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VOL. VIII, NO. 8 SEPTEMBER 1975



VIVA
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF
MOZAMBIQUE

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MOZAMBIQUE

We apologize for the lack of the Mozambique section this month. This was due to illness. The October issue will cover recent events in detail.

Erratum

Our printers inadvertently switched the photos of Rupiah Banda, Chairman of the United Nations Council on Namibia and Prime Minister John Vorster in last month's issue. We apologize to Ambassador Banda.

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OVERVIEW

Those who look for consistency may wonder why we have continued to write about events in Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Mozambique since the coming to formal independence of these countries in the past year. The decision to do so was taken deliberately—after considerable discussion—and the issues involved seem important enough to share with readers.

All support groups whose work encompassed the Portuguese colonies were faced with a similar set of questions. Older anti-colonial groups such as the American Committee on Africa had faced the problem before. They supported the struggles for independence of countries like Ghana, Zambia and Algeria—but saw their work as ended in these areas once independence was won.

Support work for a liberation struggle can be done on a very broad political basis—often resting on so general a principle as opposition to racism or naked colonialism. But some groups have developed a more rigorous analysis in recent years, making the links between capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism increasingly specific and clear. This has often meant engaging in the difficult task of making choices between liberation movements whose political programs have differed significantly. Nevertheless, until now support groups such as SAC have avoided the complexities of involvement with independent African states. It has been much easier for us to deal with the question of South African repression of political opposition than to handle the same issue in independent Lesotho.

Why break from the traditional pattern now?

We do so for several reasons.

Southern Africa may appear neatly divided into two blocs—white minority ruled and black majority ruled. But the separation between the two blocs is more apparent than real. There is a very considerable degree of interconnection, of interdependency, between states on each side, one which South Africa seeks to intensify for its own ends. Thus the future of Mozambique may both significantly determine and be determined by events

inside South Africa.

Secondly we are not just fighting against social evils; we are also committed to positive goals. Increasingly over the years our close links to the struggle in Southern Africa have helped us clarify our understanding of alternative forms of social, economic and political organisation. Movements such as PAIGC and FRELIMO have been built on the basis of a determination to end all forms of exploitation, on a commitment to radically reconstruct their societies in new socialist forms. We support that struggle. We see this creation of alternative forms of social organisation as tremendously important, for the countries themselves, for their neighbours in Africa and for peoples organising politically throughout the world. Such efforts will certainly be treated with great hostility by Western Governments and their press. It becomes our task to counteract the inevitable distortion by serious efforts to present an honest picture of developments.

History is an important teacher, too often ignored in the US. The independence of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique and hopefully Angola by November will not create any sudden utopias. We hope that ten years of following closely the struggle in these countries will have given us some perspective for understanding the problems that will have to be confronted in the coming years, and that the ongoing examination of the process of transformation in other countries will help build consciousness here at home. Instant everything is a dangerous element in American culture for those who seek to build change—looking at process elsewhere may help us curb our impatience, teach us something about long term organising.

That is why we will go on writing about events in now independent Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau. Perhaps we should also write more about Zambia or Zaire, countries very directly involved in the future of Southern Africa. Some readers and members of the collective may feel that way lies too much generality, others that we need to broaden out. Let us know what you think. ■

feature:

VIVA the People's Republic of Mozambique!

INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS IN LOURENCO MARQUES

by Janet Hooper

"At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic . . . It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector of economic, social, educational, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government."

Samora M. Machel
Message to the Nation
June 25, 1975

How does one explain, how does one describe a momentous historical event to those who weren't there, who couldn't experience it. Oh, there are the pictures—color, black and white; there are the articles by "objective journalists", the analyses of Mozambican politics and economy and Frelimo's problems; there will be the histories—some sympathetic, some condemnatory. How does one explain? There are my diaries, my notes of meetings, a few poorly recorded revolutionary songs the night we went to the poetry reading. There are the momentos—the June 25 buttons, the flags, the stickers, the wine glass we took, like children, from the State Banquet with Peoples' Republic of Mozambique stamped on the bottom. There are the tangibles—the booklets in Portuguese, the posters of Samora, Eduardo, Josina, Marcelino; the book of Frelimo songs we hummed and memorized when we were there.

How does one explain? There were the new friends—the guides, the interpreters—our lifeline to the unknown tongue of Portuguese; the people from the other support groups—the forward Swedish men, the perceptive Dutch women, the joyous West German; and of course the old Frelimo friends—greeting them now in their own land, instead of our apartments or the meeting halls of New York. The memories are still fresh in my mind's eye. The images overlap, the days get mixed up (unless I'm looking at my diary), the people's faces, the streets, the discussions, the individual relations of the moment, the feeling of over stimulation. All this only a part of the Independence celebrations in Mozambique.

A meeting of friends

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards itself as an integral part of mankind's oppressed peoples and classes fighting to change the world and to establish a new and just social order. . . [it] has as its natural allies the socialist countries which constitute a liberated area of mankind; the young States, in particular African countries committed with the national liberation movement in one of the main fronts of [the] anti-imperialist struggle; the democratic and progressive forces; the working masses of all mankind.

Samora M. Machel
Proclamation of Independence
of the People's Republic of
Mozambique, c.midnight,
June 25, 1975

Delegates from the United States to the Independence Celebrations in Mozambique represented several organizations, mainly ones which had for years supported the work of Frelimo, including the churches and various non-governmental groups. As Frelimo Vice-President and current Minister of Development and Economic Planning, Marcelino dos Santos, told us: "The celebrations were a meeting of friends." Thus the United States Government, (and the French and West Germans) were not invited. In our group there were six Americans, all of whom had worked together in New York on southern African issues, and who came to Mozambique with various aims and different responsibilities. Two of us were press representatives for Liberation News Service, two (including myself) represented the American Committee on Africa, and two the Committee for a Free Mozambique (CFM). My story is like yet different from each one of theirs.

The mounting excitement of independence in Mozambique hit me first in Tanzania. Everyone I met there was envious of my chance to go to Lourenco Marques. June 25 was declared a national holiday in Tanzania, the Frelimo flag flew at the State House and in other public places. Frelimo songs blared over the local radio. During the week before the 25th, DETA (the Mozambican national airline) and East African Airways carried plane loads of people from Dar es Salaam to LM. I had to confirm my flight at the EAA office in downtown Dar. Waiting alongside me was a warm Vietnamese comrade

who was part of North Vietnam's delegation to the celebrations. I gave him a copy of *Southern Africa*. When I met him again by chance the next day, he told me he had read it, and found it very interesting.

One afternoon at the airport in Dar I saw the Chinese delegation in transit to Mozambique—cheerful men, and a few women, in gray and black, obviously eager for their new experience to come. [A few hours later the new American Under-Secretary of African Affairs, Nathaniel Davis, held a press conference in the same lounge, after a one day state visit to Tanzania. Responding to questions, he was vague about US policy toward independent Mozambique, even vaguer about US links with South Africa. The contrasts were strong.]

Then the moment of arrival in a free Mozambique. LM at dusk. What a huge airport. Bands are playing, fire crackers bursting, dancers in traditional garb. The welcome must be for some high level dignitaries, I think. A contingent of enthusiastic Angolan youth with MPLA t-shirts and buttons envelop the airport. Agostinho Neto must have just arrived. A young Mozambican woman tells me that the welcome is for *all* of us—not just for government officials.

The protocol system established by Frelimo for the international delegations and other practical details connected with the independence events, worked very well considering that the whole affair was fraught with potential complications and confusions. Young Mozambicans, many from the cities and the university, others who had been recruited and trained because they were able to speak English or French, worked night and day at the airport, the hotels, and the press area to enable the success of the celebrations.

Victory is beautiful
in Africa today,
warm, green,
beating with
energy
and
color.
Living with
the song
of
Freedom,
Independence
was raised
today in MOZAMBIQUE
Proud,

High,
and Firm.
UNITY, WORK, and VIGILANCE
These are the words of
The New MOZAMBIQUE
The motto
of development
and inner strength—
The mangoes are ready
to be picked.

VIVA. CONTINUA.

Mariana Edmunds

The ACOA delegation—Paul Irish and myself—(both of us also members of the Southern Africa Committee) had an interpreter who works as a secretary for an American pharmaceuticals firm in LM. Her own history probably represents a kind of norm for many Mozambicans of Portuguese descent—born in Beira, educated at a convent school in Bulawayo, Rhodesia (thus her excellent English), now a secretary. She knew of Frelimo before the 1974 coup in Portugal, and via friends, knew that it was not, as the Portuguese Government said, a “bunch of terrorists.” But she also knew that anyone around her might be a PIDE agent—an informant, a spy. So she kept quiet. Now with the new government she joined up as an interpreter. She planned to stay in her country of birth—not follow the 100,000 plus Portuguese who have fled Mozambique since April 74. In her middle class apartment house people held a picnic in commemoration of independence. It was the first time that the neighbors, almost all white, had joined together.

During the first few days the delegations (government and non) were accommodated at Lourenco Marques' finest hotels. Ironically I stayed at the Hotel Cardoso. I had worked on a Committee for Free Mozambique slide show about Mozambique, prepared before the end of the war. Our symbol of European affluence then was a picture of the Cardoso swimming pool. And here I was!

Mozambique's Colonial Heritage

This is the heritage we are reaping today. A heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only know that the expression “from the Rovuma to the Maputo” is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation.

Machel, Message to the Nation

Lourenco Marques looks European-beautiful—wide boulevards, open spaces, lush parks, cafes, modern shops, gentle hills, the beaches minutes away. It was much more modern from a European creature-comfort perspective than I had imagined. LM presents a dazzling facade—behind which one notices easily the reality of residential segregation. The beautiful stucco homes, luxurious tourist hotels, and apartment houses of the whites yield to the *barrios* rows and rows of tin/straw homes; the boulevards, to rutted dusty dirt roads; the lush gardens, to tiny garden plots, a few sprigs of corn in a tiny piece of soil near a compound. Driving through the *barrios*, wind and rain bent fences, everywhere Frelimo flags and signs, a few open area meeting places, a school now and then. Not unpleasant to the outsider, but certainly the other end of the spectrum from the elegant Hotel Polana, its starched table clothes, and patio dining room, or our Hotel Cardoso.

Everyone agreed that the kind of development represented in the city—the overdeveloped tourist trade, the retail business prosperity (despite some Portuguese settler sabotage of the economy, removing key machines, money etc.), the dependence on South Africa, the ports—would be difficult to alter and integrate into an entirely new Mozambican socialist economy with emphasis on rural communal life. At a government reception I saw a Frelimo leader whom I had met in New

York. He exclaimed, "Well, I thought I'd see you in the bush" (or why hadn't I come to liberated northern Mozambique before?) I said I thought the real "bush" was in LM. He regretfully agreed that the struggle would be hard. "The new battle is only beginning," said Samora.

The city was brightly bedecked for the celebrations. It exuded politics and spirit. Huge pictures of Samora, Marcelino, and the leaders of the past, first President Eduardo Mondlane, and the dynamic Josina Machel were displayed on buildings, in store windows, on walls. Sayings—so many sayings and slogans, strung across the streets as banners, in windows, on buildings, hanging, flying. "Frelimo is the guide of the People," "Women's Liberation is a Fundamental Necessity of the Revolution," "Production liberates the People," "In study is the secret of Victory."

Flags and banners in the Frelimo colors—the reds, greens, yellows, black and white. The Frelimo flag, with its triangle and stripes. The new State flag, the industrial production and working class symbol of a cog wheel encasing the other symbols of the Revolution—defense and vigilance in the gun; agricultural production and the peasant class in the hoe; and a red star for the international spirit of the people's struggle and the peace which the struggle enabled.

Downtown stores had elaborate window displays—models of African villages, miniatures of Mozambican farms. It was more than odd to see the office of a US company with the Frelimo flag and pictures of Samora. In the *barrios* there were hand written signs—some from the past calling "down with GUMO," a reactionary party which tried to undermine Frelimo in the pre-transitional

government period. In many areas the *grupos dinamizadores* (see below) were in charge of the decorations and preparations for the 25th. Students from one high school did six feet by six feet silk screen posters of Samora. From Frelimo headquarters, offices in neighborhoods and the protocol office people handed out programs, posters, small paper flags, and sold June 25 buttons. Many people wore pins—those prepared by several North American groups, including one by CFM, were in evidence. There were pictures, and flags in the posh hotels too—the contradiction of a poster of Josina Machel stuck on the wall of the cleaning woman's closet in the Hotel Cardoso was probably understood by everyone—worker or guest.

A fundamental part of Frelimo's mobilization and education of the people is through the well-known "jornal de parade" or wall newspaper. Bulletin boards were set up by the *grupos* containing articles from magazines, newspaper stories, sayings, party directives, pictures. One aim of the new Ministry of Information is to improve these wall papers making the news more current, the system more alive.

A final observation about the city: It was filled with soldiers, green uniformed, camouflaged uniforms in some cases, men and women, stationed as guards, as security, as adjuncts to the new police system, people with guns, guns in this case to defend the revolution, to put into practice the watchwords of Frelimo, "Unity, Work, Vigilance."

Regretably, most of us only had the opportunity to stay in the city. Our sense of the masses of Mozambican people in villages and *barrios* is remote. The few times we travelled by mini-bus we just wove in and out of the rutted *barrio* streets of Munhuana and Xipamanine. We



Viva Mozambique!



President Samora Machel and Marcelino dos Santos give victory sign at the celebrations.

would shout "Viva Frelimo!" out of the window—Europeans and Americans trying to have some contact with the people. The children would laugh at us, the adults "viva!" back, but it was too little contact. We visited the markets buying foods, bracelets which say "viva Samora", and cashew nuts. We watched the men weave baskets; the dances of women, men and kids, the child shop keepers selling everything from lettuce to oranges to spices. But there were only the superficial impressions—the eager desire to learn, to bridge cultures and languages, the hope of returning.

Mozambique of the People

The sovereign and independent People's Republic of Mozambique is a People's Democratic State, in which all patriotic strata under the leadership of the alliance of peasants and workers are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the vestiges of colonialism and imperialist dependence, to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural, social and administrative base of the new society.

—Proclamation of Independence

Independence night—it rained again, as it had for the three days before. Cheerfully the people said that the rains were "washing away the last sins of colonialism" or that "rain means things will grow". That night, June 24, traffic backed up for miles. People left their cars, flat bed trucks and buses, to slog through the rain and the mud trying to reach Machava Stadium. There, at midnight the Portuguese flag, which had flown, albeit weakly, over Mozambique for nearly 500 years, would be lowered, and the new flag of the People's Republic of Mozambique would rise for the first time. We wanted to be there. We abandoned our small car and joined the others, sandals squishing in the mud. Walking, running, afraid the cars would bump us as they inched along. I couldn't see where we were going; just a little further, said our guide, just a

little more. Finally, the stadium, crowds inside, wet, umbrellas. We got by the guards. "Delegacao, delegacao"—"delegation, delegation"; we entered, inching our way along the upper rim of the stadium. The crowd is yelling clamorously, clapping rhythmically. We slip our way down to the delegations stadium near the main podium, shivering, clutching one umbrella for the three of us.

Finally the official entourage arrives, the President and members of the Central Committee of Frelimo, each in a different make car, circling around the stadium track several times. The crowd roars as Samora, Joaquim Chissano (Prime Minister during the Transitional Government and current Foreign Minister), Dos Santos and others get out of their cars. They are followed by the official delegates including the President of Somalia, Muhammed Siad Barre who was current President of the Organization of African Unity, and General Vasco Goncalves, then Prime Minister of Portugal. The Frelimo cadres are all dressed in army fatigues—symbolic of the fight made real. Then the formal lowering and raising of the flags. I was told that the new Mozambique flag unfurled and blew in all directions—almost as if it had been told to show itself proudly to all. I was absorbed in watching people's faces—their cheer, their love, their excitement. Then a short speech, songs. The radio reported tears in the eyes of the Frelimo people—Samora, Marcelino. We couldn't see them. Rain and tears were in many eyes. The ceremony was short. The flag was raised at about 12:20.

Soldiers began shooting tracer bullets in the air. After the officials left, they accelerated the shooting. The din was deafening. Crowds scattered out of the stadium and crouched afraid in the drizzle. My naivete convinced me that the bullets were blanks (even though there were cartridges strewn all over the stands and ground), so I rather blithely walked up the stadium steps, holding my ears. Finally outside, the crowds and crowds of Mozambicans dispersed into the night and the rain's reflections, and we all began the long cold journey home.

June 25 itself was filled with three major events. Samora Machel, the President of Frelimo, was invested as President of the People's Republic of Mozambique in a declaration read by Frelimo Vice-President, Marcelino dos Santos. As the rightful leader of Mozambique, Samora was formally accorded his position not by the exiting Portuguese Government but by the Central Committee of Frelimo. Samora and Marcelino held each other in a long embrace. Then Samora delivered a Message to the Nation, the most significant speech presented during the independence period. One felt he was actually speaking to the masses, to the individual people in the crowds. This was followed by the stone laying ceremony for the Monument to the Heroes of the Struggle for National Liberation, and in the afternoon there was a People's and Military March Pass.

It was a fantastic parade—involving a representation of the life and history of the Mozambican people. Groups of small bands, workers, many sections of the army and police, peasants, women, marching, singing, waving banners, and a series of floats (mainly trucks) which depicted with great imagination the main agricultural and industrial work of the country, by showing in different stages a process such as producing sugar (growing, refining, packaging) or building a bus. Also dramatized was the nature of colonialism, the military seizures by Portugal, the negative role of the church, forced labor, prostitution, the massacres and liberation, the people's

army, Frelimo. One float carried a huge map of Mozambique with chains connecting it to massive dollar signs. Sayings, production goals, handwritten signs covered the floats. Such an educational parade, with humor, people's enthusiasm, participation.

After the parade the crowd which had been packed on makeshift stands near the road surged forward, blocking Machel's car. Chissano spoke with the people. He said that they didn't need the police to control the people; he asked the masses whether or not they were organized? "Yes, we're organized," replied the crowd. "If we're organized, then the President's car can pass," he said. "The Comrade President is not here for a vacation, he is here to stay." The crowd calmed down, the President's car passed.

The 25th closed with a State Banquet given by the President, on behalf of the Mozambican people, for the international delegates to the celebrations. There were delegates from throughout the world, most prominent the Africans—the greatest number of individuals from Tanzania, the most concrete ally of Frelimo. Then there were the Chinese, and the Vietnamese, north and south; Cambodia, North Korea, India, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Britain, the Socialists of Europe, the USSR, Mexico, Cuba . . . were all there. There was an atmosphere of camaraderie, propriety yet informality. Except for the few honored guests like President Barre, P. M. Goncalves and representatives of other African liberation movements, the delegations were not given assigned seats, everyone mixed with everyone. Waiters and waitresses wore beautiful shirts and dresses patterned with a map of Mozambique. Roses, yellow and red, on the table. Lobster salad, chicken, wine, sodas, fruits, ice cream. A band played, switching between marching songs and Frelimo songs, vocalists sang, the delegations cheered, clapped and sang. The banquet went beyond a social affair. It showed the communality of all present. When Samora spoke about each delegation, (in the case of western support groups he emphasized that he would say they were groups from "western" countries and not "capitalist" countries, reiterating the traditional Frelimo distinction between a government and a people,) the people working in the hall—the waiters, and those gathered outside the tent looking in—listened, we listened and learned together.

Reclaiming the Mozambican heritage

It was in order to keep people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried—in some cases, particularly in the urban areas, with some success—to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave mentality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our people.

Machel, Message to the Nation

Beginning on Sunday June 22 there was a week of daily performances of plays, films, dances, poetry readings, and sports events. Such cultural festivities occurred throughout Mozambique—as did the visual culture of signs, posters, sayings, sculpture and painting; the work of well known Mozambican artists exhibited next to children's pictures. In the afternoons and evenings the local LM theaters were filled with the young, the old, families with children in arms. The several events I attended showed the super enthusiasm of the performers. At one set of revolutionary poetry readings, black and white Mozambican young people sat cross legged on the



A float in the June 25 parade depicts imperialism: a huge map of Mozambique chained to the \$ sign.

floor rising to recite their poems, two guitars playing softly in the background. One woman lost her voice in the middle of a poem—the audience hailed her. The plays often had historic themes, some about the ancient days of the Monomatapa empire and the inroads of the colonialists and their allies; the resistance of the people, the advent of Frelimo. Other performances focused on the political development of Frelimo, its internal problems, the assassination of Mondlane, the armed struggle, mobilization of villagers, the routing of the Portuguese (with magnificent caricatures of Portuguese military leaders like Kaulza de Arriaga). Some performances lasted up to four hours, ending long after midnight. One evening we were at the play being attended by Samora, Marcelino, Vice President Kawawa of Tanzania and Somali President Barre. After the performance the men went quickly up on the stage, individually greeting and congratulating the players, one by one.

Not all the plays were great works of "art" by literary critics' standards; probably some poems were better than others and everything was in Portuguese so only the general themes came through. But all the shows were done with vigor, involvement, humor and evoked responses from the audience. Each of the ten provinces in the new Mozambique, had developed ten different artistic troupes and for the celebrations sent one to each other province. When we spoke with Graca Simbine, the new Minister of Education and Culture, she stressed the importance of culture as another kind of mobilization for people, a way to "rediscover ourselves." "We must learn who we are and what we want to be," she said. Frelimo clearly understands that reality—people's culture was a strong part of the celebrations.

This flame of unity symbolizes the bringing together of all Mozambique to liberty and progress. It will open the eyes of all Mozambicans so that together we will victoriously march to progress.

Samora Machel, June 26, 1975.

Sporting events were a continuing part of the festivities, culminating in the Festival of the Continuadores (children—continuers of the revolution). Held on

the 26th at Machava Stadium, more than 100,000 people came in the afternoon to see thousands of children, from all over Mozambique engage in gymnastic feats and dances. The Festival opened with the lighting of the Torch of Unity, with a flame which had been carried by foot runners through each province in Mozambique, from the Rovuma to the Maputo Rivers.

I did not make it inside the stadium, but stayed outside, watching local children performing their own dances. A group spontaneously gathered, a girl of 13 or 14 in the lead, a whistle in another girl's lips, a few boys; the dance began in a line, back and forth. One girl chanting, others repeating, rhythmic bare feet in the soil. It was a Youth Festival all around—in and out of the Stadium.

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, nor something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is the organized form through which a class takes power in order to fulfill its interests. The colonial State . . . must be replaced by a people's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

Machel, Message to the Nation

While in Lourenco Marques I was able to meet with various people in the new government of Mozambique, and experience on several levels a sense of the political dynamic at work there. Although the scope of this report is confined to the celebrations and does not pretend to analyze the historical or present political structures or policies in the new Mozambique, we hope in *Southern Africa* to have articles and features on these issues. There have been a number of important meetings and seminars held over the past year, including the First Meeting of the District Committees of FRELIMO (Mocuba, February, 1975); FRELIMO Central Committee (June, 1975); Seminars on Alphabetization (in Ribaue, April, 1975); Agriculture (Marrupa, May, 1975); and Primary and Secondary School Teachers (Beira, Feb., 1975). The papers, reports and documents from these conferences should be studied along with other primary sources such as the new Constitution.

The first time we met with government people was at an international delegates' reception at Government House—a legacy from the Portuguese—high ceilings, chandeliers, parkay floors, Chinese pottery. We filed past President Samora and Vice President Marcelino. Some delegations presented gifts. Some like ours tried to overcome extreme nervousness to express revolutionary greetings and solidarity. We were genuinely welcomed. Samora's parting words to us—"Continue the work". The second chance of directly speaking with them was on July 1 when the new government was installed. We witnessed the swearing in ceremonies—each new government minister read a statement of loyalty to the people of Mozambique, signed it followed by an embrace from Samora. A little champagne, and we stood in line to congratulate the new officials. Upon seeing us, Samora paused, thought about the name of our Committee—the Committee for a Free Mozambique, and then his eyes sparkled, as he said, "Oh, the button, the button!" He was referring to the button produced by CFM, and sent to Frelimo which had a picture of Eduardo Mondlane and the words FRELIMO VENCERA. Samora remembered the button. We all hugged. Soldiers, police, the press, the delegates, the government officials, small children, one boy dressed in an

army uniform with a woman militant holding his hand—we were all there.

Each delegation which remained in LM after the celebrations was invited to meet with Marcelino dos Santos, the Vice President of FRELIMO and new Minister of Development and Economic Planning. Three of us spent more than an hour talking generally about the celebrations, foreign policy (Rhodesia, South Africa, foreign investment); plans for developing communal villages; the role of industry. My last meeting was by chance. I was waiting at the Protocol Office for a car so that we could drive out to the *barrios*—we were all tired of the hotels and paved streets. All of a sudden I heard the whirr of motor cycles. Samora, together with Interior Minister Guebuza, and Marcelino, came into the building, went to each office greeting and thanking the workers. Samora greeted me, we joked, it was a nice farewell.

A related incident took place earlier at the press center where I was working bent over a cup of coffee. Suddenly a man tapped me on the shoulder. He gestured to a short familiar looking elderly man next to him. "This is Samora's father, Samora's father." I rose to greet him, and he embraced me. We laughed saying I was from the United States and that many people supported the new Mozambique. He smiled back and went on to greet others.

The press area was spacious, typewriters, the telex machines, work areas, a snack bar. The telex workers had prepared pictures of Samora in telex "X's"; flags, buttons, stickers were everywhere. The Department of Information provided the press with pictures, releases, and tours throughout Mozambique. A press man even read out loud the Constitution, translating it informally into English for the journalists who wanted it.

Intensifying the role of the people

The formation of a party has different demands to those of a front; a party cannot be just the result of proclamation. It presupposes a certain level of political consciousness; the existence of cadres; high consciousness of the masses; because the party is not a handful of persons. We would say, as a first step, it is necessary to know the feelings of the people, the internal political situation and the political level which the people have already attained for it to be possible to define the ideology that is going to be followed for the definition of a sole ideology is one of the main characteristics of a party . . . We in Frelimo cannot pretend that our ideology has been embraced by the entire people. But there is an ideological line . . . which is formulated and subscribed to by all members of the Central Committee. The central point . . . which determines the meeting point between us all, is that we are anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, we are against the exploitation of man by man and against capitalism. In Mozambique we want people's power. This is the aim which we must achieve: it must be solid and it must be understood and embraced by the people. When that happens, we shall be in a position to create a party.

Interview with Samora Machel
Africa, June, 1975

Political work goes on everywhere in Mozambique. Thus we were invited to attend a meeting of the *grupos dinamizadores* at a grade A hotel while we were there.

The *grupos dinamizadores* (dynamizing groups) are a difficult concept and organization to describe. To understand them it is also necessary to look at the organization of party committees. The committees (and it is important to study documents from the Mocuba conference and others to clarify this) function in liberated zones as organs of Frelimo involved in mobilizing the masses, studying and forming solutions for the revolution, encouraging productivity, and combatting regionalism, racism and tribalism. The party committees function on

the national, province, district, locality and neighborhood level at the work place and that of residence. The committees are composed of militants.

The *grupos dinamizadores* on the other hand function in areas where before the April, 1974 coup Frelimo had to function clandestinely. The grupos were formed by involved militants and have the job of building the political consciousness of local people to aim at eventually forming party committees. They function at the work place and at the residential level. The Mocuba Conference decided that the grupos were not sufficiently politically developed and still contained certain reactionary and opportunistic elements. It was decided to intensify the work of the grupos, yet postpone their transformation to party committees. The issue of infiltrators and sabotage is important to Frelimo; the uprising by white reactionaries and their African counterparts in September, the outbreaks in October, the exodus of Portuguese removing valuable goods (medicines, equipment, money) make this a living problem. The watchword of vigilance is a priority for Frelimo and the government. The local grupos play the role of transmitting Frelimo's political line to the people, mobilizing people through such organizational tasks as information, education and culture (including an emphasis on literacy/alphabeticization), environment, social affairs, production and commerce. The Organization of Mozambican Women (O.M.M.) has a role in the mobilization section of the *grupo*.

The meeting at the Hotel gave us some sense of how the grupos work. The hotel is South African owned and employs 286 people. The grupo has seven different sections representing different hotel functions (the kitchen, lounge, reception, etc.) and each section has a secretary. The seven secretaries meet once a week with the *grupo dinamizadore's* General Secretary (meeting times are rotated to allow the most people to come). The meeting we attended opened with FRELIMO songs (which the grupo had mimeographed for everyone). We met in a back room of the hotel. The meeting was chaired by a very dynamic man in a blue shirt—Comrade Mondlane—seated next to him was another man taking minutes. Mondlane asked the people, most of whom sat quietly with heads bent, for their thoughts, problems of the week. Finally an elderly man raised the issue that during the celebrations the hotel had been really crowded and that workers from the upstairs had had to help out in the kitchen, and that they wanted proper remuneration for such service. A discussion ensued (we had to hear it all through translation) and Comrade Mondlane said that he felt the people at the hotel during the celebrations were like guests, and when guests come, you stay up later. Then the workers explained that not only did the have to work harder but that they also missed the stadium celebrations. After discussion, the group began to plan its own party, and agreed to take the issues back to their own sections. Other discussion topics were whether or not things were running smoothly in the different parts of the hotel. The hotel grupo submits reports to Frelimo twice a month, and Frelimo had sent cadres out to the hotel grupo three times since January, 1975. The group had also met with another *grupo dinamizadore*. Within each section the work was broken down into such topics as education (literacy); social affairs (lateness to work, drinking problems); cultural events (the group collected workers' poems, organized sports events). At the meeting we were also asked questions about our countries, their social and political economies, and workers' movement. The men all listened eagerly and encouraged us in our



An armed militant—in Mozambique real equality for women is the goal.

work. They said that one can cut down a tree by using a branch for an ax handle; Mozambique was the first ax handle with which the whole tree of exploitation could be cut. We closed the meeting, standing, singing, shouting our Vivas—the high pitched ululations of one gap toothed man, trying to surprise us, still echo in my ear. Other delegates who attended grupo meetings in the barrios commented on people's participation, the variety of the meetings (four MPLA people spoke to thousands in one barrio meeting, and films were shown).

Because we were unable to visit the rural areas or the liberated zones we had only a limited contact with the people's organizations. Frelimo and many of the people to whom we spoke stressed that in Mozambique there can be no passive waiting for the solutions, "no one is born a militant." All levels must be involved in the process of creating a new Mozambique. The party committees, the developing *grupos dinamizadores*, the national seminars, the meetings, are all part of this process in which the Party plays a crucial role. "The State . . . will be guided by FRELIMO . . . at all levels the primacy of Party decisions and structures over those of the Government will be affirmed." (Machel, Independence Proclamation).

There are many problems in reaching the goals. We spoke with people at the Ministries of Health, Education, the Economic Assistance and Foreign Aid group (dealing with emergency refugee, famine needs), and various others including the General Secretary of O.M.M. No one spoke easily or casually of any decisions; all talked of a process, a discipline, of having to learn from Mozambique's experiences, of having to test methods developed in the northern liberated areas. At all such meetings there were

To the Soldiers of Conscience.....

you did not say the struggle
is far away and not our own
you did not say i am white
they are black I'll support
the white
you knew that a people's victory
is your victory too
for you too are the people

you didn't stand by when new born babies
were mutilated
old men and women trampled underfoot
youth maimed
unpersoned
you gave out your sweat
to sustain our sweat
you gave us a lease to, life
today, we meet in Victory
Salute Comrades.

the pleasure you denied yourself
the dollar you gave for the cause
is the seed the smile, the laughter
the pleasure, the hope
expressed beyond TODAY
you have watered.

hearts that bled black blood
stomachs that knew the rhythm of hunger
minds that cushioned the napalm of education
feet that tread on landmines
those you helped to rescue
today we rejoice.

by Pitika P. Ntul

several Frelimo or government persons present. There was seldom a one to one exchange, a further example of the discipline involving more than one person in areas of responsibility and learning.

The tasks ahead, the complications, the contradictions are huge. "... we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power ... the new battle is only beginning," said Samora in his Message to the Nation. Mozambique was born from the political and military victory of the people, led by Frelimo. Yet one half of the country was not liberated in that struggle and this presents new challenges. Now the task is to transform an economy which had its goods seized by Portugal, its cheap labor forced to migrate to South Africa. The contradiction between the rural and urban forms of development must be ended and what Marcelino called the "sequels of colonialism", ie. the dependency on South Africa via mine labor and transit/port economy must be changed. The development of relevant industries, the docks, the urban wage problem, the huge task of eliminating the plague of prostitution, the settlement of tens of thousands of refugees, the lack of foreign currency, mass illiteracy, poverty, the oppressive institutions against women (bride price, forced marriage, initiation rites), 80 doctors for 9 million people, the creation of new mass organizations for youth and workers, all these present tasks that must now be tackled quickly.

Must we always look for symbols? Perhaps so. I recall most vividly an old Portuguese woman, a chamber maid at the hotel. She came up to me accompanied by a young African worker. What did she want? A button of Eduardo—our CFM button. At first I couldn't find one but when I did, a smile broke out on her face, and that of her companion. Many, many thanks, she said. We were all happy. ■

Janet Hooper is a member of the Southern Africa Committee and of the Committee for Free Mozambique. She went to Lourenco Marques for the June 25th celebrations as a representative of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA).

South Africa

POLITICS

REVIEW OF WHITE POLITICAL PARTIES

National Party

The Government's policy of 'detente' is being interpreted as "too liberal" by a section in the ruling National Party. Recently two members of the Provincial Council in the Cape Province criticised in public the Government's policy of "detente" with black Africa and the opening of the Nico Malan Theater to all races. It is believed that one of them may have to face a disciplinary committee. Previously the Government's limited desegregation in sports was criticised by Ben Schoeman, a former Cabinet Minister.

HNP

The HNP is a small party that advocates even stronger racial discrimination than the National Party. Until now the party has failed to win a seat in Parliament. However in two recent by-elections, the party received considerably more votes than they previously obtained. (Both the ruling National Party and the main opposition party, the United Party, lost ground.) This is being interpreted as an indication that many whites are not satisfied with the Government's policy of "detente" with black Africa.

United Party

Before the last election the United Party was torn by severe internal conflict between the "reformists" (who were more critical of the Government's policy of

apartheid) and the "old guard". Since then the "reformists" lead by Henry Schwarz have formed a new party, the Reformist Party. The internal conflict in the United Party does not seem to be over yet. Japie Basson, a prominent United Party leader who is known to be sympathetic to the Reformist position is still in the United Party. Some commentators feel that he may form yet another group that will fall between the United Party and the newly formed Reform Party.

With the departure of the Schwarz faction, the United Party has moved even closer to the National Party. The more conservative elements in the United Party have started thinking about forming a coalition with the National Party. Mr. Vorster has rejected the idea on behalf of the Nationalists but there is speculation that some of these conservative members of the United Party may join the National Party.

All these events seem to have weakened the United Party. The party came third, behind both Nationalists and the HNP, in the two recent by-elections.

Reform Party and the Progressive Party

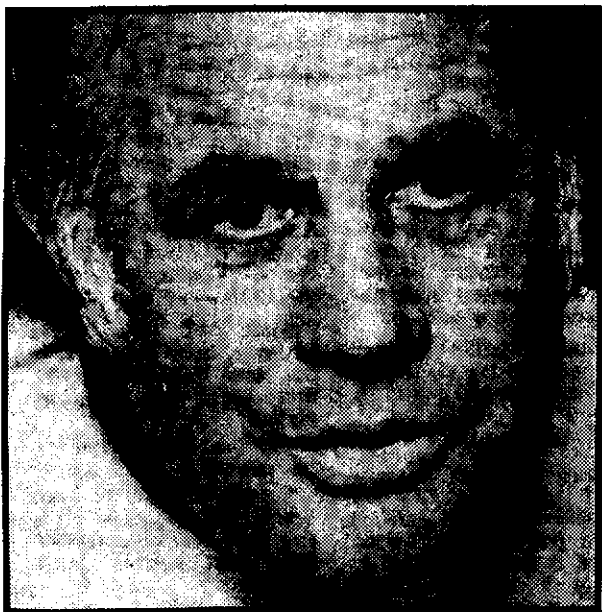
As previously reported, the Progressive Party and the newly formed Reform Party have agreed to merge. A new manifesto for the combined party is being drawn. It is expected that this manifesto will be more liberal than the position held so far by either party, replacing the Progressive Party's present position of franchise based on education and financial ability, by a call for a franchise based on education only, where the required education will be free and compulsory for all. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 31, June 14, 21, 28, 1975; *Guardian*, London, May 8, June 30, 1975; *Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, June 27, July 4, 1975)

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

The Christian Institute, an ecumenical body opposed to apartheid has been declared by the Government to be an "affected organization". This means that the organization is no longer entitled to receive funds from abroad. This is likely to create severe problem for the organization, which in the past has received much of its funding from abroad. Several church organizations including the South African Council of Churches have condemned the Government's move. It seems likely that some of these churches will provide some help to save the work of the Institute. However even with the help, the Institute will be severely short of funds and Institute officials are trying hard to cope with the new situation.

The Government's action was based on the recommendations of a Government appointed commission, the Schlebuech-Lagrange Commission, which was established to investigate the alleged anti-state activities of several organizations including the Institute. The Commission's hearings were not open to public, the persons investigated were not told what the charges against them were, nor did they have any right to legal representation nor the right to cross-examine the witnesses testifying against them. Many, including Dr. Naudé, the Director of the Institute, refused to appear before the Commission.

It may be recalled that based on the report of the same commission, the Government took steps against NUSAS, a predominantly white student organisation opposed to apartheid. The commission has also censored the now defunct University Christian Movement. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 31, June 7, 14, 21, July 5, 12, 1975, *Washington Post*, Washington, June 13, 1975, *Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, June 6, 13, 1975)



Colin Eglin, leader of the newly merged party.

ECONOMICS

US BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA

For ten years, US bank loans to South Africa have been a focus of protest against US support of the apartheid regime. Some victories have been won, with a few banks refusing to lend money, and other banks withdrawing or discontinuing loans. However, a recent report in the South African *Financial Mail* indicates that the major victories are South Africa's. The subject has been raised in the context of a concern among South African bankers that South Africa is "horribly overborrowed" on overseas capital markets and should adopt a more orderly approach to foreign borrowing. In the case of American banks, the press pointed out that there are US statutory limits beyond which banks may not lend to any one foreign borrower, and several US banks are close to these limits with respect to loans to South African corporations, public as well as private.

The common way to deal with the protest over political questions raised about South Africa is not to make political decisions about the wisdom of investment in South Africa. Instead, several US banks which make loans to South Africa insist that their identities be kept secret. And at the request of foreign banks, Iscor, South Africa's public iron and steel corporation, refused to divulge the extent of its foreign borrowing for 1974. (*Financial Mail*, April 18, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 31, 1975)

MAJOR OBSTACLES TO BLACK BANKS SUCCESS

The July/August issue of *Southern Africa* reported the formation of a bank in South Africa owned by blacks. A Black journalist, Revelation Ntoula, has done an analysis of the problems facing the bank, and excerpts of his report follow.

"The African Bank is the brain-child of the National African Chamber of Commerce... an organization of small retailers in the African townships. The concept was born out of the traders' frustrations that although they were keeping large savings accounts with the White-owned

commercial banks and other financial institutions, they were by law prevented from enjoying the full benefits offered by the institutions since they were Black.

"For instance, they could not secure loans because they could not produce any fixed property security against the loans. (Africans are by law prevented from owning fixed property in urban areas.) Similarly, they could not obtain building loans despite the fact that it is estimated that Africans in South Africa have more than 20 million Rand in savings and building societies in the country. . . ." (20 million Rand equals about 29 million dollars)

"When the African Bank of Southern Africa (Ltd) opens its doors . . . it will do so in the Tswana Bantustan some 50 km outside Pretoria. This will be so because by law Africans cannot form partnerships or public companies in urban areas. The unsuitable locality of the first branch of the bank, which will also be its headquarters, will pose the first problem for the . . . venture.

"At best, the locality could only attract a handful of small-scale traders in the Tswana Bantustan. This possibility must also be seen in the light of the fact that most of these businesses in the Bantustans are in practice run by the White-owned Bantu Investment Corporation which is unlikely to have any dealings with the African Bank. . . . This would mean that the Bank could find itself being limited to dealings with no more than a thousand clients and in small savings accounts only.

"Africans in the urban areas, who are financially comparatively better off, could be reached by the Bank as it establishes branches in those areas. . . . [Still,] the clients would be unable to obtain loans from the Bank since they would have no security to offer.

"From the Bank's side, it will be impossible for it to have fixed assets such as buildings in White areas since this is forbidden by law. The only outlet it seems, would be for the African Bank to invest its money in White-owned

banks and other financial institutions. . . . It will be hard for the Bank to succeed before something is done to rid the African of the economic shackles which prevent him from doing any good for himself." ("South Africa's Black Bank Faces Problems," Revelation Ntoula, *South African Outlook*, April, 1975)

UNION CARBIDE EXPANDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Union Carbide has joined with the General Mining Group of South Africa to form a new company, Tubatse Ferrochrome. The ferrochrome plant is already under construction at Steelpoort in the Eastern Transvaal. The estimated cost of the plant is \$50.75 million, and it is expected to produce 120,000 tons of charge chrome per year, earning some \$58 million annually in foreign exchange. Union Carbide is the leading producer of ferro-alloys in the world and its technical support will be of major significance to the new company. (*Financial Times*, London, May 9, 1975)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE BANTUSTANS

Critics of South Africa have frequently condemned South Africa's Bantustan policy on economic grounds, saying that South Africa has no intention of developing the economy of its tribal reserves. Instead the reserves will remain impoverished, forcing the population to seek work in the White sector of the economy. This analysis is only partly correct. It appears now that South Africa does intend to develop the economies of the Bantustans, but only in classic, neo-colonial terms.

White expertise and capital are being put to work in the Bantustans. Whites can control development by controlling investment and technical skills. South African White investors are not the only ones interested in this prospect. A major effort has just been made by the Transkei to attract capital from Europe: England, Holland, West Germany, France, Italy, and even Finland.

An example of Bantustan development is the town of Butterworth in the Transkei. Its population has jumped from 2700 to 27,000 in a period of only four years. Africans who have come to work there are housed in four room bungalows. Whites who come, some from other parts of South Africa and some from Europe, live in "snow-white suburbs." The houses for them are of course larger—four bedrooms, instead of four rooms. So far at Butterworth the main industries are weaving, rug-making, and bead threading, all of which require a large labor force.

By March, 1975, industrial investments in the Transkei had reached approximately \$71 million. The leading industry was textiles, followed by food and beverage firms. Still, it is clearly admitted that for a long time to come the Transkei, and all the Bantustans, will have to depend on subsistence farming and on jobs in the White sector of the economy to sustain the African population. (*Die Burger*, July 9, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 21, July 5, 1975)

The obvious poverty of the Bantustans, and the fact that requests for aid are now coming from black Bantustan leaders has caused a dilemma for some elements in Europe. The liberal capitalists in Holland find it impossible to give direct financial aid to the Bantustans because that would be to recognize the legitimacy of apartheid, a policy they say they abhor. On the other hand they find it difficult to refuse requests from Black South Africans. The solution will be to give aid covertly through the leading Dutch development financing

For the people, Bantustans mean a life of poverty and endless waiting.



organization, Novib. Novib has been involved in development schemes all over Africa, and the Bantustans will be treated as if they are developing countries. The Government is trying to avoid public discussion of the matter, but it is unlikely to succeed since its policy does in fact give the Bantustans the very status that the South African Government desires them to have. (*Cape Times*, Cape Town, July 9, 1975)

MINING FIRMS REACH ACCORDS WITH WORKERS

South Africa's mining industry has come across with two major concessions to workers in recent months, both aimed at averting sagging productivity and potential strikes.

South African companies awarded a 37% pay hike to black miners in June, bringing the minimum wage for underground workers to \$80 a month—a figure that still falls \$100 a month below the poverty datum line for an average size family. According to the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, minimum wages have now more than quadrupled since April 1973.

In July the South African gold mining industry, already plagued by African labor unrest, averted a strike by white miners by granting a five-day—rather than a six-day—work week. In return the white union agreed to an increase in the number of black laborers in the mines.

The mining companies say the five-day week will cost them \$350 million a year, but with gold mine profits at an all-time high, the loss will not be as serious for them as a work stoppage would have been. Pay scales for white miners will remain about 1500% above those for blacks.

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR PICTURE

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. Botha, recently released statistics on black workers in South Africa. "Foreign Blacks" are those from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, etc.

	Local Black Workers	Foreign Black Workers
Mining and Quarrying	222,225	416,745
Manufacturing	674,926	11,923
Agriculture	445,760	24,500
Construction	341,855	19,150
Wholesale Trade and Retail	294,390	3,385
Government Services	413,246	10,358
Domestic Servants	567,716	9,208
Miscellaneous	312,266	5,526

If current predictions are correct, these figures will change significantly in the next year, particularly in relation to mining, with half the labor force on the gold mines coming from South Africa by the end of 1976. The labor shortage on the mines has been a major worry in South Africa for some time, and the mine owners are finally having to improve conditions so they can compete

with other sectors of the economy. To illustrate how bad conditions were, the real wages of black miners did not change for sixty years, up to 1971. Since then black wages have risen threefold, but the wage gap between black and white workers has also increased.

In 1973, 80 percent of the black workers on the mines were foreign. Then, for a variety of reasons, the supply of cheap foreign labor suddenly dried up, causing a major crisis. This was the impetus for the increased recruitment of South African Blacks, a recruitment that is succeeding better than the Chamber of Mines had hoped.

Still, foreign Blacks are and will continue to be significant. There has been much speculation about the continued supply of miners from Mozambique, now that Mozambique is independent. More than 90,000 laborers currently come to work in the mines. This situation is unlikely to change immediately. As Mozambique President Samora Machel stated, "You do not just terminate a contract and put 150,000 people out of work." (60,000 workers are employed in other sectors of the South African economy.) Mozambique needs the foreign exchange that its miners bring into the country, as the exodus of thousands of Whites has been disruptive to the economy. Mozambican mine workers have 60 percent of their pay deferred and paid to them in Mozambique, not in South Africa. Before the recent pay raise, this amounted to \$58 million a year. Further, the deferred pay is transferred to Mozambique in gold at the official rate of \$59.22 a fine ounce. The present free market price is over \$232 a fine ounce, so South Africa is effectively paying more than three times the face value of the deferred pay. South Africa, for its part, badly needs Mozambican workers, and is not going to jeopardise the supply.

With more South African Blacks working on the mines, there will obviously have to be changes in other sectors of the economy as well. The one group of Black workers who perhaps were more exploited than the miners are farm laborers. Now White farmers are concerned that improved conditions on the mines will rob them of their labor supply. Steps are being taken to see that this does not happen. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 14, July 5, 1975; *Business Argus*, Cape Town, July 5, 1975)

FOREIGN RELATIONS

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST

During June the South African Minister of Information, Dr. C. P. Mulder visited various western countries—including the US, Japan, Israel, and Taiwan—in order to campaign among the political leaders of these governments for increased military, economic, and political support of the Apartheid regime of South Africa. Throughout this propaganda tour Dr. Mulder stressed two themes: South Africa's efforts at "détente" in Africa, and the South African regime's "strategic value" in maintaining the world balance of power. With regard to the latter issue, *Die Suidwester* writes that "the Cape Sea Route must at least be kept safe for the West—even if it is only done for the sake of oil, which has in our time become the most strategic product... Western countries should make an urgent and realistic reappraisal of their attitude towards the Cape Sea Route... What it [South Africa] does expect of the West, is that it [the West] will realise the international value of the Cape Sea Route." Additionally the *SABC* commented that "Western alarm over developments in the area [Indian Ocean] has grown substantially... The British Defence Secretary... has said that the Indian Ocean is generally considered an area

of conflict between the West and communism. . . . Air Vice Marshall Menaul [Director-General of the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies] has suggested the establishment of a joint force of the United States, French, British, Iranian, and South African naval and air units—without a treaty commitment." (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 14, 28, 1975; *Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, June 20, 1975) In other words, as the apartheid regime's need for western military aid grows—in order to maintain itself in power—the "issue" of maintaining the "balance of power" in the Indian Ocean, will be used as an excuse to funnel military hardware to the South African government with the objective of maintaining the stability of that regime.

However, Dr. Mulder was not the only South African official pleading the cause of the apartheid regime to western audiences. An international symposium on conflict in Southern Africa, held in Munich, West Germany, during June, was attended by Mr. Japie Basson (United Party M.P.), Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert (Progressive Party M.P.), Mr. J. H. Mills (the "official" government representative), and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (Chief



Minister of Information Mulder addressing National Press Club in Washington.

Minister of the Kwa-Zulu "Bantustan"). In July Chief C. N. Phatudi (Lebowa "Bantustan") and Chief Kaiser Mantanzima (Transkei Bantustan) were South Africa's spokesmen at a London Conference on investment in South Africa and the Bantustans. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 14, July 5, 1975) As threats to the stability of the apartheid regime increases, we will find more and more South African politicians, both Black and White—representing the government, the White "opposition" parties, and Black heads of apartheid institutions—touring the West with the sole aim of attempting to fool Western public opinion into thinking that peaceful change is possible in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the South African-Israeli military, political, and economic alliance continues to be strengthened. Commenting on his reception in Israel, Dr. Mulder stated that Israel's "general attitude towards South Africa was one of friendship" and that Israel "felt that if South Africa were forced out of the United Nations it would be

the second to go." Senior Israeli military officers have been regularly advising the South African military on counter-insurgency and modern warfare techniques. (Thus, the Israeli military has become directly involved in repressing the South African liberation movement—remember the US advisors in Vietnam!) In the economic sphere, General Meir Amit (formerly chief of Israeli intelligence and currently head of Koor Industries) disclosed during a visit to South Africa, in early July, that the South African Railways, Harbors, and Airways Administration is participating in building a railroad project in Israel, and that a desalinization plant will be built in South Africa by the Israeli Koor Industries. Other future joint economic ventures include the building of a factory in East London to manufacture agricultural chemicals, and of an oil tank farm in Israel for the storage of oil under tight security conditions. Manufactured in South Africa, the units will be assembled in Israel. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 28, 1975; *Guardian*, London, July 8, 1975) An important factor determining the policy of the Israeli and other Western governments towards South Africa is that under the present oppressive system profits are enormous, and they would like to keep it that way for as long as possible.

SOUTH AFRICA AND INDEPENDENT AFRICA

Mozambique's independence on June 25, 1975 has increased speculation in South African political-economic circles over whether South Africa will be allowed to maintain its traditional highly profitable economic relations with Mozambique, and whether it can persuade the FRELIMO government to adopt a policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the apartheid regime of South Africa. The South African press currently stresses the "mutual" advantage to maintaining "friendly" relations between South Africa and Mozambique—but with a note of apprehension about the long range future. The *Star* wrote that "behind the militancy [of FRELIMO] . . . lies a pragmatic awareness of economic realities. . . . A working coexistence will be very much in the interests of both countries. For the long SA-Mozambique border to become a hostile one would imperil the peoples of both lands and the entire future of Southern African détente." *Die Volksblad* commented that "it remains to be seen whether Machel will attempt to export his revolution before consolidating his system internally. He should realize that his country's workers on the South African goldmines . . . and . . . railways . . . were the biggest earners of foreign exchange for his country. . . . Machel certainly cannot afford to have half his work force idle, and will therefore have to think very carefully before cutting railway links [with Rhodesia] or restricting the flow of workers who earn money elsewhere." The *Rand Daily Mail* noted that "short-term pragmatism demands cooperation and there are more than 100,000 good and immediate reasons why it should continue. Black miners from Mozambique not only help keep the gold mines going, they earn desperately needed revenue for their own country. Cabora Bassa and the railway line are physical reminders of a Siamese bond. . . . From a South African viewpoint, the need to maintain links is even more imperative. . . . Black governments with radical ideas are entrenched on our borders. In such circumstances, only one thing can ensure South Africa's prosperity and security, and that is the success of détente." However when the South African rulers are themselves confronted with the political reality of the policies of the new FRELIMO government of Mozambique, anxiety over their

own internal situation grows. In this regard the *Star* remarked that "among honoured guests at the uhuru celebrations will be not representatives of Pretoria but exiled leaders of South Africa's banned African National Congress. That could be seen as another ominous pointer to the future." *Die Burger* stated that "from the very start Mozambique's new rulers are leaving no doubts about their orientation." The *Sunday Express* stated that "it's going to be quite a business, living with our new neighbor. . . . We outlaw . . . Black nationalism; they have just welcomed . . . leaders of our banned ANC as honoured guests at their independence celebration." (*Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, June 27, July 4, 1975)

In the meantime, although South Africa's "détente" policy was rejected by the *Dar es Salaam Declaration* of April 1975, South Africa has in no way abandoned its attempts to undermine the African states' support of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. A symposium on "detente", organized by South Africa's Institute of International Affairs, was held in late May in Gaborone, Botswana. One of the financial backers was the newly formed Foreign Affairs Association; but there is speculation that Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation (which is a principal financial interest behind the Progressive Party and the newly merged Progressive-Reform Party) was also one of the financiers of this symposium. Persons attending the symposium included Mr. Hank Slack (personal assistant to Harry Oppenheimer), Mr. Michael O'Dowd (director of many Anglo-American companies, and an alternate member of the main Board of Directors), Mr. Vernon Webber (head of Anglo-American's Zambian operations), Mr. Mark Chona (President Kaunda's personal adviser), and several unnamed Rhodesian politicians. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 7, 1975) As usual, there is no difference between the actions of "private" South African and governmental representatives in terms of seeking to prolong the survival of the apartheid system.

IVORY COAST OFFICIAL MAY VISIT SOUTH AFRICA

In what is seen as a diplomatic coup, South Africa says a cabinet minister from the Ivory Coast will make an official visit there in the near future.

South Africa's Minister of Information announced in July that his Ivorian counterpart, Laurent Dona-Fologo, will soon spend twelve days in South Africa. But the announcement apparently embarrassed and angered Information Minister Fologo, a prominent politician with a progressive image.

Fologo told reporters in the Ivorian capital that the proposed visit is in keeping with his government's policy of dialogue with all African states. But he denied that any final decision on the trip had been made. He also denied that his visit would pave the way for a state visit by the Ivory Coast President next year. Ivorian President Houphouët-Boigny was the first African leader to publicly advocate a thaw in relations with South Africa's white government.

U.S. BLOCKS SOUTH AFRICAN EXPULSION

The South African representative on the International Davis Cup Committee credits the United States with blocking a move to oust his country from competition. In an interview with Radio South Africa, Owen Williams praised the President of the U.S. Lawn Tennis Association for defending South Africa's membership.

According to Williams, the U.S. official said the Americans would withdraw from Davis Cup tennis if South Africa, Rhodesia, or any other country were prohibited from playing, thereby panicking many delegations at the closed Davis Cup committee meeting. The committee voted 24 to 22 to keep South Africa in.

Last year, South Africa was declared Davis Cup champion by default, when India refused to play in the final in protest over South Africa's racial policies. Now African countries are threatening to drop out of Davis Cup competition as a block, until South Africa is excluded for its discriminatory practices. ■

Namibia

THE 'CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE'

The long-expected South African-promoted 'constitutional conference' on the future of Namibia has been set for September 1st (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, July 25, 1975). The meeting of black and brown 'homelands' delegates and representatives of white residents will open in the Turnhalle, an aging landmark building, newly refurbished, in the capital city of Windhoek a year after the idea of such a get-together was initiated by the all-white National Party executive. The date was announced in Windhoek by Mr. Billy Marais, head of the Department of Constitutional Development.

Despite repeated assurances by South African and South West Africa administration authorities of freedom of expression by all political opinions, the Windhoek conference is to be made up of officials of old African tribal groupings created in accordance with the dictates of apartheid. The Windhoek *Advertiser* of July 28 lists "national units" to participate in the talks as "Basters,

Bushmen, Caprivians, Damaras, Coloureds, Herero, Kavanos, Namas, Ovambos and the Whites". There is no agenda and Mr. Dirk Mudge, head of the National Party in the Territory, has spent an extraordinary amount of time and energy with tribal officials coaxing them to the conference. Recent visits to 'homelands leaders' by South African Minister of Bantu Administration, Development and Education M. C. Botha (accompanied by Agriculture Minister Hendrik Schoeman, fresh from a visit to the USA) with further inducements of funding and greater autonomy, added to the pressures on and the lures for the puppet chiefs.

Unanimity among tribal officials still eludes the white entrepreneurs. The Damara Council and Damara Tribal Executive have made pre-conditional demands that the conference be under international supervision, that all leading black political exiles be allowed to return and participate and that the matter of South African citizenship accorded Whites in the Territory be cleared up.

Mudge counters: "Preconditions which could be sorted out at the conference table cannot be allowed to cause a delay" (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975). The July 21 *Windhoek Advertiser*, citing an interview with Mudge, states: "Conditions of representations, procedure, attendance, etc. were matters to be decided at this first meeting and all the groups should be represented so that they could air their views." The paper reports further: "Mr. Mudge recalled the latest developments in Africa and said that it had been undeniably shown that discussions in a spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill were the only recipe for the solution of our intricate problem. This process should stand above petty party politics because experience had taught that political parties could not be easily reconciled. For that reason the Whites were still convinced that the discussions should be conducted between representatives of the population groups and not between political parties."

The Damara Tribal Executive Committee has sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim condemning the conference as containing "evil and the fragmentation" of the Territory and asserting that the future of Namibia should "be discussed with the United Nations."

Mr. Gerson Veli, president of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) in Windhoek announced support for the Damara stand (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, July 25, 1975).

The air edition of the Johannesburg *Star* of July 26, 1975, in a dispatch datelined Windhoek, says the South West Africa People's organization announced eight conditions for constitutional talks with Dirk Mudge or

"anyone else speaking on behalf of the South African Government."

SWAPO terms were listed as follows: South Africa had to accept the right of Namibia to sovereign independence; its territorial integrity was absolute and not negotiable; all political prisoners must be released and all exiles allowed to return without fear of arrest; a banning order on SWAPO executive Nathaniel Mahuilili must be lifted; emergency regulations in the northern regions must be abrogated; South Africa must withdraw its police and military; and talks should take place under United Nations supervision with the object of free elections under UN control.

THE ECONOMIC FRONT

The Manchester *Guardian* of July 5, 1975, reports from Brussels that UN Council for Namibia and SWAPO representatives asked the European Economic Community "to withdraw guarantees on investments in Namibia and to insist on certificates of origin for all products imported from Southern Africa." An EEC official stated that the Community had no plans to extend trade and aid concessions to homelands either in South Africa or Namibia. Sean MacBride, UN Commissioner for Namibia, said a number of companies were withdrawing their investments, with West German and British firms as exceptions. He called for pressures on companies by those two governments and he singled out Rio Tinto Zinc, the powerful British-based multi-national which controls the operations at the Rossing Uranium mine near Swakopmund in Namibia.

Commissioner MacBride said in Lusaka that "an international strategy was being worked out to seize cargo exported from South West Africa by South Africa." (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, July 17, 1975) MacBride reiterated the support of the EEC as he arrived in the Zambian capital for a visit to his headquarters there. "He said when South West African cargo was impounded by courts as stolen property, it would be sold and the proceeds held in trust for an independent South West Africa."

UNITED NATIONS ACTIONS

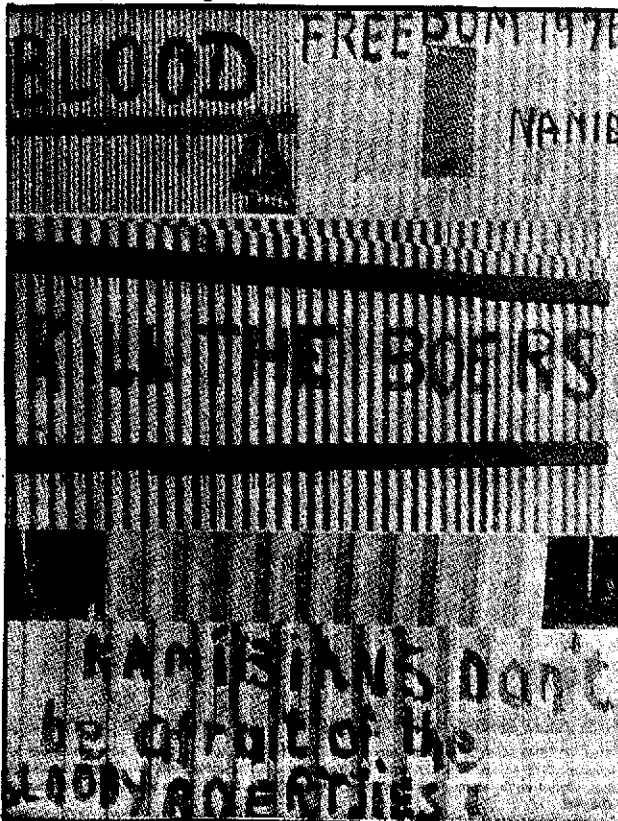
The 11-member Senate, the governing body of the Namibia Institute in Lusaka, met in the latter part of July, coinciding with the visit of Commissioner MacBride. The Senate chose a member of the staff of the Commissioner, Mr. G. H. Geingob, a Namibian, to be the first director of the Institute. The Institute expects to commence training Namibians early in 1976 to administer the Territory and provide a civil service when independence comes.

The United Nations has announced that a new commemorative stamp—"Namibia-United Nations Direct Responsibility"—will be issued on September 22.

RESISTANCE CONTINUES

The *Windhoek Advertiser* of July 8 reports a clash between Namibian workers and black South Africans at the Rossing Uranium mine. Police units were sent to the super-secret site in what was described as a move to prevent tribal conflicts. The SWAPO representative in nearby Walvis Bay accused officials at Rossing of failing to inform authorities in time to prevent the clash. Mr. F. Naholo commented that when there was a labor strike or demonstration, the police were at the scene immediately (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, July 23, 1975). He condemned the compound housing system for black workers as "nothing but a second Robben Island prison."

Biggest soccer audience ever in Namibia greeted by unprecedented display of political slogans.



One woman was killed and two men wounded in two separate shooting incidents in the Owambo homeland in northern Namibia (*Times*, Cape Town, June 24, 1975). Both shooting episodes by South African army and paramilitary police units were connected with the growing rash of graffiti-writing on paved roadways and buildings as indications of opposition to South African rule. The practice has spread rapidly from the Windhoek area and includes the painting of slogans and the affixing of SWAPO and NAMIBIA stickers on any convenient surface. So exercised are occupation authorities over this "political warfare" that the South African government has given notice in its official gazette that it will eradicate the practice (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, July 10, 1975).

"Daubing" achieved its greatest prominence at the Katutura soccer stadium near Windhoek when two African teams played against a backdrop of huge

spray-painted slogans reading "KILL THE BOERS", "NAMIBIANS NEED FREEDOM" and other expressions of political unrest.

REFUGEES ARRIVE FROM ANGOLA

About 8,000 refugees from Angola have passed through Namibia, according to one informant (*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, July 8, 1975). As fighting increases and spreads in the rich Portuguese colony (scheduled for independence in November) whites and some coloured people (reportedly about 50 a week), drive to and through the long border with Namibia, are directed by police to Windhoek and then sent to a camp near the South African capital of Pretoria for processing for the long trip to metropolitan Portugal or relocation in South Africa, Rhodesia, Europe or the Americas. ■

Zimbabwe

CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS: NO PROSPECTS

David Ennals, British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, flew to Mozambique for the independence celebrations on June 25. He spent some time in South Africa talking to Mr. Vorster and in Salisbury talking to Mr. Smith and to representatives of the African National Council (ANC). He was sounding-out the possibilities of peaceful settlement with British initiative in calling a constitutional conference. Although he kept his discussions confidential, he seemed to have some hope for a negotiated settlement.

The chief obstacle to convening a conference is the choice of venue. The ANC insists that it must be outside Rhodesia to insure the free participation of African nationalists, including ZANU leader Ndabaningi Sithole and FROLIZI's James Chickerema who is subject to re-arrest if they return to Rhodesia. Ian Smith insists that the meetings be held inside Rhodesia so that he can maintain administrative control over his government. The ANC has suggested that the meetings be held either in Messina, across the border in South Africa, or in Francistown, across the border in Botswana.

Other barriers to a settlement were lifted in May when the ANC and Smith agreed to withdraw their respective pre-conditions—that political prisoners be released and that a cease-fire take effect. But talks to talk about talks have come to a standstill. Sithole, now based in Tanzania, repeatedly states that the only viable means for achieving majority rule is armed struggle. (*Times*, London, June 27, 30, 1975; *Guardian*, London, June 30, 1975; *Cape Times*, Capetown, July 9, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 14, 21, 1975; *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, July 8, 1975)

ANC MEETS WITH PRESIDENTS

Presidents Nyerere, Kaunda, Khama, and Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Chissano met July 4-8 in Dar es Salaam with 30 ANC leaders. The purpose of the meeting was twofold: to mend the internal conflicts in the ANC and to agree on a strategy for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

The Dar meeting had been preceded by a "unity summit" of ANC officials in Lusaka. The meeting

re-affirmed Muzorewa as head of ANC and appeared to make progress in healing the differences between rival nationalists within the ANC.

In a brief statement after the Dar meeting, Muzorewa indicated that if Mr. Smith did not agree to a constitutional conference outside Rhodesia by September, the guerrilla war would be intensified. President Nyerere echoed the same unwillingness to wait much longer for significant changes to take place. On a visit to Somalia after the meeting in Dar, he said that his hopes that black majority rule could be achieved without bloodshed had faded and that the need to continue the war for liberation was increasing daily. He pledged Tanzania's material and moral support to the military struggle. (*BBC News*, July 14, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 5, 1975; *Tanzania Daily News*, Dar Es Salaam, July 4, 1975; *Guardian*, London, July 7, 8, 9, 10, 1975; *Sunday Times*, London, April 13, 1975)

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

Reports from Salisbury say that scores of men and women are leaving Zimbabwe daily to begin guerilla training. Schools report that pupils are leaving to join the struggle. It has been reported that Robert Mugabe, ANC executive now in Mozambique, is organizing the recruits before they are transferred to Zambia and Tanzania for training. The Organization of African Unity confirmed that 2000 guerrillas can be trained and equipped at any given time. New camps in Tanzania and Zambia were toured by Ndabaningi Sithole in a recent move to re-invigorate the armed struggle.

The massive exodus of Zimbabweans follows recent announcements by the Smith government of an intensification of the anti-guerrilla campaign. The Rhodesian defense ministry announced that women are being recruited to serve as clerks, radio operators, air traffic assistants and intelligence officers. The Second Battalion of the Rhodesian African Rifles will soon be in combat duty, adding 1000 soldiers to the Rhodesian effort. The ministry also announced that 18 year-old boys completing high school will not be deferred for further

education but will go directly into military service.

Military action has intensified in the war zone in the northeast. Recent clashes left 20 dead and a Rhodesian soldier wounded from a land mine. A 22 year old white American from Hideway Hills, Ohio, was killed by guerrillas. The Rhodesian Government has accorded him a hero's burial. This death gives credence to recent reports that mercenaries are being recruited in the US for action in Rhodesia, as claimed by Tapson Mawere, ZANU's representative in the Americas. (*Reuter News*, June 6, 25, July 24, 1975; *BBC News*, July 14, 1975; *New York Times*, June 11, 22, July 13, 1975; *Guardian*, London, June 28, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, June 7, 14, 1975)

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAY LIMITS RHODESIAN FREIGHT

South Africa has informed the Smith regime in Salisbury that South African railroads can not handle any

additional Rhodesian freight. The announcement comes at a time when landlocked Rhodesia's other trade outlet—through Mozambique—will soon be completely cut.

Rhodesia has been the object of a UN economic embargo, since whites there declared unilateral independence from Britain in 1965. The white regime has subsequently relied on South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique, both of which ignored the UN sanctions, as export outlets for Rhodesian goods.

Now Mozambique has achieved formal independence from Portugal, and the ruling FRELIMO party says it will close off Rhodesia's rail links to the sea—routes that now handle more than four-fifths of Rhodesia's trade.

The South African railways's announcement cited serious overcrowding as the reason for limiting quantities of Rhodesian freight. The government-owned railroad declared that, even with the best will toward Rhodesia, no more goods could be handled.



ANGOLA

At the time of writing, the situation in Angola appears grim. The sides seem clearly drawn between the movements; more than seven truces have been broken and all agreements signed by the leaders proved ineffective; the Transitional Government appears dysfunctional; the second Portuguese High Commissioner has been recalled and a new one is yet to be selected; FNLA troops claim to be moving in from the north, east and south to challenge MPLA control of the capital, while UNITA is reportedly attacking MPLA in the port of Lobito; while inside Luanda, Portuguese and MPLA troops have clashed more than once; thousands of Angolans are fleeing cities under FNLA attack; and more than 1,200 Portuguese have been leaving daily for Portugal since the military escalation of late July.

The imminence of full-scale war in Angola however carries implications even beyond the scale of civil war and reveals the international nature of the conflict over Angola's future, as well as the history of Angola's difficult struggle for independence since the launching of armed struggle in 1961.

MILITARY SITUATION: POST-NAKURU SUMMIT

At the second major summit meeting of the three movement leaders in mid-June in Nakuru, Kenya—Agostinho Neto of MPLA, Holden Roberto of FNLA, and Jonas Savimbi of UNITA—signed an 8 point major agreement. Terms of the agreement included the immediate ending of all hostilities, the formation of a national armed forces integrating all the movements, the disarming of civilians, the streamlining of the Transitional Government's unwieldy structure to facilitate decision-making and execution of responsibilities, and a timetable for elections to be held in October prior to the projected declaration of independence set for November 11.

Despite the agreements made in Kenya, it was only a matter of days before FNLA forces were firing again on MPLA troops and civilians in Luanda, this time with heavy mortar fire and more sophisticated weaponry. By July 9, however after six days of fighting, MPLA had successfully driven FNLA out of the city and forced its remaining units to take refuge in an old 16th century Portuguese fort, Sao Pedro Da Barra, 4 miles from the city's center, and within firing distance of a large oil storage tank. With FNLA expelled, the city remained relatively quiet for over a week. A cease-fire on July 22 called for the reduction of all forces and the FNLA garrison in the fort to be left undisturbed.

In the meantime, FNLA assembled a relief column in the northwest, an area which they control. The column claimed to be moving south to take over Luanda in an attempt to redress its humiliating defeat. Its stated objective was to cut off MPLA supply lines, overtake MPLA cities along the way, and enter Luanda. In a radio broadcast from Zaire in late July Holden Roberto announced that he was declaring war on the MPLA as "an organ of Soviet imperialism". And on the following day, N'gola Kabangu, Secretary General of FNLA and Minister

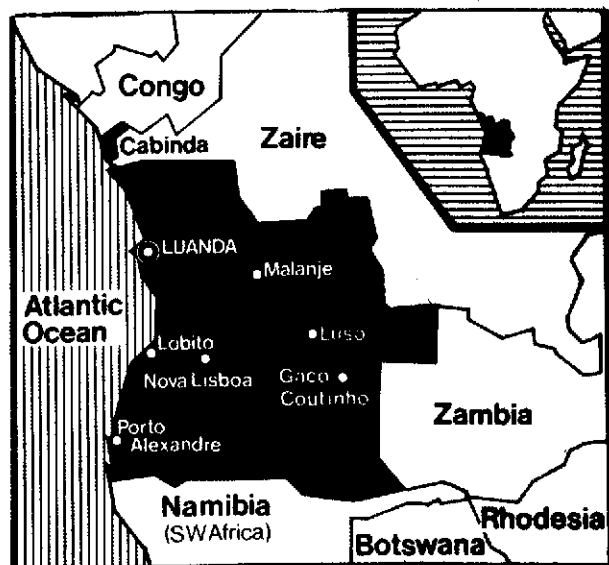
of the Interior, rejected the possibility of peaceful negotiations as a means of preventing more fighting, declaring that he doesn't "believe in negotiating with communists." He further warned the Portuguese authorities in Luanda not to intervene "if they want to maintain good relations with Angola after it is freed" since FNLA is "determined to take the capital to prevent continued occupation by the pro-communist MPLA." To enter the capital however, FNLA must cross two bridged rivers and these are well-defended by MPLA forces. (*Washington Post*, July 26-27)

It is claimed that there are up to 5,000 FNLA troops moving towards Luanda, armed with Chinese weapons and riding in Zaire supplied U.S. armored vehicles. Towns being attacked by FNLA are Caxito and Aboim about 40 miles north of the capital; Carmona, farther north; Malange, 250 miles northwest of Luanda; Luçala and Novo Redondo to the south; and Lobito, a port to the south. In Malange which lies in the heart of Angola's rich coffee-growing region and has a population of 100,000, FNLA troops were reported to be patrolling the streets and "shooting at anything that moves." (*Washington Post*, July 27, 1975)

As of August 5, however, FNLA is still talking about its threat to "liberate Luanda" as if it will be a matter of a few days. Even western reports conceded that "it will take them considerably longer to break through MPLA lines and reach the capital, if they are indeed able to do it at all." (see update) (*Washington Post*, August 2, 1975)

PORTUGUESE-MPLA RELATIONS IN LUANDA

Meanwhile, the Portuguese command in Luanda has gone through a shake-up with the removal of High Commissioner Antonio da Silva Cardoso in early August and the arrival of a three-man military mission headed by



Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho, former High Commissioner in Angola prior to the establishment of the Transitional Government in January 1975. The change in command follows a long period of tension between MPLA and Portuguese authorities in Luanda which climaxed on July 27 when a Portuguese unit opened fire on MPLA Headquarters leaving 20 MPLA militants and civilians dead and scores wounded. Tension between MPLA and Portuguese troops in Luanda mounted during Cardoso's six-month leadership. He has been accused of having an anti-MPLA bias which, in the name of neutrality, allowed him to refuse to act against FNLA's brutal and open aggression against civilians and MPLA militants and transgressions of all truce and peace agreements. After the firing on MPLA Headquarters, MPLA leader Neto formally broke all alliance with the Portuguese armed forces in Angola, demanding the withdrawal of the 27,000 Portuguese troops and Cardoso's removal. On July 30, Lisbon imposed a military censorship on all news from Angola when Portuguese Minister of Information, Jesuino, declared that Angola was in a state of prewar and distorted news could have a negative effect on both Portuguese troops in Angola and at home in Portugal.

However, it is hoped that the new military mission headed by Coutinho, under whose commission armed confrontation in Angola was minimal, will help to bring stability and curb the violence that has halted the preparations for independence in the country during the last six months.

FROM THE PORTUGUESE VIEW

Portugal's military rulers feel that the FNLA's aggression against the MPLA was designed to heighten unrest in Portugal as well, itself in the midst of a political crisis marked by outbreaks of anti-communist violence. Senior military officers saw FNLA's attacks in Luanda as another attempt to divide Portugal's Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and halt the Portuguese revolution. They expressed deep suspicion of Zaire President Mobutu-Sese-Seko, FNLA's primary backer, who also has clear interests in Angola's oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. "The truth of the matter is that we're in a state of undeclared war with Mobutu" claimed a high military officer, who added "we're also troubled by the activities of the multinational companies which have raw materials interests in Zaire and Angola." (*Washington Post*, July 26, 1975)

He added "while the deterioration of the relations between the FNLA and the MPLA is sometimes accelerated by confrontations at the grassroots level without the consent of their leaders, who insufficiently control the events, it has been established that groups of provocateurs not belonging to any of the movements and paid by great powers and the extreme right wing groups have infiltrated. They attack the FNLA as well as the MPLA, and set one against the other. Furthermore, there are elements in Angola's Portuguese community that never acquiesced in the loss of their old privileged positions and who are directly involved in terrorist provocative groups." (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, May 31, 75)

Thus the fight between the MPLA and FNLA takes on international implications with Zaire and Portugal at odds, and the split within Portugal's MFA being exacerbated by the recent escalation. It is important to see Mobutu's moves in Angola through FNLA in this light

THE EXODUS AND ENTRY

The escalation of military and civilian violence bears a direct relationship to the massive exodus of Portuguese citizens from the country. Out of more than half a million Portuguese in Angola, most of whom live in Luanda, approximately 135,000 have left, the majority fleeing since late June following the increased fighting between FNLA and MPLA. And it is reported that 250,000 and 300,000 wish to leave before independence is declared in November. This situation is bound to have serious repercussions in Portugal and the Revolutionary Council in Lisbon is divided over the solution to the problem since the political and economic crisis in Portugal is only exacerbated by such an emigration, many of the refugees being poor and jobless. Portugal's high unemployment rate is likely to double with the additional burden of emigres from Angola. Moreover they will contribute to the political tension in Portugal since the sympathies of these repatriates are hostile to an independent Angola (particularly along the lines of a Mozambican form of Government) and are known to have been involved in right-wing activities aimed at overthrowing the "radical officers" of the MFA in Portugal. Thus they will only heighten the anti-communist sentiment in Portugal now expressing itself in anti-MFA demonstrations, rallies, raids, and murders led by the Socialists and Popular Democrats. Thus a stable Angola is crucial to the stability of Portugal. And the leaders of both countries know this only too well. (*Washington Post*, Aug 5, 1975)

In mid-June it was reported that a 2,500 truck caravan planned to trek 8,000 miles through eight African countries if the Lisbon Government did not provide immediate ship and air transportation out of Angola. This project was seen as an effort to dramatize their plight and embarrass the Portuguese government into action. The Portuguese High Commissioner Cardoso in Luanda at the time and the Portuguese Socialists favored aiding the return of those Portuguese nationals despite the lack of jobs and current crisis in Portugal. (*New York Times*, June 19, 1975)

Some Portuguese are even reported fleeing to Namibia where the South African Army has put up a tent village near Oshkati in Ovamboland in the north to receive at least 2,000 refugees (*Reuters*, Aug. 4 1975; *Washington Post*, Aug. 5, 1975)

In contrast, there has been a massive return of at least 300,000 Angolans into the northwest who have been living in Zaire since the outbreak of the war of national liberation in 1961. These people may create further unrest for the Transitional Government in Luanda by increasing FNLA forces and imposing new pressures on the population which has been living and fighting for independence inside the country for the last 14 years.

CABINDA'S FLEC CALLS FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM ANGOLA

As FNLA continues to threaten the stability of Angola's independence and both civilians and MPLA militants are forced to retaliate in armed defense, the Kinshasa-based Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) mounts its cry for the self-determination of Cabinda claiming geographical and political separation from the Angolan mainland. Only 2,800 square miles in area, Cabinda has a population of 80,000 which strongly supports MPLA. The enclave has enormous timber and mineral wealth much of which is in offshore oil which for the last nine years has been exploited by Gulf Oil

Corporation. Last year Cabinda became Africa's fourth largest producer of oil. (*Reuters*, Aug. 1, 1975)

FLEC's head, Luis Ranque Franque announced a declaration of independence from Portugal at the close of the 12th Organization of African Unity meeting in Kampala in early August, but the motion failed to be recognized. After making his declaration, Franque reportedly returned to Kinshasa, not Cabinda. Despite his denial of annexation desires, it is clear that Mobutu would like to see the Cabindan enclave cut off from Angola, since such a small territory would inevitably have to be incorporated into a large neighboring territory.

However, even within the FLEC, there is division. On July 25 in Paris, another representative aligned with the FLEC Vice-President, N'Zita Tiago who is presently in jail in Kinshasa, announced that FLEC had formed a provisional government to lead the territory to independence. This was immediately denounced by FLEC's headquarters in Kinshasa. In May, MPLA leader Neto summarized the position of FLEC:

Internally the MPLA maintains control of Cabinda. But . . . serious threats continue to exist. For instance, it has appeared that important military reserves are stationed along the southern border, troops that certainly are preparing an attack. There is also a considerable increase of FNLA troops in the south of Cabinda, transferred from Zaire to the interior of the country. Besides there are arms supplies in the north, in the Landana area, belonging to FLEC. This separatist movement, however, is falling apart at the moment. Its Zaire-based leadership is splitting up into three irreconcilable factions. One of FLEC's most important elements, N'Zita Tiago, has been imprisoned in Kinshasa. Although FLEC is not an important force for Cabinda, Angola, it is for sure that many Angolans in Cabinda can be used by foreign powers, especially those living near the borders." (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, May 12)

The primary foreign oil interests presently in Cabinda are Gulf Oil and a French-based oil company.

THE FLOW OF ARMS AND ARMIES

The question of arms so stressed by the western news reports on Angola reveals the international nature of the conflict of interests now being played out on Angolan soil at the expense of Angolan lives and Angolan independence.

Much of MPLA's arms are Soviet-made and provided through the Eastern European nations. Formerly brought in by ship, there has been an embargo however on foreign arms shipments since the establishment of the Transitional Government in January. This was agreed upon in an effort to stem the flow of outside arms into the country. In May when the Yugoslav ship arrived carrying arms for MPLA, Neto agreed not to have them unloaded in an effort to prevent further escalation of the fighting with FNLA. FNLA is well armed by the Chinese and more recently the Americans through its bases in Zaire. However, it is curious that no attempts were made to halt the flow of arms across the Zaire-Angola border. The Transitional Government's High Commissioner Antonio Cardoso acted as if there was no border at all on the northwest, another reason for the tension between MPLA and Portuguese authorities in Angola in the last six months.

Commenting on this question Lucio Lara a member of MPLA's political cabinet said "Do you think that this cargo would balance the provisioning of the FNLA from Zaire which cannot be checked. If a column of trucks loaded with soldiers and arms penetrates into Angola from Zaire, who is protesting? Nobody mentions the scandal. Let us close and check the borders and exclude any

foreign intervention; then we know for sure that a first element of peace will have been reached." (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, May 16, 1975)

Since 1973 China has had over 100 military instructors in Zaire training FNLA troops and providing the majority of their weaponry. Zaire has provided the major financial backing for the FNLA which gives each new recruit 5,000 escudo for joining the FNLA. The FNLA army, trained in Zaire by Chinese instructors, has enjoyed little popular support inside Angola. Furthermore, it has not gone through the long process of political education and base-building during the years of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial dictatorship. (*Guardian*, London, June 6, 1975)

In addition, contrary to reports in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, China is not the only provider of weapons to FNLA. In the late July offensive of FNLA into Angola it was reported that its troop forces were "backed by a column of American-made armored vehicles brought in from Zaire." This is consistent with a *New York Times* editorial commenting that Holden Roberto was known to be the "Washington favorite". While at the same time the use of American arms and US funds to Mobutu provides tacit support to FNLA, the State Department continues to deny any involvement or any supplying of arms to any of the movements. This is consistent with its insistence that what is going on in Angola is simply civil war. (*London Observer*, July 27; *New York Times*, June 14)

Another significant factor is recruitment. FNLA's army is known to consist of many French-speaking Zaireans as well as many Angolan refugees who have not lived in the country for over 14 years. FNLA also uses a number of PIDE/DGS people which has alienated much of the population of Angola. According to one report: "there is evidence that some Portuguese officers and former members of the political police who are still at large in Angola, are working with the FNLA." Finally, white FNLA supporters armed with machine guns and caches of arms have been reportedly involved in the fighting.

Agostinho Neto, MPLA President (center), at the Mozambique proclamation of independence ceremony in Lourenco Marques, with new Minister of Interior Armando Guebuza (left) and Mariano Matsinhe, Minister of Labor (right).





Woman mourns death of MPLA comrades.

(*Economist*, April 5, 1975; *Guereilheiro*, London, June, 1975)

MPLA enjoys a strong base in the local population through neighborhood and village councils, and among workers in Luanda as evidenced by its support in the

Angolan Trade Union Association (UNTA). All of these sectors of the population have been continually subjected to FNLA attacks in the last seven months. Much of the resistance of the population has come from the Peoples' power movement, an organization based around local committees. Not formally linked with any of the movements, it has the full support of MPLA because of its roots in the population at the most fundamental levels. FNLA and UNITA oppose the peoples' power movement because their programs do not include the building of an independent Angola through political education and popular support. Rather in the case of FNLA, they prefer to harass the population into a neo-colonial form of independence. Perhaps this is why an MPLA spokesperson in Mozambique told a gathering of support groups there for the independence celebrations in June that the tension between MPLA and the FNLA is "primary and permanent." Commenting on the relationship between the people and the MPLA Lucio Lara said: "We have been accused of arming the civilian population. Indeed part of the population has been armed, but that was done in July 1974, to resist aggression from reactionary whites. These self-defense units have placed themselves under the MPLA banner, but we do not control them. It is essential to understand that we are not in a position to disarm them. These people want to defend themselves because the people's safety cannot be guaranteed." (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, May 16, 1975)

The Struggle Continues

Guinea-Bissau in perspective

by Richard Lobban

Background

On September 24, 1973 the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau was declared in the southern forests, just eight months after the tragic loss of one of Africa's greatest revolutionary thinkers and practitioners, Amilcar Cabral. His death only spurred the movement to new heights of military activity such as the Operation Amilcar Cabral in which the strategic fort of Guiledge was seized in May 1973. Nationalist movements were advancing in Mozambique and Angola with such increasing pressure that, on April 25, 1974, there was a coup d'etat in Lisbon. Decolonization was its first goal. At first the former military governor of Guinea-Bissau, Antonio de Spinoia, appeared to be controlling things in Lisbon; the war continued. Then, when the sincerity of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement was established and clarified, the war came to a halt and negotiations began. These talks led to the celebration of full, formal independence on September 24, 1974, just one year after the Republic was declared. With this as background, what have been the accomplishments of the new government?

From War to Peace

The most obvious note of success is, of course, seen in the attainment of the primary goal of national

independence for both Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Cape Verde. While supporters knew that the forces of history would finally bend in favor of the PAIGC (African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), it was impossible to predict the events in Lisbon a year ago. Unity between the two Republics can now be placed on the agenda, but at yet there is no timetable. With the "political kingdom" now at hand, the PAIGC can now proceed at full speed to recover from a war-time economy to a peace-time economy.

Bissau is a small, compact, but neat and clean African town. Since it is now the rainy season the town's gardens are bursting with new colorful flowers and well-maintained lawns. The streets are now in good repair and rubbish drums are conveniently located. The atmosphere is calm and relatively few cars circulate on the roads. Many of the main thoroughfares have been renamed for various important dates in the history of twenty years of struggle for national independence. The main avenue is now named after Amilcar Cabral, while the former Portuguese officers club has been changed to a smart public hotel called the Pidjiguiti in honor of the dock workers who were shot down in a nationalist strike in 1959. The streets are patrolled by regular uniformed police and by occasional soldiers armed with their



Experimental agricultural project—an important priority is encouraging rural development.

Kalashnikov rifles. Another notable change in the city has been the removal of historic statues commemorating various Portuguese. Thus the figures of Nuno Tristao and Diogo Gomes, early explorers who "discovered" Guinea in the 1460's have disappeared. So have the monuments to Teixeira Pinto and Honorio Barreto who served as military governors during the five centuries of colonial rule. Where Barreto's statue once stood, a modern nationalist has painted "Honorio Supports the PAIGC" but, in general, the zealous sign and slogan painters typical of Lisbon or Cape Verde are not to be found here.

In converting to peace-time needs, the new government has experienced a rise in urban unemployment, especially amongst those who serviced the Portuguese colonialists. There is apparently some small use of a marijuana-like drug, but there are serious attempts to curb this and a recent law decrees that any distributors if found guilty by a military court, may be sentenced to death. As the nation is only months out of a decade of war the death penalty may also be applied to traitors and spies, but there is no such thing as a summary or public execution.

Since the towns saw rather little of the actual war, a major effort is now underway to establish infrastructure similar to that found in the liberated zones in the rural areas. This is in process and will include local committees, and local peoples' tribunals. Certain basic necessities such as foods and some tools have been brought into the national sector. Prices are fixed as was the case with the Peoples' Stores in the liberated zones. On the other hand, some consumer items which are more costly are still in the private sector. At first nervous merchants depleted their stores but now all of the shops are filled with goods. Prestigious shops such as Casa Esteves and Casa Helpa, or the Lebanese-owned Casa Mussa and Taufik Saad look to be well maintained, although they are certainly not crowded. Some Portuguese have decided to stay in Guinea; perhaps the uncertainties in Portugal make the option of return less attractive. Other Europeans such as Russians, Rumanians, Swedes, and Dutch are here in various aid capacities.

New Potentials

New links with other nations are being forged. An air link with Algeria has now been inaugurated. The new Portuguese government have sent agronomists, doctors, teachers, and journalists. The United Nations agencies

such as the UN Development Program and the World Health Organization have been involved in the repatriation of war refugees from Guinea-Conakry and Senegal and a Food and Agriculture Organization expert is working on a project to increase the rice production. A program is being stressed to draw the unemployed out of the towns and back to the countryside to start the agricultural redevelopment program. Before the war Guinea earned export revenue from rice, whereas during the final period of the war the Portuguese had to import rice. With the rainy season at hand the lands may soon begin to return to their former productivity. Other resources such as timber may now be exploited properly with concern for the future. Exploration has commenced in the area of the virtually untapped bauxite reserves which are a continuation of the rich vein in neighboring Guinea. Production of peanuts and palm oil will be stepped up. Investigation into the fishing resources has begun with the idea of exporting certain species of fish and shrimp once canned or frozen. There is a proposal to dredge the harbor for larger ships. The war economy produced several million bottles of beer each year for the soldiers but now this commodity is beyond the need or financial grasp of most. A program to change the direction of industrial production and the tax structure, which supported elites and colonial functionaries is being worked upon.

New Problems

As if the economic problems were not enough to contend with, the PAIGC has also been subjected to two coup attempts in recent months. One was aborted in Bissau itself, while the other group of conspirators sought to rob Cape Verde of its true independence. Such problems are under total control but they serve to remind everyone that the period of struggle has not ceased with formal independence. The Secretary-General recently noted in a European magazine that another major goal will be to "decolonize the spirit". The nation's President, Luis Cabral, pointed out that the chief priority was to "create a new man". The nation and its leaders have already come a very long way and they manifest much eagerness and optimism to continue the struggle to bring genuine meaning to the red, green, and yellow flag which flies at the Government Palace. There are no lofty promises, only hard work ahead.

Bissau, July 1975

Richard Lobban is a member of The Southern Africa Committee. He spent a month in the liberated zones of Guinea-Bissau in May 1973 and returned for a visit in July this year.

Market place in Bafata.



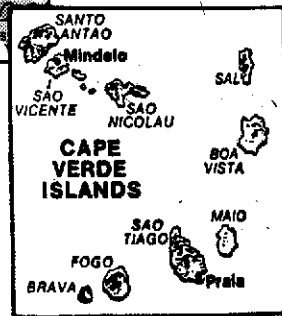


Cape Verdeans greet PAIGC leaders at the celebration of independence.

Cape Verde Celebrates Independence



Praia, 5th July: first President of Cape Verde, Aristedes Pereira and Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves of Portugal formalize the independence of Cape Verde.



Major Pedro Pires—Prime Minister.



Abilio Duarte—Leader of newly elected National Assembly.

neighbors

BACKGROUND REPORT ON THE LESOTHO ECONOMY

In a paper given to the UN Seminar on Multinational Corporations in Africa (Dakar, September-October 1974), Gabriele Winai-Strom of the University of Uppsala described the structure of the Lesotho economy and the role which multinational corporations play in it. Lesotho depends on cattle, wool and mohair for 71 per cent of its exports. Its trade deficit has gone from \$4.3 million in 1961 to \$28.8 million in 1968. Forty-eight per cent of its male labor force is in agriculture, 7 per cent in paid employment in Lesotho, and 45 per cent works in South Africa. Of the 45 per cent or 130,000 men, 90,000 obtain their jobs through recruiting agencies of various kinds scattered throughout Lesotho while 40,000 cross the border and make their own arrangements with South African employers.

Lesotho has not been able to create nearly enough jobs even for the increment in the male labor force and has not actively sought, at least until the present, to establish greater control over its economy. An industrial policy based on liberal tax and land registry laws and requiring little reinvestment in Lesotho was established in the 1967-70 period and survives by and large today. The Lesotho National Development Corporation established in 1967 under a South African director has facilitated the external control of the economy. Plans for harnessing Lesotho's water power have not gotten off the ground; diamond exports have remained static; Alex Fraser and

Son, a British multinational, still dominates the retail trade; the manufacturing sector remains quite small. The Lesotho National Development Bank has begun to challenge Standard and Barclays in some areas but the country has yet to establish its own currency. Tourism is the fastest growing industry, jumping from 3,000 visitors in 1968 to 110,000 in 1972, primarily through the agency of the new Holiday Inn in Maseru, but this sector has created few jobs or other linkages with the indigenous economy.

ZAMBIA, RHODESIA JOINTLY REPAIR HIGHWAY LINK

Zambia and Rhodesia's white regime are cooperating to renovate a key highway link, and the road might be ready for re-opening in December the \$24 thousand joint road project puzzles observers in Southern Africa, coming at a time when efforts towards a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia have apparently failed, and when Zambia has re-asserted its pledge of support for a probable stepped-up guerrilla war against the Smith regime.

The highway, which crosses the Zambezi River near Victoria Falls, has not been used since Zambia closed its Rhodesian border two years ago, in a confrontation over alleged Zambian backing for Rhodesian guerrillas.

The road project comes in the wake of accusations earlier this year that Zambian President Kaunda is under pressure from powerful business interests in Zambia to renew trade ties with Rhodesia.

at the u.n.

NATO COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA EXPOSED

In a memorandum submitted to the Special Committee against Apartheid and subsequently released as a UN document, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement has charged that significant links are being forged between South Africa and NATO. The document states that the United States, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark have been engaged in the planning and development of Project Advokaat, a naval surveillance system established by South Africa at Silvermine, near Simonstown. The system reportedly allows South Africa to keep under surveillance an area stretching from South America to Bangladesh and including the entire African continent. According to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Advokaat has permanent channels linking it with the United Kingdom Admiralty and the United States Navy; the equipment section of the Defence Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany has been directly engaged in the building of Advokaat. Documents released by the British Anti-Apar-

theid Movement show that orders for parts of the system were placed with companies in the countries mentioned, using NATO forms and NATO stock codes. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement accordingly charged that "South Africa is now within the NATO defence code area and its military equipment and spare parts are codified and recorded in the same way as for NATO members."

Following the release of the documents, NATO officials denied that NATO as such had had any part in providing equipment for Advokaat, and minimized the significance of South Africa's use of the NATO coding system by claiming that the system was not classified and was being used by other non-NATO countries. According to them, the supplies of equipment to South Africa were a purely bilateral commercial operation between South Africa and the companies involved. In a meeting in February this year with Ambassador Ogbu, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Secretary-General of NATO, Joseph Luns, had taken a similar stand, disclaiming the existence of any political, military or technical links with South Africa. Luns made the same

statement to a delegation of the UN Council for Namibia in July. (UN documents A/AC.115/L.408 and L.410; UN press release WS/718)

ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE SEND MISSIONS TO WASHINGTON, LATIN AMERICA

A delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid headed by its Chairman, Ambassador Ogbu of Nigeria, visited Washington from June 22 to 24. It was the first time since its establishment in 1963 that the Committee had met with United States Government officials. The visit was in line with the Committee's new policy of direct contacts with the governments of countries which have military, economic, or other links with South Africa. The delegation met first with Robert Blake, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, and James Blake, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Topics covered in the meeting were the increasing US military cooperation with South Africa and the negative votes cast by the US delegation in the United Nations on resolutions against apartheid. The State Department officials, while reiterating familiar platitudes on US opposition to apartheid, declared that it was impossible for the Government to take action against apartheid because of opposition in Congress and the country at large toward the UN position on other issues, especially Israel.

The delegation also met with several Congressmen; with House Speaker Carl Albert; with Sen. Clark of Iowa, chairman of the Sub-Committee on Africa of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and with representatives of the City Council of the District of Columbia. Reporting on these meetings, Ambassador Ogbu said he felt there was "a great amount of goodwill" in the Congress. The delegation expressed full support for the resolution currently before the City Council of the District of Columbia calling upon the city of Washington to boycott four major corporations involved in supplying sophisticated equipment and advanced technology to South Africa.

Chairman Ogbu declared that the mission to Washington was a first step only and that the Special Committee intended to develop closer contacts with the US Congress, and to find ways of reaching non-governmental organizations, the information media and the public. (UN document A/AC.115/SR.305)

Another delegation of the Special Committee, led by Ambassador Signoret of Trinidad and Tobago, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, visited Brazil and Argentina at the beginning of June. Both countries were singled out by the Committee because of the recent rapid increase in trade with South Africa, the existence of South Africa investment projects there, and reported interest in a South Atlantic military scheme. In Argentina, the delegation was received by President Peron and other high Government officials and was assured that Argentina would "use every opportunity to scale down its existing relations with South Africa." In Brazil, the mission was told by Government officials that "relations between South Africa and Brazil were minimal and were characterized by a strong tendency of growing coldness." Following the mission, the Committee decided that more such visits to governments of Latin American countries would be planned in the future and that measures would be taken to promote the establishment of anti-apartheid organizations in Latin America. (UN document A/AC.115/L.409)

COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA VISITS ASIAN COUNTRIES

A mission of the UN Council for Namibia, headed by its Chairman, Ambassador Banda of Zambia, and accompanied by Sean McBride, UN Commissioner for Namibia, and Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO representative in New York, visited India, Indonesia and Japan in May. The mission, the first ever of its kind, is part of a new affirmative policy aimed at establishing the legitimacy of the Council in the international arena and promoting effective action on the question of Namibia. One of the main concerns of the Council in its talk with Government officials in the three countries was to bring attention to, and win support for, the Decree on the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. The Decree, adopted last year, makes it illegal to remove natural resources from Namibia without the permission of the Council. The question was brought up repeatedly in meetings with Japanese officials, especially in reference to imports of uranium from Namibia. The delegation was quite clear that the Council considered such goods stolen and that it intended to follow through the provisions of the Decree, including seizure of such goods. Japan's response, however, was less than satisfactory in that the Government claims that it cannot legally impose controls on the activities of its corporations. The report of the mission indicates that Japan is taking some steps to publicize the decree in its official trade journals. Other questions discussed by the mission and which obtained a more favourable response on the part of all governments concerned were the provision of training facilities for Namibians and financial contributions to the Institute for Namibia and the Fund for Namibia. (A/AC.131/L.27)

UN AGENCIES RUSH EMERGENCY SUPPLIES TO ANGOLA

An emergency airlift of food supplies to Luanda began on July 25 under the sponsorship of the Office of the UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO) in Geneva, and several other UN agencies. UNDRO stated that aid would initially be provided for an estimated 5,000 persons displaced by the fighting in Luanda and stranded in areas lacking food supplies. The relief operation originated at the request of the Transitional Government of Angola. Communications reaching the UN from Luanda indicated that the number of persons displaced and in need of help was rapidly increasing and was approaching 15,000 at the end of July. (UN press release IHA/238)

In Angola, as food shortage worsens, women try desperately to buy anything available.



UNITED STATES and SOUTHERN AFRICA

CLARK HOLDS MORE HEARINGS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

A series of hearings on southern Africa, conducted by the Subcommittee on Africa of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, drew to a close in late July. Earlier sessions focused on Angola and Mozambique. (see *Southern Africa*, July/August, 1975) In July the Subcommittee, headed by Senator Dick Clark of Iowa, turned to developments in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, and US policy toward the white minority regimes in those territories.

Hearings on Rhodesia began with testimony from three scholars: Robert Good (Denver), Robert Rotberg (MIT), and John Hutchinson (UCLA and Johns Hopkins). Good and Rotberg analyzed the profound changes in the Rhodesian situation since the Portuguese coup, and urged that the US take steps (starting with Byrd Amendment repeal) to induce Ian Smith to permit a transition to majority rule. Hutchinson, a self-appointed international peacemaker who last year did some Kissingerian shuttling between interested parties in the Rhodesian negotiations, castigated the liberation movements as communist purveyors of violence. For example: "It is not hard to imagine Beira as the Hanoi of Southern Africa. Rhodesia, black and white, might well without our help yet share the fate of South Vietnam." Hutchinson was suggested as a witness by the Rhodesian Information Office.

When Nathaniel Davis (Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) came to testify, he was greeted by the unexpected appearance of Senator Jacob Javits, a member of the full Committee but not the Subcommittee. Javits questioned Davis sharply about the "flap" over his appointment at the OAU and elsewhere, and wanted to know "if time has confirmed our judgement in confirming you." Davis said nothing of substance, but was clearly taken aback. The episode was an interesting coda to the stormy hearings on the Davis confirmation last March.

Davis reaffirmed administration support for majority rule in Rhodesia, and for the repeal of the sanctions-breaking Byrd Amendment. However, when Clark questioned him at length on the possibility of US aid to compensate Mozambique for the likely cut-off of Rhodesian trade, Davis refused to go beyond saying that the US "desires to be helpful to Mozambique." This was a typical performance for Davis; he has shown himself to be a master of obfuscation (as even the Johannesburg *Star* agrees). His vague answers serve to conceal what Secretary Kissinger's intentions may be in the area, and to give Kissinger and himself considerable flexibility to maneuver without contradicting his public posture.

Two public witnesses also testified on Rhodesia—Ted Lockwood of the Washington Office on Africa and E.F. Andrews of Allegheny Ludlum Industries. Lockwood concentrated on the US sanctions enforcement record, which he characterized as "lethargic, ineffective and passive at best." Clark used some of Lockwood's material when questioning Davis. Andrews, as usual, put forth a

compendium of misinformation about Rhodesia; at one point he "quoted" the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole as saying "We won't stop 'til there's not a white man left between Salisbury and Capetown."

Opening the hearings on South Africa and Namibia were Don McHenry (Carnegie Endowment for Peace), Goler Butcher (formerly with the State Department and Congressman Diggs' Subcommittee on Africa, and now a private attorney), and Leonard Thompson (Yale). All were critical of racial policies in the two territories, and their recommendations generally called for "distancing" (as McHenry called it) the US from the white regimes.

Davis and William Buffum (Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs) appeared, and Clark interrogated them about the US record at the UN and this country's enforcement of the arms embargo against South Africa. On the first matter, Clark was critical of our constantly negative profile on southern Africa issues in the world body, and wondered aloud why we take no constructive initiatives there. Davis said the arms embargo had been carefully observed, and that no "selective relaxation" on "grey area" items had followed NSSM-39.

This pronouncement was soon refuted by another public witness, Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa. She presented evidence from *Paratus*, the South African military journal, showing that American aircraft—C-130 transport planes and Cessna light jets—are being used for decidedly military purposes. *Paratus* notes that the Cessnas "keep the one thousand mile border under constant surveillance," and "can be used to control ground fire onto specific targets and to report subsequent enemy movement." Other public witnesses were Elizabeth Landis (attorney) and Jordan Ngubane (a South African exile).

The Subcommittee finished its series with two "wrap-up" sessions on the southern Africa region. Academic witnesses included Willard Johnson (MIT), Jean Herskovits (SUNY) and Edwin Munger. Both Johnson and Herskovits emphasized the importance of southern Africa to black Africa, and that the long-range interests of the US, as well as morality, were on the side of black Africa. Munger supported such things as US investment in the Black homelands as a viable way to ease racial domination in South Africa. On the second day, Administration officials and George Houser of the American Committee on Africa were scheduled to testify.

Since the hearings were intended to provide only basic information, and since Clark was usually the only Senator present, they will probably not lead to any concrete legislation. Still, Clark has been impressed with the critiques of US policy, and may take a leading role in the Senate in efforts to change it. He has announced his support for US contribution to a multilateral fund to compensate Mozambique when that country imposes sanctions on Rhodesia, and has introduced a bill to repeal the Byrd Amendment in the Senate. Together with Joseph Biden of Delaware, the only other member of the

seven-person Subcommittee to make even a token appearance at the hearings, he will visit southern Africa during the August recess. He intends to visit Zambia, Tanzania, and, if possible, Angola. Botswana is an alternate if Angola is closed because of fighting.

RHODESIAN SANCTIONS BILL CLEARS HOUSE COMMITTEES

House Committee action is now complete on H.R. 1287, the bill to restore US compliance with UN sanctions against Rhodesia. The full House, which will probably vote on the measure in September, is now faced with two conflicting reports: a favorable one from the House International Relations Committee, which passed the bill on July 9 by a 17-8 vote, and an unfavorable report from the Armed Services Committee, which voted 26-7 against the bill on July 23 after this intensely conservative body managed to engineer a 10 day "sequential" referral from Speaker Albert.

The votes in committee indicate that the sponsors of the bill have not been doing their homework by lobbying key members. Some slight but significant slippage has taken place. Congressmen Zablocki, Broomfield, Yatron and duPont, who voted for the bill last year in committee, voted against it this year. Jim Lloyd, a freshman co-sponsor of the bill, and Floyd Hicks, a co-sponsor last year, turned against the bill in the Armed Services Committee.

The sponsors of the legislation continue to hope that Secretary Kissinger will put important pressure on House Republicans and that public interest and labor groups can put enough pressure on swing members of Congress to win the vote in September. If the House vote is favorable, the Senate should not present as much of a problem; it approved the legislation by a substantial margin of 54-37 last session.

US TREASURY RULES SOUTH AFRICAN FERROCHROME SUBSIDIZED

The Treasury Department has tentatively ruled, on a petition brought by a US ferrochrome producer, that South African ferrochrome exported to the United States is subsidized and therefore subject to countervailing duties.

Treasury has held that concessionary rail rates, reduced electricity charges by Escom, preferential financing and the right to deduct overseas promotion costs for income tax purposes constitute subsidies. It rejected allegations of other benefits, including a claim that Apartheid itself constitutes a subsidy because it holds down the wages of black workers according to the *Johannesburg Star*.

The ruling, which will become final before January 4, was published in summary form in the *Federal Register* on June 30, but the full text of the decision is being withheld until the South African government agrees to its release.

The decision is a victory for the hard-pressed US ferrochrome industry, which has been faced since 1972 with cut-throat competition from South African and Rhodesian ferrochrome imports. South Africa and Rhodesia have relentlessly pursued the advantage which their access to native chrome ore has given them. With cheap labor and government subsidies, they have undersold US producers by as much as 30% and in fact have sold under the cost of US production. By 1974, their exports rose to fill 20% of the consumption of US stainless steel producers.

South Africa has embarked on a campaign to beneficiate (refine) its ores, as recommended by a

commission headed by Dr. H.J.J. Heynders, in order to increase its foreign exchange earnings. Ferrochrome sells for roughly ten times the price of chrome ore. Since ferrochrome production is heavily capital intensive, it increases profits exponentially without increasing dependence on labor.

Clearly the South African government is very unhappy with this ruling since it could affect the price of some 30 different products, and it is said to be preparing a challenge to it. The familiar refrain heard so often in Byrd Amendment debates is being sung again: the United States will be driven into a dangerous dependence on the Soviet Union, which is the major world producer of chrome ore. (*Johannesburg Star*, July 19, 1975; *Metals Week*, Dec. 18, 1972; *Federal Register*, vol. 40, no. 126, June 30, 1975.)

BLACK CAUCUS MEMBERS MEET WITH MULDER

In a political maneuver that was given high visibility by the South African government, the South African Minister of Information, Dr. Cornelius Mulder, met with several members of the Congressional Black Caucus during his June visit to Washington. The first news of the meeting came from an official organ of the South African government, *South African Digest*, on June 27.

Congressman Andrew Young of Atlanta, who visited South Africa in 1974, admitted to meeting Mulder in company with other members of Congress, saying that he wanted to ensure that "the other side" of the conditions in South Africa was presented. Young told National Newspaper Publishers' Association reporter John Lewis that Cardiss Collins, a new member of the House International Relations Committee who accompanied Congressman Diggs on two trips to Africa this year, and Yvonne Braithwaite Burke were at the meeting. Lewis also reported that William Clay met with Mulder.

The Caucus members met Mulder at a luncheon arranged by Congressman John Dent which was attended by 18 members of the House. Previously, Caucus Chairman Charles Rangel of New York had turned down a Dent invitation for the Caucus to meet Mulder as a body, on the grounds that South Africa would be able to use such a meeting for propaganda purposes.

On his return to South Africa, Mulder did in fact single out the Caucus members for comment. He claimed that "they asked penetrating and critical questions ... but I

NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SOUTH AFRICA
The South African State President received the credentials of Mr. William G. Bowdler, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America in the Republic of South Africa. From left to right are Mr. William G. Bowdler; the State President, Dr. N. Diederichs; and Mr. B. Fourie, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.



was pleased with the outcome. It showed that we are willing to meet people who are not normally cordial to us."

A staff assistant to one of the Caucus members said privately that Mulder's meeting with these Caucus members was embarrassing, since more members of the Black Caucus met with Mulder than met with Zambian President Kaunda in April. He also said that the Caucus would have to co-ordinate its actions on Africa policy more carefully in the future.

AMERICAN MERCENARY KILLED IN RHODESIA AS OTHERS ARE RECRUITED

The *Washington Post* reported on July 25 that an American citizen, John Alan Coey, of Hideaway Hills, Ohio, was killed on July 19 in a clash with guerrillas in Rhodesia, where he was serving as a corporal in the Rhodesian Army.

This is the first irrefutable evidence that American mercenaries are active in Rhodesia, although major American papers reported in June that mercenaries were being recruited for Rhodesia by Robert Brown of Phoenix Associates in Colorado. (see *Southern Africa*, July, 1975.)

The *Washington Post* also reported on July 28 that another organization, Military Advice Command International of Abington, Pa., has 300 "experienced young fighting men" ready to guard white farms in Rhodesia's war zones. This announcement came from Thomas Blening, a Vietnam veteran, in Salisbury.

Even before the news of the killing of an American mercenary, Robert Brown told reporters that on the advice of his lawyer, he had stopped seeking recruits. Brown had been quite open about his activities with reporters before the articles about him were published, and his response to the publicity was a turn-around. He said, "I categorically deny that I have at any time recruited for any government." Clearly he hopes to avoid prosecution.

Following the announcement of Coey's death in Rhodesia, the State Department admitted for the first time that Americans are fighting guerrillas in Rhodesia. According to a State Department source, information available several months ago indicated that 55 to 60 American recruits were being trained at the King George VI barracks in Salisbury.

The State and Justice Departments have begun an investigation into recruitment of mercenaries for Rhodesia

in this country, to see whether Brown and possibly Blening have acted as unregistered foreign agents for the Rhodesian regime. It is also an offense under US criminal laws to "hire or retain" any person in the United States to "enlist or enter in the service of any foreign prince, state, colony, district or peoples as a soldier . . ." Swearing allegiance to a foreign power may result in loss of citizenship for mercenaries.

US GOVERNMENT FINANCES COMMERCIAL SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

The Department of Agriculture announced on July 10 that its Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) has extended a three-year \$1 million line of credit to US exporters to sell beef and dairy breeding cattle to ranchers in South Africa. This financing arrangement is an encouragement of export sales by US companies, in this case members of the Santagertrudis association, to white purchasers in South Africa.

The guarantor for the cattle exports is the Standard Bank of South Africa, backed up by a confirmation of at least 10% of the sales cost by Barclays Bank in New York. The CCC purchases the account receivable (debt) from the US exporter and collects payments from the banks involved. Thus the US business takes no risk in making the sale, since any default on payments will be paid for by the banks or absorbed, finally, by the Commodity Credit Corporation itself.

This CCC financing agreement is one of the few publicly-announced encouragements to US businesses to trade with South Africa, although it is only a small part of the \$60 million worth of financing that the CCC has provided for sales of agricultural products (mostly rice) to South African purchasers since 1956. Most of the export financing has been for periods of less than a year and has thus been handled on a routine administrative basis.

This government financing of exports to South Africa by American companies suggests that a considerable amount of encouragement of "business as usual" goes on beneath the official policy of "neither encouraging nor discouraging investment" in South Africa. While the Agriculture Department maintains that this line of credit is a commercial deal that has no relationship to the South African government, it is noteworthy that the arrangement was made less than a month after South African Minister of Agriculture met with his US counterpart, Earl Butz, in Washington.

FBI INVESTIGATES SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE

The FBI has confirmed that it is investigating the Southern Africa Committee. Earlier this year SAC, citing the Freedom of Information Act, formally requested that the FBI turn over all records on the Committee. After several months delay they received a letter from Clarence M. Kelley, Director of the FBI, refusing to forward any information on the grounds that the Committee was being investigated and that disclosure "would interfere with enforcement proceedings". Kelley also refused to give reason for the investigation.

The Southern Africa Committee is challenging the FBI's non-disclosure and an appeal is being prepared. The Center for Constitutional Rights in New York has agreed to act for the Committee and lawyers Peter Weiss and Michael Davis are working on the case.

ACTION NEWS and NOTES

POLITICAL ACTION

ZIMBABWEANS FIGHT US PROSECUTION

The case of two representatives from the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), who were arrested and beaten in a racist incident in Delaware this June, will come to a trial September 2. Tapson Mawere and Synos Mongazua were charged with disorderly conduct, assault, resisting arrest, obstructing police and public intoxication, after they requested food in a restaurant in the small town of Harrington, Del., but were, instead, attacked by local police (see Mawere statement SOUTHERN AFRICA, July-August, 1975 p. 40).

Initially, their case was handled by Delaware civil rights lawyer Louis Redding who suggested they accept an offer from the prosecution to plead to lesser charges. The two men were unwilling to accept this deal and attorney Conrad Lynn of New York was retained. They pleaded "not guilty" to all charges as the trial began July 11 in Dover, Delaware. A group of approximately 50 supporters were on hand in Dover, that day. Rallies were planned in Baltimore and Wilmington the next month to support the men.

On July 29, James Gilliam of Wilmington was confirmed as co-counsel for the defense. Defense motions for changing the location, and immediate dismissal of the case (based on the local press coverage prejudicing a fair trial) were withdrawn, because of the importance of the case as a focus on the continuing absence of black civil rights in southern Delaware. The defense noted that Mr. Mawere's briefcase had been returned to him, but without important documents which had been removed.

Earlier that week, Judge Merrill Trader, who presides in the case, had issued a directive to counsel barring any statements on the case outside the courtroom. Conrad Lynn replied that the judge's order prejudiced his clients' rights to seek public support for their case, as they cannot afford the legal costs themselves. He also noted that the directive violated his constitutional right to free speech. Lynn defied the "gag" order in addressing the Dover chapter of the NAACP the evening of July 28, seeking support for the defense. He also later accepted an invitation to appear on Wilmington t.v. to discuss the case.

Persons concerned about the case are urged to send letters of protest to Governor Sherman Tribbit, Dover Delaware 19901 and contribute for the legal costs to the Africa Defense and Aid Fund of the American Committee on Africa 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

BUDDY RICH CANCELS SOUTH AFRICAN TOUR; SUPREMES TO GO

Apartheid is the subject of controversy in the entertainment world as well. Jazz musician Buddy Rich recently announced cancellation of his planned tour of the white-ruled nation, because his black bass player was denied a visa.

The South African promoter for the tour says the government first completely rejected the band's visa applications. Then, he re-submitted them, without

including the bass player. This time the visas were granted. But Rich says he will not tour without his full band.

Observers believe the South African refusal was based on their opposition to racially mixed performances. An all-black American singing group, the Supremes, is expected to get visas for their upcoming tour without difficulty.

But the Supremes' trip has run into opposition within the United States. According to the black music newspaper, *Soul*, the Supremes' October visit to South Africa has met with disapproval from some fans. The Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily World*, has appealed to its readers to write the Supremes and protest. And it quotes a Detroit high school student's letter appealing to the group "not to give in to the love of money by going to South Africa."

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

SPORTS AND OTHER BOYCOTTS, CAMPAIGNS

Tennis continues to command most of the headlines in the sports area. Two South African players, Bob Hewitt and Fred McMillan, were detained by Mexican authorities in April after they arrived in Mexico City for the World Championship Tennis finals. They were flown to the US the day after their arrival in Mexico, expelled supposedly because they had entered Mexico "illegally" (with British and Australian passports). (*The Argus*, Cape Town, May 1, 1975; *Die Volksblad*, Bloemfontein, Apr. 30, 1975; *The Friend*, Bloemfontein, May 1, 1975; *Die Transvaler*, Johannesburg, May 1, 1975) The *Star* (Johannesburg, May 3, 1975) later reported that the visit of Zambia's President Kaunda to Mexico may have prompted the expulsion. While there, Kaunda complained about countries, such as Chile, continuing to support racist sports policies by permitting the Davis Cup and other matches to be played.

British anti-apartheid movements have launched an international campaign to bar South Africa from all sporting events. Their goal is to have South Africa isolated from all international sports events within the next three years. (*The Guardian*, London, May 7, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 10, 1975) Part of the campaign will be directed toward governments and sports bodies, and part of it toward individual sports figures. In addition, the "vigilantes," as they call themselves, will pressure trade unions to block any tours that come their way by denying facilities to white South African sports figures.

The Organization of African Trade Unions (OATU) has urged all African trade unions to boycott all South African goods by "grounding, refusing to load and unload aircraft bound for South Africa, and refusing to handle and load or unload ships to and from South Africa." The organization has also resolved to send a delegation of trade union officials to Europe and North America to persuade governments to stop trade and other economic relations with South Africa. (*Daily News*, Apr. 26, 1975) This move came at a time when South Africa's position as a major exporter of canned fruit has taken a turn for the better in Europe. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 10, 1975) A similar campaign is being carried out in Australia by the

Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE), representing Australian anti-apartheid movements. CARE is attempting to break all trade and diplomatic links between Australia and South Africa, including terminating the South African Airways landing rights in Australia, and ending Quantas flights to South Africa. In addition, they have called on the Woolworths chain to terminate the sale of South African fish and fish products, one of Australia's largest import businesses from South Africa. (*The Australian*, May 10, 1975; *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 10, 1975)

New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk stated in July that South African teams would not be allowed to visit New Zealand unless apartheid principles and practices had been totally eradicated from the sports they represented. HART (Halt All Racist Tours) has already begun campaigning to stop the proposed New Zealand All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, June 1975)

SART (Stop All Racist Tours) has announced a renewed drive against sporting links with South Africa and is focusing its current efforts against a visit to Britain by the South African Steenboks cricket team. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, June 1975)

The Stockholm Cooperative Society (Konsum Stockholm) is to boycott all South African goods, according to its General Assembly decision May 6 in Stockholm. Stockholm Co-op is the largest cooperative society in Sweden. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, June 1975)

A renewed British anti-apartheid campaign against Barclays Bank has focused on a small flower called the pyrethrum. Barclays recently placed an ad in a Rhodesian magazine boasting of Barclays involvement in a growing world market illustrated by South Africa's purchase of 1000 tons of dead pyrethrum for manufacturing of a deadly insecticide. (*The New Internationalist*, April 1975)

The Australian government has barred a Rhodesian delegation from an international air safety conference, called by the International Federation of Air Traffic, Controllers Associations and focusing on such issues as hijacking, crashes, etc. (*The Australian*, April 15, 1975)

CHURCH ACTIONS

An ecumenical church delegation representing the Anglican Church of Canada, the United Church of Canada, the Canadian Catholic Conference and Ontario nuns and priests orders, and the United Presbyterian Church in the US attended the ALCAN stockholders meeting in Montreal in March to raise a series of questions about the Canadian multinational's involvement in South Africa. ALCAN officials disclosed a great deal of information to the church officials in a meeting prior to the stockholders meeting, and church speakers were allowed to ask questions. The group also attended the stockholders meeting of Falconbridge Nickel Mines in April. (*The Corporate Examiner*, New York, National Council of Churches, April 1975)

A casebook called "The Man in the Middle" detailing atrocities committed by Rhodesian Security forces in the northeastern area against Africans, has been published by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Salisbury. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 24, 1975)

The World Council of Churches has sent letters to all European banks lending funds to South Africa, urging disassociation. Canadian churches are similarly meeting with and writing to Canadian banks with South African investments. ELTSA (End Loans to Southern Africa),

headed by Rev. David Haslam, heads British anti-apartheid pressures against participating banks. (Corporate Information Center newsletter, June 16, 1975)

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN FISH IN AUSTRALIA

CARE, the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation, which includes the Southern Africa Liberation Center, South Africa Defence and Aid Fund, the Australian Union of Students, Student Christian Movement, Black Resource Center, Young Christian Workers, Action of World Development and local CARE groups, launched a co-ordinated national campaign in April, aimed at breaking all trade and diplomatic links with white South Africa.

The first target of the campaign is Woolworths, a nation-wide retailing chain which is the largest importer of fish from South Africa. Fish and fish products are the largest Australian imports from South Africa.

CARE had received some pay slips from workers in the fishing industry in South Africa showing appallingly low rates of pay. These were shown to Woolworths managers during a meeting at which Woolworths was asked to stop buying fish from South Africa.

At the Annual general meeting of Woolworths, CARE supporters holding shareholders' proxies were present and questioned Woolworths' purchasing policies in the light of information about pay and conditions in the fishing industry in South Africa.

The Chairman of Woolworths, Sir Leo Kelly, replied that it was the responsibility of the Australian Government, not his company, to take any action regarding imports from South Africa, but if the Government considered it necessary to ban South African goods, Woolworths would comply.

CARE gave Woolworths until the end of May to announce that they would stop buying all South African goods or face mass demonstrations at Woolworths supermarkets throughout Australia. (*The Australian*, (national) May 10, 1975, *Liberate Southern Africa*, CARE Canberra, No. 1 April 1975)

Following the refusal of Woolworths management to stop buying fish from South Africa, CARE has launched a nationwide boycott of all Woolworths stores. The Australian Union of Students, which represents all university students in Australia, has published several thousand posters urging shoppers not to buy South African fish from Woolworths. The Australian Council of Churches and the Australian Catholic Bishops through their joint educational agency, action for World Development, have urged all Church members to support the boycott. It also has the support of the Food preservers Union, the Miscellaneous workers union, the Professional Fisherman's Association of New South Wales and the Shop Assistants Union in Canberra. Every weekend at Woolworths supermarkets, leaflets are handed out and African students and other speakers tell shoppers about conditions in South Africa, especially in the fishing industry. (*The Age*, Melbourne, June 14, 1975)

DEMONSTRATION ON SOUTH AFRICA REPUBLIC DAY

The Australian government decided this year that no government ministers would attend the South Africa Republic Day celebrations at the South African Embassy in Canberra. The Department of Foreign Affairs refused

ROW LOOMS OVER AUSTRALIAN CRICKET TOUR TO SOUTH AFRICA

Anti-Apartheid organizations in Australia welcomed the recent decision of the Australian Government to refuse a visa to South African cricket captain Boon Wallace despite the fact that certain sectors of the Labour Party were in favour of his being allowed entry to Australia. They also welcomed the decision of the Australian cricket authorities to cancel plans for an Australian cricket tour of South Africa in 1975-6.

But Australian cricket captain, Ian Chappell, has been approached in London by several independent groups of South African businessmen to take the Australian Test Cricket team on a private visit to South Africa. The players would be guaranteed \$180,000 plus bonuses and would make nearly \$700,000 for South African cricketing interests. The team would tour as 'Ian Chappells eleven' to avoid antagonising the Australian government and embarrassing the Australian Cricket Board.

Chappell has already run into some opposition; a spokesperson for the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs said that the Australian government could do nothing to stop the tour but it could give no support or recognition to any group of sportsmen competing against racially selected South African teams. The Australian Cricket Board said it feared a repeat of violent protest

sparked by a Springbok Rugby tour earlier in 1971. Anti-apartheid groups are planning to take action against Chappell and his team if the tour goes ahead. Mr. Gareth Clayton, a member of the Federal Parliament, issued a statement condemning the tour immediately it was announced. (*The Age*, Melbourne, June 17, 1975; *The Sun*, Melbourne, June 16, 1975)

14 of its 17 invitations to the event and issued a strong statement requesting members of parliament not to attend. This was largely in response to a campaign carried out by CARE, the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation, for the last two years Australian government ministers have toasted the Republic of South Africa at the annual celebration.

Over one hundred demonstrators were present outside the South African Embassy on Friday May 30 during the diplomatic cocktail party. They held banners protesting South Africa's refusal to relinquish control over Namibia and handed leaflets to the guests as they entered. The Ambassadors from West Germany, U.S.A., Britain, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Italy, Iran, Burma, South Korea and Canada were all present, other countries, including Fiji and Israel were represented at a lower level. No Australian government members of parliament were present. (*The Canberra Times*, Canberra, May 31, 1975; *Nation Review*, June 6-12) ■

book review

Lars Rudebeck, *Guinea-Bissau: A Study of Political Mobilization*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974. 277 pp. Paperback.

For those people who have been closely following the events in Guinea-Bissau, this book by Lars Rudebeck is what we have been waiting for. Since the publication of the books by Davidson and Chaliand there has been no single comprehensive source available on West Africa's newest nation. More importantly, Rudebeck has not only provided us with an up-date; he has gone beyond to reach a much higher level of analysis.

Part of the book's success must be attributed to Rudebeck's qualifications. He traveled twice to Guinea-Bissau during the war years of 1970 and 1972, and has stayed in close contact with the PAIGC and with the progress of the revolution. Because his political sympathies lay completely with the PAIGC, Rudebeck has been able to earn the trust necessary to gain good information. Yet as a trained political scientist, Rudebeck maintained a remarkably objective and at times critical perception of the goals of political and social mobilization that the PAIGC was trying to achieve. Finally, the author manifests an analytical knowledge of the writings of Amílcar Cabral.

The publication of this book is also significant as the country moves into its second year of independence. At this point, Guinea-Bissau has established itself as a genuine base of progressive ideology in West Africa and as a persistent annoyance to Western governments. For example, Secretary of State Kissinger is known to have

referred to his ex-Under Secretary for African Affairs, Donald Easum, as "Mr. Guinea-Bissau" on the eve of Easum's replacement by someone more acceptable to the head of the Department of State—namely Nathaniel Davis.

Rudebeck has provided us with an exceptionally well-documented book. Numerous supplemental footnotes, an appropriate bibliography, and extensive quotations from Cabral and PAIGC documents give his work a very firm and authoritative basis. Even the partisan nature of the writing does not stand in the way of honest interpretation of such colonialist statements as "building a better Guinea" and the "civilizing mission of Portugal." Here Rudebeck convincingly uses Portuguese statistics to prove the mythical basis of such programs or slogans.

Almost 300 pages of fine print has permitted a great concentration of information on economic, political, education, medical, legal and military organization. This compilation will certainly make the book a very useful starting point for those studying Guinea-Bissau from a variety of points of view. The sections covering ethnography and history might have been somewhat expanded although they are sufficient to the tasks of the book; and while the section of the mobilization of women in the struggle is notably deficient, this gap will undoubtedly be filled with the publication of Stephanie Urdang's book in progress on this subject. Another deficiency, especially for researchers, is the lack of an index. Moreover, and through no fault of Rudebeck, it is unfortunate that the book could not have awaited publication for a few months longer when the Cape Verdean issue was more fully resolved through the fast pace of events in late 1974.

One of the best chapters, although a little too brief, is that which deals with Cabral's writings, in which Rudebeck shows Cabral's keen awareness of the use of historical and dialectical materialism. Rudebeck clearly demonstrates that Cabral was a man and revolutionary of creative genius.

The conclusions are more of a summary of the book and a broad review of various theories of political mobilization. This final chapter seemed to lack integration with the rest of the book. This is not to say that the material was unrelated, but that the logical continuity was not always clearly apparent. ■

Books and Pamphlets Received (Listing in this space does not preclude later review)

Yuan-li Wu, *Raw Material Supply In A Multipolar World*. N.Y.: Crane Russak Inc. 1973, \$4.95

Bell Bowyer, J. *The Horn of Africa*, New York, Crane Russak Inc. 1973 \$4.95 (cloth)

Adie, W.A.C., *Oil, Politics, and Seapower; The Indian Ocean Vortex*, New York: Crane Russak, 1975 \$4.95 clothbound.

Moodie Dunbar T. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1975, \$12.50 (cloth)

Seitz, Frederick and Nichols Rodney, *Research and Development and the Prospects for International Security* New York, 1974 \$4.95 (cloth).

Polmar Norman, *Soviet Naval Power Challenge for the 1970's* New York: Crane Russak Inc. 1974 revised edition \$5.95 (cloth)

Sam C. Sarkesian (ed.), *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare*. Chicago: Precedent Publishing, Inc., 1975. Hard cover, \$13.95.

Kees Maxey, *The Fight for Zimbabwe: The Armed Conflict in Southern Rhodesia Since UDI*. London: Rex Collings, 1975. Paper, UK 95p.

The African Communist, No. 62, Third Quarter, 1975.

Deborah Daniels, *Education By, For and About African Americans: A Profile of Several Black Community Schools*. The Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, Andrews Hall, Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508.

Liberals and Liberation, TCLSAC Paper No. 8, Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, 121 Avenue Rod., Toronto, Ontario, Canada. 6 pp., c. \$.25.

George Houser and Herb Shore, *Mozambique: Dream the Size of Freedom*, The Africa Fund, 164 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10016. 68 pp., \$1.50.

Legal Education in a Changing World, Report of the Committee on Legal Education in the Developing Countries. New York: International Legal Center, 1975. 94pp. Paper.

Samora Machel, *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution*. London: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guine. 68 pp. Paper, UK 40p.

John Deverell and the Latin American Working Group, *Falconbridge: Portrait of a Canadian Mining Multi-national*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1975. Paper.

UPDATE

ASSASSINATION OF BANTUSTAN LEADER IN NAMIBIA.

Ovambo Chief Minister Chief Filemon Elifas was killed in Ovambo land on Saturday August 16th. The Chief had been one of the prime supporters of the South African Government's Bantustan schemes and a king-pin in the plan to establish, via the forthcoming so-called constitutional conference, a set of fragmented semi-independent black states and a safe-guarded white area. The South African Government has accused SWAPO, which stand for a united and fully independent Namibia, of responsibility for the assassination, has used this opportunity to swoop down on the organization throughout Namibia, both in Ovambo land and in the South, detaining many SWAPO leaders and members.

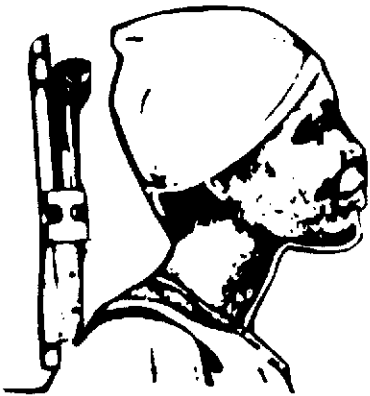
UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL VOTES TO ADMIT NEW MEMBERS

On August 19th the Security Council unanimously recommended the admission of Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe and Cape Verde to membership in the United Nations, despite some Western reservations about the international status of Cape Verde. The Security Council action means that the three countries will be almost automatically voted into membership soon after the General Assembly meets on September 16th. The number of members will then rise from 138 to 141.

VENUE SET FOR TALKS BETWEEN AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL AND RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT.

Following Ian Smith's visit to South Africa for talks with Prime Minister Vorster an announcement was made, on August 10, that the two leaders had agreed to proposals "which if implemented by all parties concerned can lead to a settlement of the issues involved."

The following week an official statement released simultaneously in Lusaka and Salisbury announced that Rhodesian Government and African National Council representatives would meet on a South African train in the middle of the Victoria Falls bridge in the first formal talks to achieve a negotiated settlement. The choice of the bridge appears to be a compromise between the ANC demand that the talks be held outside Rhodesia, to guarantee the safety of all participants, and Rhodesian insistence that they be held internally. Talks are scheduled to be held on Monday August 25th. There have been no preconditions set for the Victoria Falls Conference, and ANC president Bishop Muzorewa has stressed that the setting of this date did not indicate that there had been any agreement on the suspension of hostilities. ■



Note new rates for 1975 listed below:

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