. C. Botha

Transport: Mr. S. L. Muller

Water Affairs and Forestry: M. S. P. Botha

Information and the Interior: Dr. C. P. Mulder

National Education, Social Welfare & Pensions: Senator J. P. van der Spuy

Planning the Environment and Statistics: Mr. J. J. Loots

Public Works and Community Development: Mr. A.H. du Plessis

Mines, Immigration, Sport and Recreation: Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof

Agriculture: Mr. H. Schoeman

Health, Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs: Dr. S. W. van der Merwe

(*Star*, Johannesburg, May 4, 1974)

KRUGER: NEW MINISTER OF JUSTICE

South Africa has a new minister of Justice, and as the Johannesburg *Star* reports, the Minister of Justice has "almost awesome powers over individuals . . . over their protection, their security, and their ultimate detention." Kruger speaks for himself about police and political activity:

"I personally find that, by and large, policemen act in a very fair manner and I think that, to an unbiased person, the policeman's image in general is a good one. . . ."

"We have just had a general election which showed very clearly what our people want. It showed conclusively that they do not want a multiracial setup in this country. They want the Government's multinational approach.

"That being so, anybody who wants to change this approach by any means other than constitutional political

activity must naturally be regarded as a threat to the security of the whole society. Anybody who attempts to change our present society—except within the framework of legitimate political activity—is necessarily doing something that is a threat to security." (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 18, 1974)

VORSTER'S CLAIMS CONTRADICTED

Prime Minister John Vorster, in a recent television interview screened in America, claimed that a person banned under the Suppression of Communism Act could ask for and would be given the reason for the action taken against him. The issue could then be tested in court and the matter could even be taken to the Supreme Court.

Two legal experts in South Africa have exposed this statement as inaccurate. Prof. John Dugard, Head of the International Law Faculty at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, said that the only way that a banning order can be set aside is for the banned person to show that the Minister had acted in bad faith. However, this is impossible in practice since the Minister is not obliged to and seldom does give reasons for the imposition of the restricting orders. The Minister usually responds to such requests by saying that it is not in the public interest to reveal the reason, or merely reiterates that he believes the person concerned is furthering the aims of 'communism'—a term broadly defined by the Act. Another lawyer, Prof. A.S. Mathews pointed out that many people such as trade unionists and members of the now defunct Liberal Party had been banned when they were clearly not and everyone knew they were not communists.

Since the Prime Minister's statement, at least one Johannesburg banned man, a former Anglican Church worker, David de Beer, has received a letter purporting to explain the "reason" for his banning order. In the letter the Minister of Justice wrote:

"The information which induced the Minister to issue the (banning) notices can, in his opinion, not be disclosed without detriment to public policy. Keeping in mind the definition of communism in the act, you should, however, have no difficulty in identifying those aspects of your activities which gave rise to the actions against you" (*Star*, Johannesburg, Apr. 27, 1974.)

Meanwhile, in an apparent reaction to protest from Church leaders throughout the world and South Africa, the government has lifted its ban on Dr. Manas Buthelezi, prominent black Lutheran theologian and pastor, who had been banned since December of 1973. The theologian said that he saw in the government's lifting of the ban "confirmation" that he had never deserved the banning 'in the first place'. (*Washington Post*, May 31, 1974)

Altogether since 1950 over 1200 persons have been banned, but in many cases the restrictions have been lifted or allowed to lapse or the persons concerned have died. Last year alone 73 additional people were served with banning orders. Currently there are over 200 people banned in South Africa. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, April 23, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 27, 1974.)

BANTUSTAN NEWS

Transkei Opposition Rejects "Independence"

As reported in the June *Southern Africa*, the Transkei has asked the South African Government to grant it independence within five years. Prime Minister Vorster welcomed the request. However, according to Joseph Kobo, General Secretary of the opposition Democratic Party of the Transkei, independence could result in economic disaster in the territory. At a time when unemployment is estimated to have reached half-a-million, independence could be regarded as "the second national suicide of the Xhosa people in South Africa's history. . . . Of what use will independence be when the Transkei is still completely dependent on grants from the Republic?" asked Kobo. Kobo charges the South African Government with negligence regarding the development of the Transkei economy and warned that guarantees by the Government are not to be relied upon because promises made in the past have been broken. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 13, 1974)

US Teachers Barred from Tswana Schools

Chief Lukas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has disclosed that the South African Government has refused to allow Americans to teach in his schools. There is a shortage of trained African teachers in the Republic, so the practical need for bringing in outsiders is real. Why not Americans? And why is Mangope not allowed to make his own decisions in his own "homeland?" (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 12, 1974)

BOSS Interferes in Zulu Politics

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu has charged the secret police, the Bureau of State Security or BOSS, with covertly financing his political opponents. According to Buthelezi, \$16,800 was given to a newly formed Zulu political party called Shaka's Spear. The new party will oppose Buthelezi in the Bantustan general election that is coming up soon.

There is some feeling that Buthelezi's outspoken criticism of the Government has caused this action. He is too public a figure for the Government to put him away quietly by banning or imprisoning him. Better to have him defeated in an election.

The leader of Shaka's Spear, Chief Charles Hlengwa, has denied the charge. (*Guardian*, London, May 28, 1974)

Lebowa Claims a Third of the Transvaal

The Lebowa Bantustan has made the most extensive claims for land of any of the Bantustan Governments. The whole of the Central Transvaal, South Africa's important northern province, is being claimed. Lebowa would stretch from Botswana to Mozambique, increase in size from the present 21,000 sq km to 75,000 sq km, and include within its borders a white population estimated at 140,000. The specifics of the claim are found in a report of a select committee of inquiry into the consolidation of

Lebowa, tabled in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly in Seshego by Mr. Collins Ramusi, Minister of the Interior.

Not only will the white South African Government reject the claim, it is likely that it will offend the neighboring Bantustans. Lebowa is asking for land that is already claimed by Gazankulu, Bophthatswana, and the Swazi homeland. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 4, 1974)

ECONOMICS

38 WORKERS KILLED THIS YEAR IN CLASHES

During the first six months of 1974, 38 gold miners were killed by police during demonstrations generally over pay or working conditions. The latest incident occurred in June, resulting in the death of 5 workers and numerous injuries in the Orange Free State.

The latest incident began at the Harmony Mine, when workers demonstrated on June 10 for pay increases. A company offer of a 10 per cent raise was shouted down. Later, police fired on a crowd of protestors, resulted in 4 miners' deaths. Two days later, the scenario was repeated at the near-by Merriespruit Mine, where another miner was shot dead by police.

Both mines are controlled by the Rand Mines group. The late Charles Engelhard, an American capitalist with heavy involvement in South Africa, was once chairman of Rand; but now it is part of the South African Barlow group. It still has heavy U.S. and European capital investment.

Several other incidents at other gold mines have ended in similar tragedy. In May, two Anglo-Vaal mines were struck. And two miners were killed by police. The violent clashes at several Welkom mines in February, where ethnic rivalries resulting in fighting, are also a result of the poor working and living conditions at the mines.

Harry Oppenheimer and other gold mine owners are frequently heard speaking about the dramatic wage increases their companies are paying. Though these raises are less beneficial than they make them sound, it is still important to remember whose blood is paying the price to win them. (AFRICA NEWS, June 17, 1974; *Daily World*, June 26, 1974)

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COUP: TRUE SECURITY MUST BEGIN AT HOME

That's how a *Star* editorial summed up the "real lesson" of the Lisbon coup. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 27, 1974) Certainly, from the South African perspective there is reason to fear repercussions from the fall of the world's last formal colonial empire and the consequent shrinking of barriers between black Africa and the white supremacist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

A *Star* (Johannesburg) article of June 8, 1974, put it bluntly: "No event since World War 2 has accelerated the course of African events and the cause of African nationalism more dramatically than the April 25 coup in Portugal." South Africa was one of the first countries to recognize the new Portuguese regime, and there appears to be little or no attempt to gloss over the clear potential for radical change in Southern Africa that now exists. An independent black government in Mozambique is regarded as inevitable, and Vorster has already expressed South Africa's willingness to cooperate with such a government in the interests of "stability" and "good rule." While the situation in Angola is considered far less clear, it is generally assumed in South Africa that UDI plans among whites there will not materialize and that Angola, with its vast resources and economic potential, will also be governed eventually by majority black rule. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 8, 1974; *Observer*, London, May 26, 1974)

From the South African perspective, Rhodesia's days seem numbered; for while South Africa must contemplate total isolation as a possible consequence of independence for Angola and Mozambique, Rhodesia faces virtual economic and physical entrapment on three sides. It is not at all certain that South Africa is prepared to "rescue" Rhodesia at any cost. In fact, Vorster's government is known to be irritated with Smith for his recent failure to reach a settlement with the moderate African National Council, since it is clear to South Africa that the time for a peaceful resolution of the situation there is fast running out and intensified guerrilla warfare is the only other alternative. (*Guardian*, London, June 7, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 8, 1974)

What the South African Government seems to want above all right now is the prompt formation of "stable" governments in the rest of Southern Africa, be they black



or multi-racial. Conflict and continued guerrilla warfare are not in South Africa's interest, and armed intervention in any of these situations is therefore regarded as increasingly unlikely unless South Africa is directly threatened. While South Africans appear to think they can survive greater isolation, they are less confident about increased turmoil.

SOUTH AFRICA COURTS US THROUGH 'BACK DOOR' CONTACTS AND INTENSIVE PROPAGANDA

If there was any doubt about it, a long article in the *Star* (Johannesburg, June 8, 1974) confirms that Minister of Information Connie Mulder and his hand-picked secretary, Eschel Rhoodie, are vigorously employing "unconventional methods" to make South Africa's Department of Information the "spearhead of the Government's efforts to influence foreign central authorities." According to the article, "all means—fair or foul..." are being used "to break through the international wall of animosity to reach the decision-making and opinion-forming sections of foreign countries" and to influence people's actions. (See US and Southern Africa section.)

That South Africa is currently wooing US support and military involvement should come as no surprise given the visits to the US this year of high-ranking South African government and military officials. (See May and June issues of *Southern Africa*). So far, Black, Church and anti-apartheid groups seeking to expose and oppose the South African attempt to lure the US into a strategic embrace have had no apparent effect on the course of these developments. (*Washington Post*, May 14, 1974)

On a direct public level, South African "information" experts are hard at work on propaganda aimed at "whitewashing apartheid in the minds of huge numbers of influential Americans—including some black Americans." (*Guardian*, London, May 16, 1974) *Guardian* correspondent John Laurence lists booklets such as "Progress Through Separate Development," TV "tourist" spots, travelogues (offered free to movie chains), large press advertisements and free or heavily subsidized vacations in South Africa offered to news and communications media people, as obvious elements of this propaganda campaign. Among the US media people to visit South Africa recently was Moses J. Newson, executive editor of the Afro-American newspapers, who spent three weeks there beginning in late May. (*Washington Afro-American*, May 28, 1974) It is not known whether his visit was subsidized by the South African Government of not.

In May, the *New York Times* saw fit to publish on its Op. Ed. page an article by Mulder (South Africa's Minister of Information and The Interior) entitled "South Africa's Objectives." (*New York Times*, May 14, 1974) Only one letter critical of the Mulder article was printed (May 27) and the *Times* allowed South Africa's senior information officer in New York to respond to this letter. (June 5, 1974) However, the *Times* did not publish letters received from Africa Fund researcher Jennifer Davis and lawyer Joel Carlson, each of which exposed Mulder's propaganda point by point with concrete factual and statistical information.

Zimbabwe

RHODESIA REACTS TO PORTUGAL'S COUP

Rhodesia will be landlocked on the north, east and west, and she will be bordered on all sides but the south by hostile African nations when the Portuguese colonies achieve their independence. The liberation of Mozambique is the greatest threat to white Rhodesia's security because of the vital rail link from Beira to Umtali and the guerrilla warfare along the frontier which would make the entire 800 mile eastern border of Rhodesia vulnerable to penetration from Mozambique. (*New York Times*, June 2, 1974; *Guardian*, London, April 24, 1974; *Observer*, London, April 28, 1974) South Africa would certainly maintain her sanction-breaking trade routes in and out of Rhodesia, and she would send more aid to the regime in its struggle to maintain white rule. In recent talks with Ian Smith, Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa assured Smith of South Africa's help.

Rhodesia's official stance towards the coup is that Portugal is unlikely to make any major changes in Africa that will directly affect Rhodesia. Smith's public statement was that Rhodesia would not interfere in the internal affairs of another nation. Some Rhodesians fear that Portugal may pull her troops out of Mozambique are considered groundless by observers in Rhodesia who remind them that Spinola stressed the need for a military presence. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 27, 1974) Smith has stated several times since UDI that the role of Mozambique is important in the white Rhodesians' ability to contain the "terrorists." Some Rhodesians are hoping for a UDI in Mozambique, but this is highly unlikely. Portugal has 60,000 troops in Mozambique; 40,000 of those are Africans and most of the rest are draftees who are eager to get out of Africa. Without an army to back it up, a Rhodesian-styled UDI is impossible. (*Christian Science Monitor*, May 10, 1974; *New York Times*, May 9, April 26, 1974; *Daily Telegraph*, London, April 27, 1974)

Other Rhodesians see this moment as one in which to make a deal with the Africans to settle the political and economic problems of Rhodesia. Bishop Muzorewa of the African National Council continues to be open to talks with Ian Smith. Muzorewa feels in a stronger position than ever, with increased guerrilla activity and the Portuguese uncertainty, and Smith is receiving pressure from the ultra-right wing. Smith recently sent new settlement proposals to the ANC, offering to increase the number of African seats in the parliament by 6, to a total of 22 out of 72. The ANC central committee totally rejected the proposals, which were basically the same as the 1971 Anglo-Rhodesian ones. (*Guardian*, London, June 3, 1974) Fearing that the ANC would accept the proposals, crowds of Africans in Gwelo stormed buildings and set-up roadblocks in a protest demonstration and were dispersed by police. One man was killed and two were injured. Gwelo was the scene of three days of rioting when the Pearce Commission came in early 1972. (*Guardian*, London, June 5, 1974) The freedom movements in Zimbabwe are no more likely to accept a role in a white dominated government than FRELIMO is



Demonstrations in Gwelo during Pearce Commission visit in 1972

to accept the offered role of a political party in a Portuguese ruled Mozambique. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 10 May, 1974)

LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Rebels Desperate Against Liberators

Rhodesia's costs of war against the liberation movements are rising sharply. The draft has again been extended and benefits to servicemen have been raised. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 13, 1974; *Washington Post*, April 10, 1974) Ian Smith has asked for 11,000 more South Africans to help in the struggle; he denies that these are troops, calling them police. South African police minister, Muller, said 100 more men were just sent to Rhodesia for duty. The Rhodesian defense budget has risen from 9% in 1972-73 to 12% in 1973-74 of the total national budget. (*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, April 11, 1974; *Financial Mail*, South Africa, February 15, 1974)

Two Rhodesian light aircraft were downed in the northeast war zone. A third plane, a Canberra bomber, crashed in April while on anti-guerrilla operations. Guerrillas may have used anti-aircraft missiles for the first time in the war. This brings the total aircraft lost by the Rhodesians to 13 since December, 1972. According to ZANU, a zone of 50,000 square miles has been liberated within Zimbabwe, with a population of about 3 million. (*Zimbabwe News*, April, 1974; *Times*, London, April 27, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 27, 1974)

Cash rewards up to \$US 6,000 will be paid by the Rhodesian government to anyone giving information leading to the death or capture of guerrillas. Pamphlets in English and local languages are being distributed with the details of the scales of rewards for various anti-guerrilla activities. (*Guardian*, London, April 27, 1974)

The first instance of Africans being moved from their homes as a punishment for helping guerrillas occurred when more than 200 were evacuated from the Madziwa

area in the war zone to the Beit Bridge area in the south. (*Nation*, Nairobi, April 7, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, April 6, 1974; *Zimbabwe News*, Lusaka, April, 1974; *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 1974)

Cholera Epidemic in Northeast

ZANU has charged that cholera bacilli were deliberately introduced into the water supply in the northeast of Zimbabwe by the rebel regime of Ian Smith in an effort to impede the war effort. ZANU said the white population was vaccinated last year, but no warning was given to the Africans. The U.S. Committee on Decolonization has condemned the Rhodesian regime and is called on worldwide help to provide cholera vaccine and medical aid through the ZANU office, P.O. Box 2331, Lusaka, Zambia. Smith denied the charges. (*Guardian*, London April 24, 1974; *The Nation*, Nairobi, March 25, 1974)

Print Plant Project

ZANU headquarters in Lusaka plans a printing plant project with related photographic and sound recording equipment to better disseminate information about the struggle and to prepare text books for schools. Financial help is needed to buy equipment at an estimated cost of \$US 54,000. (ZANU Publicity and Information Secretary release, Box 2331 Lusaka, Zambia, May, 1974)

War Casualties

ZANU reports killing 165 enemy troops from November, 1973 to March, 1974, with battles taking place every few days in the areas of Mt. Darwin, Centenary, Sipolili, Madziwa, Dande and Bindura. (*Zimbabwe News*, Lusaka, February, Marcy, 1974) —Salisbury government tallies say more than 280 guerrillas have been killed since the beginning of the "hot war" in December, 1972. (*Washington Post*, April 11, 1974; *Star* Johannesburg, April 20, 1974) White settlers were particularly frightened by a recent killing of a white government official near Bindura, a big nickel mining center only 50 miles from

Salisbury. (*Guardian*, May 29, 1974)

BISHOP DOCUMENTS BRUTALITY

Bishop Donald R. Lamont of the Roman Catholic diocese of Umtali, Rhodesia, and head of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Rhodesia said that brutal intimidation tactics are being used by the Smith regime in an attempt to prevent black villagers from joining or cooperating with the guerrilla forces, which are increasing in strength. He produced documents and photographs to substantiate the claims. The regime's minister of law and order, Lardner Burke, rebuked the claims and said he would not conduct an inquiry on the charges because "there is no evidence before me that would warrant an investigation into the wild and general allegations made against our security forces." The bishop reminded the minister that he had had for some time professional, deliberate, and detailed evidence placed before him by the commission. The bishop stated that the white minority regimes policies differ not in essence, only in degree from those in Nazi Germany. "If I were to entertain a black cardinal in my home, I would be liable to one year's imprisonment," he said. "Moreover, these policies are carried out in the name of 'Christian civilization and the Western way of life.'" The Bishop's efforts were regarded as an effort to promote a State versus Church confrontation, Lardner Burke said. He said he was amazed that the Bishop did not condemn the "terrorists" brutality. The commission claimed that refusal of the government to hold an inquiry will only confirm suspicions that the brutality allegations are true. (Press Conference, New York, May 30, 1974; *Guardian*, London, April 4, 17, 1974; *Times*, London, April 2, 1974; *Star* Johannesburg, April 13, 1974)

The following excerpts were taken from the statement made by Mr. X, an African, 29 years old, married with three children, who was taken off a bus while travelling through Chakoma to visit his inlaws. He was taken to a temporary interrogation camp set up on a farm:

"Three of the five policemen led me to one of the tobacco sheds on the farm. They ordered me to sit down in the sun, while they were sitting in the shade.

"One of them said: "You are a person we respect very much. We want you to tell us the truth. We do not want to mishandle you, as we mishandle all these common people. But if you do not tell us the truth, we will have to squeeze it out of you. Tell us what was happening around the Mission."

I said: "I do not know anything".

"One of them said: "We are going to give you a clue: There was a meeting with terrorists." When I said that I did not know anything about the meeting, they stood up and told me to take off my shoes and jacket.

"They said: "We are going to start our game now". While I was sitting on the ground, my legs stretched out, one of the policemen came to sit on my knees, another on my chest, while a third who had joined the other policemen by now got hold of my ears. The fourth policeman took a long, heavy stick and began beating the bare soles of my feet. This went on for a long time. The policeman broke five sticks while beating me. At the same time one was pulling my head up by my ears and then knocked it hard on the ground. He also kicked my mouth and I felt blood coming out.

"After a while one of the policemen said: "If we go

and get the villagers who said you were at the meeting, what are you going to say?"

"I said: "Go and get them". They left and came back after some time, without anyone.

... They began beating me again. I think the beating started at about 2 p.m. and stopped about 5.30 p.m. I had my watch with me. When the beating stopped I was unable to stand up and walk by myself. I moved back to the camp where the others were sitting around a fire, using my hands and buttocks".

[After spending the night in a truck, he was taken to a charge office, where he was forced to walk on his wounded bare feet.]

"I was then sent to a cell [where] there were several old men. The men had been charged with assisting terrorists by supplying food and carrying weapons; the boys were charged with having been trained as terrorists."

[The following day he was in great pain, but the interrogation and torture continued, as he continued to deny he had any information.]

"Finally they pushed me into a corner. While I was sitting in the corner they jumped at me with the whole weight of their bodies. At that stage I had a blackout. . .

"I was sent back into the cell and given 30 minutes to think. After a while I was called out again. I was asked whether I would now agree. When I said 'no', they took hold of my legs and arms, lifted me up and let me drop on the floor. While I was lifted up, the leader stepped on my body and trampled upon it while I was dropped. They did this twice. The leader was particularly cruel throughout the interrogation. When they tried it for a third time I was desperate and bit one of the policemen in the thumb. They let off my legs and arms and began again beating me with fan-belts. At this time, I faded out for the second time. When I came to I found myself lying on the ground next to the policeman who had guarded me when I lost conscience for the first time. . .

"In the afternoon four dead bodies were brought into the camp and laid down at the fence just outside the enclosure. All four seemed to be old men, some with grey hair. We were marched out in a line and told what the work of the gun was able to do. We were asked whether we knew any of these dead men. Some of us said they knew the men. (These fellow-detainees later told us that they had been at a beer drink at a place somewhere in the Zambezi Valley when a helicopter came in and hovered above the village where they were drinking beer. When the helicopter landed and soldiers jumped out the men became frightened and ran away. The soldiers opened fire immediately. Four men died, one was wounded and captured and others were also captured but not wounded)."

[The next day he was treated by a doctor at the Army Clinic.]

"After the treatment I was taken back to the camp for work (filling sand-bags, digging trenches and pits, etc.). We were given very little food. . .

"I was released on Sunday, 4th February, 1973. At no time did I have anything to do with terrorists."

RHODESIAN ECONOMY

Rhodesian whites hope to base a revitalization of their economy on increased mineral and energy production. Large deposits of coal, iron ore, chrome and nickle are to be exploited for export with adequate supplies of electrical energy to meet the needs of the expanding

namibia

NEWS FROM NORTHERN NAMIBIA

South African Army replaces Police in Caprivi area

South Africa has replaced its police units in Namibia's Caprivi Strip with regular army troops.

Defense Minister Piet Botha made the announcement June 14, after his recent visit to Caprivi and after the news had passed through South Africa's censorship process. According to the London *Times* of June 15, the change over has been underway since March. Police units had been stationed in Caprivi since 1967. In a report by South African journalist Stanley Uys, writing in the *Guardian*, London, on June 15, ten policemen have been lost through landmine explosions "and in other ways."

The South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO), whose forces have been battling the South Africans in Caprivi and nearby areas of northern Namibia, place South Africa's losses at a much higher figure.

Uys writes further: "The real significance of the army's entry into the area is that if Angola agrees to harbour guerrillas, who will be able to strike across the border into South-west Africa, South Africa will have a 1,000-mile

Zimbabwe contd.

operations. (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, March 16, 1974) Plans for sanction-breaking loans for the steel industry were revealed by a white banker, now imprisoned (see Southern Africa, June 1974). The metal and metal products sector of the economy is the only one which did not fall in growth in the first nine months of 1973. Rhodesia has had heavy losses in reserves in the first nine months of 1973. Oil import prices have doubled; Wankie coal prices are up 20%; steel prices are up. Wages have begun to spiral upwards, especially after the government pay increases offered to the army. (*Africa Bureau Fact Sheet*, February, 1974) page 12

Immigration and tourism continue to decline. A fall of 33% in immigration occurred in the first nine months of 1973, compared to the same period in 1972. A net loss of 460 whites in December, 1973, was the worst month in ten years. The 1972 net immigration was 8,820. In 1973 it dropped to 1,680. (*South Africa Digest*, April, 1974) Guerrilla activities and lack of fuel have hit the tourist industry. Railway losses for 1973 were the largest in history, and Air Rhodesia's profits were halved by the year ending July, 1973.

The tobacco crop has found its way to market, but farmers' indebtedness is rapidly increasing. The Commission of Inquiry into Agricultural Import Costs reports that "despite increased profits, capital expenditure and redemption charges have left farmers with less cash in 1972 in terms of current money values than in 1965." (*Africa Bureau Fact Sheet*, London, February, 1974.) ■

long frontier to defend from the Atlantic coast to Rhodesia." He also notes: "Angola has a common border with Owambo, the most populous of the South-west African Bantustans, where there has been sporadic unrest for the past two years and which is under quasi-emergency rule."

The Caprivi Strip stretches out like a long finger from the bulk of Namibia, 300 miles long and 50 miles wide, Angola to the north, Botswana on the south. The easternmost edge touches Zimbabwe and there is a narrow strip along the Zambezi River facing Zambia, for many years a crossing place for those fleeing from white racist control.

Uys writes that the army units will be made up of permanent officers and national servicemen. "Nothing will bring the reality of guerrilla conflict home to white South African families quicker than this experience." At a press briefing in Caprivi, army officers "stressed that a political as well as a military approach would be used." Defense Minister Botha explained: "Our whole attitude is one of good will toward the indigenous population." The London *Times* report says the army commander in Caprivi described the situation there as one of "extremely low intensity insurgency."

The *Star* of Johannesburg in its air edition of June 15 ran a prominent story on a South African Defense Force plan to arm Africans "to give Blacks a chance to play their part in the defence of South Africa." Armed Africans are already being used as trackers operating with army patrols in the Caprivi Strip.

SWAPO on April 18 protested by telegram what it called joint French-South African naval maneuvers in the territorial waters of Namibia as a violation of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa. The cables came from SWAPO's London office and were addressed to the French foreign minister and then presidential candidates, including now President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. (*Le Monde*, Paris, April 20, 1974)

Chief Filemon Elifas, chief minister of the Owambo Bantustan (the Ovamboland section of Namibia), broadcast over Radió Owambo that his tribal authorities were donating 30,000 Rand (\$45,000) "to combat communism and terrorism." (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, May 5, 1974).

The chief minister, who operates under the aegis of and who strongly supports the South African Government, lashed out at the World Council of Churches and "certain governments (who had) proved they wanted wars and bloodshed by aiding the South West Africa People's Organisation and terrorist groups". The WCC for the fourth year has made grants from its Fund to Combat Racism to groups across the world for medical, educational and social services; African liberation movements have been the major recipients. This year SWAPO was given \$30,000.

Chief Elifas said the Owambo cabinet would shortly decide how best to allocate their gift. The *Advertiser* quotes him: "We regard terrorism as unchristian and will combat it with all the means at our disposal... In the meantime, we must continue to do still more to safeguard the peace and to prevent violence. The government has therefore decided to make an earnest appeal to the Owambo people, both inside and outside the homeland, to make voluntary contributions to this cause."

People Flee into Angola

Mr. John Otto, acting chairman of SWAPO in Namibia, said that people had been fleeing across the border into Angola. "Barbarism of the tribal rulers and the suppression of political expression" forced them to leave their country. They had heard that the Owambo Government planned to form an army and draft men to fight the "so-called terrorists on the border." They had also heard that SWAPO members would be thrown into concentration camps if they refused to serve. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 22, 1974).

Mr. Peter Katjavivi, chief SWAPO representative in Europe, has urged British Prime Minister Harold Wilson to intervene with Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares about the interception by authorities in Angola of four Namibians who were fleeing across Angola to Zaire. "We greatly fear the Portuguese may be planning to take these four Namibians back to the southern frontier of Angola and there hand them over to the South African police at the border crossing post. If this happens they would face grave persecution, including torture." (*Guardian*, London, June 22, 1974).

FLOGGINGS TO CONTINUE

The South West Africa Supreme Court in Windhoek has refused to impose temporary prohibitions on political floggings. This is the latest in a long series of court proceedings initiated in November, 1973 by Lutheran Bishop Auala, Anglican Bishop Richard Wood and student politician Thomas Kamati to attempt to stop public beating of men and woman accused by Owambo government-supported political leaders of belonging to SWAPO and other opposition organizations. (Mr. Kamati is one of the ten SWAPO office holders in the hands of the security police and has not been heard from since January)

Mr. Justice J. J. Strydom said "he was not persuaded relief should be afforded even on a temporary basis. He found that an interdict in such wide terms would interfere with the administration of justice. It could happen that 'ordinary culprits' sentenced to a flogging in a tribal court might frustrate the administration of justice through the mechanism of protection." The applicants were ordered to pay heavy court costs. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974)

Bishop Wood, who will be coming to the US in September, reports that legal expenses for the repeated applications and court procedures will total \$75,000.

The *Star* article says that a mechanism has been set up which provides that if a person is sentenced to be flogged, the territorial magistrate in Owambo and the registrar at the Supreme Court be informed and ten days had to elapse before sentence was executed.

The South African Department of Bantu Administration and Development—beset by world outcry over the public floggings—on November 13, 1973, issued a statement saying that floggings were "absolutely a tribal matter and it is an old custom of the tribe and the Minister therefore wants nothing to do with the matter" (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, May, 1974)

SWAPO has repeatedly contradicted this assertion, and Bishop Auala, a former secretary to a tribal chief, in an appearance at the UN, denied that flogging was a custom practiced among the Owambo people.



Bishop Auala

SWAPO DRAWS ATTENTION TO WINDHOEK TRIALS

A Reuters wire service dispatch of June 1 reports that London representatives of SWAPO had cabled world organizations, political parties and individuals to draw attention to the treatment of SWAPO members on trial in Windhoek, capital of Namibia. Mr. Esriel Taapopi, 20, chairman of the militant SWAPO Youth League, and the League's secretary, Mr. Joseph Sashea, 21, had pled not guilty to charges of attempted incitement to murder and of public violence before the Supreme Court in Windhoek on May 31. The trial was postponed after defense lawyers said the men were "confused and not in a fit mental state to stand trial" after being kept in solitary confinement from January 2 to about May 2.

The two men had been brought to court under heavy security police guard. The State alleged they had "wrongfully and unlawfully instigated, commanded or procured the president of SWAPO abroad, Mr. Sam Nujoma, and the liberation army of SWAPO to murder various people in South-west Africa and to commit the crime of public violence and malicious damage to property." (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, May 27, 1974)

The British Ambassador to Pretoria has made "repeated representations" to the South African Government about Mr. Taapopi and Mr. Sashea (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 22, 1974)

The SWAPO London cables also referred to the alleged torture of Namibians held incommunicado, including SWAPO national chairman David H. Meroro who had been arrested during a 2 AM security police round-up in Windhoek on February 8. Mr. Taapopi is the first of ten SWAPO office holders to appear from behind the South African secret police curtain; nothing is known of the rest. The SWAPO cables were sent to the International Commission of Jurists, the International Red Cross, the United Nations Secretary-General, Amnesty International and British and French political parties.

WEAK US POLICY ON TRIALS

At a consultation held in New York City on May 24, William Eaton, who heads the Namibia desk at the State Department, stated that the US Government had made repeated requests—up to the ambassadorial level—about

the detained SWAPO leaders. He said questions put to Pretoria included "What are the charges?", "Where are the men being held?", "When are they to be tried?". Mr. Eaton averred State would continue to press the issue with the South African Government.

These assurances are a repetition of those given by Mr. Herbert Kaiser, alternate director of the State Department's Office of Southern African Affairs, in testimony before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee on April 4. He said the American Embassy had made several representations to the Pretoria government, "one at the Foreign Minister level." The Ambassador noted that our expressed concerns were based upon our respect for human rights as well as on political grounds. In response, the Foreign Minister promised to obtain the requested information. We have not yet received it."

The stagnant US policy regarding Namibia is revealed in his concluding remarks: "Mr. Chairman, the United States Government continues to be concerned that those South African policies which appear to bar political activities of oppositionists may result in marshalling support for those who hold that violence is the only recourse.

"Our Government will continue to seek every opportunity to support practical efforts which would enable the people of Namibia to exercise peacefully their right to self-determination and independence."

One practical opportunity was provided by another subcommittee of the House, that of International Organizations and Movements, on March 27, when it issued a report entitled: *Human Rights In The World Community: A Call For U.S. Leadership*, which recommended "raising the priority given to human rights in U.S. foreign policy" and that "The Department of State should treat human rights factors as a regular part of U.S. foreign policy decision-making."

The report calls for the State Department to support

"the efforts of black majorities in southern Africa to achieve self-determination and independence." A specific recommendation states: "The Department of State should seek membership for the United States on the U.N.'s Council for Namibia and give its full support to the Council's objective of ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia."

The State Department on the same day announced that it had appointed a full-time human rights assistant in the Office of the Legal Adviser and that it had designated an officer to be in charge of legal and human rights in the Office of United Nations Political Affairs.

TAX CREDIT LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS

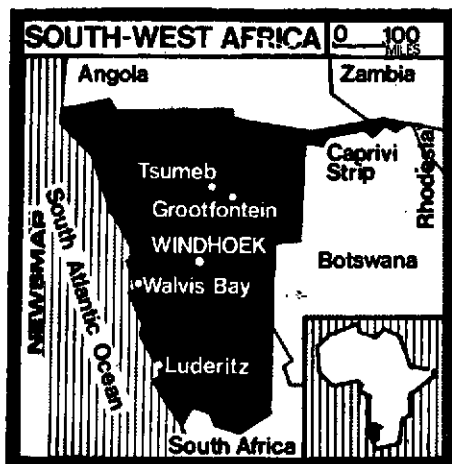
Another practical move, with more immediate potential for coming to grips with the U.S. presence in Namibia, came on June 5 when Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) introduced legislation which if enacted would deny tax credits to American companies operating in the Territory. (See United States and Southern Africa section for details)

The senator listed important US interests at stake, such as the position of other African nations with regard to Namibia, the potential areas of oil exploration offshore the western bulge of the continent, diplomatic and humanitarian considerations and the change coming in southern Africa due to recent events in Portugal and its African colonies.

Such a law, if passed, would affect a number of US firms which operate in Namibia, notably AMAX, Inc. (formerly American Metal Climax, Inc.) and Newmont Mining Corporation, which together control Namibia's largest base metal industry centered around Tsumeb Corporation, Ltd.

The presence of Namibian Lutheran Bishop Leonard Auala at Senator Mondale's press conference in Washington poignantly illustrated the tragedy of a people caught in the vise of foreign powers who have interlocking and mutually advantageous economic and military domination over them. It furthered the clever exploitation by companies investing in Namibia of their self-proclaimed need to stay in Namibia to help the people there and of their purported helplessness under South African rule, a rule they in fact sustain with their taxes and which Americans support because of the tax credits granted these companies. The occasion provided a field day for the South African press. The *Star*, Johannesburg, in its air edition of June 8, ran a long story reporting on the senator's call for strictures on US industry and the bishop's plea for these firms to stay and give more jobs and better working conditions for the people of his country.

The bishop had earlier addressed the Newmont annual stockholders meeting in Wilmington, Delaware, May 22, expressing gratitude for Tsumeb and begging for better treatment for Namibian workers. "We believe that America wants freedom for everyone in the world, and we hope your actions will help us in our desire to be free," he said. The United Church of Christ, in presenting its proxy solicitation statement on a resolution asking for fair employment practices at Tsumeb pointed out that average cash wages for blacks is but one-twelfth that of whites, and that Tsumeb's profits for the year 1973 were \$22,500,000. ■



Struggle in Portugal and Africa

• angola •

ANGOLA—THE ROAD AHEAD...?

In the aftermath of the coup which toppled Caetano's colonialist regime, many questions remained unanswered in Angola, the richest of the three colonies with the largest white settler population. To date, there have been no direct negotiations between the new Portuguese ruling junta and any of the Angolan liberation movements, as there have been with PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and with FRELIMO in Mozambique. A ceasefire agreement has been mentioned with UNITA (The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). The situation in Angola is complicated by the following factors which make it unique among the three Portuguese colonies.

1) The richness of its resources. 6 million tons a year in oil and a coffee production which ranks fourth in the world makes it more likely that a neo-colonialist solution will be attempted by Portugal and its imperialist backers. The placing into power of an unpopular 'puppet' ruler would probably be met with resistance from liberation forces (MPLA and UNITA especially) wanting total independence, and any resulting strikes, demonstrations or armed actions could lead to imperialist intervention à la the Congo in 1961. In a situation like this, the possibility of South African intervention must also be considered. Smith and Vorster have already met secretly in Pretoria to discuss the change in the Southern African picture since the Portuguese coup. (*New York Times*, May 29, 1974) The question as to the role of President Mobutu of Zaire in future negotiations is still open. A very significant development took place on June 2 when the first group of 112 Chinese military instructors arrived in Zaire to increase FNLA strength. The Zairean Government itself will contribute 108 paratroop instructors to form a regular army division of 15,000 men for the FNLA. The division will be two-thirds Peking equipped and one-third Kinshasa equipped. (*Associated Press*, June 2, 1974) Many observers fear that Mobutu's special relationship with the FNLA could mature into a full-fledged neo-colonialist partnership under Spínola.

2) Lack of internal unity among the Angolan nationalist movements. Despite recent efforts to build unity between MPLA and FNLA, there are few signs that this has worked out in practice. If negotiations with the

new regime in Portugal do begin, the question remains with which group will Portugal negotiate? If they recognize all three movements at the negotiating table on which basis, political, military, and territorial, can unity of the movements be forged? It is likely, given these internal complexities, that the Portuguese will delay formal negotiations. At the recent OAU meetings in Mogadishu, Somalia, the liberation movements agreed to meet the Portuguese as a "united force", although UNITA is the only movement to have agreed to a cease-fire. (*New York Times*, June 17, 1974) Before that meeting UNITA was recognized by the OAU Liberation Committee, which at this particular time places all three Angolan movements on a more equal footing vis-a-vis the OAU. UNITA has attempted to gain recognition for years. UNITA's cease fire accord with Portugal is as yet unclear.

3) The large white settler population in Angola. 600,000 of a total population of six million are Whites, many of whom have only known Angola as their home. In the early days after the coup, when support from the then Governor General Santos E. Castro for the new regime in Portugal was not forthcoming, there was widespread speculation in the press of a possible UDI along the same lines as in Rhodesia. Castro, a close friend of Caetano, was finally forced to resign on April 27 and speculation about the UDI died down. (*New York Times*, April 28, 1974)

SCENARIO IN ANGOLA POST-COUP

The shock of the coup inside Portugal reverberated in Angola where tensions surrounding the above uncertainties surfaced. Almost immediately there was a flurry of political activity among the liberal white community, while the African liberation movements moved cautiously. Briefly the chronology of events is as follows:

- April 25* - News of coup reached the capital, Luanda.
April 27 - Gov. General of Angola forced to resign after three days speculation that he might challenge the new regime in Portugal. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 27, 1974) Col. Soares Carneiro assumes power. General Joaquim Pinheiro made commander-in-chief of Armed Forces by Portugal.
May 1 - MPLA issues communique reacting to the military junta led by General Spínola. The communique acknowledged the contribution of

PAIGC and FRELIMO as well as MPLA in precipitating the crisis within the Portuguese military-political establishment. MPLA also acknowledged revolutionary organizations within Portugal for their contribution, and they rejoiced at the disbanding of the DGS (formerly PIDE) and the restoration of democracy. The MPLA demanded the extension of the same democratic rights to Angolans. They rejected the proposal of a Constituent Assembly within the 'Federated African territories' as no solution to the colonial problem. They further demanded the release of all Angolan political prisoners. Finally, and most importantly, MPLA declared it will continue armed struggle until complete independence is achieved and that MPLA work in the rural areas and towns will be redoubled. (*MPLA communique*, Lusaka, May 1, 1974)

Dr. Neto is in London where he called upon British Government to institute a ban on arms sales to Portugal as it did to South Africa. This was the first time that a representative of any of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies had been received at the British Foreign Office. (*Guardian*, London, May 2, 1974)

May 2 - A group calling itself the Civic Democratic Commission (CDC) emerged publicly for the first time in Luanda since the coup. The group had been organized April 27 within the liberal white community. The CDC's first demands were for the release of all Angolan political prisoners and the closing of detention camps; they also asked for the immediate appointment of an accredited representative of the Lisbon junta in Angola. Some prisoners have been released, but reports which so widely vary from only six to 85 to 1200 released prisoners indicate there is no certainty in this matter. (*Diario de Lisboa*, Lisbon, May 2, 1974; *Guardian*, London, May 3, 1974; *New York Times*, May 4, 1974) The CDC calling itself a civic movement and not a political party called for a democratic Angola in which "people of all races can express openly political views on the country's future." (*Guardian*, London, May 3, 1974)

May 3 - At a meeting organized by the CDC a crowd of 5000, mostly white, cheered the call for Portugal to break ties with South Africa and Rhodesia and to start a dialogue with the guerrilla movements. Excerpts from a speech by MPLA leader Agostinho Neto read in which he said that the MPLA objective was not war between Blacks and Whites, but equal rights for both groups. The MPLA has not supported talk of a referendum because they do not consider themselves as "Black Portuguese" but as independent Africans. (*Post*, Nairobi, May 5, 1974) At a press conference acting Gov. Gen. Carneiro said that guerrilla groups would be allowed to participate in the coming elections if they stopped fighting while doing so. (*New York Times*, May 5, 1974)

Still a "climate of unrest"

In his press conference Carneiro conceded that although the Angolan people are happy with the change in government, there still prevails a "climate of unrest" because no political decision has been made regarding the future of Angola. Already reports from Luanda indicate the newly formed CDC feels threatened, even for the lives of its members. Possibly this feeling is associated with the return of Sao Jose Lopes, the Director of the disbanded DGS/PIDE. (*Diario de Lisboa*, Lisbon, May 2, 1974)

May 4 - Gen. Francisco Costa-Gomes, a leading figure in the new ruling junta, paid a surprise visit to Angola, the first such visit to the African colonies since the coup. He indicated that Portugal was not prepared to give control of the territory to any of the guerrilla groups, and in his remarks he undermined their significance. A state of war still continues officially in Angola, but Portuguese military activity has been very sharply reduced. Tension and boredom are reported among the soldiers. (*New York Times*, June 5, 1974) In Luanda, Costa-Gomes appealed to members of the liberation movements for a cease-fire. (*New York Times*, May 5, 7, 1974)

May 19 - Gen. Pinheiro commander-in-chief of the 50,000 Portuguese troops in Angola, ordered suspension of all military operations to allow the guerrillas to come out into the open peacefully. According to *O Commercio*, a Portuguese daily in Luanda, the suspension was meant as a token of goodwill. (*Observer*, London, May 19, 1974; *Guardian*, London, May 20, 1974) General Pinheiro said that there can only be a referendum if there is a cease-fire. (*New York Times*, June 2, 1974)

May 20 - All street demonstrations banned by Gen. Pinheiro after a reported incident in which a number of black Angolans had attended a political meeting and afterward "roamed throughout Luanda insulting whites and banging on cars." This action prompted a smaller number of Whites to counter-demonstrate chanting as they paraded through the streets "Marcello", for Marcello Caetano, the deposed leader in Portugal. (*New York Times*, May 28, 1974)

May 27 - A commission set up to investigate reports of atrocities committed against political prisoners in the last 13 years, supported by the CDC which is probably attempting to win non-white support through the pursuit of this inquiry. (*New York Times*, May 22, 1974)

May 30 - Rev. Pinto de Andrade mentioned as a possible candidate for the position of Governor of Angola after being incarcerated in a PIDE prison for 12 years. His brother, Mario, was a MPLA leader. (*Guardian*, London, May 30, 1974)

June 11 - Spinola stated that the people in the African colonies will have the right of self-determination including independence but he only provided a vague outline how this should be achieved (*New York Times*, June 12, 1974)

MPLA LAUNCHES OFFENSIVE IN CABINDA

During the month of April the MPLA made several strikes inside the Cabinda enclave, in its initial phase occupying the Alto-Sunda Administrative post.

At the post the colonial administrator and two of his assistants were taken prisoner, and these prisoners, like those taken at the recently captured base at Miconje, were to be shown to newsmen in late April. During the offensive the Mwabi mountain range, an important strategic point, fell into MPLA control and several attacks were made on Sanga Planicie Barracks.

(*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, April 18, 1974; *MPLA War Communique*, Dar es Salaam, April 17, 1974)

UNITA ACTIVE IN BIE PROVINCE

The *Times of Zambia* reported that UNITA forces attacked Portuguese troops parachuted into Bie Province from February 6 to 13 killing 60. Five days later UNITA attacked troops at Cuando-Cubange and killed 22 Portuguese and captured several others, according to the report. (*Times of Zambia*, April 3, 1974)

• mozambique •

THE POLITICAL SPHERE

The April 25 coup d'état in Lisbon created shock waves which have had a profound effect in the colony of Mozambique. On that date all local army troops were confined to their barracks by order of the junta. On April 26 a demonstration was held in the town of Vila Pery, the capital of the district of the same name close to the Rhodesian border, which had felt the effects of the war for the first time only in 1974. Here almost the entire population turned out in support of the military junta. At the same time in an interview on Radio Tanzania, Marcelino dos Santos, Vice President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) rejected the concept of "federation" advanced by General Spínola, leading member of the junta. In a book published shortly before the coup entitled *Africa and the Future*, Spínola described the relationship he would like to see between Portugal and the colonies. Nominal independence would be granted to Mozambique for example, leaving the Portuguese Federal Government in control of foreign affairs, defense and finances. Dos Santos stated that this is not the independence for which FRELIMO had worked ten years. The offer was unacceptable; FRELIMO would continue the struggle.

On April 27 the army was integrated into the junta's plans for Mozambique. Governor-general Pimental dos Santos would remain until official word came from Lisbon. News did come from that city, however, announcing that the DGS (special security police) formerly PIDE, was to be disbanded in the mother country, but retained in all of the overseas territories. It was to be transformed into the intelligence wing of the regular military. Clashes between the military and the DGS, backed by powerful families in Portugal wishing to protect their investments in the colonies, was feared. Also a spokesman for FRELIMO stated that the liberation movement would be willing to negotiate at any time with Portugal, as soon as it agreed that independence is an



MPLA militant

inalienable right of the Mozambican people, not to be bargained for.

Suddenly in the post-coup atmosphere at least 50 different groups emerged into the political arena or were resurrected from older organizations. One of the most significant (see *Southern Africa*, May, June, 1974) was the Group for the Union of Mozambique (GUM) headed by Johanna Simião, an African intellectual, school teacher and former political prisoner with connections to COREMO (the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique), and Jorde de Abreu, a conservative wealthy white businessman and member of the Mozambique Legislative Assembly before the coup. GUM had been founded several years before as an ostensible cultural organization, but in early 1974 had been supported by the Caetano regime in Lisbon as a potential moderate political alternative to FRELIMO. On April 6 GUM produced its manifesto which stated that it was a coalition of blacks and whites with these goals:

- 1) autonomous government in Mozambique retaining links with Lisbon and the Portuguese troops for stability;
- 2) continued resistance to "rebel guerrillas" as long as they resort to arms;
- 3) respect for human rights, individual liberty and established order, with private property and
- 4) pacifism and a dialogue with the people in revolt.

This statement was released on April 27 by GUM, just prior to sending a cable to Spínola backing the junta and expressing the desire to see a truce called in the colonial wars. Negotiations, it stated should be conducted between Portugal and FRELIMO, under international

auspices. A telegram was also sent to FRELIMO in hopes that their two programs could be linked.

On April 28, a meeting of students at the University of Lourenco Marques called for: 1) captured guerrillas to be treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention; 2) the freeing of political prisoners; 3) the release of certain student activists who had been drafted; 4) dismissal of the rector and heads of the departments of the university; and 5) a change of the university structure. On the next day there was a mass rally in the central square of Lourenco Marques to demonstrate support for the junta and the self-determination of Mozambique through free elections. At least 4,000 persons were involved, almost all of whom were white settlers. That same day, the dismissed Governor of Mozambique, Pimental dos Santos, and his family were flown to Lisbon following a weekend of rumors that he and the DGS might try to declare Mozambique independent.

The next morning (April 30) the Mozambique Parliament met for only three minutes in Lourenco Marques. Acting Governor-General Colonel David Ferreira announced in the tension wracked atmosphere of the Parliament chamber, 200 demonstrators outside and all public seats filled inside—the dissolution of the assembly.

May 1 brought the release of 554 political prisoners from the infamous Machava prison in Lourenco Marques, under the direction of the Commander of the Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique, Basto Machado. Among those freed were some Blacks accused of being FRELIMO sympathizers. Tales of torture and brutality in the prison were divulged by newly released prisoners. GUM held its first press conference and on May 3 the group called a rally in Lourenco Marques demanding self-determination for Mozambique, with free elections on a one-man-one-vote basis. Ten thousand Africans took part, and the rally was disrupted by FRELIMO supporters who shouted the speakers down. That night another group was launched called the Independent Front for the Continuation of Western Ties (FICO). 200 men demonstrated against FRELIMO before the newspaper office of Miguel Narupa, a former FRELIMO official.

Several thousand Whites turned out at a FICO demonstration in the capital city on May 5, demanding that the junta keep Mozambique under Portuguese rule. The white minority was obviously beginning to fear the loss of its supremacy. Panic was beginning to set in. Spinola sent the former Governor of Angola and hardline right winger, General Silvino Silveira Marques, to quell dissident forces in the white population. The junta leader had reached this decision in a two hour discussion of the troubled situation with Jorges Jardim, a leading businessman and unofficial diplomat from Mozambique. Jardim, with a long history of fascist connections; suddenly had begun to be portrayed as a liberal middle-of-the-road man who represented the opinion that the best structure for the future of Mozambique would be a non-FRELIMO African government, similar to that of Malawi, chosen through elections. That same day the Vice President of the junta and Chief of Staff, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, in an effort to dispel the fears of the white minority stated that the junta would continue to fight FRELIMO in Mozambique, until they laid down their arms and came to the conference table. That same day also, Radio Mozambique located in Lourenco Marques, was taken over by the army after the

station failed to fully cover the events in Portugal.

May 11 saw General Gomes' arrival in the Mozambique capital city on a factfinding mission for the junta. In visiting the northern city of Nampula, Gomes stated that he respected the guerrillas for their bravery, a direct turnabout for the Portuguese. He also said that it was not necessary for FRELIMO to lay down their arms in order to negotiate, as such a move would automatically signal defeat. He invited them to enter the political arena, where a solution for Mozambique would be chosen.

May 12 however was a real turning point for Mozambique, for as Gomes arrived in the port city of Beira, racial riots began to break out. A GUM meeting mainly attended by Africans was broken up forcibly by Whites; Blacks overturned and burned some cars; Whites gathered before the residence of the district governor where Gomes was staying to protest the moves that the junta had made towards FRELIMO. Later, Whites demonstrated outside the Beira radio station, threatening to kill the director if a speech made by GUM leader Simiao was broadcast. The speech invited FRELIMO into the political arena in Mozambique as equals. All of this came in the wake of a series of large and crippling strikes by ordinary workers, mostly black, in many areas such as railroads, and dockworkers. In most cases the result was that workers' salaries were at least doubled, with fringe benefits attached. Whites, especially the lower to middle class settlers began to fear the growing power of the Africans, asking Lisbon for help, while arming themselves as a precaution. Then if they were truly frightened, they would book a reservation on a plane or a ship out of the colony. Reservations are already filled through the rest of the summer.

The following day, May 13, Gomes left Mozambique. As he was departing, however, he firmly stated that the racial tensions which he had seen in the colony were working against peace and the junta.

Censorship was again clamped down on the press on May 14. Political statements and letters would be carefully screened and where necessary, edited "in the national interest." Jorge Jardim left Lisbon the next day to visit Rhodesia, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania and possibly South Africa, in order to discuss the concept of a "multiracial Mozambique" in a Portuguese federation.

In mid-May the western press played up what it called an internal division within FRELIMO citing the leadership divided between two brothers, Samara Machel, the recognized FRELIMO President, and Jose Machel, a doctor from Lourenco Marques. The Portuguese apparently did allow some former prisoners to meet with FRELIMO people in Dar es Salaam, and finally, Dr. Almeida Santos, the new Provisional Government's Overseas Minister, offered to negotiate with FRELIMO. On June 3 FRELIMO leadership agreed, and in a widely dispersed telegram stated again its policy of "No possibility of negotiations before recognition our rights independence." On June 5 Mario Soares led the Portuguese delegation in the talks which opened under the aegis of Zambian President Kaunda in Lusaka. The nine member FRELIMO group was led by President Machel, whom Soares referred to in an interview as a "great leader . . . and a very tough one." (*New York Times*, June 6, 1974). The initial talks closed down the next day with it generally understood in the language of the communique that ". . . the establishment of a cease-fire depends on a prior

global agreement related to fundamental political principles." This statement undeniably referred to FRELIMO's primary demand for the recognition of the right to independence. (*New York Times*, June 7, 1974) During the same period British Minister for African Affairs, Joan Lester, met with Johanna Simiao of GUM in Lisbon.

Tentative plans have been made for more talks in July, depending on the results of negotiations between the Portuguese Government and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Meanwhile in Mozambique, approximately 200 former security policemen were detained in Machava Prison by June 10, although most of the high ranking officers had already fled the country. Finally, toward the middle of June it was announced that Spínola might come to inspect Mozambique for the first time since the coup d'état. (*Daily Nation*, Dar es Salaam, April 29, May 4, 6, 1974; *Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, April 3, 1974; *Daily Telegraph*, London, May 1, 12, June 8, 1974; *East Africa Standard*, Nairobi, April 28, 1974; *Militant*, New York, May 17, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, May 19, 20, 1974; *New York Times*, April 28, 30, May 2, 5, 6, 12, 19, 26, 1974; June 4, 5, 6, 11, 1974; *O Seculo*, Portugal, June 10, 1974; *Observer*, London, April 27, May 4, 11, 18, 1974; *Times*, London May 10, 16, 1974; *Workers World*, March 1, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 27, May 4, 11, 18, 1974; *Statement by FRELIMO Executive Committee on the Events in Portugal*, April 27, 1974)

ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The first three months of 1974 were quite active for FRELIMO. On January 18 an airplane spraying herbicides on a maize field within liberated territory, was shot down. As previously reported (see *Southern Africa*, May 1974), 21 planes were destroyed at Mueda air base including six Harvard bombers, two harpoon bombers, three Fiat G91 fighter-bombers, three Dorniers, and seven Alouette helicopters. On February 24, the airfield of a textile factory between Vila Fontes and Murrace was attacked and one airplane was destroyed. One plane was also wiped out in Tete province during the period from January to February. At least four trains were attacked, three of which were blown up, one near Inhaminga (about 100 miles north of Beira), one in Tete province, one near Cuibe in the Vanduzu zone, and one locomotive going from Mutarara to Moatize. Other vehicles were destroyed also. Seven enemy soldiers were killed. On February 24, FRELIMO besieged a camp in Manica y Sofala province, through which a nearby cotton plantation known for the exploitation of its workers, was controlled. At that time two tractors, a storehouse and its contents, two cotton planting machines and other farm equipment were destroyed. On February 12, the "Reginald Tully" timber mill in the Fuma zone of Vila Fontes, owned by a Rhodesian settler known for his ruthless exploitation of workers was attacked. Two cars, three tractors and a diesel fuel depot were destroyed. Finally on March 29, a lorry was landmined approximately 15 miles southwest of Zobue on the border with Malawi. Military targets were also attacked including the garrisons of the concentration camps at Nhanchenje and Macombe, the military camps at Mpungora in the Vanduzu region and Mfudze between Vila Fontes and Maringue, as well as the houses belonging to the military center at Vila Gamito. At least 17 enemy

soldiers were killed in these raids on military areas. Altogether almost 70 Portuguese soldiers were killed in ambush and sabotage operations during the first three months of 1974 in the regions or areas of Callias Zavier, Doa, Nikobezi, Micitu, Charimbana, Manje, Kanhana, Zaowe and Saciriti.

During March Portugal transferred 10,000 troops from Angola to Mozambique, assigning them to units in four northern provinces (Tete, Manica y Sofala, Niassa and Cabo Delgado), raising the number of troops in the colony to between 70,000 to 75,000. The Portuguese adopted a new tactic early this year, in order to cut down on the number of Africans who support the liberation movement—poisoning wells. At least 150 people have died in the Mutarara region around Vila Pery, near the Rhodesian border. The colonialists have stated that their deaths were due to cholera which has broken out in some areas of Mozambique.

Since April FRELIMO has hit or downed at least six Portuguese aircraft. On April 13 a Harvard plane was hit and crash landed, killing the two pilots, at Caperivobwe in a liberated area. A Dornier reconnaissance plane was shot down and the two pilots killed on April 14. One had a Rhodesian drivers license numbered 90978; he was Durret Patrick Rickman, born September 24, 1947. A FN rifle number L-451 and the plane's first aid kit were salvaged. In Fingrie zone on April 15, a Fiat G-91 was shot down. Since the coup both a Portuguese helicopter and a troop transport were shot down in Cabo Delgado province on May 13. But a new twist came later than same week, when an Air Force Dakota plane was hit by a Russian SAM 7 (Estrella) missile at the far north of Mozambique. This has been officially confirmed by the Portuguese Government. Missiles of this type have never been issued in this colony before, though successfully employed in Guinea-Bissau.

FRELIMO militants examining Harvard bombs shot down earlier in the war.



HIGH GOLD PRICE A BOON FOR MOZAMBIQUE – ENTICEMENT FROM SA?

A 1920's agreement with South Africa, called the Mozambique Convention, has proved to be a 1970's windfall for the Portuguese administrators of Mozambique. And with the current uncertainty about Mozambique's future, South Africa may try to use it to influence any independent Mozambican government.

In the late 19th century, the international gold rush was to South Africa, where mines proved so rich that they account for 40 per cent of all the gold that has ever been found. But South Africa's gold is trapped in unique deep-level formations, and back-breaking dangerous work is needed to bring it to the surface.

To persuade the Portuguese rulers of Mozambique to recruit African labor for the mines, South Africa promised to defer about half of each miner's wages and pay it in gold upon his return to Mozambique. This provision was contained in the 1928 Mozambique Convention, and though it disappeared in a 1934 re-drafting, the gold provision was reinserted in 1940.

The 1964 agreement, currently in effect, does not specify that the payments must be made in gold: "The transfer to Mozambique by the Portuguese [sic] workers of a portion of their earnings shall be effected on a basis to be mutually agreed upon between the two governments."

The South African *Financial Mail* recently looked into the matter and found that the payments are in fact still being made in gold. And at the official price.

The miners, of course, never see the gold. On return home, they receive the equivalent in Mozambican escudos. But, for the Portuguese administrators, it is a real bonanza.

South Africa pays Mozambique one ounce of gold for every \$42 of deferred pay a Mozambican miner earns. But, the Portuguese can then sell the gold at the world market price, which last year soared as high as \$200 an ounce.

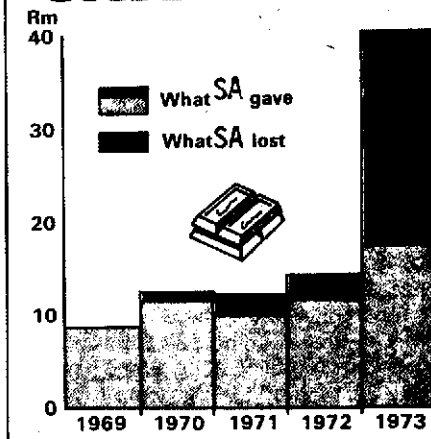
The *Financial Mail* asked the Portuguese and South African governments for confirmation that this is indeed taking place. The South Africans said yes; the Portuguese (pre-coup) refused comment. According to the journal's calculations, the deal cost South Africa about \$64 million from 1969-1973.

When the *Financial Mail* reported on the situation, which was before the Portuguese coup, it speculated that South Africa would soon seek an amendment to stop the drain of South African gold reserves. But, now the Pretoria regime may take another tact. They may be banking on this gold give-away to help smooth relations with a future independent Mozambique.

In a June interview, the vice president of FRELIMO said his party would cut off the flow of labor to South Africa's mines when it became the government. "We consider that in Mozambique there is enough place for all Mozambicans," said Marcelino Dos Santos.

But, with the Mozambique convention, the South Africans may have a bargaining point. They realize the disastrous situation of the Mozambique economy, since Portugal has removed all its reserves, and they may hope to bribe an otherwise hostile government into continuing the labor exports. (AFRICA NEWS, June 20, 1974; *Financial Mail*, April 11 and 26, 1974)

PORTUGAL'S GOLDEN HARVEST



The plane carrying Major William Kempen the Deputy Military Attache in the South African Embassy in Lisbon on a familiarization tour, made a successful emergency landing. It is also to be underscored that even as the new junta takes power, FRELIMO intends to keep on with the struggle for total independence. This was shown by the fact that within 24 hours after the coup d'etat (April 25), the guerrillas attacked six targets in the colony. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, April, 1974; *Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, March 25, April 2, 17, 25, 1974; *Guardian*, London, April 16, 24, 1974; *New York Times*, May 11, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 18, 1974; *Sunday Nation*, Dar es Salaam, March 3, 1974; *Times*, London, May 14, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, May 10, 1974.

MORE ON MASSACRES

The British *Guardian* published a report sent to it by officers in the Portuguese army on April 27, confirming the tales of massacres at Wiriyamu and Chavola in Tete province during December 1972. Claimed by several missionaries, but denied by the Portuguese authorities, this subject has created such commotion that a UN committee has been set up to investigate the massacres. The Portuguese army men thus provided the first corroboration of this incident where 400 to 500 African civilians were murdered. The report was smuggled out of Lisbon by a group of Portuguese officers, who were in violent disagreement with the policies of their country in Africa and probably also involved in the coup d'etat. It revealed that for four years Rhodesia and Portuguese troops have been collaborating along the border common to the two countries, and that Rhodesian paratroopers had been used deep inside Mozambique around the Tete and Vila Pery districts. It also described other tactics employed by Portugal in the war in Mozambique, such as torture, starvation into submission, terrorizing by showing examples of brutality and, finally chemical warfare using primarily South African and US products.

In addition to this report, five Dutch missionaries have announced that Portuguese security forces tortured and massacred Blacks in reprisal for guerrilla activity against the colonial army. In three days 113 people were shot and

buried in mass graves, explained the statement given to the London *Times* dated May 4. The priests belong to the Roman Catholic Sacred Heart Congregation or Picpus Fathers, at Bevel, Netherlands. They recounted numerous examples of death inflicted upon Blacks by the Portuguese soldiers after guerrillas killed two of their ranks, near Inhaminga in August, 1973. From then until the men closed the mission in March, 1974, Africans were tortured and killed by the DGS and army in response to FRELIMO activity.

Later in May, Rev. Jose de Sousa, the Vicar General of the Mozambique port city of Beira, revealed to the world that several army chaplains had told him of Portuguese troops massacring 22 African civilians one day after the Lisbon coup. The incident took place 100 miles northwest of Beira, in the region near Inhaminga. This has been denied by the local army commander.

Finally, an Italian Catholic priest with 25 years of experience in the colony, has reported a bloodbath in size greater than Wiryamu in Urango between 1967 and 1968.

As a result of all these reports, a split between the church, the army and the DGS would seem to have occurred. The Roman Catholic Church has been blamed on the one hand for being a firm ally of the Portuguese establishment, yet on the other as the mouthpiece to the world about the horrors of the massacres. The army has been implicated as one actor in the massacres, as well as now running the government. The DGS has been given part of the blame for many of these revealed incidences and has retaliated against church authorities.

The United Nations Commission, composed of delegates from Honduras, East Germany, Madagascar, Norway and Nepal, has concluded, after receiving testimony from 69 people in Europe and Africa, (not in Mozambique itself however) that, "many hundreds" of villagers had been killed by Portuguese troops, including a fairly recent massacre at Inhaminga in March, 1974. The Commission chairman, S.K. Upadhyay, said that they had interviewed a number of eyewitnesses who had fled to Tanzania, and blamed the new Portuguese Government for not allowing the UN group to interview the military or go into Mozambique. (*Africa*, London, June, 1974; *Daily Nation*, Dar es Salaam, March 28, April 15, 25, 1974; *Guardian*, London, May 11, 13, 14, 16, 1974; *New York Times*, June 28, 1974)

• portugal •

WHICH WAY PORTUGAL?

More than two months since the military overthrew Caetano's regime, uncertainty remains the main feature of Portugal's political scene.

First, there is the problem of knowing who is in charge of what in the country. The Movement of the Armed Forces was obviously instrumental in ending almost 50 years of fascist dictatorship, but its program is ill-defined. The Provisional Government officially rules the country, but has many limitations stemming from the fact that it is a "coalition" that did not result from an agreement among all the participating parties, but rather from a desire of some of these parties to be in it. Some of the ministers in the new government belong to parties that

were formed hastily after April 25, which had no tradition of underground or open political activity in Portugal. Spinola's book provided the spark that triggered the coup, but how powerful he is as a political leader, or how original his doctrine is, or how realistic his dreams of a federation are, remain a big question mark.

Then there is the colonial problem, the reason for Spinola's book, and the catalyst for the coup. Negotiations with the PAIGC have broken down and none have got off the ground with other liberation movements. But hope of peaceful agreements is not totally extinguished.

Then there are the severe problems of the shakey state of the economy, not made any easier by the high rate of inflation, labor unrest, the lack of industry, and all the corruption and administrative chaos inherited from Salazar's and Caetano's patronage systems.

The difficulties of politicizing vast numbers of the population to whom politics was, until recently, a forbidden, sinful or dirty word, rank among the many challenges in the times ahead.

A major change has no doubt occurred in Portugal. It was a coup d'état rather than a revolution. Whether it will lead the Portuguese people towards a real democratic way, or whether the dark cloud of a new Chile hovering over Portugal will smother the country remains to be seen. (*New York Times*, June 13, 1974)

WHO'S WHO IN THE COUP

Movement of the Armed Forces—group of military officers, mostly of junior rank, who organized the coup that toppled Caetano.

Junta—led by General Spinola and consisting of four generals and two rear-admirals, the military junta took power on April 25 and ruled the country until May 16.

Provisional Government—Sworn in on May 16, the Provisional Government has Palma Carlos, a liberal, as Prime Minister, includes men of several political parties, and will remain in power until free general elections are held before March, 1975. Spinola, meanwhile was chosen as provisional President of the Republic, traditionally a ceremonial position.

Antonio de Spínola—Former Governor and military commander in Guinea, was appointed deputy chief of staff in Caetano's armed force, then ousted after publishing *Portugal and the Future* Chosen as head of military junta, was appointed provisional President of the Republic.

Palma Carlos—Prime Minister of the Provisional Government.

Alvaro Cunhal—Secretary-general of the Portuguese Communist Party; was jailed 11 years, then exiled for 14 years. Returned to Portugal to lead Portugal's strongest political party; Cabinet position as minister without portfolio.

Mario Soares—Leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party. Lived in exile in Paris; is now Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Adelino Conçalves—Minister of Labor in the Provisional Government, member of the Communist Party and was an influential trade unionist.

Almeida Santos—Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-ordination, in charge of colonial administration.

Since the April 25 coup and restoration of political freedoms, many underground parties have surfaced in

Portugal and many new ones have been formed. Among them:

Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)—the only organized party with strong popular support, and with most support among workers and peasants. Was main target of the ferocious attacks by the PIDE (secret police). Follows Moscow line, is highly respected at home and abroad.

Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP)—Recently organized as a political party; has large support in professional and intellectual circles. Follows social democratic principles. Has strong backing from other European social democratic parties.

Movement for the Reorganization of the Portuguese Proletariat (MRPP) Maoist in orientation, has following among students and young people. Regarded as a potentially strong political group, is not trusted by some sectors of the population, because of its extremist positions.

Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP)—Trotskyist, has support among students and young people.

REPRESSION REVIVED

There are some signs in Portugal that might point towards the restoration of some sort of repression.

On June 7 the Provisional Government ordered the arrest of Luis Saldanha Sanches, a long-time anti-fascist, who was presently a member of the Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Portuguese Proletariat and editor of its newspaper "Luta Popular" (People's Struggle).

The reason for the arrest was an article by Sanches, or at least published in his paper, strongly critical of Portugal's continued presence in Africa. The article was interpreted as an incitement to massive army desertion with weapons, and deemed a threat to military security or at any rate an infringement upon military rules. Sanches was held at a military prison away from Lisbon pending trial.

On June 10 the government halted in mid-showing, the broadcast of an anti-clerical play on national television a move which many interpret as an underhand return of Portugal's censorship. The play allegedly depicted a cardinal blessing PIDE-DGS agents. The scene did not shock those who knew that in the PIDE headquarters in Lisbon, next to the director's office, there was a chapel where PIDE agents supposedly gathered for prayer before, or after, savagely torturing political prisoners.

In another move the Government, or the Movement of the Armed Forces, or the Junta (it is uncertain who orders what in Portugal) announced the government takeover of radio and television stations by the military.

Political rallies seem to continue to be left untouched by official controls, although teargas dispersed pro-African demonstrators in Lisbon on May 26. (*New York Times*, June 8, 1974; *Guardian*, New York, June 5, 1974)

On June 22 the Provisional Government announced more restrictions on all forms of media, setting up a committee of seven military men to administer the regulations until a permanent press law is written. The regulations seem to say that although criticism of the government can continue, no one can call for or incite disobedience in the military, strikes, unauthorized demonstrations or more vaguely "offend" the Council of State and Cabinet. It is illegal to publish "false news" if done to counter the government, or alter the President's

declarations through editing texts. Breaking these laws would result in fines up to \$20,000; suspension of the publication for 60 days, and criminal prosecution in the military courts. (*New York Times*, June 23, 1974)

COMMUNIST TIES RENEWED

On June 9, Portugal and the Soviet Union announced the establishment of diplomatic relations that had been severed after the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Salazar's and Caetano's ferociously anti-communist regimes had never sought to ease up relations with Eastern European countries, though some commercial contacts existed. The only communist country that maintained a diplomatic mission in Lisbon was Cuba. China had no relations with Portugal, but some sort of informal dealings went on mainly through the presence of Portugal in Macao, in Southern China.

Under pressure from two communist members sympathetic to Moscow in its Cabinet, the new Lisbon regime shows a different mood towards establishing relations with communist countries, while pledging renewed allegiance to NATO. Portugal established relations with Rumania earlier in June and with Yugoslavia soon after the agreement with the Soviet Union. These diplomatic moves and their relationship to the Soviet bloc ties with the liberation movements are another question in the complex future of Portuguese colonialism. (*New York Times*, June 10, 1974)

NATO STATUS REDUCED

NATO has reduced the security clearance of Portugal, because the government of General Spínola includes two communists. The only other NATO country which has communists in its cabinet is Iceland. Information which is classified "cosmic" and "atoma" (atomic weapons) will no longer be given to Portugal. (*Newsweek*, June 3, 1974)

FINANCIAL INTEREST GROUPS IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES: BACKGROUND NOTES

The general pattern of economic exploitation of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, involving the collaboration of non-Portuguese and Portuguese financial interests, is well known. For some years reports of the United Nations have published information on a large number of American, Western European, Japanese, and South African companies involved in Angola and Mozambique. Only recently, however, with the publication of Maria Belmira Martins' *Sociedades e Grupos e Portugal*, has it been possible to get a somewhat clearer picture of the Portuguese financial interests involved.

In Angola the leading sector of the economy, mining, is dominated by non-Portuguese companies such as Gulf Oil. In Mozambique the economy is still largely oriented to serving South Africa and Rhodesia, a pattern which the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric project is designed to consolidate. But in the agricultural sector of each country (and in Guinea Bissau this sector is almost completely dominant), as well as in the light industry which has expanded rapidly in Angola and Mozambique in the last decade, Portuguese financial interests play a much larger role, although frequently in collaboration with non-Portuguese companies. In the wake of the coup in Portugal, it becomes particularly important to know something about these groups, because it is on these groups and their power that any approximation to a

neo-colonial solution will be based.

Of the seven leading financial interest groups in Portugal discussed in Martins' book, four seem to play the greatest role in Africa, although none are uninvolved. These four are CUF (Companhia União Fabril), Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Champalimaud, and Banco Português do Atlântico. The three with somewhat lesser involvement are Espírito Santo, Fonecas e Burnay, and Borges e Irmao.

Of these clearly the most important is CUF, which controls hundreds of companies in Portugal and in Africa. Its bank is Banco Totta, which in Angola and Mozambique has a joint operation with Standard Bank (of South Africa and of Britain), which in turn is 15% owned by Chase Manhattan Bank. The head of the new military junta in Portugal, General Spínola, has particularly close ties with CUF, which alone dominated the colonial economy of Guinea Bissau, where Spínola commanded Portuguese forces. CUF controls Portugal's largest shipping line, and in Mozambique is involved heavily in petroleum refining, cotton textiles, heavy textiles, rope, sugar, cashews, and many other enterprises. Jorge Jardim, a local Portuguese capitalist in Mozambique, with substantial interests in Malawi as well, is reputed to have close ties with CUF. And the newly appointed "interterritorial Minister" in Lisbon, Almeida Santos, is in turn closely associated with Jardim. CUF also plays an important role in Angola, but often through minority participation in enterprises of other groups.

As events continue to move rapidly in Portugal, it will be important for supporters of the African liberation movements to analyze not only the political maneuvers of the new Portuguese regime, but also to take a closer look at the financial interests behind the regime. And the numerous political groups springing up in Portugal and in Mozambique in particular must be analyzed in terms of the position they take both with respect to the colonial regime, and with respect to these economic forces which the colonial system is designed to protect; for a true independence must be based on the defeat of the Portuguese state and the Portuguese capitalist class, as well as the allies, governments and capitalists, that stand behind them.

• republic of guinea-bissau •

INSIDE THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

In February Colonel Basilio Pina de Oliveira Seguro became the new military governor of the Cape Verde Islands following long administrative service in Mozambique (*Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon, Feb. 9, 1974). By the end of May all had changed. Immediately after the Lisbon coup, masses came out in the streets of the Islands to show their support for the PAIGC. The fascist security apparatus had known of such sympathies but was surprised to find that the sentiment was so widespread. PAIGC banners were displayed and slogans chanted. Amid joyous demonstrations many political prisoners were released on May 2 from the notorious Tarrafal prison (*Lisbon Radio*, May 2, 1974, 1500 gm).t).



"My feet are killing me!"

Over the weekend of May 18-19 a full-scale demonstration was organized at Praia on Santiago Island demanding that the Lisbon junta recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (RGB). Eight demonstrators were reported injured and one killed. On May 20 several hundred Cape Verdeans in Lisbon also demonstrated for the recognition of the RGB and to protest the police brutality in the Islands on the previous day. May demonstrations were also reported for Dakar, Senegal (PAIGC-USA, New Bedford, Mass., May 1974). For Lisbon it was thought to be the first such action where some 30,000 Cape Verdeans make their homes and generally menial living (*Guardian* (New York), June 5, 1974).

Belgian and Italian commercial interests have applied to build a ten million ton oil refinery in the Islands, probably on Sao Vicente (*Provincia*, Luanda, March 19, 1974).

General Bettencourt Rodrigues and some other Portuguese officers from the RGB representing the Caetano regime are now exiled in the Islands (*Star* Johannesburg, April 27, 1974). The new Portuguese military junta senior officer in Bissau is Lt. Col. Almeida Bruno who exhorted the Portuguese military officers in Bissau to support the coup d'etat (*Times*, May 11, 1974).

ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The Portuguese supremacy of the skies has now been challenged for more than a year since the PAIGC stepped up its anti-aircraft defenses. The 40th Portuguese plane, a Fiat C-91 (the 27th of its kind) was brought down on

March 16. Earlier in the same month attacks in the South at Catio town and Bedanda left numerous enemy casualties and heavy damage. In the East, on the Bafatan-Gabu front the Canquelifa entrenched camp was shelled with destruction to war equipment. Near Gabu town on March 22, eighteen enemy soldiers were killed and five military vehicles were destroyed (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, March 30, 1974; April 15, 1974).

During the same period the Portuguese admitted the loss of eleven soldiers, but claimed that they killed 37 freedom fighters including two Cubans (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, April 8, 1974). Since the Lisbon coup, efforts have made to free the Cuban Capt. Pedro Peralta who was captured in the RGB in November 1969. Capt. Peralta is now in a Lisbon prison hospital. Pressure is mounting to have him released on the general amnesty (*Providence Journal R.I.*, May 27, 1974).

In April, action was intensified on the Geba river area where a loaded ship was sunk near Zime port. An enemy column was ambushed on the Mansoa-Porto Gole roadway and enemy soldiers were repulsed in the Tchoquemon area. In the first two weeks of the month 66 soldiers were killed, eleven vehicles destroyed and arms and ammunition seized (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam April 15, 24, 1974). Portuguese aircraft continued raids at Tombali and Cubucare several days after the Lisbon coup (*PAIGC Information Bulletin*, April 28, 1974).

ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

The RGB is now recognized by 83 nations (*Daily World*, May 16, 1974). Relations between the RGB and Liberia have been established at the ambassadorial level (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Feb. 22, 1974). Algeria, Guinea-Conakry, the Soviet Union, Rumania, and Yugoslavia have all assigned Ambassadors to the RGB. They presented their credentials inside the country on May 10. (*revolution Africaine*, Algiers, March 28, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, May 14, 1974).

At the United Nations France abstained on a resolution passed against Portugal, while the other major "Western" powers voted with the Portuguese. The new French government has indicated that military aid to Portugal and white settler regimes will be cut off. President d'Estaing did not provide any details.

For the last time? PAIGC militants cleaning their guns at a base in the East Front of Guinea-Bissau while the negotiations were in progress.



Stephanie Urdang

In Geneva, the World Health Organization has accepted the membership of the RGB under a vote of 92 to 1, with 31 abstentions. As has been anticipated for some time, the Whitlam government of Australia voted for admission to the WHC. Whitlam has stated that Australia will not be the first nor the last to recognize the new Republic. The United States cast the sole negative vote. (*New York Times*, May 17, 1974; *Guardian*, London, April 23, 1974).

Despite the continued strong opposition to the recognition of the RGB, the United States State Department officials in Conakry have invited PAIGC representatives "to exchange views" in Washington. The PAIGC mission at the United Nations has sent representatives for these contacts (*Daily Nation*, Kenya, March 29, 1974). At the OAU Mogadishu Summit meeting, PAIGC President Luis Cabral was named deputy chairman (*New York Times*, June 14, 1974).

AT THE NEGOTIATION TABLE

Of course it was inevitable that the tide of history would wash to the edge of the negotiating table, but the April 25 coup d'etat in Lisbon has pushed this event to an earlier-than-anticipated date.

PAIGC statements have long maintained that they were prepared to begin negotiations but only for the full recognition of total independence. However caution was elicited with the publication of Spino's book "Portugal and the Future" which outlined a plan for "federation" under a Portuguese political and economic umbrella. PAIGC President Luis Cabral said that only negotiations between sovereign states would be acceptable. With this understanding the PAIGC was naturally hesitant when Spino appeared in the new Lisbon junta. (*Times*, London, April 26, 1974).

Since the end of April the junta coalition has clarified its position and now the PAIGC believes that a sincere effort for negotiation should be pursued. In a statement released in Dakar the PAIGC said that it "has always clearly distinguished between Portuguese colonialism, against which it is struggling, and the people of Portugal, with whom it wants to maintain relations of friendship and cooperation in conditions of independence and "mutual respect." Respect for the rights of self-determination for Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands are minimal in any negotiations.

On May 6 the junta offered a "cease-fire" but on May 8 this was rejected as "surrender" by PAIGC spokesperson, Francisco Mendes (*Guardian*, London, May 22, 1974). However, by May 9 the military junta had pledged "complete decolonization" and "rapid" Africanization for Guinea-Bissau. Colonel Carlos Soares Fabiao, junta representative in Bissau stressed that his aims were "serious" and "genuine" (*Guardian*, London, 15 May 1974).

Although an unofficial cease-fire was observed during the actual negotiations, the PAIGC has rejected a formal cease-fire until the Portuguese troops are regrouped for their withdrawal. (*Le Monde*, Paris, May 15, 1974).

In Dakar, Mario Soares Portuguese Socialist Party leader and Minister of Foreign Affairs for the junta met with PAIGC officials on May 16-17 to declare that formal negotiations would soon begin. On May 15, 1974 exactly one month after the Lisbon coup the beginning of the end of an historic epoch of colonialism began to unfold in London. The first order of business was to formalize the

cease-fire. The next items on the agenda were to be discussions for "self-determination" and a calendar for the evacuation of troops. It is hoped that the solution in the RGB will serve as an example elsewhere (*Le Monde*, May 18, 19, 20, 1974). The PAIGC has often mentioned that the Portuguese have no legitimate right to hold a "referendum" in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Since the RGB is a sovereign nation the PAIGC leadership simply wants the Lisbon authorities to recognize the new government and nation.

While the atmosphere was friendly and frank many issues remain unresolved and Soares had to return to Lisbon for further consultations. Talks were resumed on June 8 in Algiers at the request of President Cabral (*New York Times*, June 14, 1974; *O Seculo* (Lisbon), June 9, 1974). There are several issues involved.

There is some question about the Cape Verde Islands. Will the Portuguese retain control of the Islands which have seen no armed actions or will a 'referendum' be

worked out to lead to self-determination with Guinea-Bissau? South Africa and Portugal make heavy use of the strategic islands for their commercial and military aircraft and ships.

Portugal is concerned about the safety of the 2,300 Portuguese citizens and property in the RGB as well as the safety of the 10,000 or so Africans who fought with the Portuguese, as well as the exchange of prisoners of war.

PAIGC demands that Portugal initiate talks with the other African freedom movements. All of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies have expressed the unity of their collective struggles against Portuguese colonialism.

Despite the initial optimism, at present all negotiations have ended with no specific plans for future meetings as the Lisbon government faces its own internal turmoil and back-tracking by General Spínola. The Algiers talks collapsed on June 16 (*New York Times*, June 17, 1974)

UNITED STATES and SOUTHERN AFRICA

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SUPPORTS RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

On June 27, the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted in favor of the Bill to renew US compliance with sanctions against Rhodesia by a solid 25 to 9 margin. This ended a five-and-a-half month stall and a last-ditch effort to obstruct the controversial Bill in Committee.

Opponents of the Bill knew that they did not have the votes to defeat it, so they resorted to attempts to obstruct the Committee action. Wayne Hays, a powerful House member for steel-producing eastern Ohio, led the forces against the bill. On June 25, the first day of full Committee consideration, Hays offered an amendment stating that the By Amendment repeal would not become effective until passage of a Bill now held up in the Armed Services Committee, which would release chrome and ferrochrome from the national strategic stockpile. He got some support from the Committee, but the measure was defeated by 21 to 11. Then Rep. Edward Derwinski, a very conservative, senior Republican, offered another amendment stating that the President could not prohibit chrome imports from Rhodesia so long as chrome is brought in from the Soviet Union, unless the USSR improves its emigration policy towards Jews. Every member of the Committee recognized that the amendment was only a delaying tactic, and Derwinski got only six votes out of 29. By this time, the discussion on the amendments and innumerable procedural issues had gone on for more than an hour. The opposition then pushed Chairman Thomas Morgan to adjourn the meeting so Committee members could answer a quorum call on the

House floor. Then Chairman agreed to adjourn, saying a final vote on the Bill would be the first order of business when the Committee reconvened in two days.

On the morning of the 27th, the sanctions opposition stayed away in hopes of preventing a quorum in the 39 member Committee. Their tactic is not too surprising, since liberals have a reputation for being undisciplined on being present to vote. But the liberals showed up in full force, perhaps partly in reaction to Representative Hays' acid methods at the previous meeting. Only one additional amendment was offered, placing an embargo on chrome ore imports from Turkey unless Turkey complies with its 1972 ban on opium production. This was dispensed with in minutes, and the Committee proceeded with a roll call vote on the sanctions bill itself.

The vote for sanctions was a strong endorsement. Chairman Morgan supported the Bill, as did William Broomfield, the next Minority leader of the Committee and a strong supporter of the Administration. Several other key middle-of-the-road members of the Committee including Clement Zablocki, the second-ranking Democrat, and Gus Yatron from Reading, Pennsylvania, a stainless-steel-producing area, voted by proxy to report the Bill out of Committee favorably.

Proponents of the Bill hope that with this initial send-off the Bill will gain momentum and get to the House floor for a vote by the end of July. The present vote count suggests that the Committee action must be followed by continued support from Chairman Morgan, key members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Democratic leadership if a success is to be attained.

Administration lobbying will be a crucial element with Republicans, and so proponents hope that the strong Committee vote will put backbone and muscle into State and White House lobbying.

AIR RHODESIA LICENSE WITHDRAWN

Under pressure from the United Church of Christ's Center for Social Action, the Treasury Department has at last acted on the stacks of documents turned over to it by a former Air Rhodesia secretary which showed numerous violations of US sanctions regulations. Basically the office was established and licensed under the condition that it only disseminate information; the documents show that Air Rhodesia was in fact involved in promoting and enabling tourism to Rhodesia with the sanctions breaking act of transferring monies to the illegal regime. On May 15, Stanley Sommerfield of the US Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Treasury froze the Air Rhodesia bank account and two days later withdrew its license to operate.

However, based on past experience, Air Rhodesia's director, Renton Cowley, had reason to hope that the office could hang on and continue its tourist business under another guise. He applied for a dollar-free account license in his own personal name. Ed Markowsky, a one time Air Rhodesia salesman, also applied. Both applications were denied. Meanwhile, Don Morton, South African exile who heads the Center for Social Action task force on Southern African affairs, kept up his surveillance of Sommerfield and complained that notwithstanding these actions Air Rhodesia's doors were still open and it still seemed to be operating. Finally on June 21 after continued church pressure and public exposés the office closed.

Morton is convinced that Cowley will try again, perhaps in Canada or by using Rhodesia's powerful friends in the booming tourist industry. Cowley could obtain United States currency in South Africa or Switzerland for Air Rhodesia's American business, Morton points out. Sommerfield has turned back all of the documents and claims that "The investigation did not disclose any transfers of funds which would warrant prosecution." (Letter of June 7, 1974 from Acting Director, Stanley L. Sommerfield to Don Morton) No prosecutions are planned by any governmental agencies notwithstanding clear evidence that sanctions have been broken. Cowley,

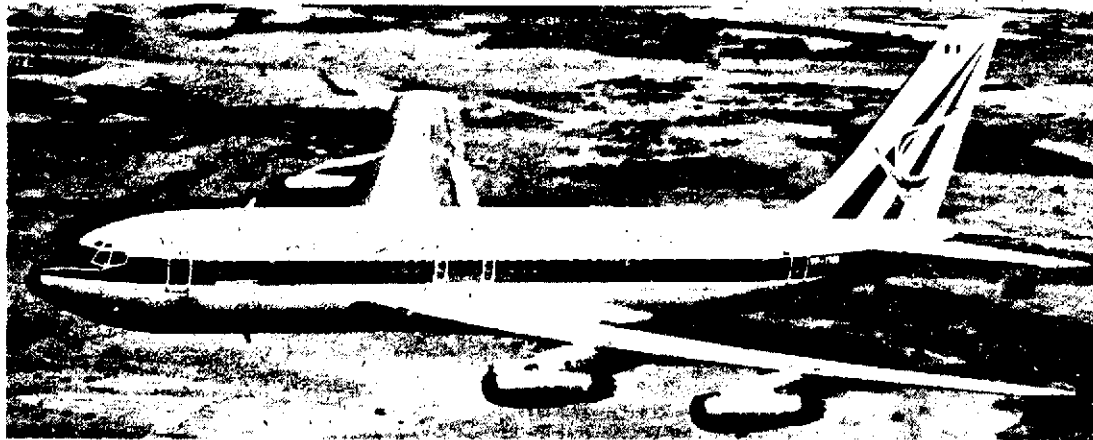
who is a Rhodesian, illegally masquerading as a South African, will have no problems with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, whose operations are subject to the influence of Senator James Eastland, (D. Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and its Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization. But Ken Owen of the Johannesburg *Star* speculates that Cowley may head back to Rhodesia, nonetheless.

Exposure of sanctions violations by a relatively small band of Rhodesia watchers was greeted with quiet satisfaction by some State Department officers, who have been trying without much success to tighten up other governmental bureaus' sanctions implementation. In the Watergate atmosphere, it is difficult to get many liberal Congressmen interested in investigating governmental laxity on Rhodesian sanctions. Furthermore, they know that repeal of the Byrd Amendment cannot pass without Administration leadership. (*Washington Post*, June 16, 1974; *Sunday Times*, London, May 5, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, North Carolina, April 25, 1974; *Southern Africa*, June, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 22, 1974)

SOUTH AFRICA HIRES AMERICAN LOBBYISTS

In an unconventional move to rapidly build political support for South Africa in the United States, the South African Department of Information has hired a well-known lobbying law firm in Washington to work for "possible changes in U.S. foreign policy towards the Republic of South Africa." This unusual set-up, outside regular diplomatic structures, has sparked considerable criticism from English-speaking South Africa. The American lobbyists have already scored several major successes for South Africa.

On March 12, Donald de Kieffer and Thomas Shannon, of Collier, Shannon, Rill, and Edwards, registered at the Justice Department as foreign agents for the South African Department of Information. According to their registration documents, the lobbyists will contact "appropriate government officials in the United States concerning American policies with regard to energy, mutual security, and investment within the Republic of South Africa." They will receive \$50 per hour to make personal contacts with US officials, as well as with newspapers, civic groups and educational institutions.



Air Rhodesia airplane

Mr. de Kieffer and Mr. Shannon apparently played a major part in arranging the recent visits to the US of South African Minister of Information Dr. Cornelius Mulder and Defense Chief Admiral Hugo Biermann. They are reported to have worked with Congressman Louis Wyman to set up an appointment for Dr. Mulder with Vice Admiral Ray Peet at the Pentagon on January 23. They also may have helped arrange Dr. Mulder's appearance at a campaign reception for Congressman Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on January 24.

Mr. Shannon reported to the Justice Department that he contributed \$100 of his personal funds to Congressman Wyman on January 23. Also, the "Doc Morgan Reception Committee" reported a receipt of \$200 from Mr. de Kieffer on January 24, in payment for tickets to the reception according to Mr. de Kieffer. Under the US Code, it is illegal for any foreign agent to contribute funds to a political candidate on behalf of the foreign principal. It is not illegal for lobbyists to contribute personal funds to such candidates, however.

Collier, Shannon, Rill, and Edwards has solid Republican connections, and the firm lobbies for the broiler, bicycle, and footwear industries, cylinder manufacturers, food chains, and, most importantly, the Tool and Stainless Steel Industry Committee, which is co-ordinating the lobbying on Capitol Hill against restoration of sanctions against Rhodesia. Mr. de Kieffer wrote the industry booklet on Rhodesian chrome which is now being circulated on the Hill. He has also served as counsel to two Methodist stainless steel officials who attempted unsuccessfully in mid-June to weaken grass roots support for sanctions by the Western Pennsylvania Conference of the United Methodist Church, which is in the heart of stainless steel country.

In South Africa, there has been wide opposition to the lobbying arrangement worked out by the Department of Information, from those who see an independent foreign policy being carried out by that Department without the knowledge of the Department of Foreign Affairs. It has been reported that Mr. de Kieffer was more in the know about the important Biermann visit than the South African Embassy in Washington, and that the embassy was far from pleased. It was he who organized an effective protest to the State Department to grant Admiral Biermann a visa for his "private" trip. South African concern has also been expressed in the English-language press that "the political capital now being made by anti-South African forces in Washington [in reaction to the de Kieffer contract] threatens the climate of low-key friendliness cultivated by the Nixon Administration." (*Johannesburg Star*, May 11, 14, 18, 1974)

SUGAR BILL DEATH SWEETENS SOUTH AFRICA'S PROFITS

The booming market for sugar in the world economy has apparently set the stage in Congress for the death of the Sugar Act. For forty years well-paid lobbyists have jockeyed on behalf of foreign clients to obtain a quota in

the lucrative US market, in which the restriction of sugar supplies has kept prices normally at a premium. Since 1962, South Africa, for example, has been paid \$33 million more than it could have received through sales on the world market. But the world prices in the last year have tripled and US protective barriers seemed antiquated and anti-consumer to too many Congressmen. In June, the House voted to kill the Sugar Act by a surprising 209-175 margin.

Liberals led by Congressmen Parren Mitchell and Charles Diggs attempted to strip out the quota for South Africa as they had in 1971. But they lost by a larger margin 238-149 (the 1971 vote was 213-166). Diggs was attending an interparliamentary meeting in Wales during the week of the Sugar Act debate and left the floor fight to Mitchell and his own hard-working staff. John W. Lewis, Jr. of the *Washington Afro-American* wrote a strong attack on Diggs for his absence calling him "derelict in his responsibility to the black community."

Liberals stayed away from the floor in far greater numbers than conservatives, as they traditionally do unless especially persuaded of the importance of a measure. In an era of raw materials' shortages and producer boycotts, South Africa's role as a reliable supplier of sugar makes South Africa's face-lifting propaganda about progress in race relations more palatable, if not, in fact, credible.

While Senator Kennedy has introduced Senate legislation to end South Africa's sugar quota, he is unlikely to get a chance to manage this anti-apartheid legislation. The Senate seems disposed to wait and see if the House Agriculture Committee wants to try again. Producers seem ready to try their luck with the world market or to plant other crops rather than to risk the sort of amendments for the protection of US agricultural labor which were tacked onto the Sugar Bill before it got killed as a whole.

Meanwhile, South African sugar producers are letting it be known that they are delighted with the result. They claim that the death of the Sugar Act means that they will have a free hand to sell the US *more* sugar and at better prices. Chairman Poage says that only Australia, Brazil and South Africa have the storage capacity to deliver surplus sugar to this country virtually on demand. (*Congressional Record*, June 5, 1974, H 4755-60; *Washington Afro-American*, June 11, 1974; *Wall Street Journal*, June 6, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974)

UNITED STATES ASSURES SPINOLA OF CONTINUING SUPPORT

President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger have embraced the new Portuguese Government in their whirlwind personal diplomatic tour of the Middle East and NATO conferences.

Nixon met Spinola at Lajes Airforce base in the Azores for an hour and a half on June 12. While State Department officials disclaim, and in fact, may not have any knowledge of what was discussed, news reporters on



Lajes Airfield on the Azores

the scene reported that Spínola said they had discussed Portugal's needs in the technical, economic, and financial fields "to enable Portugal to be economically on a par with the other countries of Europe." Clearly, Spínola hopes to use the United States' commitment to the Middle East to raise the price for an extension of the lease of Lajes base, which expired February 4, 1974.

Nixon is believed to feel that the Communists in Spínola's government could cause him trouble, but is supportive of Spínola who "recognizes the problem and the challenge of change." He said that he looked forward to working with Spínola "toward the great goals he has set for his government," especially the building of new institutions. A major topic of discussion was Portugal's contribution to NATO and Western military forces.

Nixon conferred with Spínola again in Brussels on his way to Moscow on June 26.

Recently, Secretary of State Kissinger is understood to have met privately with Foreign Minister Mario Soares at the Ottawa NATO meeting held June 18-21.

Earlier, the Africa Bureau and the European Bureau convened a private consultation of Portuguese African experts from the US academic world on May 6 to help policy makers understand the meaning of the Portuguese coup. Experts present included John Marcum of the University of California at Santa Cruz and Gerald Bender of MIT. State Department officers are understood to have expressed lively hopes that the liberation movements would now be persuaded to enter the political arena and to give up armed struggle. Marcum apparently expressed skepticism that any easy transition of that sort would meet the goals of the movements. (*Washington Post*, June 19, 20, 1974)

PROPOSES DENIAL OF TAX CREDITS FOR FOREIGN OPERATIONS

Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota has introduced an amendment to the Trade Reform Act of 1973 which would deny US companies credit for taxes paid to any government whose "administration has been held illegal by the International Court of Justice and the United States Government has accepted the conclusions of

such... opinion," a reference directly applicable to Namibia.

The official US policy toward Namibia is to discourage investment there as long as South Africa is illegally administering the territory. However, US companies have been able to deduct taxes paid to the South African Government from those owed to the United States. As Senator Mondale pointed out in a press conference on June 5, "We in effect allow tax credits to a government in places where we don't recognize their authority." Mondale believes that it is up to the Congress to change this practice. In a letter of May 4, 1973 to several members of Congress, Secretary of Treasury Schultz wrote that he did not feel that current tax legislation provided the discretion to deny tax credits to companies for their operations in Namibia. Senator Mondale said, "I believe that Secretary Schultz's reply was an invitation to the Congress to amend the Internal Revenue Code to... set the record straight and bring the tax laws into line with US policy." Senator Mondale also indicated that this bill is in the national interests of the United States, "With the recent events in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, we must not delay in making clear where the United States stands."

The Mondale amendment is now before the Senate Finance Committee as part of the trade bill, which has been held up in Committee for months over the sharp division between the Administration and one of its principal critics on detente. The particular fight is over the inclusion of a provision to deny most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union until it improves its emigration policy towards Jews. If this deadlock is broken after Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union, the Senate would be able to take a stand on one of the less well-known aspects of United States policy toward Africa.

CONGRESS TO CONSIDER DIEGO GARCIA FUNDS

The Congress will consider by the end of July whether to authorize funds to up-grade the US military base on the British-owned Diego Garcia islands. The possible building of a "support facility" on this island in the middle of the Indian Ocean has raised charges at the United Nations that this US expansion will make the Indian Ocean a new arena for a race for naval supremacy and political influences between the US and the Soviet Union.

The Congress is considering a \$29 million authorization for the base as part of the fiscal year 1975 Military Construction bill. The Defense Department had previously included the request in the Supplemental Appropriations Authorization bill for 1974, but the House Agreed in conference to the Senate proposal to postpone action to the regular 1975 budget in order to study it more thoroughly. Though it would be a tough battle, it is possible that the Senate might strike out the authorization. But in the usually more militaristic House, where the measure was retained in the Supplemental Appropriations Authorization by a vote of 255 to 94, success is less probable.

Similarly, on Namibia, the situation has not changed. The arrest and detention of the leadership of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) and the reintroduction of corporal punishment for political opponents of the regime remain a cause of serious concern. The Security Council decided last year to discontinue contacts which it had previously called for with the South African Government. However, the General Assembly has again mandated the Council for Namibia to continue its initiatives, intensify the international campaign for an independent Namibia and safeguard the interests of the Namibian people. (UN Press Release SG/SM/2006, June 12, 1974)

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COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON REPORTED MASSACRES CONTINUES HEARINGS

The UN Commission of Inquiry into the Reported Massacres in Mozambique continued hearings in Dar es Salaam on June 6 with evidence from witnesses who came to testify from the Mozambique provinces of Cabo Delgado, Tete and Manica and Sofala. Witnesses from Niassa province were not able to come, according to a FRELIMO representative, because of prevailing conditions. Incidents of mass killings by Portuguese troops of civilians in numerous villages throughout 1971, '72 and '73 were reported. Several cases of massacres included such barbarous acts as tearing fetuses from pregnant women, and on one occasion helicopter troops landed and machine gunned a hospital, killing ten persons, wounding 15 and destroying a clinic. The FRELIMO representative said special forces of the Portuguese executing acts of destruction and annihilation had received specific training and psychological preparation for these acts and had begun to operate in Mozambique in 1970. These forces contained special groups including those who wore captured FRELIMO uniforms while committing such acts. Some witnesses told of large scale killings in villages going back to 1965. Slavcho Slavov, a Bulgarian doctor working with the FRELIMO Mtwara Hospital in Tanzania since April 1971, gave information that indicated the poisoning of wells. He said that three-quarters of the patients were civilians from the liberated areas, and that his personal observations had led him to believe that massacres were not isolated cases and that the policy of the Portuguese troops amounted to genocide.

Other witnesses from Tete province reported visits by Rhodesian soldiers who came in by helicopter and shot and killed villagers indiscriminately. Here also, in many villages, civilians, including many women and children, were rounded up into huts and then murdered by setting fire to the huts with grenades. In one area alone, between 1971 and 1972, over two hundred people had been killed. (UN Press Release GA/5040, June 12, 1974; UN Press Release GA/5039, June 11, 1974)

The Commission inquiry is to last for five weeks and was established by the General Assembly last year. The

hearings at the request of FRELIMO are open to the press. [See Mozambique section]

Waldheim is expected to meet with Portugal's new Foreign Minister, Mario Soares, within the next few weeks, according to a statement he made while in Khartoum in mid-June. The Secretary General discussed developments in Portugal since the April coup during a meeting with Sudanese President Nimeiry. (*Washington Post*, June 11, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 11, 18, 1974)

WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME TO AID LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The World Food Programme, a UN agency, will supply food to FRELIMO and other liberation movements and has invited the OAU to administrate the program. The WFP is jointly run by the UN and the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization, and last year provided food worth nearly three and a half million pounds to refugees from Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau living in neighboring countries. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, May 6, 1974; *Muhammad Speaks*, N.Y., May 31, 1974)

WHO TO STUDY HEALTH IMPLICATIONS OF APARTHEID

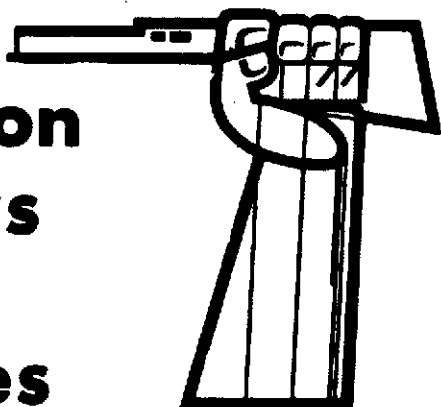
The World Health Organization and the UN Special Committee on Apartheid have discussed ways to co-operate in gaining public awareness of problems caused by apartheid. Ambassador Ogbu (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee, has welcomed the recommendation made by the Director-General of the WHO to study the health implications of apartheid for the people of South Africa and specific measures which might be initiated by WHO. (UN Press Release, GA/AP/404H/2331, June 12, 1974)

APARTHEID COMMITTEE TO VISIT JAPAN

The Chairman, Mr. Ogbu, has also been in touch with the Japanese Government about a proposed visit of a delegation of the Apartheid Committee to Japan this year, and with the U K delegation to the UN concerning a June meeting with the Foreign Secretary in London. A visit to Paris is also likely.

The Japanese Government is reported to be taking steps to attempt to formulate a new trade policy for Africa before the next session of the UN General Assembly in September. A conference of all Japanese ambassadors in Africa was to be held in May in Tokyo, and a government committee set up to hear the views of business experts on African affairs. Japan was one of the countries whose attention was drawn by the UN Sanctions Committee on Rhodesia to serious contradictions in the figures for trade with South Africa. According to the *Asahi Shimbun*, the leading Japanese newspaper, Japan's trade with South Africa, which totalled 1000 million dollars in 1972, is equal in value to Japanese trade with all of Black Africa. (UN, Unit on Apartheid Bulletin, No. 6/74, May, 1974)

action news and notes



ECONOMIC

GULF OIL HEADQUARTERS BOMBED— ANGOLAN POLICIES BLAMED

On the evening of June 13 a dynamite blast ripped apart the walls and floor of the 28-29th floor of Gulf Oil Corporation's international headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A call was received by the company many minutes before the dynamite exploded. The following day, a telephone call threatening another bombing led to the evacuation of 800 workers from the same building and its closure for the rest of the day. Building damages are estimated at a minimum \$350,000. The Weather Underground has claimed responsibility for the bombing and distributed a brochure which stated that they attacked Gulf because:

"Gulf finances the Portuguese colonial war against the people of Angola in Africa.

Gulf steals bonanza profits from poor and working people in the US.

Gulf exploits the people and resources of 70 countries in the world."

The brochure then outlines Portuguese policy in Africa, Gulf activities in places such as Vietnam, the energy crisis and Gulf profits, the company's political contributions, and Nixon involvement, and then has a more extensive history and analysis of the situation in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The African theme of the brochure is emphasized by quotes from former PAIGC leader Cabral, pictures and quotes from Angola, and slogans such as "Boycott Gulf", "Gulf and Portugal out of Angola" and, "This is a decisive moment in the struggle for African Liberation, a time which calls for heightened support for the African movements."

A Vice President of Gulf called the blast "senseless and vicious." He defended his company's role in Angola as providing jobs, upgrading Blacks, and warned that if another company took over Gulf's Cabinda (Angola) operations it would give the Portuguese more taxes and royalties. (*New York Times*, June 15, 1974; *Washington Post*, June 15, 1974; *Wall Street Journal*, June 19, 1974)

Other Gulf News

Gulf Oil was one of the corporate targets cited at a Chicago march on International Women's Day, March 9, 1974. The Gulf Oil annual meeting in late April was again the focus of church protesters, (see article on Church Challenges) as well as a venue for the Gulf Boycott Coalition to leaflet the stockholders and Pittsburgh community. In Boston, the Boycott Gulf Coalition and Pan African Liberation Committee demonstrated at a Gulf building in Government Center and received considerable publicity. (Boston Gulf Boycott Coalition, April 23; Gulf Boycott Newsletter, May, 1974).

NEW YORK CHROME ACTIVITY MOUNTS

On a number of occasions during June, members of the newly formed New York Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports (164 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016) have leafletted or picketed at the piers in Brooklyn where US ships carrying metals from Rhodesia dock. On June 1, 70 persons from the Coalition demonstrated at the Moore



Go Gulf



Go Gulf



Go Gulf

Dave Bragin



Demonstrators leaflet longshoremen working on the African Sun June 26th. (Photo: Episcopal Churchmen for Southern Africa)

MacCormack pier, where a spokesman from ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union), Tapson Mawere hailed the protest as a first and important step in the escalation of the campaign against Rhodesian imports. Security Police and shipping line people prevented Mawere and several other ZANU representatives from talking with the longshoremen. The ship then at the docks, the *Mormaclake*, proceeded to Baltimore where 180 tons of nickel were unloaded before a successful boycott was initiated by the active longshoremen in that city. In Baltimore, ZANU representatives met with demonstrators, dockworkers, and local media people.

On June 26, after a series of earlier leaflettings, 100 demonstrators came out at 6:30 AM to picket the Farrell line ship, the *African Sun*, which over the past years has carried the most Rhodesian goods into US ports. Earlier, another Moore MacCormack ship, the *Mormacpride*, had been a demonstration target. The leaflet distributed on June 26 was written in English and in Italian, recognizing the high number of Italian-speaking workers on the Brooklyn docks. The local free radio station, WBAI, interviewed a number of workers, many of whom supported the effort. One of the difficulties in instituting a Baltimore type longshoremen boycott in New York is the fact that local union leadership is only willing to offer support if the shipping line manifest shows Rhodesian goods are actually on board. This is often difficult to prove because the goods are disguised (the ports of exit from Africa are in Mozambique or South Africa as Rhodesia is a land locked country). People from the American Committee on Africa have conferred with the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local

1814 receiving promises to review the ships' manifests and to boycott if Rhodesian goods are found.

The New York Coalition is the fifth such group to develop along the East Coast, joining ones in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk, Virginia. Members attending meetings and actions have included people from ZANU, American Committee, October League, Revolutionary Union, Black Panther Party, Attica Brigade, United Farm Workers, Socialist Workers Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, Southern Africa Committee, the *Guardian* newspaper and Episcopal Churchmen against South Africa. Because of the Atlantic coast groups it appears that ships with Rhodesian goods are moving farther south to ports such as Charleston (South Carolina) and Savannah, Georgia. In the first city a GI group called the Defense Committee has been working on Rhodesian asbestos boycott. (*Guardian*, June 12; *Southern Patriot*, April, 1974; ACOA information).

Student Chrome Confiscation

At Staten Island Community College, an imaginative protest occurred on May 1 when students and faculty members confiscated chrome-plated furniture from the College President's office. A college instructor, Marcellus Jones, has been charged with \$1,500 worth of grand larceny. Fifty people demonstrated in his support on June 7.

POLITICAL

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, 1974

The third annual national African Liberation Day, organized by the anti-racist and anti-imperialist African Liberation Support Committee, was celebrated on May 25. A mass march of 5,000 people in Washington, D.C. culminated with a rally in that city's Malcolm X Park. Speakers at the rally included Imamu Baraka, William Lucy of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and Dawolu Gene Locke of ALSC. Before the protest, a two day conference had been held at Howard University on the theme, "Which road against racism and imperialism for the Black Liberation Movements?" Attended by hundreds, panels and workshops were held on such issues as labor, education, police, and women—showing the move this year by the ALSC to integrate more fully the international and local struggles. Thus the demonstration on the 25th not only hailed the African liberation struggles, but also focused on Nixon's impeachment, the energy crisis and police repression in the US. (*Washington Post*, May 26; *Guardian*, New York, June 5; *Militant*, New York, June 8, 1974).

Local Actions

Community, political, campus and international figures numbering 1,000 rallied in Detroit on May 18. In New York City, an African Liberation Week was celebrated at Hostos Community College in the Bronx with films, plays, fund raising for the victims of the Sahel drought, and a dance. There are some 65 local ALSC groups active throughout the United States.

NEW YORK PROTESTS AND MEETINGS

On June 22 a public demonstration was held attracting more than 100 persons from a new coalition of groups, including the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas, African Youth Movement, Socialist Workers Party, Committee for a Free South Africa, Ethiopian Student Union, Young Socialist Alliance, UMOJA Society, Young Workers Liberation League, American Committee on Africa, International Socialists, New York Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, and others. The target was the Casa de Portugal on Fifth Avenue; the demand: independence for Portugal's African colonies. Slogans were chanted such as the rhyming "Down with the Portuguese ruling clique, Independence Now for Mozambique." Another demonstration was held on June 27.

In April, the former Bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, spoke with a number of groups and at a number of churches in New York; on April 26, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) held a slide show and talk; a number of church groups and individuals met in late May to discuss the situation in Namibia; on June 10 the Peoples Democratic Association held a film showing on the Portuguese territories, and the African American Institute held a journalists conference at which Tanzanian Ambassador Salim Salim called for continued aid to the liberation movements warning against complacency after the Portuguese coup. (Leaflets, *Amsterdam News*, New York, May 25, 1974)

CATHOLIC ORDER CONDEMNS US POLICY

The Maryknoll Sisters, working in East Africa, have written to US Ambassador to the UN, John Scali, condemning the US voting record on colonial questions. The protest was written at the time of the Sharpeville anniversary. (*Target*, April 7, 1974)

DIPLOMATS MUST GO

The continued presence in the United States of diplomats who served Caetano's fascist regime has been under attack by members of the Portuguese community, especially in the New England States.

At a reception given near Fall River, Mass., to commemorate Portugal Day, June 10, members of the newly formed Free-Portugal Movement and of the Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action, protested against the reappointment of Joao Hall Themido as Ambassador to Washington, and of consuls and other diplomatic officers to posts in the US. So far none have been replaced. This contrasts with Portugal herself where a "clean-up" has been under way. As did people in Madeira when having to "play host" to deposed Caetano and President Tomaz, Portuguese protesters in the US have stated that "Portuguese communities here are not dumping grounds for old fascists." (*Providence Journal*, June 11, 1974)

LIBERATION AID

US GROUPS AID LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The Pan African Liberation Committee (PO Box 514, Brookline Village, Mass. 02147) and its Southern Africa Relief Fund sent \$2,141 to the Liberation Committee of the OAU. (Letter, May 31, 1974)

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization has announced 1974 grants of some \$320,553 to 28 US community organizations and to three African groups including \$5,000 to the Friendship Institute of the PAIGC; the same amount to the FRELIMO Mozambique Institute; and \$5,429 to ZANU. Other grants went to groups in this country working on Southern Africa including \$3500 to a filmmaker doing a movie on UNITA and \$3,000 to ALSC. (IFCO Press Release, June 7, 1974)

A REVIEW OF CHURCH CHALLENGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA—1974

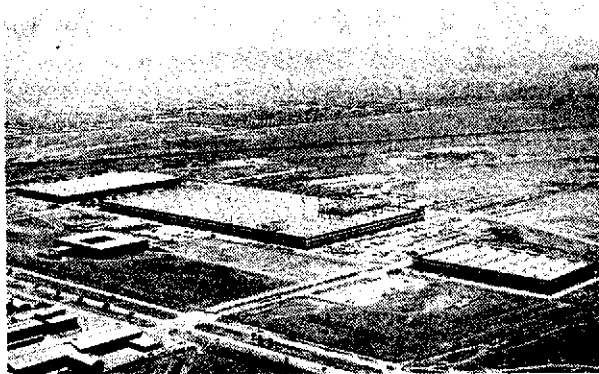
More than ever before, churches were active in 1973-74 challenging US investors in Southern Africa. The form of the challenges varied. Twenty-two companies received stockholder resolutions from churches on their investments in that area of Africa. But a number of banks also were the focus of intense pressure because of their loans to the South African Government.

South Africa

Nine companies received a resolution urging them to make a full disclosure to all stockholders about their involvement in South Africa. *Colgate-Palmolive*, *Chrysler*, *Gillette*, *International Harvester*, *Deere & Co.*, *Pfizer*, and *Weyerhaeuser* all agreed with church filers that such a request was fair and legitimate. All these seven companies

Picketing Casa de Portugal—June 27th (photo Myrene Gray)





New Chrysler manufacturing plant in Pretoria

will be sending an extensive report to all shareholders, outlining the history of their involvement in South Africa, wages paid to African white and colored workers, contracts with the South African government, charitable contributions, etc. These seven companies bring to approximately twenty the number of US corporations that have made public disclosures of varying quality on South Africa because of church pressure. This year *Union Carbide Corporation* and *Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals* were two which declined to respond to church pressure, and "stonewalled" it. There were some exciting moments at the Engelhard when Don Morton for the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ and Bill Howard of the Reformed Church in America stood to question the links Engelhard had in South Africa. Morton asked why three directors on the Engelhard board who were South Africans had not come to any directors' meetings. The chairman of the board was forced to admit that they did not come because they were fearful of being subpoenaed on anti-trust matters. The specific focus on Engelhard revolved around their massive purchases of platinum from the Rustenberg Mines for use in manufacturing catalytic converters, automobile anti-pollution devices, in this country. Engelhard, a very unprogressive company, refused to divulge any data on its South African operations. People interested in this issue should feel free to write the national headquarters of these nine companies asking that they be sent copies of their disclosures on South Africa.

At *General Electric* and *IBM*, resolutions were filed urging that the companies set up committees to review their involvement in South Africa. The committee would look at wages and labor conditions as well as contracts with the government that would strengthen apartheid. This resolution was an entree to both corporations, urging that they evaluate and review their presence in South Africa. Both resolutions—at GE and IBM—received under 3 percent of the vote.

Alcan. At the Alcan stockholders' meeting a significant alliance was forged. Canadian church groups and Americans appeared at the meeting to raise questions

about the company's South African involvement, and particularly to protest their movement into an expanded investment in a new border area. Chairman Davis of Alcan was caught several times by questioners who pointed to the starvation-level wages that Alcan still paid, confessing, "I don't really understand this poverty-datum line." After the meeting several directors came and stated to the questioners that they felt that the pressure had been very important for Alcan. The significance at Alcan was much more the building of a Canadian protest movement on corporations and southern Africa. From that point Canadian churches moved on to attend both the Falconbridge and Gulf Oil-Canada stockholders' meetings to raise questions about Namibia and Angola respectively.

Footo Mineral Company. At Footo the same question as at Alcan—about their expansion jointly into a new border area—was raised. The Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ filed a resolution urging Footo to withdraw from this new venture. The resolution received under 3 percent of the vote.

Namibia

Five companies received special attention this year regarding their Namibian investments. Four oil companies, *Continental Oil*, *Getty*, *Phillips*, and *Standard Oil of California*, all received resolutions urging them to withdraw from Namibia. Each of these companies had invested in Namibia since the US government policy to discourage investment in that area was announced in 1971. Therefore, in the campaign, church spokespeople focussed on the facts 1) that these companies were moving into Namibia in defiance of US government policy; 2) that South Africa illegally occupied Namibia and such investments strengthen South Africa's occupation; 3) that simply by their presence these companies lend legitimacy to South Africa's illegal occupation; 4) that if oil were to be found, it would definitely strengthen South Africa's vested interest in staying in Namibia; 5) that Namibians both inside and outside the country were calling on such companies to withdraw.

Stockholder response, especially from institutional investors, to these resolutions was particularly positive. At



the Continental Oil meeting, the resolution received 7 percent of the vote, with over 3 percent abstentions. This means that one vote in ten went against management, a particularly high percentage in this kind of proxy fight. Surprisingly, votes in favor came from Aetna Life Insurance Company, the College Teachers' Pension and Insurance Company (TIAA-CREF), Harvard University, Ford Foundation, etc.

Continental Oil had received considerable pressure by the United Church of Christ on this issue, and in fact just before releasing their proxy statement had considered turning out a public statement through which they would state that the company supported an agreement between the United Nations and South Africa, and would not invest any further in Namibia unless they were sure that the benefits of such investment went to all the people of that country. Of course in an occupied state such an investment could hardly help all people, and therefore the church felt that Conoco was making at least a small step forward. However, under strong pressure from Getty and Phillips, their partners in Namibia, Conoco was forced to renege on its agreement to issue this statement. At the Conoco meeting, Joel Carlson represented Sean McBride, Commissioner for Namibia of the United Nations, and spoke forcefully urging Conoco to withdraw from Namibia. Speaking at the meeting, Carlson said, "Conoco's agreement with South Africa must be seen for what it is: an illegal one, and one designed to lend support to the South African regime. It is an unholy alliance between white-supremacist rulers and this corporation."

At the Getty, Phillips, and Standard Oil of California meetings Tim Smith, director of the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa, asked several questions: 1) Had the corporation consulted with representatives of the African people in Namibia before deciding to invest there? 2) Had there been consultations with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal, legitimate authority for that country? 3) Had there been in-depth conversations with the State Department? To all three questions the answer was no, there had not been such

conversations. Smith went on to point out that a lack of input from these sources contributed to a very bad business decision on behalf of these three companies.

At the Phillips meeting Golar Butcher, former assistant to Congressman Charles Diggs, chairman of the House Sub-Committee on Africa, made an eloquent plea for Phillips to withdraw. She reminded that company of its links with Nigeria, a rich oil-producing nation, and warned them that their Namibian involvement could jeopardize their future in Black Africa. The vote at the Standard Oil of California meeting was 4.3 per cent for withdrawal from Namibia, and at Phillips between 5 per cent and 6 per cent.

Newmont Mining Company received a resolution urging it to apply basic equal employment opportunity standards worldwide, including in its operations in Namibia. The company forcefully opposed this resolution. Church supporters went so far as to put a half-page ad in the *Wall Street Journal* listing the sins of Newmont in Namibia, and calling for support for this resolution. The resolution received about 4 per cent of the vote, with 6 per cent abstaining. Again, one vote in ten going against management. Also speaking at the Newmont meeting was Bishop Leonard Aul representing the Lutheran Church in Namibia.

Portuguese Colonies

At the *Bethlehem Steel* stockholders' Sharfudine Khan, Representative in the US of Frelimo, appeared for the first time to speak before a US corporation urging them to withdraw from Mozambique. Khan was joined with Mrs. Harvey Winn, representing the United Methodist Women's Division. "There is no neutral ground for international corporations in my country. If you are doing business with the Portuguese we believe that you are acting against the aspirations of my people for freedom and independence." Since this meeting was before the coup in Portugal, Khan warned that there would not be peace and chance for industrialization in Mozambique until true independence came.



Bethlehem Steel has revealed that it has not been able to send any engineers or technicians to the Tete Province area to prospect for minerals because of the war-torn nature of that area. Bethlehem Steel had in fact withdrawn from Mozambique. The church called on Bethlehem Steel to make that *de facto* withdrawal a full and actual one.

Texaco. An agreement was reached that a short article by the United Methodist World Division would appear in the *Texaco Star*, a publication by the company which goes to all shareholders. The article would call for Texaco to withdraw from Angola.

Exxon. At the stockholders' meeting of Exxon in Los Angeles a resolution proposed by seven church bodies holding stock worth more than \$8 million called on Exxon to withdraw from the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The resolution called for the contract with Portugal to be severed, and suggested that the corporation must deal with the legitimately elected representatives of the people of Guinea-Bissau, the African majority in the new national assembly. At the stockholders' meeting support was voiced for the resolution by a number of church groups and Black community groups in Los Angeles. Support was also indicated from three candidates running on the democratic slate for governor of California. Responding to the resolution, Exxon replied that they would not move into serious drilling operations until the political situation had been clarified. To a question: "Have you had any contact with the new government of Guinea-Bissau?" the corporation chairmen replied, "We have not done so, and will not until the US Government recognizes them."

Gulf Oil. At the Gulf Oil meeting, once again, the Angola issue was raised in the form of a proxy resolution. This year the resolution called for the company to disclose specific information about its new possible finds off Angola, its sale of products from Cabinda to other southern Africa regimes, its position on the OAU-sponsored oil embargo against the Portuguese colonies and South Africa. The meeting was a lengthy one, filled with a number of other issues, so the Angola issue did not receive the airing that it had had in former years. Since that time Gulf has disclosed some information in its magazine, the *Orange Disc*.

Overall, this was an extremely active year for church actions against corporations in Southern Africa. However, the action was not all focused on the stockholder front.



Actions included pressure on banks to stop lending money to South Africa, a growing alliance with United Mine Workers against the Southern Company's importation of coal from South Africa, and challenges to sanction-busters trading with Rhodesia. However, a number of questions still are to be faced in the church movement vis-a-vis corporations in Southern Africa. When will the churches decide that certain companies are clearly in bed with racism in Southern Africa, and unequivocally call for their withdrawal? This kind of decision has been able to be carefully papered over during the last couple of years. However, it is a crucial question and one that will inevitably have to be faced in the near future.

INTERNATIONAL

SANCTIONS AND BOYCOTTS

A recent report issued by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has revealed that when African states order eggs from Rhodesia the orders are often really for tobacco. (Tobacco is affected by sanctions, eggs are not.) The report alleges that Rhodesian tobacco is being sold with the willing cooperation of African states, as Malawian, Mozambican, and South African produce. Tobacco and other agricultural products now account for 48 per cent of Rhodesia's foreign exchange, the report says. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974) About 10,000 tons of Rhodesian tobacco was illegally imported by Dutch tobacco dealers last year also, and Rhodesian sanctions-busting by Dutch firms has been the subject of a series of reports by the Dutch anti-apartheid movement. The evidence presented has resulted in a number of Government inquiries, and an announcement recently by KLM that it would end its connection with the Rhodesian United Touring Corporation. (Sue Masterman, Amsterdam, May 18, 1974)

With the liberals back in Parliament in Canada, it is possible that a bill may pass the House of Commons which would prohibit the importation into Canada of any product grown, produced, or manufactured in South Africa. "The Union of South Africa Importation Act" provides for a fine of about \$5,000 and twelve months imprisonment for a first offense. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974) At the same time, the British Government is "looking into" the matter of a major Rhodesian iron and steel sanctions-busting deal involving about \$50 million in international loans. Information about the deal was sent to the *Sunday Times*, (London) by Kenneth McIntosh, a British subject who has just begun a five-year sentence in a Rhodesian jail for "economic espionage." In the West German Parliament, Mr. Uwe Lambinus, a Social Democratic deputy, has raised the question of the

participation of German steel firms and a major German bank in the deal. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 4, 1974) The documents name other companies and banks in Austria, Switzerland, and the U.S.A. as being involved in the scheme. (*Guardian*, London, April 15, 1974) The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, has called on Britain's European Economic Community (EEC) partners to take a tougher line against Rhodesian sanctions busters. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974)

Trade with South Africa continues to be a subject of international debate. While Britain's imports from South Africa are decreasing, her exports to South Africa remain more than twice as large as the figure for the highest Black African country on the map. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974) However, in Britain a new international campaign has been mounted to attempt to sabotage South Africa's impending television service even before it gets off the ground. The newly-formed International Federation of Audio-Visual Workers plans to call on technicians, performers, and TV equipment suppliers throughout the world to boycott South Africa. According to a campaign spokesman, several key countries have already informally approached the Federation for advice on launching and maintaining the campaign. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 11, 1974) The only official British controls on relations with South Africa have to do with the export of arms and military equipment. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974)

Japan, however, despite its ban on visas for sport, cultural, or educational purposes, will not interfere with its growing billion-dollar trade with South Africa. Japan's car manufacturers particularly are stepping up their exports to the Republic. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974) Foreign Minister Ohira has said: "The Government's policy has been to continue an economic exchange in the form of trade, but not to permit investment." (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 11, 1974)

While many governments seem to be moving closer to the apartheid regime, some church groups are taking stronger stands against it. Church people in Britain have launched a new anti-apartheid organization called ELSA (End Loans to South Africa). The members, who come from all the major denominations, intend "to alert shareholders in banks and big businesses about their responsibilities for what goes on in South Africa." The Midland Bank and its international associates will be a target of the group. (*Guardian*, London, April 9, 1974) The World Council of Churches Commission on the Program to Combat Racism adopted a resolution requiring staff to draw a list of banks participating in loans to Southern Africa, to publicize the role of bank loans, and to encourage WCC member churches to participate in the ongoing campaigns protesting such loans. A recent meeting of the Lutheran World Federation notes similar concern for bank loans to South Africa. (Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, May 16, 1974) Canon Burgess Carr, General Secretary of the All-Africa Conference of Churches (representing over 40 million African Christians), has taken strong stands on Southern Africa. Recently he has called on independent Africa to give greater support to the liberation movements, for broadcasting stations to provide air time for broadcast appeals for liberation support, and radio appeals to Portuguese troops in Africa to defect and mutiny against Portugal's foreign wars. He urged Christian people around the world to commemorate the Friday nearest March 20

(Sharpeville Massacre Day) as "Africa's Good Friday." (*East African Standard*, Nairobi, March 22, 1974)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

Support continues to pour in for the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and also for the liberation movements in other parts of Southern Africa. The Norwegian Parliament has voted \$2,160,000 to aid the liberation struggle in Africa (*Sunday Nation*, Dar es Salaam, March 10, 1974); Libya has offered \$500,000 to Guinea-Bissau (*Times of Zambia*, Kampala, April 5, 1974); Holland has allocated between four and five million dollars for aid to the liberation movements (*Daily Nation*, Dar es Salaam, March 5, 1974); and Romania has pledged continued material, political, and diplomatic support to MPLA. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, March 16, 1974) Kenya has asked Portugal to grant independence to Angola and Mozambique (*Daily Nation*, Dar es Salaam, May 7, 1974), and residents of Dar es Salaam held a dance at the Forodhani Hotel on May 25, proceeds from which bought blankets for FRELIMO and MPLA. The dance was sponsored by the TANU Youth League and the Dar Liberation Support Group. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, May 13, 1974) At the July 7 celebrations of TANU's twentieth anniversary in Dar es Salaam, Tanzanians representing each region in the country presented Mwalimu Nyerere with money for the liberation movements donated by the Tanzanian people in support of "the year of liberation." Samora Machel of FRELIMO accepted the money on behalf of the movements. So far, over \$571,000 has been contributed by Tanzanians. (Letter, Jennifer Davis to ACOA, July 9, 1974)

The German Democratic Republic has supplied a plane-load of medical equipment to the liberation movements, (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, May 13, 1974), and the All Africa Conference of Churches presented \$2,500 to MPLA and \$2,500 to SWAPO, with no conditions that the money be used only for humanitarian purposes. (Reuter, May 22, 1974) Also, Iraqii President Ahmed Hassan Bakr has contributed \$60,000 to the fight of Africans in Rhodesia against "colonialism and racism." (*The Washington Post*, March 29, 1974)

Samora Machel, FRELIMO President



SPORTS, VISITS, TOURS

Delegates to the annual conference of the Universal Postal Union in Lausanne have barred South Africa from taking part in the proceedings. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 1, 1974) The Japanese Government has also announced that South Africans will not be allowed to take part in sporting events or cultural and educational activities in the future. (*Times*, London, June 6, 1974) The International Football Federation has agreed to expel any association which practises racial discrimination, and has stated that the vote was aimed specifically at South Africa and Rhodesia. (Reuters, June 10, 1974) A multiracial South African team is supposedly to attend the Gymnastrada in West Berlin (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, 1974), and eight European groups will be making a folk-song and dance tour of South Africa later this year (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974).

The much-publicized visit of the Lions Rugby team to South Africa has finally come off, but not without repercussions. The Organization of African Trade Unions has condemned its visit to South Africa (Reuters, May 10,

1974); the Nigerian President of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa has said that all African states are bound to boycott Britain because of the tour (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, May 13, 1974); Kenya broke off all sporting links with Britain (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, May 9, 1974); and the British Consul in South Africa itself has refused to entertain or have any other contact with the team while in South Africa (Reuters, May 1, 1974). Cambridge University has officially disassociated itself from any connection with the tour, which went ahead despite Foreign Office urging to cancel it. (Reuters, May 7, 1974)

The mission director of the Finnish Mission Society, the Rev. Alpo Hukka, has been refused a visa to visit Namibia. Hukka was to have visited the Ovambo-Kavango Church and to have attended ceremonies at which Kwangali and Kwanyama translations of the New Testament and the Bible are to be handed over. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974) However, General Moshe Dayan will visit South Africa in September as the guest of the South African Foundation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 15, 1974) ■

BOOKS

Donald Denoon, with Balam Nyeko and the advice of J. B. Webster, *Southern Africa since 1800*. London: Longman, 1972.

The writing of Southern African history has been fragmented, not only, as the authors comment, by the different historical traditions within South Africa (Afrikaner, British "Imperial" history, etc.), but also by the fact that historians focusing on South Africa have given only superficial attention to Namibia or Zimbabwe, and the history of the Portuguese colonies has been integrated not at all into the general picture of Southern African history. The rewriting of African history that has blossomed in west and east Africa in the years since independence has hardly touched Southern Africa, for the African historians to write it have not been available or had the necessary access to sources. *Southern Africa since 1800* is at least a first attempt, written for the level of African secondary schools, to put down on paper a unified account of modern Southern African history.

The attempt is successful enough to be well worth the reading by those interested in what is happening in Southern Africa today, and seeking an overview of the historical background. Among the useful features are the emphasis on the importance of the "mineral revolution," on the continuity in South African history of which the "apartheid" policy is a culmination, and on the insignificance, particularly after 1948, of developments in the South African parliament. The reader will find many other interesting insights and background material, difficult to find elsewhere in one place.

But there are a number of striking defects as well. As with the *Oxford History of South Africa*, a study of South African finance capital is conspicuously missing,

Neither Anglo-American Corporation nor Harry Oppenheimer even appear in the index. Nor, in a closely related defect, is the international context of Southern Africa given more than scanty attention, after the formal withdrawal of British power from South Africa. Thus, the system of Southern African sub-imperialism is discussed completely out of the context of the development of international capitalism.

Finally, the attempt being made to present an integrated perspective, which succeeds to some extent as far as the English-speaking countries go, breaks down completely when the authors venture to mention Angola and Mozambique. The attempt breaks down, first of all, on the basis of simple ignorance, as illustrated in references to a "cocoa boom" in Angola (p. 161—presumably the authors meant coffee), and to armed liberation movements being effective in the Portuguese colonies in 1959. More important, it breaks down in failing to provide more than the most superficial analysis of developments in Angola and Mozambique.

Nevertheless, this book should be read. Perhaps it will inspire someone to attempt the same difficult task, and to do it better.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED:

Listing does not preclude review at a later date:

1. Africa Research Group, *Race To Power: The Struggle For Southern Africa*. Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974. Paper \$3.95.
2. Carter, G.M., *Southern Africa: Prospects For Change*. New York: Foreign Policy Association Headline Series (No. 219), 1974. Paper \$1.25.

3. Dugard, J. (ed.), *The South West Africa/Namibia Dispute*. Berkeley. Univ. of Calif. Press, 1974. Paper \$8.95.
4. Grundy, K.W., *Confrontation and Accomodation in Southern Africa*. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1973. \$12.50.
5. Kichwa, Morena, *Bushman's Brew*. Toronto: Khoisan Artists, 1974. Paper \$2.00
6. Khoapa, B.A. (ed.), *Black Review 1972*. Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1973. Paper
7. Pamoja, Imani, *Gittin Our Minds Our Shit Our People Together*. Dallas: Akin Isi Publ. Co., 1974. Paper \$1.50.
8. Randall, Peter, *A Taste of Power* (The final, co-ordinated Spro-cas Report). Johannesburg: The Study Project On Christianity in Apartheid Society, 1973.
9. Slonim, S., *South West Africa And The United Nations: An International Mandate In Dispute*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1973.

10. Walshe, P., *The Rise of African Nationalism In South Africa*. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1971. \$14.50.

From the LSM Information Center, LSM Press, Box 94338, Richmond, B.C., Canada—

- Life Histories From the Revolution series:
 Mohamed Mathu (taped and edited by Don Barnett), *The Urban Guerrilla*. 1974. Paper \$1.75.
 Ngugi Kabiro (taped and edited by Don Barnett), *Man In the Middle*. 1973 Interviews in Depth:
South Africa: African National Congress 1: Alfred Nzo. 1974 \$\$.75

RESOURCES

SPROCAS publications available

A group in Holland is distributing books published by the SPROCAS PROJECT in South Africa, which are now impossible to get through South Africa. A number of the people who wrote for these publications have been banned, and hence their work can no longer be published in South Africa. The books listed below can be ordered from:

Werkgroep Kairos
 Corn. Houtmanstraat 17
 Utrecht
 Holland.

Send the amount due by international money order or through their bank account: Crediet en Effectenbank, Utrecht, No. 69.98.977 Prices below include postage.

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|---|---------|
| 1. Anatomy of Apartheid | \$ 1.50 |
| 2. South African Minorities | \$ 1.50 |
| 3. Directions of Change in S.A. Politics | \$ 1.50 |
| 4. Some Implications of Inequality | \$ 1.50 |
| 5. Education beyond Apartheid | \$ 3.50 |
| 6. Towards Social Change | \$ 3.50 |
| 7. Power, Privilege and Poverty | \$ 3.50 |
| 8. Law, Justice and Society | \$ 3.50 |
| 9. Apartheid and the Church | \$ 3.50 |
| 10. South Africa's Political Alternatives | \$ 5.50 |
| 11. A Taste of Power (The final coordinated Sprocas Report) | \$ 6.50 |
| 12. Black Viewpoint (Njabulo Ndebele, C.M.C. Ndamse, Chief M.G. Buthelezi, Ben A. Khoapa (Banned) | \$ 3.50 |
| 13. White Liberation | \$ 3.50 |
| 14. Migrant Labour by Francis Wilson | \$ 5.50 |
| 15. Black Review 1972 published by Black Community Programmes | \$ 5.50 |
| 16. Management Responsibility and Africa Employment | \$ 5.50 |

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| 17. Cry Rage—Poems by James Mathews and Gladys Thomas (banned) | \$ 6.50 |
| Special edition with signature of writers | \$11.00 |
| 18. The Black Interpreters, Notes on African Writing by Nadine Gordimer | \$ 3.50 |
| 19. . . . A People Company, report on an investigation into Standard Telephone and Cables—an associate of I.T.T. | \$ 1.50 |

UN PUBLICATIONS

SOUTHERN AFRICA, the UN-OAU CONFERENCE, OSLO, 9-14 APRIL 1973, edited by Olav Stokke & Carl Widstrand, has been published in two volumes by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Upsala, Sweden. The first volume covers the conference conclusions and the second with close studies of the situation by experts, including those involved in the struggle in its various forms.

NEW PUBLICATIONS ON GUINEA-BISSAU

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau: Triumph Over Colonialism, Jennifer Davis, published by The Africa Fund in association with the American Committee on Africa, this 12 page illustrated pamphlet describes the 13 year struggle against Portugal for liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau. Examines the newly developed institutions—schools, health care, court system, representative government. It is a valuable tool for social action, church,

and other groups wanting to know more and pressing for U.S. recognition of the new Republic. \$.50 each.

George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, presented *U.S. Policy and Southern Africa* at a seminar held by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in March, 1974. In this paper, Houser explains and analyzes U.S. policy, which contains public denunciations of apartheid with material aid for every minority-ruled government. Systematically evaluates U.S. policy toward each country in southern Africa and *recommends specific actions which the U.S. should take to aid the liberation struggles*. An important reference for local groups concerned with effectively influencing decision-makers to change basic U.S. policy toward southern Africa. 36 pages. \$1.00 each.

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MY BROTHER

*My brother
is not he who was born
from the womb of my mother.*

*He is the one who in the free paths
drinks with me today the water of the same river,
sleeps
under the same sky,
sings with me
the same songs of war.*

*My brother is the one who forgets 'himself':
the liberation of his people
is his reason for living.*

*My brother
is that one
at my side
who fights.*

- Mozambique Revolution

**SUPPORT UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP
FOR THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA BISSAU –
STOP U.S. VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau (formerly Portuguese Guinea) has applied for admission to the United Nations.

Its application must be reviewed by the United Nations Security Council by mid-August.

The United States has not indicated how it will vote.

If the Security Council votes favorably, no veto from any of the five permanent members and a simple majority of the full fifteen member nations, it can then be presented to the General Assembly, where a two-thirds majority is almost assured. 86 nations have already accorded diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is now a full member of several international bodies within the United Nations:

FAO
INTERNATIONAL POSTAL UNION
WHO (accepted in May by a vote of 96 to 1 with the U.S. casting the sole negative vote.)

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a member of the Organization of African Unity comprising 42 independent African states.

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Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

J. W. Fulbright
Chairman
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

Communications from community groups and national organizations would have greater impact.

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