

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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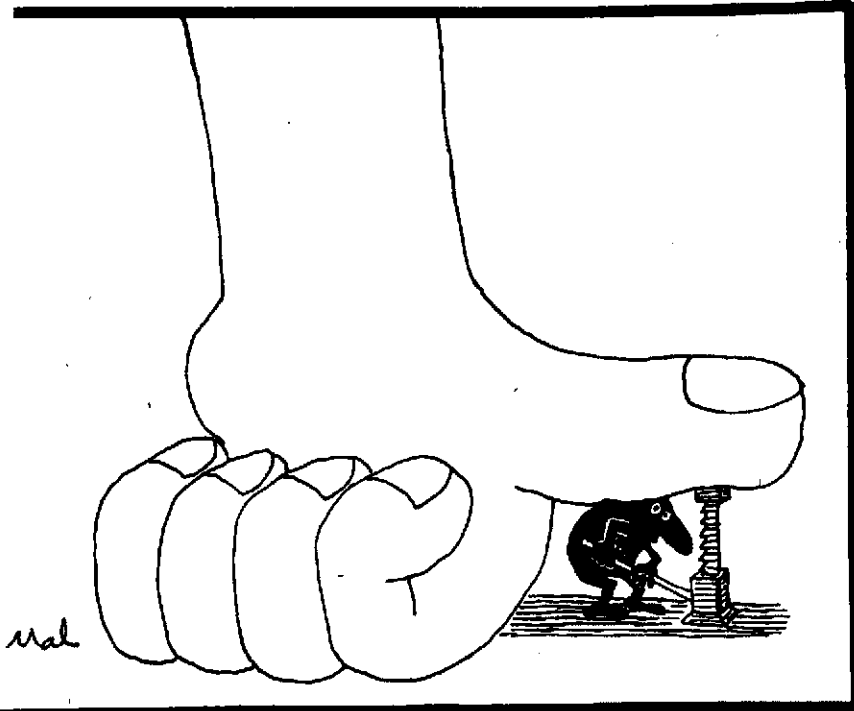
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FEATURE ARTICLE

U.S. SUPPORTS WHITE RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MILITARY & STRATEGIC ASPECTS



EDITORIAL NOTE: The following article (now slightly edited) was prepared by Jennifer Davis of the Africa Fund (New York City) for the 1971 meeting of the African Studies Association in Denver, Colo. (Nov. 3-6). The analysis presented by Ms. Davis, that of a traditional but increasing American strategic alliance with the colonial and white minority powers of Southern Africa, has been reconfirmed by significant U.S. policy developments postdating the preparation of this paper. Thus in December, 1971 the Nixon Administration announced the unprecedented granting of \$436 million in credit loans to the Portuguese Government, while in March The New York Times revealed the deliberate development of the Nixon position toward Southern Africa dubbed the "tarbaby" policy (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, April 1972). Events in the future will no doubt add more flesh to the skeleton of U.S. Southern Africa policy. Given the profound importance of U.S. actions in Indochina, it is all the more urgent that our readers comprehend the trends in Southern Africa.

U.S. STRATEGIC SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA

I must begin with the confession that like the South Africans themselves, I have found it impossible to stay entirely within South African borders in considering the nature and extent of U.S. strategic support for South Africa. There has been much recent talk about the Vorster regime's accelerating thrust into independent Africa, but even before she embarked on this tentative foray into Africa, South Africa had built a close-knit alliance with the other two white-supremacist governments of Portugal and Rhodesia and had created a solid Southern Bloc, aptly dubbed by some "the unholy alliance."

This bloc involves tremendous economic and military cooperation. There is heavy South African corporate investment in Angola and Mozambique and the South Africans and Portuguese have embarked jointly on two major hydroelectric schemes—Kunene on the West coast of Africa, and Cabora Bassa on the East—both schemes clearly designed to consolidate white control of the areas.

South Africa is determined to maintain the Portuguese presence in Africa, for if colonial rule collapses in Angola and Mozambique, South Africa will have a huge difficult horseshoe border to defend. Thus, while both Portugal and South Africa normally maintain tightlipped silence about the extent of their military cooperation, it is well-known that South African helicopters and airplanes have frequently been involved in Angola in missions involving the use of napalm and defoliants. South African units work closely with the Portuguese in the border areas of southern Angola where South Africa has heavily fortified bases in the neighboring illegally occupied Caprivi strip in Namibia. Several battalions of Vorster's army help defend Cabora Bassa against FRELIMO in Tete, and there is constant South African back-up in the form of repair services for complex equipment, medical services and, inside South Africa, popular white volunteer support for groups such as the "Mozambique Angola Soldiers Comfort Fund" which has already supplied two Cherokee-Six Ambulance airplanes, portable radios, ambulances, etc. to the fighting allies in the North.

Further, South African economic aid literally kept Smith's Rhodesia alive after that country's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and the imposition of sanctions, and it is no secret that several thousand South African troops and policemen equipped with armored vehicles and helicopters are operating with the Rhodesian army in the Zambezi River Valley inside Rhodesia. Top-level security chiefs from the three countries meet regularly in planning sessions, knitting the defense of the whole area into one interlocking reinforcing system.

Because white South Africa has tied its own security so closely to that of Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia, it would be artificial to ignore these close relationships when looking at U.S. strategic involvement in the area. U.S. support of Portuguese colonialism should not be separated from U.S. support for South Africa's apartheid regime.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Growing international pressure throughout the sixties against the racism and exploitation of Southern Africa, spearheaded by the newly independent countries of Africa, has forced U.S. Administration spokesmen to adopt a rhetoric of opposition in relation to South Africa. But ultimately all the protest is contained in the language; there have been a few apparent high-water marks—such as U.S. support for the South African arms embargo adopted by the United Nations Security Council in 1963—but ultimately the apparent firmness turns out to be purely rhetorical rather than real. At the UN the United States has consistently failed to support any resolution that might give muscle to pious morality.

Thus, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs David Newsom in October of 1971 said: "We have long had relations with South Africa. Although we strongly oppose racial discrimination, we recognize the complexity of the problem South Africa faces. We fully agree that the present situation must change, but we cannot subscribe to oversimplified solutions to complicated and intensely human problems." Africans in South Africa will recognize those words, they are always the prelude to some long explanation by a moderate white group of why the Africans should not be impatient, they should be reasonable, and prepared to wait an always unspecified time for their rights.

U.S. policy toward South Africa has the characteristics of a see-saw, sometimes the tougher side is dominant, sometimes the gentler, but there is never a basic shift in position, no transferral of the whole machine to new premises from where black and African interests rather than white or American interests shape policy.

Even within the narrow limits set above, recent U.S. policy toward South Africa has run significantly in South Africa's favor. Administration members claim that there has been no softening in U.S. policy toward South Africa and that U.S. opposition to apartheid remains firm. This is certainly not the way the South Africans read the situation. Their newspapers increasingly often carry comments such as this one from the Johannesburg Star of May 15: "Since President Nixon came to office, American policies have been reviewed and rationalized to the extent that observers believe Mr. Botha [South Africa's ambassador to Washington] will find opportunities to better relations that did not exist when he was last here."

Secretary Newsom's American phase for dialogue—"communication"—has been much in evidence, and the summer of 1971 meeting between Vice President Agnew and South African Minister of Information Mulder was banner headlined in South Africa, "Mulder in Historic Talks with Agnew" and has done much to confirm the South African belief that they now have a powerful friend. This was the highest level of contact between a South African Cabinet Minister and the American Government in the past decade.

Most significant of all is the U.S. adoption of the South African myth that change is occurring inside the Republic. Secretary Newsom articulated this in the speech referred to above: "We believe change will come in Southern Africa. Economic and demographic pressures make this inevitable. In South Africa itself there is a lessening of rigidity. Change is a central theme of discussion; there is psychological and intellectual ferment within the Afrikaner community; there have been isolated instances of acceptance of multiracial activities; there is a growing realism among businessmen that Africans are important to them as skilled workers and as a market. They are beginning to focus on the need for improvement of working conditions for nonwhites. We cannot expect change to come quickly, or easily. Our hope is that it will come peacefully."

South Africa has worked hard to propagate this myth—to build an image of increasing flexibility. Its economic needs as a newly emerged major industrial power on the African continent, as well as military and strategic considerations, form the background to its present thrust into the world as a dominant regional power. South Africa is now engaged in a multipronged attempt to extend its influence, win allies, and consolidate powerful international friendships.

Inside Africa one can see three distinct levels of operation. First there is the extension of almost complete control over the so-called captive states—e.g. Lesotho, Malawi, Botswana, and Swaziland. Second there is construction of a solid Southern Bloc (the "unholy alliance" with white supremacist Portugal and Rhodesia). Thirdly there is the attempt to neutralize the independent African state via the economic blandishments associated with "dialogue" and to subvert politically, or if necessary militarily, the strong opponent countries such as Tanzania and Zambia.

Finally, outside Africa, South Africa is concerned to project a new image of increasing reasonableness and flexibility, coupled with a constant emphasis on her potential role as a bulwark against communism, thus providing the major powers of Europe and America with greater justification for a continued policy of "keeping the channels of communication open." At the same time, trade and investment flourish and potential military alliances—witness the British relaxation of the arms embargo—are secured.

Pressing home its advantages, South Africa now aspires to a closer association with the Atlantic world through NATO membership (or, more realistically, some substitute Southern regional alliance involving Portugal and Brazil and having the blessing of the U.K. and the U.S.).

In fact, South Africa is not changing in any sense that matters. The society as constituted is incapable of ending apartheid, race discrimination and exploitation. It cannot give the Africans and other Black people full rights—those rights are going to have to be taken. Even a cursory glance at the widening black/white wage gap, the increasing pauperization of the Black population, the endless political repression in the form of bannings, detentions, torture, the hollowness of Bantustan independence, should indicate the futility of any belief in current government-directed change. It is a mistake to confuse self-interested flexibility for radical change.

As long ago as 1942 the so-called "liberal" and international statesman, Jan Smuts, then Prime Minister of South Africa, facing an urgent need to maximize Black

labor cooperation for the "war effort," announced that "segregation has fallen on evil days." Now, 30 years later, seeking to satisfy the needs of an increasingly sophisticated industrial economy, there are announcements that Black workers are to be upgraded—what this means is that the pool of unskilled Black labor is no longer useful and is to be replaced by a pool of semiskilled Black labor. The landless, voteless, rightless non-person status of the Blacks remains unchanged.

Yet the U.S. appears increasingly willing to make allowances for and to accommodate South African racism and Portuguese colonialism as unpleasant concomitants of otherwise useful, stable, and reliable allies in an apparently volatile continent.

There are multiple indications of this in the actual relations that exist between the United States and South Africa and the United States and Portugal.

THE ARMS EMBARGO: ILLUSION OR REALITY?

Administration spokesmen talking about Southern Africa normally begin their statements with a recital of U.S. abhorrence of apartheid and racial oppression and go on to cite the U.S.' firm adherence to an embargo on arms or equipment of military significance in relation both to South Africa and to Portugal south of the Tropic of Cancer (i.e., in respect of Portuguese territories in Africa) as proof of sincerity. In fact, the manipulation of the definitions applied severely weakens the embargo and this in turn casts doubt on the reality of U.S. opposition.

U.S. MILITARY AID TO PORTUGAL

Poverty-stricken Portugal has the second lowest annual per capita income of all the NATO members—\$539 as against \$346 for Turkey and \$4,279 for the U.S. Yet it spends more on defense as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP), 7.8%, than all the other members except the U.S. (9.6%). In fact, almost 50% of annual government expenditure now goes to fight the wars in Africa. Further, Portugal has little industry and is certainly not capable of producing complex air, naval, and military equipment within its own borders. It has relied heavily on economic, political, and military aid from its allies to enable it to continue its fight.

The United States continues to give some military aid to Portugal, both via NATO, and directly through the Military Assistance Program, under which the U.S. still maintains a 21-man Military Advisory Group in Lisbon whose function, according to General Goodpaster (Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command) "is designed to permit the training of key Portuguese military personnel." The U.S. also still provides training for Portuguese officers here in America. State Department figures indicate Portuguese armed forces trained in the U.S. as follows:

Fiscal Year 1968: 107 (5 army, 95 navy, 7 airforce).
Expenditure \$120,000.

Fiscal year 1970: 33 (4 army, 26 navy, 3 airforce).
Expenditure \$88,000.

Portuguese deserters have frequently stated that U.S. army personnel and particularly U.S. guerrilla warfare experts operating in countries such as West Germany have been involved in training programs for Portuguese soldiers. [Note also in SOUTHERN AFRICA, May 1972,

indications that the U.S. will be demonstrating its electronic battlefield devices to Portugal this year at the spring NATO meeting in West Germany.]

Reported military aid in the years 1946 and 1967 amounted to \$326 million; the figures reported under the Military Assistance Program (MAP) for recent years are small—\$.6 million in 1968, \$1 million in 1969. But there are discrepancies in relation to these figures, the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense reporting U.S. military aid of \$2.7 million for 1969. Recent revelations in Congress and the Senate make it clear that published figures do not tell the whole truth. Congressman Coughlin has pointed out that the unclassified arms sales figures released by the Department of Defense for arms supplied to Africa gave no indication at all of the huge volume of weaponry supplied to Ethiopia, a quantity actually valued in excess of all U.S. military aid to the other independent African states combined. Similarly in the Senate, testimony was recently given that more than \$1 billion allocated for the Food for Peace program had been used for military purposes. Testimony before Senator Proxmire indicated that in fact no one knows in how many different ways the U.S. gives military aid, nor how much it adds up to. The only item clearly labeled military assistance in the current budget totals \$409 million—but two Pentagon officials, pressed for a more realistic total at the hearings, finally came up with a figure of \$4.9 billion. So in fact, it is impossible to know how much military aid the Portuguese actually receive from the U.S.

There is also a great deal of mystification about the nature of the aid that the U.S. acknowledges that it gives to the Portuguese. Stated U.S. Government policy is that since 1961 "military equipment provided to the Portuguese under either the Military Assistance Program or through U.S. Government or commercial sales shall be used only in the NATO area—which does not include any part of Africa."

Yet over the last few years the U.S. Government has allowed TAP, the Portuguese state-owned commercial airline, to purchase seven Boeing 707's, three 727's, and two 727 C's (converted to passenger use) from Boeing, many of the purchases having been financed by the U.S. Government-backed Export-Import Bank (Exim). The Portuguese admit that the military charters TAP planes for transporting men and materiel in and to Africa. Recently, extending U.S. complicity with the Portuguese colonialists yet further, it was revealed that the U.S. Government had approved the sale of two Boeing 707's direct to the Lisbon Government—placing no restrictions at all on their use. The use of these aircraft as troop transporters was announced by a Portuguese Air Force Commander, Colonel Costa Maia, in Angola in June, 1971. That announcement could have come as no shock to the U.S. authorities who had already responded to a question from Senator Clifford Case about the use of U.S. aircraft previously sold to the Portuguese commercial airline as follows: "We presume that U.S. aircraft sold to the airline have been used in normal transport operations TO CARRY ALL TYPES OF PASSENGERS AND CARGO, both civilian and MILITARY." (Our emphasis.) It is a strange kind of semantics that excludes huge airplanes sold for the purpose of carrying men, guns, and other equipment to a battlefield from a definition of military equipment! Maintaining its consistency in inconsistency, the U.S. Government this fall allowed a further sale of two Boeing 747's to TAP with the assistance of a \$15,100,000 loan



Portuguese Soldiers

the total exported in 1969. The U.S. State Department refuses to admit or deny use of these defoliants by the Portuguese army. The fact that the U.S. maintains a base on Portuguese territory in the Azores can only reinforce the U.S. desire to maintain a "stable Portugal" by all means necessary.

U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY CAPABILITY

The strategic support being provided to South Africa by the United States within the legal fiction of an arms embargo is also extensive. The U.S. is not supplying guns and bombs to South Africa, but it is supplying a great deal of strategic equipment that does not technically fall under the terms of the Southern African arms embargo. When the 21-year-old embargo on all trade with China ended, The New York Times commented, "Officials here refused to speculate on what the lifting of the embargo would mean in dollar terms to American industry, but the list released at the White House set forth 47 categories of exportable, nonstrategic items and covered a wide variety of goods. . . . The list carefully omitted several items of possible strategic value, such as locomotives, trucks, high-grade computers, advanced telecommunications equipment, petroleum products and commercial aircraft."

It is worth commenting that locomotives, trucks, computers, COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT, all defined as items of possible strategic value in the context of China, are freely supplied to South Africa, in relation to whom the U.S. is supposed to be operating an arms embargo. One of the major items of trade between South Africa and the U.S. is in fact an increasing number of so-called light commercial aircraft. Surely no one is being overly suspicious in arguing that ANY aircraft supplied to South Africa is a potential military weapon.

The Johannesburg Star of April 17, 1971 carried the following report, "South Africa Can Buy U.S. Training Planes. The South African Defense Force can now buy light American aircraft for reconnaissance and training purposes with the sanction of the United States Government, according to Mrs. Olive Beech, head of the American Beechcraft Corporation, who arrived in Johannesburg this week." This caused great unhappiness in Administration circles. First reaction was a statement that Mrs. Beech had been misquoted—later Secretary Newsom, denying any change in U.S. policy, said that he had written to the Beechcraft Corporation refuting Mrs. Beech's statement. "There has been no change in the arms embargo which we have maintained since 1963 on the sale of military equipment to South Africa . . . and which, among other things, precludes the sale of any aircraft to South Africa for military purposes, including military training and reconnaissance. However, normal trade with South Africa in civilian-type goods for nonmilitary purposes continues, and we are prepared to consider licensing for VIP transport purposes limited numbers of SMALL UNARMED EXECUTIVE CIVILIAN-TYPE AIRCRAFT WHICH WILL NOT STRENGTHEN SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY OR INTERNAL SECURITY CAPACITY."

The U.S. Government has in fact allowed such jet aircraft to be sold to buyers in South Africa at least since 1969, and probably before. The London Times of April 16, 1971, commenting on the Beech episode, reports, "State Department officials wince slightly at reports that Mrs. Beech has said the United States has approved sales of light aircraft for training and reconnaissance. They

from the Exim Bank.

Official sources say that U.S. military aid to Portugal "concerned only with enhancing Portugal's NATO role, consists almost entirely of air defense and antisubmarine warfare training and material." The Portuguese have concentrated increasingly on developing aerial techniques as they lose command of the land in Africa to the liberation movements, thus this claim itself admits more than it is intended to. Recently the Textron subsidiary, Bell Company, sold five helicopters to the Portuguese in Mozambique to be used for "logistical" support in the Cabora Bassa Dam area, which has been under heavy attack by the forces of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

There are innumerable other indications of the existence of a working Portuguese-U.S. alliance. General Kaulza de Arriaga, currently in charge of all military operations in Mozambique for Portugal, was a guest of the State Department in the U.S. in 1969. U.S. equipment such as the G-3 rifles are made in Portugal under license. Kaiser has been allowed to sell jeeps to the Portuguese army in Mozambique through a South African subsidiary. In 1970 the Portuguese added defoliants to the weapons they were using against the people of Angola—a quick check of U.S. export figures reveals that in the first 11 months of 1970 the export of herbicides (Code 5120629) to Portugal was four times greater than

insist that export licenses will only be considered for aircraft to be used for 'nonmilitary' purposes—such as liaison and the transport of generals—and then only in small numbers." It is still not clear whether in fact planes of any description could be sold to the South African Government, Defense Force, or Police, but the U.S. Government has allowed several thousand planes to be licensed for sale in South Africa to other buyers.

U.S. light plane manufacturers are eager to do business in South Africa, which is the world's third largest market for light planes after the U.S. and Australia and has the world's highest percentage of owners per number of pilots. This sale of "civilian" aircraft to South Africa raises an important question: namely the fallacy of the licensing system under which aircraft are sold for "nonmilitary purposes." This is little more than a polite legal fiction; any aircraft can be easily converted for military use and in South Africa the existence of a paramilitary group such as the Air Commandos makes it possible for the military to use civilian aircraft while maintaining the legal fiction.

THE COMMANDOS

Flying is an all-white sport in South Africa. The Air Commandos, established in 1964, can best be described as a flying militia. It is made up of volunteers who are not members of the regular military forces but who are paid by the Government when they fly as Commandos. These volunteer units are made up of private pilots and airplanes commissioned in times of emergency or war. The establishment of 12 squadrons was authorized in 1964. The Commandos attend an annual two-week training camp, during which all their expenses are paid by the Government. Their training entails radio cooperation with army and mobile police striking forces, reconnaissance, practice bombing with grenades, and general cooperation with the police in maintaining the internal security of both South Africa and Namibia (South West Africa). Many of these Commando members fly U.S. light planes, such as Pipers and Cessnas.

Several flying clubs in South Africa carry out primary flying training for the South Africa Air Force and South Africa Police (who possess a fleet of communications and spotter aircraft). Air Force and police personnel are trained during the week on the club's Piper and Cessna aircraft, the same planes that are used by the club members over the weekend.

Thus, even if the licensing procedures are adhered to technically in the sense that no planes are sold to the military, such planes become available to the military, and, most important of all, form part of the "security planning" of the Government. The Cape Times Defense Reporter filed the following report in 1969: "SAAF At New Peak to Tackle Terrorists": "The South African Air Force is being geared to a new peak of readiness to combat terrorists. This was made clear in the Assembly yesterday afternoon by the Minister of Defense, Mr. Botha. The two developments mentioned by Mr. Botha are these:

"—South Africa's more recent orders for aircraft are for those types designed to play an important role in unconventional (or guerrilla) warfare;

"—The country's commando aircraft squadrons have now been transferred to the Air Force, and will number 240 pilots. The age limit of these pilots has been raised to 60.

"The Air Force is being given greater mobility and will be better prepared to wage war against terrorists. Mr. Botha did not give further details of the types of aircraft ordered, but according to the Defense White Paper, 'a number of medium helicopters are also being acquired.' This is the sort of aircraft which provides rapid troop mobility in bushveld or mountainous terrain, and can also be used for reconnaissance and spotting. . . . Mr. Botha also declared that there were now five centers in South Africa where young men were being trained continually on a full-time basis to combat terrorism. The chief of these was the Commando Combat School at Kimberley. According to the White Paper, the accent is on flexibility with the Army capable of switching rapidly between conventional and unconventional roles."

It is simply not true that the provision of light aircraft to anyone in South Africa does not in any way strengthen the military capacity of that country.

Frank Harvey, in his book AIR-WAR-VIETNAM devotes a chapter, entitled "The Death Bringers," to the role of "light civilian type aircraft" such as the Pipers, Beechcraft, and Cessnas now being sold in South Africa. He says, "The dominating figures in the Delta (and in fact all of South Viet Nam) are the forward air controllers. They fly around looking for signs of guerrilla activity in the little single-engined Cessna known as O-1 Bird Dogs. (These look and handle much like the Cessna 170, well-known to civilian pilots.)" Harvey found that the "forward air controller in his small low-powered plane really runs the war. He has a terrifying fleet of planes and weapons at his beck and call." He also describes tests being done on a military version of the Cessna Super Skymaster, arming them with rockets and machineguns. These Skymasters are among the nine-model 1970 line of twin-engined Cessna planes available in South Africa.

The pattern in relation to the sale of helicopters to South Africa is very similar. I need not expand here on the crucial role of helicopters in anti-insurgency wars. They are the ideal weapon for use against guerrilla forces, and are recognized as such by the South Africans, who have used them in the past to transport troops to "trouble spots" in the Transkei and elsewhere.

Sales by U.S. firms include the amphibious Sikorsky 62 helicopter—an "executive jet" type capable of flying 400 miles without refueling and used extensively by the U.S. Army in Viet Nam. South African newspapers have frequently carried full-page advertisements placed by Bell Helicopters, Fort Worth, Texas, advertising the virtues of their 205A Copter, and explicitly mentioning that "the military calls it HUEY. . . ." Bell seems eager to expand its South African market.

The State Department assures protesters that licenses would not be granted for export of "helicopters which have a military configuration or helicopters of any kind destined for use by the South African military or other security forces," but the use of helicopters in South African military operations, including anti-guerrilla training exercises set up for several thousand Commando members, plus the expanding South African presence in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia indicate the potential use of any helicopters sold to South Africa.

The U.S. military and strategic commitment to South Africa is further displayed in the continuance of arrangements such as the annual supply of \$3 million worth of military spare parts, the testing by the U.S. of the Cactus Ground-to-Air missile developed jointly by the

French and South Africans, and -above all by the assistance provided in critical areas such as the establishment of nuclear capability and the development of sophisticated electronic and communication techniques.

THE U.S. GIVES SOUTH AFRICA NUCLEAR POWER

In mid-1970 the Chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Board announced dramatically that South Africa had developed a uranium enrichment technique. This is a tremendous technological breakthrough. It places South Africa in a position to develop nuclear power energy by 1978. Also, South Africa's new technique of enrichment will enable it to compete with the United States for enriched uranium is the fuel for most nuclear power reactors. Then too, the Minister announced that **SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE ITS OWN NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHIN FIVE YEARS.**

It was U.S. technical aid, primarily given within the last six to seven years, that made these developments possible. South Africa's first nuclear research reactor at Pelindaba began operating in 1965—staffed almost entirely by foreign staff. The reactor itself is a U.S. one, an Oak Ridge design, purchased and installed through a U.S. corporation, Allis Chalmers. The South African Atomic Energy Board which is responsible for South Africa's atomic energy program and which operates the facilities at Pelindaba provides an example of the close scientific and technical links between the U.S. and South Africa. Scores of Atomic Energy Board scientists and engineers have been trained in the U.S., particularly at the Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge National Laboratory. It is interesting to note in passing that Pelindaba employs 900 people, ALL WHITE.

Apart from the obvious horror of giving the South African police state the knowledge to build an atomic bomb, U.S. scientific assistance has strengthened South Africa's uranium export potential and ability to produce a massive power supply, thus adding new elements to the critical survival energy of the South African state. **IT HAS IN NO WAY CONTRIBUTED TO STRENGTHENING THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE TO END OPPRESSION.**

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has other close links with the South African nuclear energy program. It finances a high energy neutrino detector experiment which is jointly run by a number of U.S. universities and the University of the Witwatersrand: this program employs a number of U.S. physicists on its small staff. All such cooperative projects have two major effects: they potentially or actually strengthen the stranglehold of white supremacy and they reinforce a type of U.S. reliance on the continued existence of the current regime.

NASA

NASA is another U.S. Government agency which collaborates closely with the South African regime. Three space-tracking stations were set up there in 1961, the two most important being the Deep Space Instrumentation Facility and the Station for Satellite Tracking and Data Acquisition—both operating near Krugersdorp. These stations have played an important part in all major unmanned space missions in the last 10 years and in the moon probes. NASA supplies the technical equipment

SOUTHERN AFRICA has for five years avoided a formal subscription basis, largely because it is our belief that the people who should read our newsletter most (such as certain Congressmen, Southern African students, etc.) either cannot afford the subscription cost, or would not receive it if they were required to subscribe.

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However, we do have a subscription schedule for institutions and libraries, as follows:

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and finances the facilities, while the South African Government Council on Scientific and Industrial Research provides all technical and support staff, much of it trained by the U.S. This technique of contracting actual operation of the \$2.5 million a year station directly to the C.S.I.R. and taking C.S.I.R. staff members to the United States for training helped the U.S. avoid confrontation with the South African Government over the issue of the employment of Black Americans. Unlike other NASA stations abroad, which are manned by a mixture of Americans and local nationals, only South Africans are assigned to the station—and normal apartheid patterns apply.

For the South Africans the station is a valuable entree to advanced technology. The director of the station, Doug Hogg, summarized its contribution to South Africa: "To South Africa and the CSIR," he wrote, "participation in space research has brought . . . national prestige . . . , but probably MORE IMPORTANT HAS BEEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO ACQUIRE THE SKILLS NECESSARY TO OPERATE AND MAINTAIN THE GROUND STATIONS, AND THE CHANCE TO EXPOSE ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS TO THE LATEST EQUIPMENT AND ELECTRONIC TECHNIQUES." (Our emphasis.)

NASA helps fund a four-year training program—all white students. Deputy director Goddard has said, "We eventually lose them to industry but we know we're doing the country good and we don't mind."

This NASA arrangement locks South Africa into U.S. space and defense strategy, consolidating its role as an American ally. There is no dimension of this relationship that can be seen as anything but supportive of the South African regime and damaging to the interests of the Black majority.

I have ignored, but it is important to remember, the implications of the close to \$1 billion U.S. private investment in South Africa—25% of all U.S. investment in Africa. Important to recognize both aspects of that investment; first that U.S. corporations play a major role in critical sectors of the economy—the sectors which are prime contributors to heavy industrialization, long-range growth, and military capability. Second, that \$1 billion is a sizable stake, and gives the U.S. considerable direct interest in the maintenance of "law and order" (read status quo) in South Africa.

State Department at this meeting, as elsewhere, insists on defining U.S. official policy toward trade and investment in South Africa in terms of a "we neither encourage nor discourage" formula which cannot really be taken seriously. Any U.S. businessman thinking about investing in South Africa will surely draw only one conclusion from the activities of his Government in and toward South Africa. If the U.S. Government, its diplomats, its commercial attaches, its scientific and paramilitary agencies are all active in South Africa, why should the investor stay outside? To be honest, while it may be true that no one in the State Department will say to the enquiring businessman: "Go on in," the Department of Commerce with a constant stream of investment and marketing analysis does an excellent job of smoothing the path for U.S. corporations.

I have spent what may well seem like an overly long time simply describing examples of the U.S.-Southern African relationship precisely because U.S. official spokesmen so constantly distort the nature of the total

people in the interests of labor efficiency; there is violence in the constant arrests of political oppositionists; there is unbelievable violence in the system of police torture that has already killed many political detainees; above all there is violence in the systematic reduction of men and women to non-persons because of their color.

An abhorrence of violence as violence cannot then be advanced as the true basis for U.S. refusal to countenance anything but peaceful change. What is really at issue is who is threatened or damaged by any violence. Essentially, U.S. policy is a design for STABILITY (if possible with gradual change), and stability protects the interests of the white racist regimes, not the Black populations of Southern Africa. Assuming that the makers of U.S. policy are not all simply rabid racists, this stance must be explained in terms of the interaction of a number of interest elements.

First there is the weight exerted by those with a direct stake in Southern Africa—the corporate and financial interests—but defense of investments alone provides too simplistic an answer to the question of "Why support white minority rule?"

One must add to the investment stake that already exists in Southern Africa an increasing (even if still slow) interest in Africa as a whole—both as an investment field and market and as an increasingly important source of raw materials. South Africa is seen as a gateway to the rest of Africa; it is both a very useful springboard (dialogue has an American ring to it!) and a convenient defense post.

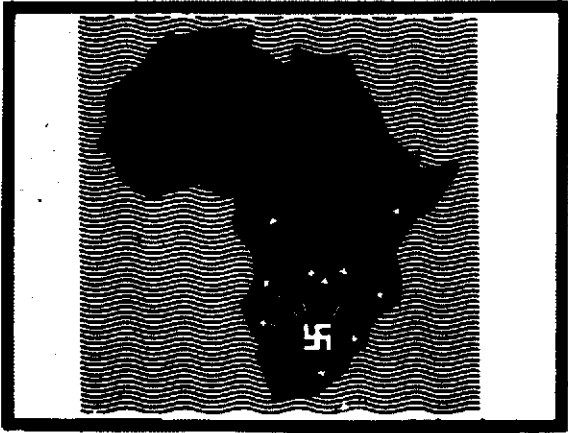
The U.S. has serious problems about the stability of its alliances in non-Southern Africa. Elites in Africa are subject to constant pressure; the coup, or even revolution, being seen by the U.S. as perpetual threats to the "reliability" of any particular state's friendship for the U.S. That has troublesome implications—for the U.S. may need to do some massive bolstering jobs—and exercising long-range control is an increasingly difficult exercise.

The Southern Africa minority ruling groups on the other hand can be absolutely relied on not only in relation to allowing access to resources, investments, etc., but also within the international politico-military context. South Africa, after all, is a reliable ally against communism. There can be little doubt that the U.S. feels happier about South Africa as a secure base than it does about Tanzania. And the South Africans know how to play on American susceptibilities in this area—an interesting example of this being the recent South African escalation of the Indian Ocean issue.

The task, then, for those who would change U.S. policy toward Southern Africa, is not simply one of pointing out in forceful and vivid terms the horror of racism, apartheid, and colonialism, for U.S.-Southern Africa policy is not an aberration, but part of a whole—the whole that has led to Viet Nam and still shapes U.S. support for the colonels and the dictators of the world today.

The cornerstone of stated U.S.-South Africa policy is that some change would be good and desirable—but that change must come peacefully. Thus the U.S. refuses to support the liberation movements or the countries of the OAU who talk about enforcing actions, and it justifies this stance with an argument that it cannot support violence.

But there is violence in South Africa every moment of every day; there is violence when 33 out of every 100 babies born in one major city die before they are one year old; there is violence in the daily arrest of 2,500 men and women for infringements of the pass laws; there is violence in a system of forced labor, in a system that deliberately separates husbands and wives, old and young relationship and attempt to minimize the significance of the contacts that exist. Yet these contacts and involvements are the real essence of U.S.-Southern African policy, and not accidents or untidy remnants of old policies. To make sense of this policy, the Southern Africa fragment needs to be fitted into the total picture of U.S.-Africa and U.S.-world relationships, or what is sometimes termed "U.S. national interests."



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

THIRTEEN SENTENCED UNDER TERRORISM ACT

One of the longest trials of its kind, lasting eight months, has come to a close with 13 men being found guilty of charges under the Terrorism Act. The accused were members of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) and the Non-European Unity Movement. Nine Africans, two Indians, and two Coloureds had pleaded not guilty to charges of "conspiracy to commit certain acts endangering the maintenance of law and order in South Africa in furtherance of a common purpose to overthrow the Government by force of arms," and to charges of "committing specific acts in a conspiracy to recruit persons in South Africa to undergo military training."

Mr. Kadir Massima and Mr. Joseph Vusani were found guilty of giving assistance to known terrorists in South Africa, and another five were found guilty of actually recruiting people for military training. They were Mr. Mogami Moeng, Mr. Mfolwant Mbele, Mr. Pindiso Zimambane, Dr. Dam Gideon Mahajana, and Mr. Nckwika Vimba.

The other accused were Mr. Max Batwini Tabata, Mr. Frank Anthony, Mr. Robert Wilcox, Mr. Albert Tshungana, Mr. Montford Mabuto, and Mr. Surinarayan Venkatrathnam. (Guardian, London, Apr. 5, 1972)

Allegations of the torture of witnesses were a prominent issue during the trial. Torture was alleged to have taken place at a forest police camp in Pondoland. Many witnesses had been detained by the police in solitary confinement until they were willing to make a statement that was considered satisfactory. Others were subject to long spells of interrogation. The judge passing sentence drew attention to the allegations. (New York Times, Apr. 5, 1972)

The judge also said, "There can be no doubt that in 1970, the APDUSA movement in the Republic was at an extremely low ebb and that it was being kept alive by a few dedicated people who believed strongly in its principles. These people who believed were beginning to hope that it might be possible to revive the movement. . . . The evidence discloses that the decision for the campaign to recruit volunteers for military

training was taken in 1970 by a small coterie of leaders of the APDUSA movement who had fled the Republic in about 1965 and settled in Zambia."

Five of the accused got eight years, three were sentenced to six years, two were sentenced to seven years, and the other three were sentenced to five years. The case will be appealed. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 8, 1972) For background on this case see SOUTHERN AFRICA, January, 1972.

SECRET SERVICE GETS MORE FUNDS

The South African Government is to intensify its secret service activities this year, judging from the increased amounts voted for this purpose. The total amount to be spent on secret service will be \$9.97 million, over last year's \$6.01 million. The bulk of this year's allocation, \$7.70 million, will go to the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). The figure for BOSS last year was \$4.90 million.

The amount for military intelligence will be about \$460,000 compared with last year's \$360,000. The police are to spend \$1.47 million on secret service against last year's \$1.41 million. The Department of Foreign Affairs secret service will be credited with \$350,000. Last year the amount was twice that. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 8, 1972)

SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT UNDER ATTACK BY AFRICANS

The South African Government is receiving steady criticism from the African leaders who are supposed to operate its policy of separate development. Chief Matanzima of the Transkei is outspoken in his demand for more land. He is asking for total freedom and hinting that if he doesn't get his way he will become friendly with black-ruled states to the north.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the Zulus is a continual critic. Now new voices are being heard. Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, chief of the Shangaan/Tsonga Legislative Assembly, commented bitterly on the insensitivity and inconsistency of the Government's policy in relation to the homelands. "It is sad to say that the black man is considered a sojourner not only in the urban areas but in the homelands as well. The homelands still belong to the central government. They allocate land and people at will without ever looking at the energy and money used by people to establish themselves. No consideration whatever seems to be made for the element of permanence and security desired by all human beings." A particular concern is a boundary dispute between the Tsonga and North Sotho homeland of Lebowa. Both sides had felt that white officials only impeded their discussions and they therefore excluded them from the negotiations and produced an agreement of their own. The Government rejected this and insisted on enforcing its own solution.

Ntsanwisi said, "Actions such as this embarrass, frustrate, and humiliate homeland leaders and bring them into disrepute. Paradoxically in the policy of

self-determination, they cannot make decisions for their own people. Experience and involvement should be given to African leadership in deciding how to make use of the money at its disposal. As it is now, we have no final say. Decisions are made for us, not by us." Ntsanwisi is also fearful about economic development. Very little has been done in his area of Gazankulu. (Guardian, London, Apr. 14, 1972)

Commenting on African land claims, particularly in relation to the Transkei, Prime Minister Vorster has said that the Government would be prepared to give a Bantustan independence if it asked for it, even though the full 1936 quota of land had not yet been given to it. The Bantustan could trust the Government to give the land later. The problem, he said, was that the Government didn't have the money to buy up all the land now which had been promised to the African in 1936. Africans are to receive 13 percent of South Africa's territory when all the land is bought up, with 87 percent remaining in the hands of Europeans.

An announcement that 126,000 hectares of white owned land is to be ceded to the Ciskei Bantustan was severely criticized by whites of both parties. The whites affected feel that they are being betrayed by the Government.

Chief Matanzima has stated that the Government has only one alternative to meaningful separate development that includes more just land distribution. That is one man one vote, with Africans participating in the Parliament of South Africa. That suggestion is, of course, impossible in South Africa today. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 22, 1972)

BLACK POLITICAL MOVEMENT BEING ORGANIZED

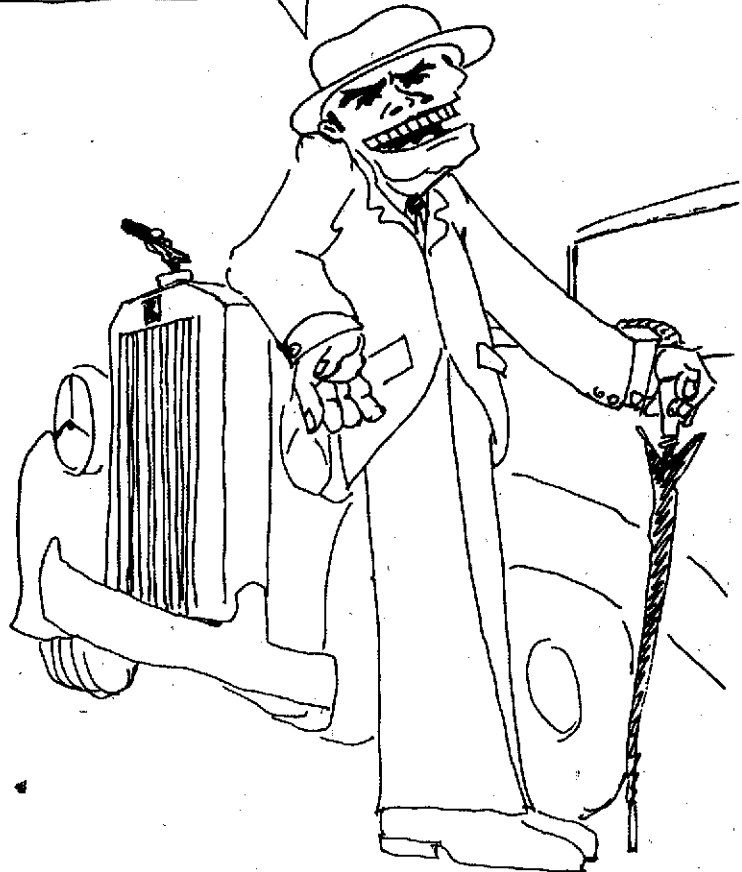
On Dec. 19, 1971, a decision was taken in Orlando (an African township outside Johannesburg) to form a political party exclusively for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians that would not work within the framework of the Government-created systems. At the third meeting of the ad hoc committee of the Black People's Convention it was decided to organize mass rallies throughout the country to prepare for the launching of the movement at a national convention within a few months.

The April 1 meeting decided that regional organization must take place. The main business was the convention's draft constitution, which states that its main object is to unite "the South African Blacks" into a political movement "which would seek to realize the liberation and emancipation of Black people from both psychological and physical oppression."

Other aims of the convention are to preach, popularize, and implement the philosophy of Black consciousness and solidarity, to create and maintain an egalitarian society in which justice is meted equally to all, and to reorientate the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the needs, aspirations, ideals, and goals of the Black people. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Apr. 14, 1972) ■

ECONOMICS

The President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. E. J. Smith, said: "It may be claimed the African mineworker is not earning enough to meet all his needs, but then are you and I paid enough to meet all ours?"



SOUTH AFRICAN SUGAR FOR JAPAN

A six-man South African sugar mission which visited Japan is thought to have lobbied Japanese support for a higher international sugar quota for South Africa. Japan is expected to import more than 400,000 tons of South African sugar this year—and they make no secret of their preference for South African raw sugar over Cuba, Australian, and Taiwanese. If they could buy more, they would, but South Africa is reluctant to allocate more of its 625,000-ton quota to Japan. The most natural solution for both parties would be through a higher quota for South Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 29, 1972)

INCREASE IN TOURISM

A total of 459,478 tourists visited South Africa during 1971—an increase of 17.9 percent on the figure for 1970. About 34,750 Americans visited South Africa in 1971. Travel from the United Kingdom increased by 17.5 per cent. Tourists from neighboring territories comprised 52 percent of total arrivals. Ten years ago "over border" tourism accounted for 80 percent of arrivals in South Africa. South Africa will continue the policy of encouraging overseas tourists this year with sponsored visits of selected travel agents. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 22, 1972)

JOBLESS RATE SOARS

In February this year 12,421 white, Coloured, and Asian people were unemployed in South Africa—the highest February figure since 1969—according to statistics released by the Department of Labor. In February 1971 there were 9,548 unemployed. In February 1970 there were 10,468 unemployed, while the 1969 figure was 13,413. None of these figures in dude Africans. The increase in unemployment was more marked among males than females in all groups. The city with the highest unemployment figure was Durban with 3,759 people out of work.

MORE WORK FOR BLACKS

The Department of Posts and Telegraphs is investigating ways and means of training Africans to qualify them for more advanced work in the technical fields in the homelands. Speaking at the opening of a post office training center at Umtata the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs Viljoen also appealed to educational institutions to encourage pupils to equip themselves for a technical career. Viljoen said training of telephone mechanics at the center was a prelude to the training of African telecommunication technicians. Eventually African engineers would have to handle the entire telecommunications systems of the independent Bantustans. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 29, 1972)

HONEYWELL STRIKES AGAIN

Honeywell control instrumentation, developed for the U.S. space program, will be used at the new ISCOR (Iron and Steel Corporation) steelworks at Newcastle. Honeywell has already been awarded three contracts for ISCOR projects totalling \$610,000. All three are for supply and installation of automatic control instrumentation for various processes at the steel plant. The instrumentation to be supplied is largely the result of research and development carried out by Honeywell in the past 20 years for American space research.

Managing director of Honeywell, Mr. R. G. Garrett, said the ISCOR projects were breaking new ground in the field of automatic control equipment used in South African industry. "It is in fact the most advanced control instrumentation now available in the world and the latest in line of descent from Honeywell's 25-year development of miniature electronic instrumentation," he said. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 29, 1972)

INCREASED STEEL OUTPUT

South African metal production showed increases in some sectors during the first two months of this year, according to the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation. Steelworks produced 762,200 metric tons of steel ingots and continuously cast steel billets, an increase

of 1.8 percent over the corresponding period last year. Pig iron output was 666,500 metric tons—an increase of 6.9 percent. The foundry industry produced 20,400 metric tons of steel castings, 6.8 percent more than was produced during the corresponding period of last year. Output of iron castings and ferro alloys was down; iron castings by 5.9 percent and alloys by 4.5 percent. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 22, 1972)

UNITED STATES STEEL ACQUIRES MINERAL RIGHTS

United States Steel has acquired mineral rights over ground in the Marico-Zeerust area, believed to contain about eight million tons of fluorspar. World consumption of the mineral runs at about four million tons a year, expected to increase to 6.2 million tons over the next three years, of which South Africa's output is at present only 250,000 tons.

Fluorspar has a wide range of industrial uses, including the steel industry, the plastics industry, in the manufacture of propellants for aerosols, the optical and aluminum industries. Deposits in many areas have been known for some time, but only steadily rising prices for fluorspar and advances in recovery techniques have made them of economic interest. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 29, 1972) ■

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

UNESCO INVESTIGATING MPLA PROJECT

A UNESCO representative from Ethiopia and a Danish member of the World University Service spent time in April looking into projects, mainly education schemes, affiliated with MPLA and reported that the results of the trip were "positive." What precise aid will be coming to MPLA from UNESCO or WUS is unknown. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Apr. 8, 1972)

LIBERATION SEMINAR SUGGESTED

The Tanzanian Foreign Minister, newly appointed former representative to the U.N., John Malecela, has spoken with leaders of the liberation movements resident in Dar es Salaam about a joint seminar to exchange ideas about how best to liberate Southern Africa. One movement member has suggested that such a meeting be chaired by an independent body or the TANU Youth League. (Nationalist, Tanzania, March 23, 1972)

O.A.U. TRIPS AND MEETINGS

OAU President Ould Daddah of Mauritania has continued OAU missions to allies of South Africa and Portugal, this time visiting Switzerland, Turkey and Japan. In Japan the Prime Minister E. Sato said that his country would cooperate with the OAU. Daddah urged

Japan to curb its growing economic links with South Africa and Portugal, and the Japanese Foreign Minister said that Japan regulates its capital investments and financing toward those countries because of their colonial and racist policies. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 29, 1972)

The Liberation Committee of the OAU will meet in Kampala in mid-May, the first such gathering in Uganda since Major-General Idi Amin came to power. Amin recently proposed a joint Arab-African defense pact aimed at expelling the imperialist powers from the Indian Ocean area. This follows Amin's other suggestions for an African military organization aimed at helping liberate Southern Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 29, 1972; Standard of Tanzania, Apr. 7, 1972)

SWISS AID TO MOVEMENTS

The Swiss Government is ready to provide humanitarian aid to the movements but balked at pleas to decrease economic links with South Africa. (Agence France Presse, Apr. 21, 1972) Upon return from his trip, President Daddah of the OAU said that the three countries' officials "appeared to understand the OAU point of view." The mission visited more than 15 countries, mainly NATO allies, and in each country urged an end to support for Portugal in its colonial wars. (Agence France Presse, Apr. 30, 1972)

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS COMMEMORATES 60th YEAR

On Jan. 8, 1912 the African National Congress of South Africa was formed. Commemorative meetings were held in Lusaka, Zambia, attended by liberation leaders and members of the diplomatic corps; and in Guyana a meeting was chaired by Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People's Progressive Party, and a photo exhibit was held at the party headquarters; in Paris a U.N. film was shown, organized by French Anti-Apartheid Movement and the North African Student Unions; and in Algiers, Dar es Salaam, Berlin, Toronto, and in the U.K. similar meetings were held.

The ANC published messages of solidarity from the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt; the President of Guinea Ahmed Sekou Toure; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; the Chinese African People's Friendship Association, Peking; the Ceylon Workers Congress; the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Korea in Zambia; the Chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic; the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Charge d'Affairs in Zambia; the Socialist Working Youth in the Federal Republic of Germany; the Socialist Party of Australia; the Trade Union Congress of Malaysia and Singapore; the International Student Movement of the U.N. in Geneva; the World Peace Council Secretariat in Finland; the Central Committee of parties in Mongolia and Bulgaria; representatives of ZAPU; the New Zealand Citizens Association for Racial Equality; and SWAPO.

At the Lusaka meeting, Acting President-General of the ANC Oliver Tambo said: "This meeting is not of the ANC alone, but of the forces it has represented which spread and multiplied and can, today, count a series of victories in the struggle of man for freedom and dignity. This struggle encompasses not only the people of South Africa but embraces the greater part of mankind; it is a bitter struggle and is being fought at various levels in different parts of the world. . . . It is perhaps of some significance that in the very year the ANC was born, the South African Defense Forces were created. Some day, these two opposing forces . . . are destined to confront each other in a mighty struggle whose outcome can only be victory for the oppressed Black majority. . . ."

"We sometimes note a sense of unease on the part of our friends when they reflect on our 60 years of struggle which has not brought us freedom. This appears to be a faulty view of history. . . . The independence of so many countries in Africa, the independent existence and actions of the OAU is part of our struggle. . . . We believe that the struggle has not been of single, separate countries but of the whole of Africa. . . . We have always believed in this concept of Pan-Africanism."

Tambo talked of fellow liberation movements and progressive supporters, saying also that armed dialogue is necessary in South Africa with the time of strikes and demonstrations past; a struggle in which all peoples of Southern Africa, in particularly Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland will be involved. In concluding, Tambo said, "Our objective is a free, unified South Africa which will be part of and on the side of the forces of progress, part of the antiracist, anticolour, anti-imperialist forces." (Sechaba, April 1972)



Oliver Tambo,
Acting President of the African National Congress

VIOLATORS OF RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

Two businessmen, an engineer, and the state tax commissioner of Vermont pled guilty in Federal Court in New York to charges brought by U.S. Attorney Whitney Seymour, Jr. of violation of sanctions against trade with Rhodesia. The charges involved clandestine arrangements for building and operating a \$50 million chemical fertilizer plant in Rhodesia. Awaiting sentencing, which could involve up to a year in prison and up to \$10,000 in fines, are Herbert Hamilton, President of IDI Management, Inc. of Cincinnati; Conrad Wysocki, an IDI engineer; David Paterson, a businessman in the Bahamas; and Edward H. Bartlett, Vermont tax commissioner. Bartlett was accused of conspiring to conceal the transactions by forming corporations in Liechtenstein and opening bank accounts in Switzerland. Also involved in the deal was the Margas Shipping Company, Inc. of Panama. This was the first prosecution under the 1968 sanctions, although an import company was indicted previously under a lighter sanctions statute. (New York Times, Apr. 13, 1972)

In another sanctions-violating incident, the U.S. Commerce Department has ordered export control sanctions against two Natal men for allegedly transshipping a cotton ginning plant to Rhodesia after

The New York Times article (by Terence Smith on April 2, 1971; see SOUTHERN AFRICA, May, 1972) describing the options considered by the Administration and the choices made to be "a partial but substantially accurate account."

BLACK ENVOY IN SOUTH AFRICA?

The State Department is giving serious consideration to the appointment of a relatively senior grade black official to serve in South Africa. The South African Government has indicated that it would "welcome" such an appointment but is urging that the time "will not be ripe for some time to come." There are only about 40 black foreign service officers out of a total of 3,700. One suggestion would be an appointment to the Durban Consulate, but black officials are critical of such an option and urge that the position be in the Pretoria and Cape Town Embassies as a political officer, to be the center of political activity. It is also possible that a military attache might be sent since the armed services are more racially integrated than the foreign service, with correspondingly more high-ranking black officers. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18 and Apr. 9, 1972) The New Republic (in an editorial on Apr. 29, 1972) supported the naming of a black ambassador to Pretoria and put forth

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

receiving it in December, 1967 in South Africa. The two are G. G. McFarlane and A. B. de Klerk, co-owners of Natal Seed Cotton Ginners of Durban, and they were denied access to U.S. exports for 18 months, to be followed by a probationary period of 18 months. De Klerk refused to confirm or deny the report. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Apr. 7, 1972)

GENERAL U.S. POLICY

In his annual report on U.S. foreign policy, Secretary of State Rogers took a much more negative line toward South Africa and its changes than had President Nixon one month before in his "State of the World" message. Rogers emphasized the continuation of apartheid and saw little of substance in the policy of dialogue with other African countries or in a more flexible approach to granting visas. (Star, Johannesburg, March 11, 1972) Ken Owen (of the Star's Washington Bureau, Johannesburg, Apr. 8, 1972) sees opposition to Nixon's dialogue policy growing in the U.S. in the wake of the revelation of the Azores Agreement and the lifting of sanctions on chrome. He attributes the slow response to the two-year-old changes in Administration policy to the interpretative and obfuscating skill of government officials, especially Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom. He finds

its potential candidates—the names of Jerome Holland (presently Ambassador to Sweden), Rudolph Aggrey (senior aide to Newsom at the State Department and son of Gold Coast educator Aggrey), Beverly Carter (another aide to Newsom), and Sam Westerfield (presently ambassador to Liberia).

SOUTH AFRICA AND NASA

A proposal by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) of South Africa participation in satellite photography was supported by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and whose request has been approved. The result is that an unmanned satellite, known as the Earth Resources Technology Satellite (ERTS), will be launched at the end of May and will range across South Africa at an altitude of 900 km at about 9:30 am each day, traveling in a north-south direction but angled about 14 degrees to the south west. The satellite's sensors will photograph the most important economic regions of the Transvaal, Free State, Natal, and that part of the Cape west of the 20 degree meridian. (The Star, May 6, 1972)

MUNGER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Edwin Munger and the three other members of the State Department's African Advisory Council arrived in late March in South Africa. For the first time, two of the four members are black. Munger, who describes himself as a middle-of-the-roader, is a member of the board of the U.S.-South African Leadership Exchange program and was one of 17 founding fellows of the African Studies Association. He teaches at Caltech. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 1, 1972)

DIGGS AND AMERICAN POLICY

The Congressional Record of Jan. 18, 1972 (Vol. 118, No. 1) contains Rep. Charles Diggs' (D-Mich.) extensive Action Manifesto of Dec. 14, 1971 resulting from his trip to Africa the month before. Diggs' press conference upon his resignation from the U.S. delegation to the United Nations issued Dec. 17, 1971, and a statement submitted by Diggs and others to President Nixon demanding an explanation of the Azores Agreement. On Feb. 3, 1972 Diggs testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of the Case Resolution (Senate Resolution 214) requiring the submission to the Senate for advice and consent of any agreement with Portugal or Bahrain for military bases or foreign assistance. In his speech he noted the following: on his recent visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels, officials indicated that there is no NATO direct interest in the Azores accords and that NATO was not consulted in the U.S. decision; that the agreement was made only for 25 months and that the U.S. will be subject soon to the same Portuguese pressures as before; and that by the admission of Rogers and Caetano the agreement has political implications; for example even the pro forma public statement favoring self-determination was left out of the language of the accord, as well as any prohibition of use of goods in Africa. He also noted that the Africans present at the Lusaka Conference felt that the Azores Agreement was the most significant and revealing step of the Nixon Administration on Africa. (From Diggs' testimony statement, Feb. 3, 1972)

ADDIS ABABA U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

On March 1, 1972 a joint session of the House Subcommittees on Africa and on International Organizations (chaired respectively by Reps. Diggs and Fraser) heard from U.N. Ambassador George Bush and his senior adviser, William Schaufele, concerning the recent Addis Ababa meeting and Bush's subsequent journey to Sudan, Kenya, Zambia, Zaire, Gabon, Nigeria, Chad, and Botswana. Bush commented in a very vague way on the two resolutions on Namibia and the one on apartheid which the U.S. supported and on the two resolutions on Portugal and Rhodesia on which the U.S. abstained. The Congressmen did not push the ambassador very hard on any issue. (Comments after reading the Joint Hearing on the U.N. and Africa, March 1, 1972)

CANDIDATES ON AFRICA

The March issue of Africa Report published views of the various presidential candidates on U.S. policy in Africa, ranging from Shirley Chisholm's demand for economic sanctions against South Africa to John Ashbrook's desire for increased cooperation with Pretoria. Nixon's spokesman, Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom, and Paul McCloskey, agreed to the request for an interview, and their opinions are taken from the tapes. All others, however, responded only in writing to the questions submitted by Africa Report. Newsom

emphasized the internal dynamics of Africa and played down the cold war and strategic implications of the continent. According to him, African leaders are fundamentally interested in economic development and it is not American policy to intervene or even express opinions upon internal questions. He said that the \$400 million of Export-Import Bank loans would have been available to Portugal even without the Azores agreement. Rep. Ashbrook, in contrast, placed the emphasis on the strategic aspects of Africa and the growing Soviet and Chinese naval and political presence in and around the continent. Given this, he favored the Byrd Amendment on chrome, aid to Portugal for the development of two new ports in Mozambique, U.S. naval facilities in South Africa, and, possibly, resumption of arms supplies to South Africa. He would support the Southern African regimes against the "aggression" of the guerrilla movements.

REPRESENTATIVE SHIRLEY CHISHOLM was sharply critical of the Azores Agreement and the break in Rhodesian sanctions and of the Nixon policy in general, supported sanctions against the white regimes of South Africa, favored the liberation movements, and would seek a demilitarized Indian Ocean and a review of U.S. relationships with Ethiopia. She would ban further U.S. investment in South Africa, end the sugar quota, and support the exclusion of South Africa from athletic events, as well as exclude Portugal from NATO. She supported the campaigns to get Newmont Mining Company to cease cooperating with the South African Government in Namibia and to have Gulf Oil withdraw from Portuguese territories.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY expressed support of the general lines of the U.N. Association Panel on Southern Africa, recommending it "as a useful tool in developing American foreign policy" on the subject. He was critical (some of this can be found in his statement in the Congressional Record of Feb. 2, 1972) of the chrome, sugar, and Azores policies of the Nixon Administration and of its decreased solidarity with the U.N. majority and the Third World nations.

SENATOR JACKSON issued very general criticism of U.S. support of Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia and praised U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia and the Polaroid plan for investors in South Africa.

SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN did not respond specifically to the questions, submitting statements made elsewhere in support of majority rule in Rhodesia and against the Heath-Smith settlement and against the continuation of the South African sugar quota. While supporting the withdrawal of Gulf from Portuguese territories in April 1971 he was absent from several crucial votes on the Byrd Amendment in the fall of 1971.

SENATOR EDMUND MUSKIE did respond to the questions and expressed general support of the UNA Panel report. He abhorred the Azores Agreement, the Heath-Smith accord on Rhodesia and the decision on importing Rhodesian chrome, expressing his regret for his absence on one crucial vote. He would support the U.N. position in favor of Namibian self-determination, would make Southern African issues a much greater priority, but would refuse any forceful or military involvement of the U.S. in Africa.

REPRESENTATIVE PAUL McCLOSKEY professed ignorance of most African questions and expressed general reluctance for U.S. involvement of any kind in the wake of Viet Nam. He voted against chrome importation but in favor of the continuation of the South African sugar quota.

MOVES TO RESTORE SANCTIONS ON CHROME

The New York Times (in editorials of May 5 and 31, 1972) supports the efforts in the Federal District Court and the Senate to restore the prohibition on chrome importation. In the Court case, Black Caucus members and others are arguing that the importations from Rhodesia 'violate international and domestic law and order' and undermine the American commitment to self-determination under the U.N. Chances of passage of Senator McGee's motion to repeal the Byrd Amendment had improved with a letter of support from Acting Secretary of State John Irwin who declared that there is no chrome shortage, that the U.S. imported more chrome in 1971 from Turkey than from Russia, and that Bureau of Customs tests reveal that the Soviet ore has not come from Rhodesia. However by 40 to 36, the Senate voted on May 30 to strike from a State Department budget bill the provision aimed at repealing the Byrd Amendment. Sen. Gale McGee, sponsor of the provision, said he had been encouraged by the State Department to present the case for repeal but accused the White House of 'lying down on the job' and 'paying only lip service' to the Rhodesian issue. The only apparent Administration intervention was a letter 10 days before the vote from Acting Secretary of State, Irwin. (New York Times, June 1, 1972)

SATELLITE COOPERATION

The CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) has announced its proposed participation to the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in the American plan to photograph the earth's surface in a variety of spectral bands from an unmanned satellite. According to the proposal, two "earth resources technology satellites" would be launched in May 1972 and November 1973 and would be angled in such a way as to "acquire repetitive imagery" of large areas of the Transvaal, Free State, and Natal, and portions of the Cape Province west of the 20-degree meridian. These areas have been chosen because they are representative of South Africa's resource problems and include some of the economically most important regions. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 1, 1972)



Roy Wilkins

WILKINS JOINS ADVOCATES OF DIALOGUE

Returned from his recent trip to South Africa, Roy Wilkins addressed a predominantly white audience in Chapel Hill, N.C., and defended the positions he had previously taken: no withdrawal by American corporations but amelioration of the working conditions of blacks in American companies, support dialogue (including exchanges and the training of Africans in the USA) and opposition to armed struggle. He was roundly challenged by the blacks in the audience who reminded him of oppression of blacks in the USA, the active and advancing liberation struggle in Southern Africa and the sham of dialogue. When Wilkins said, 'I think it would have been the best investment they (the South African Government) could have made to have seen me for 10 minutes,' the black students agreed. (SOBU News Service by Milton Coleman, in The African World, April 30, 1972)

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

"GODSPELL" REJECTS SOUTH AFRICA'S INVITATION

Stephen Schwartz, composer-lyricist of the acclaimed musical "Godspell," has rejected the request of a theatrical agent to stage his show in South Africa. Bob Courtney, manager of an agency in Johannesburg, had written to Schwartz's agent expressing his desire to stage Godspell in South Africa as an act of "goodwill and generous example." Schwartz replied to the request personally, stating that a play dealing with the "love-thy-neighbor-as-thyself" teaching of Christ could not be produced with a segregated cast and before segregated audiences "without the basest sort of hypocrisy. . . . I believe that only when the people of South Africa awaken to the fact that their policy of apartheid is as destructive to them as to their victims will there begin to be any significant progress toward an ethical society in that country." Schwartz also rejected Courtney's second plea, suggesting that if the Gospel had failed to reach South Africa by this time, "one American musical comedy is not going to make much of a dent in anyone's thinking. . . ." He said he considered a denial of a business opportunity would be "more influential than moral guidance." (Religious News Service, Apr. 28, 1972)

UNITED METHODIST CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA

A statement condemning white-dominated and colonial governments in Southern Africa has come out of the April General Conference (Quadrennial) of the United Methodist Church in Atlanta, Ga. Two delegates from Mozambique to the conference disassociated themselves from the statement. Chadreque J. Mujongue of Lourenco Marques said the disaffiliation was made because "we note certain changes in the administration, education, and religious liberty in the Portuguese overseas provinces." The Methodist statement had backed black liberation movements in the three Portuguese colonies as well as in Rhodesia, South Africa, and Namibia. (Religious News Service, Apr. 27, 1972)

The lengthy document also asked the denomination not to invest in U.S. corporations whose policies undergird the white racist governments of Southern Africa, and U.S. companies doing business there were asked to give annual sums equal to what they pay in taxes to governments in the area to aid the black majorities. Such contributions were suggested to the educational, medical, and welfare programs of the liberation movements, and to the UN Trust Fund.

The statement also urged "that any income from the church's investment in corporations which invest in Southern Africa or an equivalent amount from other funds be given to enlarge the Board of Missions' Southern Africa Fund." (Religious News Service, Apr. 27, 1972)

At a press conference during the meeting, Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, head of the 35,000-member Rhodesian United Methodist Church (also of the newly-formed African National Council and of the All Africa Council of Churches) charged the U.S. with assisting with the repression of blacks in the Portuguese colonies by agreeing to lend Portugal \$436 million. He also said that in South Africa 12 of the largest U.S. corporations, along with 300 smaller ones, were expanding investments in the apartheid system, while the U.S. Government was violating the UN Security Council embargo on trade with Rhodesia. (Religious News Service, Apr. 19, 1972)

NEW ZEALAND PRIESTS OPPOSE 1973 SPRINGBOK TOUR

Christchurch Roman Catholic priests are pledged "to become actively concerned and involved" in opposition to the South African rugby tour of New Zealand next year. "If this means active involvement in nonviolent protest, we are prepared to become fully involved," the secretary of the Christchurch region of the National Association of Priests, Father J. G. O'Connor, said recently. The Association's 28 members all believe that the "tour is a moral issue and is a participation in the injustice and suppression of apartheid." (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 1, 1972)

DEFENSE

ALL THE SHIPS AT SEA

Questions of naval strategy in the waters around Southern Africa became a major topic of interest during the first three months of this year. "The Russians are coming" was a frequently sounded alarm, but the Chinese menace was not entirely forgotten.

A report in the Guardian (London, Jan. 21, 1972) mentioned a planned March or April visit to South Africa by a NATO subcommittee which includes Canada, Britain, Portugal, and the U.S. The group was to visit the Simonstown naval base, establish "whether there is a threat on NATO's southern flank," and "explore the possibility of incorporating South Africa in the NATO alliance." NATO spokesmen in Brussels denied that membership for South Africa was to be investigated.

Nine days later The Washington Post ran an extensive piece on naval bases by Bruce Oudes. He attributed both the Azores base deal with Portugal and the Executive Agreement with Bahrain in the Persian Gulf to a U.S. need to balance the expanding naval power of the Soviet Union. Oudes discusses the struggles in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola only in super-power geopolitical terms. He cites U.S. analysts who worry that China and Russia "could indirectly but effectively embarrass NATO by dealing Portugal a deft blow in Africa." Oudes guesses that the Soviets have the goal of "making NATO a laughing stock of the Third World."

Concretely, he observes that "for the past year the Soviets have maintained a constant naval combat presence protecting the (PAIGC) guerrillas' sanctuary in the neighboring Republic of Guinea. Thus Soviet personnel are actually on line protecting the Africans against another assault of the type Portugal organized in November 1970."

Oudes also projects a likely scenario which he says has the Nixon Administration "privately aghast": in the next few months the PAIGC will organize elections and form a government which, following the lead of the African states, the Soviets will recognize. Then acting under the auspices of cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the Russians can use military force to end Portuguese air and naval superiority and cut its supply lines.

The possibility of such a scenario adds significance to remarks made by Portuguese Prime Minister Marcello Caetano during a Dec. 16 radio-TV address: "The treaty (sic, Executive Agreement) is a political act in which the solidarity of interests between the two countries is recognized and it is in the name of that solidarity that we put an instrument of action (the Azores) at the disposal of our American friends, who are also now allies."

About a month later a high-level seminar was held in London, part of an influential lobbying campaign to upgrade NATO maritime defense around the Cape of Good Hope. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 26, 1972) The seminar title was "The security of the southern oceans—Southern Africa the key," and it was sponsored by the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies. A key speaker was the vice chairman of the Conservative Party's defense committee, Rear Admiral Morgan Giles MP. Giles, a recent visitor to South Africa, called for "if necessary extending NATO's 'border' beyond the Tropic of Cancer."

The Institute's Director, Air Vice-Marshal S.W.B. Menaul, put the economic motives of Western European countries clearly on the line: "their lifeline of oil with the closure of Suez now stretched round the Cape, their industries depended upon raw materials transported largely round the Cape and access to the large markets of the future lay by way of the Cape."

The Institute also has proposed that a seminar be held in South Africa to discuss a NATO type treaty for the southern oceans. Countries like Argentina, Brazil, New Zealand, Australia, and Britain are expected to participate. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

Star Defense Correspondent Hugh Leggatt provided the following examples of the magnitude of the Russian "threat" (The Star itself put the word in quotes). (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

(1) Of merchant ships rounding the Cape, 18% are United Kingdom vessels, 15% fly the Liberian flag, and 10% are from Russia and its "satellites." (2) Since 1970 Russia has arranged for her ships to be chanderled in about 25 ports in 16 countries bordering the Indian Ocean. (3) Valuable replenishment points on both sides of the Indian subcontinent. (4) An operating base of Socotra, a Yemenese island which commands the Gulf of Aden and the mouth of the Red Sea. (5) Anchorages on the east coast of Africa and suspicious ships passing round South Africa or loitering offshore.

Leggatt fears that the port facilities of South Africa will not be used to counter the Russians because of the political cost of his country's race politics. However, he cites a particularly valuable facility: "a new bomb-proof, computerized, underground communications citadel at Silvermine on the Cape Peninsula. It is the sea traffic policeman of the south and represents a powerful command capability."

During the subsequent four days The New York Times was heard from on the strategic threat in the Indian Ocean. C. L. Sulzberger first pontificated upon the effects of Nixon's trip to China, the India-Pakistan War, Okinawa's reversion to Japan, and U.S. "withdrawal" from Viet Nam. (March 19, 1972) Sulzberger has the most consistently enervating prose found among Times columnists, but he did say it was an Important Issue and that as of Jan. 1 the Indian Ocean was now the responsibility of Admiral John S. McCain, Jr. and CINCPAC (the Pacific fleet).

During the next three days retired Times military affairs specialist Hanson Baldwin substantiated the argument. He pointed out that the Russians had some natural interest in the Indian Ocean since it was a good place for U.S. submarines to launch missiles from. (March 20, 1972) Baldwin said: the Russians now maintain continuously, on rotation in the Indian Ocean, an average

of 10 combatants and auxiliaries; ship-days (one ship, one day) have increased threefold since 1968; Soviet squadrons have made 50 port visits in Africa and Asia; "but more important are the many agreements for port access and facilities, or aircraft basing or transit rights, communications stations or other rights." (March 21, 1972)

Baldwin characterizes the U.S. position as "so far, small scale and low profile. The only permanent and continuous force in the area is the Middle East force, at Bahrain." This force has only three of its five authorized ships and cruises from the Pacific fleet are more significant. In 1969 and 1970, 358 port visits were paid to Indian Ocean countries by U.S. Navy ships. The U.S. still uses the large airbase of Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, and by 1973 will have a new \$19 million naval facility on the British island of Diego Garcia in the center of the Indian Ocean.

Two years ago Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird promised that the "winding down" Viet Nam war would make available more ships for periodic cruises in the area. (March 22, 1972)

An additional factor is France, which has reaffirmed its presence in the Indian Ocean. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 1, 1972) Escort vessels will be stationed at the key French base of Diego Suarez in Malagasy. More troops are to be sent to the Afar and Issa territory where there is a French base at Djibouti. Defense Minister Michel Debre ended a week's visit to Malagasy declaring: "The French presence in Diego Suarez is an element of discussion in the face of the Great Powers who could one day alter peace in this part of the Indian Ocean."

The altruism of the French is put in question by plans also to station attack aircraft on carriers in the zone. Their role is to assist former French colonies still linked by "mutual defense" treaties and to protect France's maritime supply routes.

NEED TO DEAL WITH REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Military manpower has been a major concern of South Africa during the last few months. Shortage of personnel and controversy over conscientious objectors have created problems for the defenders of apartheid.

It was the need to deal with revolutionary war and with new situations' which prompted Defense Minister P.W. Botha in his remarks to the Assembly in March. He remarked that 'The number of trained servicemen available was not sufficient for the task, in view of present dangers and the country's extremely long borders, which were difficult to defend.' (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972)

One possible 'new situation' would be a campaign to cut the supply lines of liberation forces, such as the Great Northern Road between Dar es Salaam and Lusaka. In January, Rapport, a pro Vorster newspaper, characterized the Road as the guerillas' Ho Chi Minh Trail. It further reported that 'military quarters believe the country has no other choice than to wage the war against African guerrillas outside her borders'. (Guardian, London, January 10, 1972)

South African ground forces under arms at present include: 10,000 man professional force; 22,000 draftees; 33,000 police; 15,000 in police reserve; 58,000 com-

mandos and a citizen force reserve; in total, about 200,000 men who could be mobilized in time of crisis. (Reported by Lewis Gann in a strongly anti liberation movement article in the February 1972 Africa Today)

Every white male in South Africa is required to do national service in the Citizen Force. This usually consists of 9 months basic training and 26 days of camp every summer for ten years. Members can be ordered to special uninterrupted service for two months but the government is trying to get that period increased. The commandos are volunteers who do two months of basic, annual summer camp, and weekly drill for 16 years. The government wants to increase their basic training to nine months and reduce overall obligation to ten years as well as use them more on 'the front line to counter insurgency'. (Star, Johannesburg, February 5, March 4, April 8, April 29, 1972)

Weaknesses in the Citizen Force were pointed out by United Party spokesman W. Vause Raw, who at the same time confirmed that the UP stood united with the Government on defense matters. He cited: a serious shortage of officers; absenteeism from summer camps (over 1300 people were fined R28,000 in one year); only 25/30% of one regiment reported for summer camp. Raw wanted the period of training reduced from ten to four years and feared that the government's proposed changes would make a man liable to a total of 56 months active service. (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, April 29) Facing military manpower difficulties already, the Government seems determined not to let anyone be exempted from training for religious or moral reasons. Mr. Botha has complained that 'world wide attempts were apparently being made by leftist organizations to discredit national services', The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the main Dutch Reformed Church, fears that any concessions to 'conchie's' 'would lead to a large scale undermining of authority and ultimately to anarchy'. (Star, Johannesburg, March 8, 1972)

However, controversy has erupted over the treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses who do not accept assignment to non combatant units or training without weapons. They have been sentenced to repeated terms of imprisonment, a practice so manifestly unfair that the Government itself submitted legislation to end multiple sentences. However, an associated practice of solitary confinement for refusal to wear prison garb will be continued. (Star, Johannesburg, April 1, 1972)

During a bitter Assembly clash on the subject, Botha said of Ms. Helen Suzman, Progressive M.P., that, 'she represents a party which, outside this House, is the advocate for all who break the law.' However, leaders of the Progressive Party were quick to affirm its belief 'that obedience to the laws and maintenance of an orderly society is fundamental to progress' and to point out that thousands of its supporters were doing 'their duty' of national service. (Star, Johannesburg, May 6, 1972)

Another sign of serious manpower shortage is that the question of putting more non-whites into service is being 'closely studied'. The new chief of the Defense Force, Admiral Hugo Hendrik Biermann, see future Coloured officers commanding minesweepers and seaward defense vessels. Biermann commented, 'the Coloured people are natural seamen and it is only right that we make use of their services.' (Star, Johannesburg, April 8, 1972) Manpower limitations are also a factor in recent ship purchases. Corvettes have been chosen because their crew of 65 is only a quarter of a frigate's complement. (Christian Science Monitor, May 8, 1972)

WEST COOPERATION TO INCREASE

The Christian Science Monitor carried an article on May 8 by Paul Dold describing South Africa's naval strength and strategic importance. He cited: the 33 vessel navy with three president-class anti-submarine frigates built in Britain; plans for six new guided missile corvettes to cost about \$14 million (R10m.) each; improvement of base facilities at Simonstown and Durban. Dold pointed out South Africa's propaganda campaign to make the most of Russian ship movements around the Cape and the increasing sympathy of Western countries. He says that "while a degree of covert cooperation between South Africa's defense force and friendly Western powers already exists, South Africa's growing geographic importance seems likely to extend such cooperation, despite the stigma of apartheid."

S.A. COMMENDED

The editor-in-chief of NATO's official publication Fifteen Nations, has commended South Africa. Dutch General H.J. Kruls placed his views in the South Africa Foundation's journal South Africa International, July, 1971). He wrote that granting the same rights to all races at short notice would lead to chaos and "quickly bring South Africa under the influence of Communist powers." Kruls argued that "it is not South Africa which has to go on its knees to ask for ships and weapons and support, but the countries of NATO that must ask South Africa to do its utmost to maintain its position on the African continent and to assist the countries of Western Europe and North America not only to keep the sea lanes open, but to prevent further penetration into African countries." (XRAY, London, Sept, 1971).

STUDENTS



DEMONSTRATOR hurls back a gas canister at police outside Cape Town's St George's cathedral

DEMONSTRATIONS, STRIKES,

TEARGAS and VIOLENCE

Turfloop, a university for African students, was closed in the first week of May, following a huge sit-in strike in support of Mr. Abram Thiro, the student leader who was expelled for making a militant speech at the university's graduation ceremony.

In his speech Mr. Thiro attacked the whole Bantu Education system, scorned the advisory council, belittled the Dean of Students, and called certain black lecturers "Black Whitemen". He received a thunderous applause from the audience of students. (Johannesburg STAR, May 6, 1972).

Police sealed off the university, and white pressmen attempting to enter the campus were intercepted and ordered off the campus.

Professor Boshoff, Rector of the University, said students would have to reapply for admission, after their

parents had been contacted by the university authorities, and that each application would be reviewed individually, but Mr Thiro would not be allowed back. SASO (South African Students Organization, an all black organization) had called for the establishment of a fund to help expelled Turfloop students. (Johannesburg, STAR, May 13, 1972). Latest reports say that 22 students were refused admission—an action which led the students to pack their bags and leave again. (Weekly STAR, June 10, 1972).

The whole incident was followed by a mass student boycott of lectures at the Coloured university of the Western Cape, to protest the expulsion of students at Turfloop. The decision was made at a mass meeting of students, where a motion calling for a boycott was unanimously adopted. Over two-thirds of the students joined the boycott. Some students attended lectures because of a threatening letter by university authorities calling on students to disregard the motion. Other

students had to write examinations. Students flouted the banning of SASO by inviting the President of SASO to address them on campus.

The strike by Coloured students was the first mass walkout in the schools history. (Guardian, May 11, 1972).

Demonstrations and actions of support followed at other universities. At the black section of the University of Natal, the entire student body has been boycotting lectures in support of the expelled students.

A protest held in Cape Town organized by University of Cape Town students with over 10,000 participating, resulted in violence when police tried to break up the demonstration. Police went storming into St. George's Cathedral dragging victims from the altar by their hair, flogged them in the nave, chased them round the baptismal font shouting obscenities all the while. A number of students were seriously hurt and tear gas was used to disperse the crowds. (Johannesburg, Sunday Times, June 4, 1972).

Several journalists had their cameras confiscated and the films stripped out, and some reporters were assaulted by the police. (Sunday Tribune, June 4, 1972).

Senator Piet Swanepoel saw a special police truncheon instruction lesson on the lawns behind Parliament some time before the clash. The minister of Police, Mr. S.L. Muller said the police showed great tolerance. (Star, June 3, 1972).

Further demonstrations followed throughout the country on the Monday following the incident: In Cape Twon the Dean of the Cathedral, Very Rev. E.L. King, his wife, two other clergyman and twenty students were arrested. Outside St. Mary's Johannesburg, 28 students were arrested. In Durban, students burnt an effigy of a policeman in front of the city hall. The ML Sultan Technical College (Durban) suspended 300 students who stayed away from lectures. 400 students of the University of Durban Westville defied an appeal from the parents committee to return to lectures. 500 University of

Zululand students continued their boycott of lectures in support of Turfloop, and 1000 University of Stellenbosch students signed a petition condemning the police action on Friday. (Johannesburg, Rand Daily Mail, June 6, 1972).

In Parliament, the Prime Minister said there were people trying to take over the government unconstitutionally. This must be smothered, and if necessary to do so with force, the government would do so. The government would not hesitate to eradicate the people behind the unrest. "I associate myself fully with the police and I stand on their side." (Die Transvaaler, June 6, 1972).

Protests spread to teachers training colleges. A teach-in of Indian students at the Transvaal College of Education was interrupted by the Rector who told them they would all be suspended. 300 students at TCE (Johannesburg) went on strike. Springfield College of Education suspended 500 and 800 non-white students in Durban were suspended. At Rhodes University (white) 300 students were arrested for going on an illegal march in Grahams-town. They later paid fines of over \$8,000.

On Wednesday June 7, the government banned all political gatherings, processions and protests in every university town and city throughout the country. Actions have not been stopped though:

2,000 University of the Witwatersrand students attended a mass meeting and invited displaced students to attend Wits. More than 3,000 students handed out 50,000 pamphlets to the public in Cape Twon about the horrors of the education system in South Africa. About 2500 people attended a rally in Cape Town City Hall.

Police baton-charged students defying the ban and taking part in an illegal demonstration on the campus of Wits.

The Dutch Reformed Church moderator has pledged its full support to the government and the police in their actions against students recently. (Weekly Star, June 10, 1972).



DEMONSTRATION BROKEN UP: Policemen stopping protest marchers in Johannesburg

INSIDE NAMIBIA

STRIKERS DETAINED—POLICE ACTION IN OVAMBOLAND CONTINUES

S WAPO (the South West African Peoples Organization) estimates [based on its sources inside Ovamboland] that since February approximately 900 strikers have been detained. The South African Minister of Police admits that 213 people have been detained, of which 83 are still being held. These detentions have been made under the emergency regulations proclaimed by the Government on Feb. 4. The regulations make it an offense to do anything likely to subvert the authority of the State or the Ovamboland Bantustan Authorities. No one arrested under these regulations is allowed access to legal representation.

One man who was part of a group of demonstrators who met U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim at the airport near Oshakati on his visit to Namibia in March, was sentenced on April 10 to a year's imprisonment for carrying a placard saying "Vorster must quit Namibia." There is still a complete blackout on all news from Ovamboland and it is impossible to know the real extent of the vengeance the South African authorities are taking on the strikers who are remaining in the North and still refusing to go back South to work.

SWAPO has been informed that one man was killed and nine others tortured after police broke into a house near Oshakati on April 6. The whereabouts of two other men who were in the house is still unknown. According to police allegations these men were planning to kill the Commissioner General for the Indigenous People of South West Africa, Jannie de Wet, as well as some South African-paid chiefs.

(Anti-Apartheid News, May 1971)

REPORT SAYS NO BASIC CHANGE IN CONTRACT LABOR SYSTEM

The South African Institute of Race Relations has compiled a 34-page report about the Namibian contract labor system that probes the background of the strike. The report concludes that the concessions made by the South African Government and contract employers in the

January agreement are inadequate. In essence the contract labor system remains intact, which is what the strikers were rejecting.

— The U.S.-based Newmont Corporation's South West African subsidiary is the largest single employer of Ovambo contract labor and hence could alter the whole spectrum of wages. Yet Newmont, paying a minimum monthly wage of \$24, lags behind the South African De Beers diamond mines interests in Namibia with \$43.70 as its lowest wage. Newmont employs 5,000 Ovambos, who represent 40 percent of the black contract workers in the mining industry and a large slice of the 43,000 total employed in all sectors. Because of the Ovambo strike beginning in December, De Beers and Tsumeb (made up of Newmont and American Metals Climax combined) raised the minimum wages for blacks to their present levels. A Christian Science Monitor survey shows that even the prestrike De Beers minimum black wage for a "raw recruit" was almost double that of Newmont's. Comparing the prestrike and post-strike labor contracts, the Institute report concedes some improvements. But most of the worst features of the old system remain: low wages, residence compounds, separation of families, and restrictions on mobility.

The report says that in both South Africa and Namibia the apartheid system involves continuation of the contract labor. So the strike is more than a labor dispute. The policy of apartheid itself is at stake. The report describes the compounds as one of the most hated aspects of the contract labor system. "Why must Ovambos stay in a compound? Why must we sleep on concrete beds? They freeze our blood at night and you get sick. When I go to the compound I must produce my card that I belong there. Why? If I lose my card I must pay \$23.18 for a new one. Where do I get the money if I get paid \$.17 an hour? It is a whole month's pay," an Ovambo told researchers. Mr. Kane-Berman, an Institute research assistant, says, "The most important result of the strike was its effect on the black political consciousness. The Ovambos are now aware of their power."

(South African Institute of Race Relations Report)

SOUTH AFRICA USES BLACK TROOPS IN NAMIBIA

In May 1972, black South African police, heavily armed were being airlifted into the strategic Caprivi Strip to fight shoulder to shoulder with whites in the struggle to blunt guerilla attacks on South Africa-administered Namibia (South West Africa). This is an unprecedented departure from South Africa's policy never to arm African police. The first two platoons of black forces have been flown to the South African air base of Katimo Mulelo on the Zambian border. The airlift marks a bid by the South African government to strike a psychological blow against the black freedom fighters coming into Caprivi.

The black policemen under the command of white officers, reflect the growing strain which policing the borders places on white security forces. The police patrol 4,000 miles of border and 3,000 miles of coast. The police force numbers about 18,500 whites, 13,500 blacks, 1,400 Coloureds and 700 Asians.

The North East border of Caprivi, a narrow 400 mile long finger jutting out from Namibia, is the most dangerous frontier which South Africa defends.

The South African government claims black guerrillas use staging camps in Zambia for raids south into Caprivi.

The few roads in Caprivi give guerillas a good chance of striking a police patrol, and small mines in the sandy tracks are undetectable. Already the toll is 6 policemen and 21 injured.

Caprivi is still a sealed off area. No one except government officials are allowed in, and they are sworn to secrecy. South Africans learn little of what is going on, apart from intermittent announcements by government spokesmen of land mine explosions in this corridor. (Christian Science Monitor, May 11th, 1972)



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD IN BRUSSELS ON NAMIBIA

Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization) the liberation movement of Namibia, spoke before representatives from 80 countries and thanked the King of Belgium and the Belgian Government for their help in organizing a major international conference on Namibia. "It is a clear demonstration of their sympathy for the struggle for freedom and national independence," he said. The conference was formulating plans for international pressure and action to press South Africa to withdraw from the territory of Namibia which it occupies in opposition to the United Nations and an advisory opinion of the World Court.

Several blocks away from the Brussels meeting hall were the headquarters of NATO and the European Economic Community, neither of them particular friends of armed struggle in southern Africa. And of course Belgium itself was part of the scramble for Africa and until recently was a major European colonial power on the continent.

Yet the times had changed and now the old colonialist, Belgium, desired to show the world a new face. It was joined in that desire by forty other governments represented at the conference and by numerous unions, churches, organizations and individuals—all of whom were meeting to discuss ways of gaining independence from South Africa for Namibia.

And so it was with a sense of irony that delegate after delegate from Africa rose to support armed struggle in Namibia with a preliminary word of congratulations to Belgium for sponsoring this conference. Twelve heads of state were also listed as patrons of the conference.

The problem of Namibia is at once simple yet complex. It is a fact, plain and simple, that South Africa is illegally occupying the neighboring territory in defiance of the United Nations which has called for its complete independence and an interim administration by the United Nations Council on Namibia. It is a fact, plain and simple, that South Africa has extended its racist apartheid laws and policies to Namibia. It is a demonstrated fact, plain and simple, that the African people oppose this occupation and want their own government free of South African control.

The complexity arises in finding a solution. The Conference Declaration stated: "The status of the territory is no longer at issue. The problem of the world body is one of implementation." The white South African government has been adamant until now that South West Africa, as it calls Namibia, must remain in South African hands. Although the force of world opinion, such as it is, vocally opposes South African occupation, the Pretoria regime can scoff at United Nations resolutions and condemnations confident that the U.N. is not about to use military force to oust them. And in fact military force may be the only power that will rid Namibia of South Africa's presence. SWAPO the liberation movement, which has been fighting South African troops in the Caprivi Strip in the north of Namibia, maintained at the conference that "in the final analysis, armed struggle is the only solution." However any battle with South Africa, the strongest military power in Africa, will obviously be a long and difficult one. Therefore, SWAPO also supports other forms of international pressures on South Africa.

Assembled in Brussels was an international pool of fine brainpower to consider such campaigns. Discussion cen-

area on several topics—economic involvement in Namibia, the legal aspect of the Namibian dilemma, the political perspective.

The Political Commission stated clearly that the real issue for Namibia was not the elimination of apartheid but national independence. Nevertheless the Conference did condemn 1) the Bantustan policy which sets aside the worst 40% of the land for the African people while leaving the mineral rich land for the white minority, 2) discriminatory education, 3) the economic exploitation of the wealth of Namibia by foreign firms.

The Economic Commission contended that the economic wealth of Namibia was obviously one of the main reasons for continued South African occupation. The whole conference was unanimous in its applause for the recent strike by 15,000 Ovambo workers. The strike crippled a huge sector of the white dominated economy and signalled to the whites the real power inherent in a black labor stoppage. Strikes by blacks are illegal in South Africa and Namibia. True to form, the South African Government used troops to control the strikers and reports continue of police shootings of workers in Ovamboland where many of the strikers were forced to return.

Campaigns against companies investing in Namibia were encouraged including the use of boycotts, stockholder actions, etc. SWAPO made clear that foreign firms were plundering the wealth of Namibia and should be pressed to withdraw. At the very least the Economic Commission felt companies must observe Security Council Resolution 310 (1972) which calls upon them to "conform in their policies of hiring Namibian workers to the basic provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." AMAX and Newmont, two large American investors, were specifically mentioned. These companies own one of the major mines struck by Ovambo workers.

The Conference also went on record as opposing any agreement between South Africa and the European Common Market.

Behind the scenes of the whole conference was the recognition that delicate negotiations were taking place between South Africa and the U.N. over Namibia. The

smell of a sellout was in the air.

SWAPO and the conference made sure their position was clear. Only total South African withdrawal from the territory and black government for the whole of Namibia is acceptable. South Africa cleverly using the term "self-determination" to describe its establishment of Bantustans (reservations) tries to tell the world it too is for independence. However, the South African brand of independence is one which keeps 60% of Namibia and all Namibia's wealth in white hands. The Conference made clear its belief that Namibia could not be divided up on the Conference table in a 1972 version of the Berlin Conference division on Africa.

For SWAPO the conference was a major victory. Not only did the question of Namibia get major attention on an international platform with the participation of 40 governments, the Conference itself urged that any action affecting the future of Namibia should be with the participation and consent of SWAPO. Therefore SWAPO itself received a large measure of international recognition and support.

The role of the white Western powers in strengthening South Africa was not forgotten during the conference. The Conference noted that U.N. resolutions have grown more emphatic but permanent members of the Security Council block all meaningful action. In addition, the investments of multinational corporations commits the Western powers even more firmly to the status quo the Conference contended. This could lead to a confrontation between liberation movements and the Western powers it was warned.

A poster prepared specifically for the conference set the theme: "We Call upon the world to accept its responsibility for the liberation of the people of Namibia." Namibia, the Conference contended, is a unique situation—it is an international responsibility. The U.N. has claimed it must fall under U.N. jurisdiction. Therefore international politicking on Namibia is not interfering in the internal affairs of another country, but asserting the rightful authority of the nations of the world behind the trend to independence. The African people of Namibia have great faith in the U.N., however, many of them know the struggle will primarily be theirs.

LESOTHO: A SHOWDOWN OVER DIALOGUE

Confrontation between pro-dialogue Chief Leabua Jonathan, the Prime Minister and head of the ruling National Party in Lesotho and two opposition leaders, adamantly opposed to the chief's pro-South African stance, came to a head early in April at a meeting of the Council of Ministers. Prior to the meeting, Jonathan dismissed his British-born white police chief, Fred Roach, a man considered instrumental in maintaining Jonathan's reign, despite his failure to win a majority in the first election held in the former Crown colony in 1970. The Johannesburg Star predicted Roach's dismissal as a first step toward coalition government. (Guardian, London, Apr. 3 and 4, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 8, 1972)

Two weeks earlier, on the anniversary of Sharpeville, Chief Jonathan spoke in surprisingly harsh terms, according to the South African press, about racial discrimination in Southern Africa. Jonathan said: "The opposition to racism is escalating to a point where soon there will be no room for dialogue, and the victims of the system will see violence as presenting the only chance for the attainment of equality and freedom." (Star, Johannesburg, March 25, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS

GERMAN AMBASSADOR AND THE COLONIAL MENTALITY (LESOTHO)

In an interesting and revealing piece of historical research, the Democratic German Report (Oct. 6, 1971) dug up a paper written at one time by the present German Ambassador to Lesotho, Dr. Hans-Wilhelm Lipoldes, on a seemingly innocent subject: "The Javanese Sugar Industry." A few quotes will suffice.

"The colonial territories, with their cheap and

undemanding labor force... can develop fully with the aid of European initiative."

"What is the attitude towards the aim and justification for the colonizing activities of the white race?... This must be regarded undoubtedly as the acquisition of material goods."

BOTSWANA: EXPULSIONS, AND BRIDGES TO BLACK AFRICA

In January, the Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1972) reported that 13 Zimbabweans, said to be associated with ZAPU and ZANU, were ordered to leave Botswana for lack of proper permits. In April, the Guardian reported a two-day meeting between Zambia's President Kaunda and Botswana's President Sir Seretse Khama at Livingstone, to discuss ways and means of reducing Botswana's dependence on South Africa. In particular, the two leaders discussed the U.S.-financed, 200-mile highway to be built from Francistown to the four-cornered border at the Caprivi Strip. At present, Botswana remains part of the South African Customs Union, using South African currency, and relying on employment in South Africa's mines for many of its people.

SWAZILAND: ONE PARTY RULE?

The Star (Johannesburg, May 6, 1972) reported that "informed sources" had indicated a possible move towards one party government after general elections to be held in the middle of May. The move would be made by the ruling party, the Imbokodva National Movement, which holds virtually all seats in the Swazi Parliament. The article reports the Swazi King and Prime Minister as both opposing such a move, unless the opposition poses a serious threat, say six of the 24 seats at stake. 117,000 persons were expected to participate in the election, may for the first time.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA ACCUSES SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

President Kaunda was recently speaking before the Lusaka Press Club at a dinner on May 10. He took the opportunity to deliver a strong denunciation against South Africa and the provocative statements recently delivered by officials in Pretoria against the Zambian government, (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, May, 1972). Kaunda stated: "South Africa is at this moment carrying out the most vicious campaign against Zambia through the press." He said the purpose of the attacks was "an offensive to bring down the Zambian Government." Kaunda continued: "Having exhausted every other method to try to dislodge the United National Independence Party and Government... they are beaming propaganda to try to influence opinion among Zambians." (London Guardian, May 12, 1972).

MULLER THREATENS ZAMBIA

South African Police Minister S. L. Muller sent a strongly worded warning to Zambia, after a South African sergeant was killed by a mine in the Caprivi Strip, and a train derailed near Polgietersus killing 38 and injuring 174. Muller attributed the derailment to "saboteurs," and warned President Kaunda to "take notice of the mounting impatience in South Africa over the activities of terrorists who operate from Zambia." Zambian Foreign Minister

Elija Mudenda rebuked the threat, telling the South African Government to "mind its own affairs," adding that "South Africa should solve its problems by ensuring there was justice within its borders." (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 8, 1972)

DAM FREES ZAMBIA FROM RHODESIAN DEPENDENCE

Zambia announced plans for a giant hydroelectric dam, worth \$43 million, to be built south of Lusaka on the Kafue River. The plan will go ahead, despite the poor state of the economy, due to low copper prices. Electric power from the dam will sharply reduce Zambian dependence on the Kuiba dam, which straddles the Rhodesian-Zambian border on the Zambezi, thus alleviating the threat that the Smith government might cut off power supplies. (London, Guardian, March 16, 1972)

MALAWI: FOUCHE VISIT

South Africa's President Fouché, accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller, arrived in Malawi on March 17 for a week-long state visit. The good-will team was greeted by Malawi's pro-dialogue chief of state, Dr. Hastings Banda, as thousands of women and schoolchildren lined a motorcade. Fouché's visit was planned as a followup to Banda's historic visit earlier this year, the first from an independent African head of state on apartheid soil. Likewise, Fouché's visit set the precedent for the white regime visiting black Africa. In return for doing business with South Africa, Malawi is receiving millions in economic and social aid. (Guardian, London, March 18, 1972)

One week later, President Banda commented on a series of ambushes carried out by FRELIMO on vehicles traveling from Mozambique through Malawi. He labeled the reports as "invention of the press" (Facts and Reports No. 516), despite an estimated 3,000 refugees reported to be fleeing from Portuguese retaliatory raids in neighboring Tete province (Africa Digest No. 336, February 1972). The Times of Zambia (March 28, 1972) reported many Europeans choosing to fly from Mozambique to Rhodesia, thus avoiding the risks of FRELIMO mines.

Warm welcome for Fouché.



AT THE UNITED NATIONS

APARTHEID COMMITTEE HOLDS SPECIAL SESSION ON POLITICAL ACTION

The Committee on Apartheid held a special session through March 23 to consider means of intensifying the international campaign against apartheid. Representatives of liberation movements, anti-apartheid groups, and individuals were among those who testified. Mr. Abdul Minty of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement stated that the anti-apartheid campaign had to be seen as political, that the basic struggle was one of power, and that the UN must choose sides, that the arms embargo should be discussed in the context of support for the liberation movements. The aim of the UN should be to try to prevent external entanglements with South Africa. Mr. Minty pointed to the moves to bring South Africa into a Western defense agreement, the French role in supplying arms to South Africa, and the increasing economic links with West Germany and the UK. He expressed the fear that the Western Powers would become allies of South Africa and place themselves in direct confrontation with African liberation movements.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the World Peace Council stated that one should not be deluded by so-called reforms in South Africa. If the Polaroid Company was really interested in change in South Africa, he said, they would insist that the African majority have the right to vote and to travel freely.

David Sibeko of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa criticized the Western powers and other states, including Israel and Japan, for aiding the Pretoria

regime. He said that the UN could create a liberation committee, similar to that of the OAU. (U.N. Press Release GA/AP/262, March 22, 1972; Press Release GA/AP/271, March 21, 1972)

AFRICAN APPEAL ON ENVIRONMENT TO UN CONFERENCE AT STOCKHOLM

Representatives from eight African countries after a four day meeting in Dakar, Senegal issued a statement on April 13th proclaiming a right to demand "full compensation and reparations" for any exploitation of their natural and human environment, the position to be taken to the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment at Stockholm. The statement and guide-lines were to be sent to the member countries of the OAU in preparation for the June conference. Africa's right to reparations and compensation for the "damage and pillage" of natural resources by colonial powers was proposed by the Algerian delegation and unanimously approved. The document stated that protection of the environment must be in integral part of any development policy and asked for a reappraisal of decisions that have led to exploitation and waste, unequal partnership, and rejected the use of the African as a "factor of production and cheap labor." The question of apartheid was raised along with other issues such as unequal mining concessions which effect the whole of Southern Africa.



DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE RECOGNIZES PAIGC

The U.N. Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization adopted a unanimous resolution on April 13 affirming that the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) was the only and authentic representative of the Territory." The Committee asked all States and specialized agencies and other bodies in the UN system to furnish PAIGC with the assistance it needed in the struggle for national liberation.

The Committee stated that the special three-man commission it had sent April 1-8 to liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau had established "beyond any doubt" that PAIGC exercised de facto control in the Territory. The mission members were from Ecuador, Sweden, and Tunisia and were accompanied by two staff members, including a photographer. The resolution called on Portugal to "put an end to acts of repression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and immediately withdraw all its forces from the Territory." It stated that some of Portugal's NATO allies continued to give Portugal military aid "without which Portugal could not pursue its policy of colonial domination and aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde."

The Portuguese had attempted to prevent the visit by force, in the hopes that PAIGC would be unable to provide security for the visitors. After the Committee

report, Portugal denied that the decolonization group set foot in Guinea-Bissau, alleging that the UN group taking a walk along the Guinea [Republic] border was in contact with exiles from neighboring "Portuguese Guinea. (U.N. Press Release GA/COL/12806Rev. April 1972; Nationalist of Tanzania, Apr. 15, Religious News Service, Apr. 18, 1972)

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND SOUTH AFRICAN GENOCIDE

The Human Rights Commission, noting that the Republic of South Africa is responsible for acts such as the "ill treatment of political prisoners and the like on racial grounds, the extermination... of members of a racial group, the killing of persons, deportation, slavery-like practices, and the ill treatment inflicted on freedom fighters," and is responsible for these acts under international public law or under the Geneva Convention and the peace treaties concluded at the end of World II to which South Africa was a party, recommended that the Commission should make specific proposals concerning a revision of the Genocide Convention to make "inhuman acts resulting from the policies of apartheid" punishable under that Convention. (U.N. Press Release HR/793, March 9, 1972)

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DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE ENDS HISTORIC MEETINGS IN AFRICA

The Special Committee of 24 completed on 28 April its series of meetings held in Conakry, Lusaka, and Addis Ababa. After a special 3-member mission of the Committee spent the week of April 2-8 in liberated parts of Guinea (Bissau), the Committee unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing the African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde (PAIGC) as "the only and authentic representative of the Territory." The Committee met in Lusaka, Zambia from 17-21 April where it heard representatives of nine liberation movements in Southern Africa and passed a resolution calling on all States, specialized agencies and other U.N. organizations to render all material and moral support to the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. It again reaffirmed condemnation of South African for its failure to withdraw from Namibia and condemned those who support in NATO the rethlessness of South Africa's suppression. It again condemned the failure and refusal of the United Kingdom to terminate the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia. It called upon UK to convene a constitutional conference of all leaders and national liberation movements representing the people of Zimbabwe. (UN Press Release Col/1289, May 1, 1972; Standard, Tanzania, April 22, 1972.)

The Committee while in Lusaka also heard complaints from Pres. Kaunda of the violation of airspace over northern Zambia by Portuguese aircraft which followed 10 days after air attacks on villages in Tazania. The Committee condemned Portuguese continued aggression. The Portuguese government denied that any members of the Committee had spent time in its colonial province of Guinea (Bissau), saying the Committee members had been duped. (International Herald Tribune, April 14, 1972.) This is the first time in UN history that members of the Committee officially visited territory over which a member state claims sovereignty without the state's official permission. The UN General Assembly approves the recognition of the P.C. it will aid as well the Angola Liberation Movement (MPLA) and the Liberation Front of Mozambique (LIMO) which exercise effective administrative control over large areas of these Portuguese occupied territories, and could open the way for UN agencies such as UNICEF, WHO, and UNESCO to establish direct relationships with the liberation movements controlling areas of colonial territories. (The African World, April 30, 1972.) A UNESCO team and a Danish emissary have recently completed visits to Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of the Congo, to establish the educational needs of the area. The UNESCO team was led by its representative in Addis Ababa, Eric Armerding. Peder Sidelmann, Gen. Sec. of the World University Service, Danish Branch took part in the visit to an MPLA center in Dolisi, in southern Angola. The Danish Foreign Minister, Knud Anderson met with Pres. Agostinha Neto in Lusaka recently and advised him that Denmark intended to give direct aid to African liberation movements.

U.S. SENATE VOTES TO CONTINUE VIOLATION OF U.N. SANCTIONS

A New York Times editorial (Wed. June 7, 1972) states that the U.S. has dealt another blow against an effective U.N. when on the basis of spurious arguments of Sen. Harry F. Byrd and others, the Senate voted in effect to require a continuation of the breach in sanctions against the white racist rulers of Rhodesia. "This makes the U.S. an international lawbreaker, an offender not only against a Security Council decision but against the U.N. Charter itself." The Times accused the Nixon administration of hypocrisy in verbally supporting Sen. McGee's (Wyoming) attempt to return the U.S. to the side of international law but refusing to take the minimal necessary action to see that the vote was supported. After his amendment lost by four votes, Sen. McGee said: "The time has come when the African nations no longer accept doubletalk and hypocrisy from this country as it concerns their vital interests and needs." Either we believe in their aspirations or we don't or we don't. Either we believe in the United Nations or we don't. We cannot have it both ways." "It would be comforting," states the Times, "to believe that these words had impact on forty senators who had just voted to tarnish the honor of the U.S. for a supply of excess chrome and the preservation of white minority rule in Rhodesia."

Prior to this vote 35 national leaders at the conclusion of a four-day conference on U.S. policy toward the U.N. criticized the Nixon administration's attitude toward the world organization. An 18 page report of the exhaustive discussion of U.S. policy toward the U.N. appealed for fundamental change in our foreign-policy priorities and condemned Congress and the administration for allowing imports of Rhodesian chrome. It also criticized U.S. refusal to pay dues to the International Labor Organization because of Communist influence in the ILO and Congress's rejection of the \$20 million appropriation requested by the Nixon administration to enlarge U.N. headquarters.

At the request of the Security Council's Special Sanctions Committee which noted that the 1968 embargo against trade with Rhodesia requires member nations to prevent use of their vessels or aircraft for such trade, Sec. Gen. Kurt Waldheim called on all governments to alert shipping companies against violating U.N. sanctions. The first cargo of Rhodesian ore was unloaded at Burnside, La. and was transported on an Argentine ship. Argentine Ambassador Carlos Ortiz de Rozas told the council that his government "would do all it could within the law" to see that further evasions of the sanctions did not occur. (International Herald Tribune April 12, 1972). The report also recommended that Governments examine cargoes from South Africa and Portuguese-controlled Territories to ensure that they were not of Rhodesian origin. (U.N. Press Release WS/554 May 12, 1972). ■

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

BRITAIN ACCEPTS 'NO' VOTE

The British Government has accepted a 'No Vote' by the African peoples of Zimbabwe. Reporting to the House of Commons on the Pearce Report which showed an almost unanimous African vote against the proposed Rhodesia settlement, Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home said that the Cabinet had decided 'to maintain the status quo and await an unidentified change of heart in Rhodesia'. He said: 'We feel that the best atmosphere for constructive discussion and advance will be provided if we maintain the situation as it is today, including sanctions, until we can judge whether or no an opportunity for satisfactory settlement will occur.' (The Times, London, May 24, 1972)

In his report Lord Pearce said 'We have reached the conclusion that the people of Rhodesia as a whole do not regard the proposals as acceptable as a basis for independence'. The report further pointed out that generally Europeans, Coloureds and Asians were favorable to the settlement proposals, but the majority of the Africans were against the proposals. Africans constitute 95% of the population, Europeans 4.5% and other 0.5%. The proposals for settlement agreed upon between the British Government and the Smith regime were conditional upon the British Government being satisfied that they are acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The Pearce commission was a British Government appointed body entrusted with the task of testing the acceptability of the proposals.

The Report claims that the commissioners had many chances to pay 'unpublicized visits' to farms, mission stations, factories and villages, besides the many big meetings publicized in the press. Among their many findings were:

- That the country was alive with political activity at the grassroots. It was clear that the proposals had been widely considered and discussed in many parts of the country

- That because of the detention of Garfield Todd, Josiah Chinamano and many other the commissions were 'compelled to infer that these detentions were an interference with normal political activities

- That because of the detention of Garfield Todd, Josiah Chinamano and many other the commissioners were 'compelled to infer that these detentions were an interference with normal political activities

- That the Chiefs performed their administrative duties in the Reserv' reasonably well', and some were accorded respect by their people but most were not informed enough to be a match for nationalist leaders. The commissioners concluded that most of the Chiefs cannot be said to be political leaders of their people. 'In fact the evidence is that some of them and the majority of their people regard their embroilment in modern national politics as a serious embarrassment

- That the African National Council formed only four months before the arrival of the Commission, was canvassing against the proposals in all parts of the country, whereas no other organizations seemed to reach most of the African areas.

- That most Europeans accepted the settlement proposals for economic reasons, that Rhodesia can thrive economically only after a settlement.

- That most Africans rejected the proposals because they did not accord them 'dignity, justice or fair opportunity.' Mistrust of the intentions and motives of the Government 'transcended all other considerations'. Apprehension for the future 'stemmed from resentment at what they felt to be humiliations of the past and at the limitations of policies on land, education and personal advancement'. A majority of Africans were convinced that the present governing party was committed to the 'perpetuation of white supremacy in Rhodesia'. Some believed that 'even if the present Government kept faith, the white electorate would turn them out and replace them by representatives and parties not committed to the terms'. (The Times, London, May 24, 1972)

'Naive and Inept'

In a broadcast Prime Minister Smith called the findings of the Pearce Report 'naive and inept'. He said it was the 'most irresponsible' of all the inquiries and reports conducted during the history of Rhodesia. Smith condemned the commissioners for 'spurning the help of all our experts when it came to planning and preparing the exercise'. He suggested that Britain would find it untenable to continue sanctions. Smith promised to rule with an even firmer hand than before. He assured the white electorate that 'we shall govern firmly and we shall not tolerate any attempt to disrupt the peace.' Smith also made it quite clear that there will be no further talks and his government is not going to implement the Report unilaterally.

South Africa's Prime Minister, Vorster, described the Report as a tragic shock. He indicated his concern for the security of Southern Africa as a consequence of the Report. The Conservative London 'Daily Express' emphasizes the fact that the door was left open by both the British Government and the Smith regime. The paper speculated that Douglas-Home was 'hoping for some reaction from the Rhodesia Government that will give the British Government an opening for a fresh bid for a settlement.' (Daily Express, May 24, 1972). The Financial Times, London, (May 24) pointed out that 'while sanctions must be maintained there is little that the British Government can do to strengthen them'.

RHODESIA: Let the Facts Speak

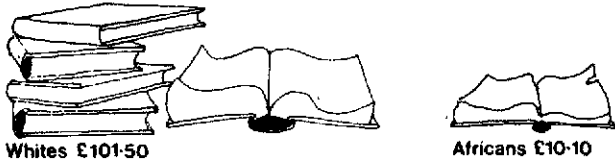
Land.

By the Land Tenure Act of 1970, land is segregated according to the racial group which may own it, as follows:



Education.

In 1969, per capita expenditure in schools was:

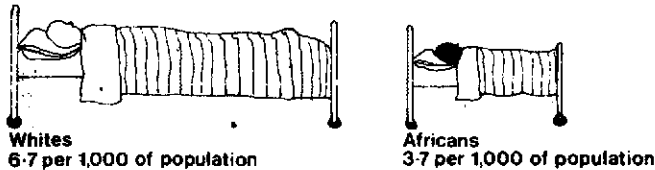


Legislature.

The Legislative Assembly, according to the Republican constitution approved in 1969, consists of 66 members. Of these, 50 are white, elected by white voters. 8 are Africans elected by a small African élite; and 8 are Africans appointed by the chiefs.

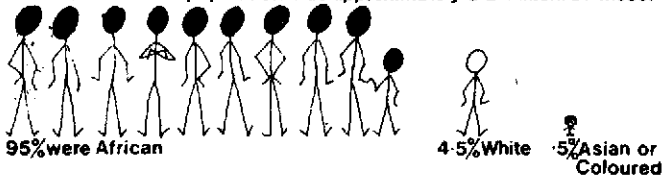
Health.

Allocation of hospital beds according to racial group in 1967 was:



Population.

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



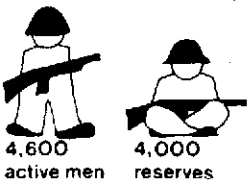
Defence.

In the fiscal year 1968-9:

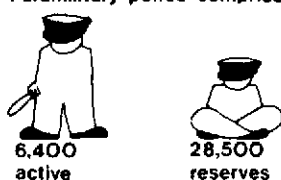


Armed Forces.

Armed forces consist of:



Paramilitary police comprise:



Just before the publication of the Pearce Report several white groups were already mounting pressure on Smith not to implement the settlement if the Report gave a Yes vote. The newly formed Democratic Party's leader Chris Philips said that the 'first principle was that the White man and his civilizations in Rhodesia must be preserved'. Leader of the United Front Len King threatened a second UDI if Smith implemented the settlement. All of them blamed the 'No' vote on the African National Council. An American rightwing group based in the South - The American-Southern Africa Council - called the riots in Zimbabwe earlier this 'the actions of teen-age hoodlums who seized the opportunity to raise a little Cain'. (Report from Rhodesia, March 16, 1972). According to Bishop Muzorewa, 31 people were killed in the little Cain, scores were wounded and hundreds were arrested. (Rand Daily Mail, February 6, 1972)

ANC Demands New Settlement

The African National Council sent a delegation to London to demand a roundtable constitutional conference to work out a new constitutional settlement. (Guardian, May 4, 1972). Foreign-Secretary Douglas-Home turned the request down. The report suggest that the government believes that Smith would not agree to another conference so soon. They do not address themselves to an agreement with the African people and other people who may be interested. The ANC has formed a Shadow Cabinet that could take over all the Government functions in the event of an agreement with the majority of the peoples of Zimbabwe. A spokesman for the ANC said their Government-in-Waiting 'has a spokesman for every ministry and a committee for research and policy formulation. We know more about running that country than does the present regime.' The delegation included the Deputy chairman of the ANC, the Rev. Canaan Banana, the Rev. Henry Kachidza and Ronald Sadomba. The ANC has expanded into a body of 55 officers assigned to various departments of a Shadow Government. A central executive of 23 makes the decisions. (Guardian, London, May 3, 1972). In a statement in London, leader of ANC Bishop Muzorewa said that Smith was a traitor who should not be allowed to sit at any constitutional table with the British Government. A release by ANC Publicity Secretary, Edison Sithole, said that if Smith turned down the constitutional conference idea Smith would 'go down in history as the white politician who betrayed white interests owing to political myopia'. (Guardian, London, May 10, 1972).

The only political group which seems to think that the proposed settlement should be imposed on Rhodesia either by the British Government or by the Smith Government is the Centre Party. A delegation of five Centre Party members led by leader Pat Bashford made a spirited case to Douglas-Home to disregard the 'No' vote and go ahead with the package deal. The delegation included two African Members of Parliament. Their view

is also supported by Albert Robinson, Chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment. He told a Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce meeting that the Rhodesia Government should unilaterally implement the proposed terms of settlement. He warned Rhodesians of the danger of the 'great political and economic divide' between black and white. He said that implementing the settlement would bring 'meaningful contact between the races'. He pointed out the danger in the disparity among the races in economic growth, population growth, unemployment and discrimination. (Rand Daily Mail, April 7, 1972)

Sanctions: The Great Spur

One of the Commissioners reported that 'the most forceful and determined support for the proposals came from people in commerce and industry....all industrialists, commercial managers and businessmen admitted that expansion was being prevented because of lack of capital while some even admitted that economic stagnation was a real threat if no settlement was reached. All made it abundantly clear that they believed a settlement could result in a tremendous surge of the industrial and commercial expansion from which all could benefit.' The British Government has indicated it will continue sanctions, but it would like to withdraw its token forces now patrolling the southeastern coast for sanction busters. The British Government will, however, not move all its forces fearing that some other nations could easily volunteer to take on the task, nations which could make it very uncomfortable for British firms that now bust sanctions.

One least remembered fact about sanctions is that Germany and Japan signed five-year contracts with Rhodesia just before sanctions came into force in 1966. They however promised to abide by the United Nations rule thereafter. Those contracts have just elapsed and Rhodesia has to find a new market for its minerals, the only foreign exchange earner after the fall of tobacco. Further trade with Germany and Japan can only be at a higher cost to Rhodesia, through middlemen. Rhodesia has learned in five years of this kind of trade with other nations that it is expensive and to its detriment. Rhodesia is therefore desperate for a new market under normal trade patterns

UNITED COMMAND FORMED

Treasurer of the Zimbabwe African National Union, Matuku Hamadziripi announced during his brief trip to the United States that a United Command of ZANU and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union) had just been ratified in Mbeya, Tanzania, prior to his departure for the US. The United Command followed talks at the OAU meeting in Benghazi, Libya, early this year. Two subsequent meetings in Dar es Salaam and Mbeya worked out the details for a joint military command, with ZANU's chairman Herbert Chitepo as chairman of the United Command and ZAPU treasurer Ziyapapa Moy, as the secretary of the Command. The military forces of the

two parties have already been integrated into one command, according to the reports, but political command will continue separately until a joint political meeting is arranged for in the near future.

At several meetings that he addressed throughout the United States, Hamadziripi said that liberation striking forces were now ready to move, but unlike in other parts of the world the Zimbabwe guerillas will move among the people of Zimbabwe. 'Our war will be fought in every hill and valley, on every farm and home and in the streets of every town', said the veteran nationalist. Hamadziripi is one of the founders of the nationalist movements in Zimbabwe and is one of the original Gokwe graduates. He was founder member of the African Youth League of 1955 which transformed into the African National Congress in 1957. He was detained at the banning of the ANC in 1959 and came back to organize full time with ZAPU and is now treasurer of the United Command. He was the signatory and chief spokesman for ZANU at Beghazi and at Mbeya. He is generally credited with bringing about the rapprochement between the two groups. (Press Release, April 24, 1972)

WORST DISASTER IN AFRICA

At least 426 African miners and 30 European miners were killed on June 6, in Africa's greatest mining disaster at Wankie, Rhodesia. Wankie is a coal mining town of about 20,000 African people and 2,000 Europeans. Almost everyone in the town lost a relative or friend following the explosion at No. 2 Shaft. All rescue efforts were abandoned the next day after subsequent explosions and the spread of gases throughout the mine. The mine has since been sealed. (New York Times, June 7, 1972) A Rhodesia writer for the NY Times (June 10) gave a rosy picture of mining conditions at Wankie which was typical of conditions for white miners, but did not include the conditions of the 80% African miners as reflected by the deaths. African miners get only 10% of what the European miners get in wages and everything else, although they are 80% of those who died. Like most Africans throughout the country they work under slave conditions and their survivors get a pittance after the death of their loved ones. Because of the bad conditions local Africans generally avoid jobs in the mines. It is estimated that 60% of the African who died were foreign, that is from Malawi mostly and Mozambique and Zambia. It is expected that the Malawian Government will demand better and safer working conditions for its people.

THREE out of the four racial groups in Rhodesia, white, coloured, and Asian, have overwhelmingly accepted the settlement. The main problem was that 90 per cent of the Africans didn't know what it was in aid of. - Mr Ian Smith.

PORTUGUESE

GENERAL SPINOLA KEPT ON

General Antonio Spinola was reappointed April 19 as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of "Portuguese" Guinea. He has since early 1971 been advocating a "better Guinea" policy which goes further than the declared policy in any of the other Portuguese colonies in accepting the legitimate aspirations of the people to retain their African identity and their own culture. His directives declared that Portugal's social policy in Guinea (1) had to be eminently African and (2) based on social realities but also that (3) it lay within the framework of the Portuguese nation. He feels that self-determination can well result in people choosing to be a part of a nation politically independent, but that in a case such as Guinea, the people should then have the right to determine the terms of their integration. (Financial Times, U.K., Apr. 20, 1972; U.N. Document A/AC.109/L.768, March 27, 1972)

MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The PAIGC communique for January-February 1972 reports 127 major operations, including explosives planted in Bissau, strong mortar attack against Catio airfield. Nineteen colonial trucks, four riverboats, and 112 Portuguese soldiers were reported destroyed.

The Portuguese claim to have turned back a major PAIGC drive near Catio, in which several hundred guerrillas were involved. Portugal claims to have killed 40 guerrillas and captured tons of arms and ammunition. (Daily Telegraph, U.K., Apr. 4, 1972)

ARMED FORCES AS ADMINISTRATORS

The entire "territory" of Guinea-Bissau, the district of Cabinda in Angola, and the district of Tete in Mozambique have been placed under military administration by Portugal, and since February 1971, six districts in Angola have been placed under a military governor. (U.N. General Assembly Document A/AC.109/L.765, March 24, 1972)

PORTUGAL "AFRICANIZES" HER COLONIAL WARS

According to the Portuguese Foreign Minister in 1971, the Portuguese have been steadily increasing the number of Africans in the militia and Portuguese armed forces until half of the troops fighting in Africa are now "NATURAIS."

The colonies themselves have also been assuming an increasing share of the cost of the wars, 33.7% of military budgets being met by the "territories" in 1970, and 32.3% in 1971, compared to 25.2% in 1967. One reason given is that both Angola and Mozambique have had higher rates of growth than Portugal. (U.N. General Assembly Document A/AC.109/L.765, March 24, 1972)

PORTUGUESE SECRET SERVICE AND C.I.A.?

It is reported that there are CIA persons serving as "special forces" instructors with units in Mozambique, that the CIA assisted the attempted invasion of Guinea-Conakry by Portugal in 1970, and that Portuguese secret service officers attend some training courses in the U.S. (E. H. Cookridge, "The Africa Dossier," in The Daily Telegraph Magazine, No. 377, Jan. 21, 1972)

MILITARY EXPENSE RISES/EXPENDITURE FOR DEVELOPMENT FALLS

According to the Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin (April 1972) and also, according to Costa Andre, Portugal's Secretary of State of the Treasury (U.N. General Assembly Document A/AC.109/L.765, March 24, 1972), increasing military expenditures have coincided with decreasing expenditures on development and maintenance of state service, though their statistics do not coincide.

From Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin:

	1960	1965	1970
Military & Security	28.7%	42.7%	43.1%
State Services	--	--	--
Development	28.2%	22.2%	22.8%

From C. Andre:

	1960	1961	1968	1969
Military & Security	--	35.6%	--	40.7%
State Services	--	--	--	--
Development	22%	18%	14%	15.2%

SUMMARY OF LOSSES REPORTED BY PORTUGUESE

Portugal's own communiqués for 1971 when added up indicate 841 Portuguese dead—250 in Guinea-Bissau, 259 in Angola, and 332 in Mozambique. Since 1971 they no longer indicate the wounded. (Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, April 1972.)

U.S. AND PORTUGAL

President Nixon when receiving the new Portuguese Ambassador to the U.S. stated that Portuguese programs of economic "development" have the full support of the United States. (Premeiro de Janeiro, Dec. 7, 1971) Rear-Admiral E. Crawford, Joint Chief of Staff for U.S. forces in Europe, visited Portugal where he had talks with Caetano's Defense, Navy, and Air ministers, Portuguese High Commands, and U.S. personnel in NATO Iberian headquarters in Portugal. (Premeiro de Janeiro, Jan. 13, 1972)

TWELVE PORTUGUESE ON TRIAL AS A.R.A. SYMPATHIZERS

April 13, 1972 twelve Portuguese went on trial in Lisbon, accused of acts of subversion and assisting the A.R.A. (Armed Revolutionary Action), and of being members of the Portuguese Communist Party (Standard, Tanzania, Apr. 15, 1972)

U.S. LOAN TO ANGOLA

In March 1971, the United States Export-Import Bank granted a loan of U.S. \$1.8 million to the Benguela Railway of Angola for the purchase of 10 U.S.-made (General Electric Corporation) locomotives and spare parts. The Bank will also stand security for an identical loan from Chase Manhattan Bank, thus providing 90% of the total purchase price. (Marches Trop. Apr. 14, 1972; Noticias e Factos, N.Y. Casa de Portugal, March 16, 1972)

PORTUGUESE REPORT USE OF HEAVY ARTILLERY BY MPLA

Portuguese communiques report MPLA forces shelled Miconje in Cabinda, the first attack the Portuguese have admitted in Cabinda since 1970. Other guerrilla activity reported by the Portuguese in January-February 1972 was in the Dembos region of the north and the areas of Moxico and Cuando Cubango Districts in the east. Shelling was also reported at Cangombe, Chiume, and Mussuma in Moxico and Dima and Lupira in Cuando Cubango. (Diario de Noticias, Lisbon, Feb. 13, 1972; A Provincia de Angola, Luanda, March 25, 1972)

An MPLA communique also indicated a rebellion organized by Angolan nationalist youths in Cabinda started on March 18 and resulted in 10 Portuguese being killed. (Times of Zambia, March 30, 1972)

WEST GERMAN JOURNALIST WITH MPLA REPORTS

Mr. Rolf-Henning Hintze of the Frankfurter Rundschau spent 17 days in Angola with MPLA. He reported that Portugal had ordered Africans they had forced into the Army to hack down cassava plants—less expensive than using herbicides and less subject to international wrath, thus depriving the people of food. He also reported attempts by the Portuguese to stir up trouble between UNITA and MPLA by airlifting UNITA people into MPLA zones. He indicated transport as a major MPLA problem and that even donkeys were a problem because their noisy braying attracted attention. (Standard, Tanzania, March 28, 1972; Times of Zambia, March 23, 1972)

PORTUGUESE DRY DOCK IN BAHRAIN?

A report in the Financial Times and the Agence France Presse (May 11, 1972) indicates that the Portuguese company Lisnave may be chosen to build a supertanker dry dock in Bahrain. This has special significance when one remembers the recent agreements of the U.S. with Portugal (on the Azores) and with Bahrain (on an American naval base there). Both are executive agreements signed without the consent of the Senate. These agreements, the use by American naval vessels of the ports of Luanda and Lourenco Marques, and this possible new Portuguese-Bahraini cooperation, point to the continuing integration of Western interests in the Indian Ocean and Cape Route, so crucial for supertanker oil transport.

MPLA DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS

MPLA reports 3,000 students in MPLA schools, six doctors, and 106 nurses and health aids, and 86 collective farming efforts in the year ending Feb. 4, 1972. Fifty-seven bridges were also built to aid in transport. (MPLA Informations No. 2.)

ANGOLA LABOR CONDITIONS REVEALED IN SECRET PORTUGUESE DOCUMENT

The Angola Comite of the Netherlands has published a confidential report prepared by Dr. Afonso Mendes, Director of the Labour Institute in Angola at the request of the Portuguese Government. Dr. Mendes was asked how the Portuguese Government could reduce the support that the Angolan population gives to the liberation movement. He itemizes one by one the real grievances of the people that make them susceptible to "enemy subversion" and then suggests ways Portugal might counter.

TEXACO NOW INVOLVED IN ANGOLAN OIL PRODUCTION

The Petrangol-Angol-Texaco "joint venture", with Petrangol as the operator, is planning to develop the off-shore oil field at Cabeca da Cobra, a little south of the mouth of the Congo (Zaire) River. Eight of the eleven wells drilled so far have proved productive with oil of low sulphur content. While some of the oil will be available for export, it is expected that most of it will go by tanker to the Luanda refinery. (Actualidade-Economico (Angola)

PORTUGUESE INTRUSIONS INTO ZAMBIA

Portuguese aircraft from Mozambique violated the airspace over eastern Zambia on April 17, three days after the incursions into southern Tanzania (Standard, Tanz, April 22, 1972) and a week later reportedly the Portuguese troops from Angola crossed into the Kalabo district of Zambia and seized a 20 year old villager who was fishing, picking him up by helicopter, and carrying him back into Angola. (London, Guardian, May 2, 1972).

The Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, has reported that Portugal plans "a preventive strike at guerilla bases" in Tanzania and Zambia, saying such a strike would be carried out with the support of South Africa and Rhodesia. The same paper notes that according to reports from Mozambique, Portuguese commandos and paratroopers are already concentrating in the Mueda area of northern Mozambique. (Daily News, Tanz. April 27, 1972).

EXPLOSIONS DAMAGE TRAINS

The engine and two cars of a train on the Beira-Tete railway line were damaged by an explosion near Mecito, 480 kilometers from Beira on April 21, 1972 (South African Press Association reported in Standard, Tanzania, April 19, 1972).

April 27, six days later, the engine and seven cars of another train were damaged in the same area by land mines (Daily News, Tanz. April 22, 1972) and again on May 12, the South African Press Association reported a derailment on the same line in the same area near the southern border with Malawi of nine railway cars. (Johannesburg, Star, May 13, and Daily News, Tanz. May 13, 1972).

Other recent activity includes: April 21, ambush near Necungas, 30 km. from Mecito, killing one Portuguese soldier; April 24 ambush on road between Tete and Malawi border, killing two Portuguese soldiers and wounding six according to Portuguese reports; and in May a lorry loaded with sugar factory machinery for Malawi was blown up on the Salisbury-Blantyre road through Tete province of Mozambique. (Daily News, Tanz. April 28 & 29; Sunday News, Tanz. May 14, 1972).

FRELIMO PRESIDENT SPEAKS ON PRODUCTION

At the beginning of the production cycle for 1971-72, Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, issued directives concerning the way production must be organized, its importance from the economic and social point of view, and its role in the political formation of militants. The whole text is in MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION No. 49. A brief excerpt follows: 'In the enemy zone, manual labor, the labor that creates everything, is for the poor, for the 'stupid'... The less a person works, the more educated he is, the less he works the more civilized he is, the more he exploits the labor of others and the more he is respected the higher his status in society...

'In our zone it is different... In our zone labor is a liberating activity because the product of labor benefits the workers...we are producing in our own interest. It is our interest to bring up healthy children, children free from disease, strong children free from hunger and rickets...

Our needs in clothing, footwear and soap can be solved in only two ways. One is to step up our exports, thereby enabling ourselves to buy more. The second way...is to produce these goods ourselves.... Our country, our cultivators, grow the cotton from which the cloth is made. Craft production of cotton cloth is within the realm of our possibilities. We have skins of cows goats, and many other animals, and such skins are used to make footwear. Craft production of leather and shoes is within the realm of our possibilities. We have the agricultural raw materials from which soap is made and experiments in Cabo Delgado prove that we are in a position to make soap.... 'Through work we are also becoming more united, cementing our unity... If I am from the north and learn how to make a kitchen garden with a comrade from the south, how to water the fleshy red tomatoes, or if I am from the center and learn for the first time how to grow

cassava with a comrade from the north, I am becoming more united with those comrades, tangibly living the unity of our country, the unity of our working class. With him. I am destroying tribal, religious, and linguistic Prejudices, all that is secondary and divides us. Unity grows united, cementing our unity... If I am from the north and learn how to make a kitchen garden with a comrade from the south, how to water the fleshy red tomatoes, or if I am from the center and learn for the first time how to grow cassava with a comrade from the north, I am becoming more united with those comrades tangibly living the unity of our country, the unity of our working class. With him I am destroying tribal, religious, and linguistic prejudices, all that is secondary and divides us. Unity grows with the growing plants with the sweat and intelligence we both mingle with the soil....

'Production is a school because it is one of the sources of our knowledge, and it is through production that we correct our mistakes. It is by going to the people that we both learn and teach the people. If our army did not produce, how would we have grown cassava in Tete when the people had no knowledge of cassava? If we had contented ourselves with making speeches about cassava, would cassava have grown? What better way of defending our production in Tete against bombing raids, chemical weapons and enemy incursions than diversification of production, introduction of new crops and crops which are resistant to enemy action?'

PRIESTS ON TRIAL BEFORE MILITARY

Four Roman Catholic priests, two Portuguese and two Spanish, are awaiting trial before a military tribunal in Mozambique for denouncing from their pulpits Portuguese army massacres of civilians in Mukumbura. All four priests have been kept incommunicado since their arrest four months ago and have been denied legal assistance. (London, Observer, April 30, 1972).

AMERICAN GROUPS REPORTED NEGOTIATING TO EXPLOIT FLOURIDE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Agence France Presse reported leading American metallurgic groups to be negotiating to take over exploitation of flouride mines in Mozambique. Other companies are also seeking prospecting rights in the Maringue-Canxixe area, known to be rich in flourides. (April 25, 1972).

DELEGATION FROM NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE (U.S.) VISITS MOZAMBIQUE

Marine Captain Joseph Prizza is heading the 31 man delegation from the National War College of America, which arrived in Lourenco Marques in April, to attend lectures on the political and military situation in Mozambique, also meeting the commander in chief of the Mozambican (Portuguese) armed forces, Kaulza da Arriaga. (Diario de Noticias, April 26, 1972).

FRELIMO 10th ANNIVERSARY

On June 25, FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front, will be ten years old. On the 25th of June 1962, the then existing political organizations as well as the clandestine nationalist groups in the interior of Mozambique having understood the need for unity as the fundamental weapon to liquidate Portuguese colonialism, decided to join in a single front. Three months later, the First Congress of FRELIMO was held. Two years after the Congress, on September 25, 1964, FRELIMO launched the armed struggle for national liberation.



MOZAMBIQUE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

A communique from the American Consul in Lourenco Marques to the American embassies in Lisbon and Pretoria in late November 1971 indicated that Mozambique's balance of payments improved in the first half of 1971 principally because of greatly increased transportation earnings, and to some extent also because of reduction in amounts spent by Mozambicans abroad and increases in both private remittances and capital coming into the "province." The 1971 overall Mozambique balance of payments deficit in the first half of 1971 was U.S. \$16.91 million. The same period in 1970 was U.S. \$34.92 million.

MILITARY ACTIVITY IN MOZAMBIQUE

Portugal claims it killed or wounded 258 FRELIMO guerrillas in the first three months of 1972, also destroying 182 guerrilla camps or hideouts in Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete regions. (Times of Zambia, Apr. 9, 1972) In late March the Portuguese created a Zambezi River port captaincy with responsibility for ports along the river and at its mouth, with headquarters at Tete, and responsible to see that the Zambezi remains navigable and defended on the route from Beira to Cabora Bassa. (Radio Johannesburg, English, March 27, 1972; Times of Zambia, March 29, 1972)

A FRELIMO communique on Cabo Delgado activity in February indicates a military plane shot down, the turning back of Portuguese troops and putting 77 Portuguese soldiers out of action. (Radio "Voice of Freedom" in Portuguese, March 20, 1972)

Radio Salisbury (March 21, 1972) reported that FRELIMO had sabotaged the rail link between Beira and Cabora Bassa on March 18, 84 miles from Beira. The engine, tender, and eight freight cars were damaged. The railroad functioned again after 48 hours. It was the 12th such attack on that line.

PORTUGAL ATTACKS SOUTHERN TANZANIA: TWO PLANES SHOT DOWN

Tanzania says the Portuguese attacked the village of Kitaya with 13 aircraft on April 14, and again with two aircraft on the 17th. One Tanzanian soldier was killed, and two of the 13 jet fighters were shot down. The Portuguese say Tanzania shot down one border patrol aircraft in Mozambique, and denied any request on a Tanzanian village. Tanzania will formally request United Nations "protection" following the incident. (Agence France Presse, Apr. 18, 1972; Times, London, and Standard of Tanzania, Apr. 17, 1972; Daily Telegraph, U.K., Apr. 18, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 15, 1972)

25 June
1962 - 1972

FRELIMO
10th anniversary

OAU CONFERENCE IN KAMPALA MILITARY LIBERATION EMPHASIZED

President Idi Amin of Uganda told the Liberation Committee of the OUA that a strictly military approach is necessary for the liberation of Southern Africa. He repeated his offer of Uganda as an OAU base and training ground for his suggested Pan-African High Command, and outlined the need for regional defence apparatus and the deeper involvement of Africa's military in the activities of the Liberation group. Secretary of the Committee, George Magombe said that the African states are to be asked to give more money at the next summit meeting in June in Rabat, Morocco, particularly for projects such as telecommunications and logistic centers. (London, Guardian, May 16, 1972).

The OAU plans to hold an international conference to support the victims of apartheid and colonialism in Oslo in May of 1973. It will be a conference of "experts" rather than government representatives. Invitations will be extended to various U.N. agency personnel and committee members, members of the OAU liberation committee and the African liberation movements recognized by the OAU. (Agence France Presse, May 11, 1972).

AFRICAN ACTIONS

Kenya students plan to raise funds for the liberation movements of Southern Africa, a response to a call by the International Student Movement for the U.N. (Nationalist of Tanzania, March 25, 1972)

In LAGOS, the NIGERIA COMMITTEE AGAINST THE EVILS OF APARTHEID conducted a meeting to commemorate the International Week Against Racism (March 18-27) at which the participants heard leaders from ZANU and PAC and viewed the film "End of a Dialogue."

FOUNDATION GRANTS \$8,000 TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) recently issued \$100,000 in grants to various groups and projects, and for the first time gave monies to several Southern African Liberation Groups: \$4,000 each to FRELIMO of Mozambique and the Joint Command of ZAPU-ZANU of Zimbabwe. In explaining its position, IFCO, a minority controlled foundation, explained that the grants not only "represent a recognition of the common nature of the struggle of our people at home and abroad," but also "an example of the role which we think foundations should take in social pioneering." "As a minority-controlled foundation, IFCO emphatically announced that there are significant and legal channels through which we can support our Brothers and Sisters in Africa."

IFCO has expressed solidarity with the struggle in Southern Africa and critiqued U.S. policy. The Chairman of the IFCO International Task Force visited liberated FRELIMO territory in 1971, and the grant to the Zimbabwe movements represents a focus on positive unification. Another donation of \$3,000 was made to the African Liberation Day Committee. The IFCO grants were made along with similar commitments by people at the Africana Studies Research Center at Cornell and several black churches in Norfolk, Virginia.

ACTION NEWS

IFCO also plans other programs related to Africa and America including a material assistance support system; the training for community organizers; education of Americans about Africa; a technical assistance program related to African government projects; and contract assistance and program planning for African liberation movement representatives.

In its statement IFCO said that their commitment to African liberation is "based on the firm belief that the struggle against violence--the violence of colonial oppression and a racism which violates all standards of decency and human dignity--requires of us a new unity and a rededication to the cause of human justice and liberation."

IFCO since its founding in 1969 has made \$4 million in grants to organizations involved in producing change in the United States's social, political, and economic relationships. (IFCO News, May 23, 1972).

EUROPEAN ACTIONS

In HOLLAND organizations including the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Defense and Aid Fund, Mondlane Foundation, Rhodesia Committee, and Angola Committee are joining with the Evert Vermeer Foundation to fund-raise for the liberation movements, including the ANC (South Africa, FRELIMO

(Mozambique), PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau), SWAPO (Namibia), MPLA (Angola), ANC (Zimbabwe), and the International Defense and Aid Fund. The grants will be made with "no strings attached." PAIGC plans to use the funds to buy trucks, SWAPO for its trade union work, and MPLA for educational purposes. (Nationalist of Tanzania, March 25, 1972)

The NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT has firmly united with its Scandinavian neighbors in a commitment to aid the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau with a grant of \$168,000. The Portuguese have condemned this and other grants as subsidies to "terrorism." (Diario de Noticias, March 26, 1972) The Portuguese have also urged retaliation against the Dutch coffee firms that terminated importing Angolan coffee in February. (Daily Telegraph, U.K., March 27, 1972)

The DANISH Foreign Minister in a Kenyan press conference said that his government's aid (\$910,000) to the anti-Portuguese movements would go directly to the groups for medical and educational projects. He also said he saw no contradiction between Denmark's NATO role and its aid to the movements as NATO per se does not deal with Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, March 25, 1972)

In ENGLAND, the Joseph Rowntree Trust, which created quite a stir last year when it decided to grant monies to FRELIMO work, has now moved to grant \$72,000 to PAIGC to help the movement's kindergartens, preparation of textbooks, and building more on the hospital at Zinguinchor in Senegal.

AND NOTES

The COUNCIL OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN ENGLAND has also urged its members to support the liberation movements fighting Portugal, as well as called upon the British Government to act through NATO and the UN to end all support for Portuguese suppression of the movements. (Guerrilheiro, March-April 1972)

After a meeting between the Presidents of RUMANIA and MPLA, it was announced that the Rumanian Government would increase its aid to the Angolan movement in the form of food, clothing, and scholarships. (Times of Zambia, March 28, 1972)

The GERMAN COMMITTEE FOR ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, and GUINEA plans to hold a "Portugal Tribunal" to protest and expose the sale of German arms to Portugal, most specifically Noratlas planes. (Sudd. Zeitung, March 23, 1972)

ENGLISH PROTESTS:

NEW OXFORD ENGLAND GROUP

A new organization, the Council on Southern Africa, has been founded in Oxford, England, whose membership is composed of Southern African exiles and sympathizers who plan to "use every means available...to defeat apartheid and political oppression in Southern Africa." (Johannesburg, Star, May 13, 1972)

CIVIL SERVANTS PROTEST

Personnel at a local office of the British Government's Department of Trade and Industry are pressing a motion at the next meeting of the Society of Civil Servants which calls on members to express their "disgust" with South African apartheid and "regret" at having to deal with the regime and businesses functioning there and in Namibia. (London, Guardian, April 21, 1972)

During March there were numerous Southern African-oriented actions in ENGLAND, including protests against the visit of Portuguese Foreign Minister Rui Patricio; a March 21 march and rally on the Zimbabwe question with demonstrations at corporate headquarters of ICI and Rio Tinto Zinc as well as at South Africa House and Rhodesia House. 90,000 signatories on a petition calling for no deal with the Ian Smith regime were presented to P.M. Heath. There was also a large meeting on Namibia where more than \$1,000 was raised for the strikers and the crowd heard Bishop Colin Winter who was recently kicked out of Namibia, Peter Katjavivi of SWAPO, and others. Forty representatives of 18 TRADE UNIONS IN ENGLAND also met at a Conference on Southern Africa in March. (Anti-Apartheid News, April 1972)

Four petrol bombs were placed in the South African Airways office in LONDON, which broke some windows but failed to start fires. (Star, Johannesburg, March 11, 1972)

DUTCH GROUP OPPOSES COMMON MARKET CONCESSIONS TO PORTUGAL

The Angola Comite has urged the Dutch Government to block Portugal's receiving any preferential tariff concessions upon joining the European Common Market. A recent report from the Market's European Commission called upon the EEC's Council of Ministers to consider certain preferences for Portugal's semiprocessed agricultural products. The Angola Comite argues that such preferences will simply provide Portugal with more revenue to enable prosecution of its colonial wars in Africa. (Standard of Tanzania, Apr. 19, 1972; Anti-Apartheid News, London, May 1972) In Lourenço Marques, the Dutch Consulate was pelted with 24 shots (none of which did injury). The Consul denied that the building had been stoned by people protesting the Dutch boycott of Angolan coffee. (Star, Johannesburg, Apr. 15, 1972)

STOCKHOLDER PROTESTS—LONDON STYLE

The Dambusters Mobilizing Committee had five members kicked out of the April 12 annual meeting of Barclays Bank. The group dominated the annual meeting and, according to the Guardian, Chairman Sir John Thompson almost lost control of the situation when constantly bombarded with questions and statements about Barclay's role in South Africa, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories.

Two women unfurled a banner saying "Barclays Supports Apartheid" that was seized by the company guards, while five people were arrested as they tried to challenge the chair's frustrated ruling that questions be limited to one per person. At the meeting Barclays announced it was no longer connected with the Cabora Bassa dam project (the pullout has been described by the company as a "non-event" because the contractor involved simply no longer wanted the bank's money). The people ejected from the meeting may seek legal action against the company. (Guardian, London, Apr. 13, 1972; Anti-Apartheid News, May 1972; Guardian, London, Apr. 2, 1972)

The annual meeting of ICI was also the focus of Southern Africa activity, when the Chairman attempted to defend the conditions of workers at ICI's South African subsidiary African Explosive and Chemical Industries. He described men's barracks in Soweto, a Johannesburg African township, as "clean and decent" but admitted he would not want to live there. He said ICI in Mozambique was only producing insecticides and "non-warlike explosives." The company failed to provide the questioning stockholders with information about its wage policies in South Africa. (Anti-Apartheid News, May 1972)

SOMALIA AIDS ZIMBABWE MOVEMENT

The Government of Somalia through its Tanzanian Embassy presented a land rover to ZANU, symbolic of the goal of the "total liberation of Africa." (Nationalist of Tanzania, Apr. 22, 1972)

BLACKS ASSAIL AZALEA FESTIVAL IN VIRGINIA AS SYMBOL OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

Norfolk, Virginia was the scene of one of the most dramatic protests in years. Black students and community people (including Old Dominion University, Norfolk State College, Southeast Region of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, and others) staged weeklong activities against the presence of Maria Teresa Sanches, the 21-year-old daughter of Portugal's Minister of Public Works and Communications, appointed Queen of Norfolk's annual Azalea Festival. For the last 19 years the festival has honored one of NATO's member nations. Norfolk is the headquarters of the international alliance's Atlantic Command where an international staff of 150 from all NATO countries coordinate its Standing Naval Force, with joint training, exercises, and strategy preparations.

As one correspondent phrased it, "Norfolk's annual Azalea Festival honors NATO and the Atlantic Command and the pagents are as closely allied as the nation's capital and its cherry blossoms." (Virginia-Pilot, Apr. 30, 1972) The choice of Miss Sanches as Queen (she is also reportedly the niece of the Prime Minister of Portugal, M. Caetano) enraged the black community and others concerned with justice, and they united in a series of protests against the symbol of sympathy for Portuguese colonialism. "Black Americans all across this nation are deeply incensed over the brutality, torture, and mass murder of our Black brothers and sisters on the Continent," said protest leader Dr. Milton Reid. (Open Letter from Dr. Milton A. Reid, Southeast Regional Director of IFCO, pastor of Cavalry Baptist Church to Maria Sanches, Journal and Guide, April 1972) The protesters picketed Miss Sanches' arrival at the airport and protested at the Azalea Festival formal luncheon attended by Secretary of HUD George Romney. Romney brought greetings from President Nixon hailing NATO as a coalition of the U.S.A.'s "most important allies" and complimenting the organizers on the choice of Portugal to honor. The actions, which involved considerable education of the Norfolk community about Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the U.S. and NATO role in aiding Portugal's conduct of the wars, culminated in a protest which took place on Saturday, April 29 during the Festival parade.

As the city government of Norfolk had not acceded to the demands of the community to repudiate Miss Sanches' role as Queen, 500 or more demonstrators prevented the Queen from remaining on her float. Already flanked by a police honor guard, the Queen's float tried to speed by demonstrators who had gathered along the parade route at an intersection. When the crowd with cries of "Mozambique will be Free" began to throw various items of trash and debris (reported by the press to be paper, tin cans, rocks, bottles), the Queen was removed from her float and escorted quickly back to her hotel. One protester was eventually arrested and charged by the police who broke up the gathering of black people. Also during the parade when members of the black Booker T. Washington band passed the reviewing stand, they showed their disapproval of the Queen by not playing their instruments and "slouching along," according to the irate Mayor of Norfolk. When the mayor expressed his outrage at organizers of the protest about the parade incident, Dr. Reid commented that the "damages would be appropriately laid at the feet of the mayor and anyone else who had anything to do with the gross insult done to some 20 million Blacks in America" by the Portuguese Queen's presence. (Virginia Pilot, Apr. 30, 1972)

The protestors handed out 50,000 leaflets during their week of action with the basic message being "Portugal out of Africa, NATO out of Norfolk." A local newspaper capsulized the feelings of the week: "At the same time that the NATO brass is wining and dining the Virginia politicians and businessmen in Norfolk, there will be napalm falling on the villages of several African countries - NATO napalm...." (African World, May 9, 1972). The single person arrested at the parade demonstration, Samuel J. Weston, a student at Norfolk State, has had his bail upped from \$1000 to \$10,000, and is charged with a felony of "throwing a missile at a moving vehicle..." A group has formed for financial aid to Weston. Contact: The Samuel J. Weston Defense Fund, P.O. Box 5603, Norfolk, Virginia 23516.

The Festival was admittedly "marred" by the vivid protests. It closed with an airshow tribute to NATO including Navy Tomcat and Phantom jets flying over the skies of Norfolk. (The New York Times, Apr. 30, 1972; Virginia Pilot, Apr. 28 and 30, 1972; Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Apr. 1, 1972; International Herald Tribune, May 2, 1972)



*Azalea Festival Protest:
Thumbs Down on Imperialism*

SUMMARY OF SPRING STOCKHOLDER ACTIONS

STOCKHOLDERS CAMPAIGNS

This year the annual stockholders meetings of a half dozen or so corporations proved an important forum for raising the question of U.S. business links with oppression in Southern Africa, as well as for a direct confrontation with top corporate managers. Increasingly, institutional investors with some modicum of concern with "social responsibility," began to consider their responsibilities as shareholders of large blocs of stock in companies investing in white minority regimes. Some of this concern has spread to a growing number of Protestant denominations, both nationally and locally, and to heavily-endowed universities and foundations. Additionally, the site of the annual meeting became the venue for a series of actions—pickets, leafleting, public debates, all of which provided an alternate agenda to the company's program. Here is a brief rundown on the various activities carried on at the annual meetings of some of these corporations in the spring of 1972.

Goodyear Tire and Rubber

Goodyear opened the season, holding its meeting very early in the morning, April 3 in Akron, Ohio. The American Baptist Convention, a substantial shareholder, filed the common "disclosure resolution" asking for a full report on Goodyear's activities in Southern Africa. (The disclosure resolution was formulated by the Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa, a coalition of various agencies within five major denominations coordinating institutional church efforts on stockholder issues. See SOUTHERN AFRICA, April and May, 1972) Goodyear accepted the resolution on its proxy materials, but opposed its adoption, arguing that disclosure would jeopardize Goodyear's operations in South Africa. Goodyear also refused various invitations to discuss the issue at any public forums.

Inside the meeting, Goodyear allowed a brief 15-minute discussion of the resolution, which was formally presented by a number of church representatives. Chairman Russell DeYoung then quickly ruled any other related questions "out of order," claiming that the matter was closed.

In its proxy form Goodyear enunciates its own philosophy toward business in South Africa, claiming that "the primary purpose of the shareholder in making his proposal is to promote social and political change in South Africa and in so doing may expose your Company to possible harassment, reprisals, and adverse publicity in that country. Over the years your Company has maintained and continues to maintain business operations in many countries, and it has consistently followed a policy of being a good citizen in each country where it is doing business and observing the laws of each such country."

Gulf Oil Corporation

This was the third successive year of stockholder protests about Gulf's operations in Angola, and payments to the Portuguese. This year Gulf held its meeting in Pittsburgh on April 25. At the same time as black students were occupying Harvard's administration building in protest against that university's Gulf holdings, Columbia University was announcing its sale of Gulf stock; blacks at Cornell marched on a local Gulf station,

and just after the national convention of Americans for Democratic Action officially endorsed the Gulf Boycott.

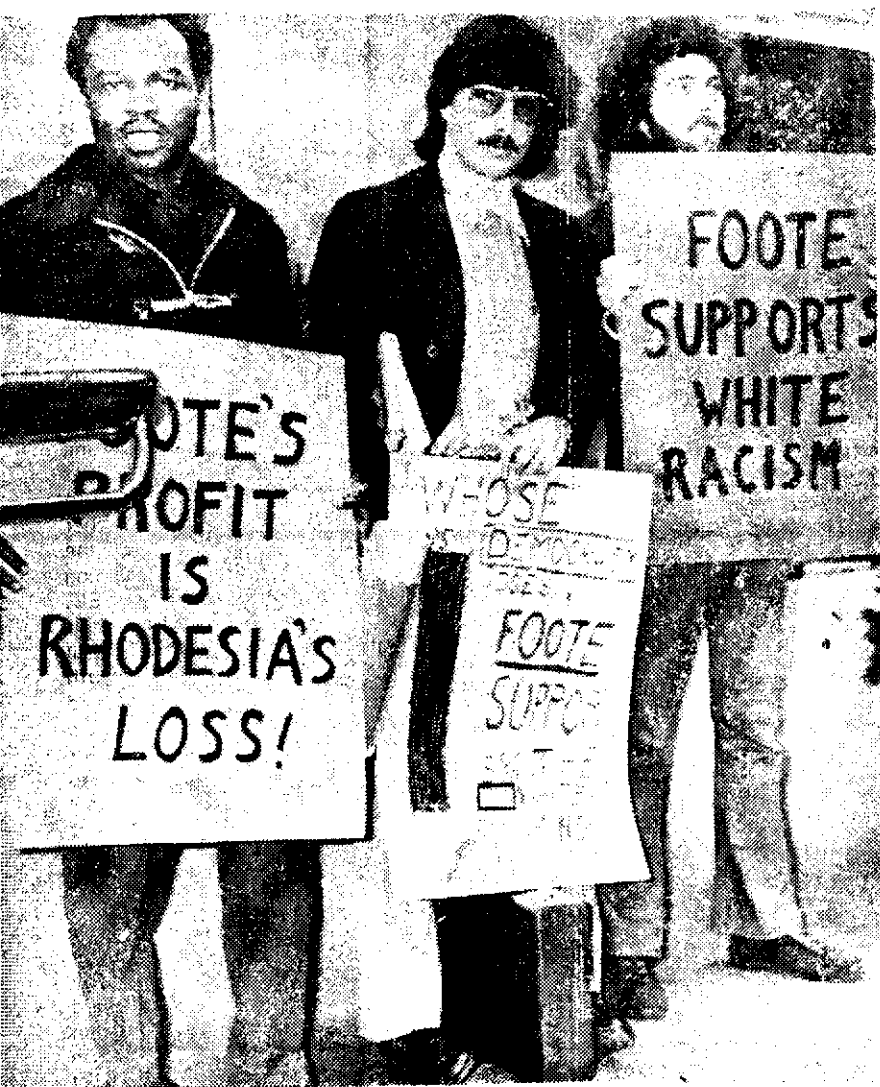
Directly outside and prior to the meeting, the Gulf Boycott Coalition sponsored a colorful "Liberation Celebration," which attracted about 50 persons, and numerous onlookers. The celebration was held around a five-foot paper mache Statue of Liberty being injured by the Gulf symbol sticking in its side. The statue was accompanied by two giant cartoons, portraying an Angolan burdened with a white cross, and Gulf pocketing Angola's money. Overhead, a giant helium balloon declared "Boycott Gulf," as stockholders were leafleted at the doors with the same message. The group celebrated through prayer the coming Angolan liberation, and sang songs with words specially chosen for the occasion, and recited poems. Tim Smith announced the "second annual Gulf award"—\$100 to be sent to MPLA. The celebration concluded as participants released about 100 orange and blue balloons with "Boycott Gulf," "Free Angola," and "Angola is a Mellon Plantation" emblazoned on them.

Inside the meeting, dissident shareholders began by challenging the unrepresentative and unresponsive composition of Gulf's all-white, all-male Board of Directors. Father John O'Malley of Pittsburgh, Eileen Hernandez of the National Organization of Women, and the Rev. Andrew Young of Atlanta were nominated as directors from the floor. (All lost of course, management holding virtually all proxies).

Next on the agenda, three church representatives—Rev. Harry Applewhite, International Affairs Director of the United Church of Christ; Ms. Pat Young, a member of the Southern Africa Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church; and the Rev. Lawrence Henderson, a former United Church of Christ missionary in Angola for over 22 years; along with Mr. Abel Guinares, an Angolan associated with MPLA—spoke on behalf of the disclosure resolution filed with Gulf by the Council for Christian Social Action on behalf of the U.C.C. church project. Gulf previously had lost its battle with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to delete the motion from the proxy statement and ballot.

Once that battle was lost, Gulf agreed to disclose all the information requested in a report to shareholders in June via its in-house publication, the Orange Disc. Ironically, however, Gulf recommended that shareholders vote "against" the disclosure resolution, claiming that the church's purpose was "harassment." Speaking against the resolution was a member of a UCC church in North Canton, Ohio who claimed to have undertaken an "independent study" of the issue, and arrived at Gulf's conclusions. In absentia, Ambassador Mamadu Thiam of the OAU sent a statement supporting the church on behalf of the OAU. Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, sent an "Open Letter" declaring "Just as I have spoken out against U.S. Government assistance to Portugal, I must similarly speak out against financial backing provided to Portugal through investments."

When the question and answer period arrived, a planted company stooge immediately jumped to a microphone and moved adjournment of the meeting, despite long lines of persons waiting to speak. Gulf Chairman B. R. Dorsey accepted the motion but found himself barraged by a clamor of outrage at such an underhanded parliamentary tactic. So Dorsey changed his mind, and accepted "one or two questions" before he could stomach no more.



200 protesters who joined the Congress of African People and other local groups in a demonstration outside the Barclay Hotel in Rittenhouse Square where the Foote Mineral Company was holding its annual stockholders' meeting.

Union Carbide and Foote Mineral Company

Carrying placards and chanting "One, Two, Three, Four; we don't want your racist ore!" and "Take the Chrome and Ship it Home," about 75 pickets marched outside the annual meeting of Union Carbide Corporation at the company's headquarters on Park Avenue, New York City on April 18. The pickets, including a number of Zimbabweans, were protesting Union Carbide's recent importation of chrome from Rhodesia in violation of UN sanctions. The group was led by the booming voice of Judge William Booth, former New York City Human Rights Commissioner and supported by Thomas Gleason, President of the International Longshoremen's Association of AFL/CIO, whose union had refused to unload the contraband ore when it arrived in Burnside, La.

Foote Mineral President Barrett defending his company in an earlier interview saying that Foote had employed 1,200 blacks in Rhodesia and that "if these mines were not operating, these people would have to go back to the bush." (Local Daily News, Westchester, Pa., Apr. 20, 1972)

Inside the meeting, a handful of concerned shareholders dominated over one-half of the two-and-a-half hour meeting with questions and statements on the chrome issue. The nomination of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, head of the African National Council of Rhodesia, for the Board of Directors, was disallowed on grounds that he was not a stockholder. Davis M'Gabe of Zimbabwe denounced Carbide's starvation-level wages and harsh working conditions, speaking as one who was brought up in the mining area. Lyle Tatum, a former missionary in Zimbabwe, and proxy holder for 1,980 shares held by the American Friends Service Committee, delivered a statement supporting UN sanctions on behalf of the Quakers, decrying the fact that "demonstrators led by an American judge were meeting outside, while the international lawbreakers were meeting inside." Other speakers included the Rev. Lucius Walker of IFCO-Action, and Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.), who exposed Carbide's lobbying activities on behalf of the Byrd Amendment, in conjunction with the "Liberty Lobby," and the Rhodesian Information Service.

Carbide's President William S. Sneath defended the importation, claiming that sanctions were being upheld "at considerable expense to stockholders, and

considerable benefit to the communist world" although Chairman F. Perry Wilson denied it. Sneath also claimed great benefits to Carbide's employees in South Africa, such as increasing wages, though the company refused to disclose the exact figures when pressed after the meeting.

Nine days later, the chrome issue was again raised at the annual meeting of Foote Mineral Company, held at the Barclay Hotel on Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia. A few days earlier, 200 black students and several professors, mainly from Lincoln University, picketed the company's offices in suburban Exton, Penna., and confronted company officials. Outside Foote's annual meeting, over 250 demonstrators marched around the square throughout the morning, accompanied by African drums. The group was mobilized by the Congress of African Peoples and the newly-formed Philadelphia Southern Africa Committee. Pickets chanted slogans such as "Zimbabwe—U.S.A, Foote makes profits and the people pay." Two persons carried a welded six-foot cross of chrome, and two others carried the Zimbabwean nationalist flag.

Inside the meeting, a small group of shareholders extended the meeting tie to almost three hours with a barrage of questions and statements. Congressman Charles Diggs denounced the company's hypocritical claim not to be supporting the Smith regime. Diggs quipped that the company had "put its foot in its mouth."

The nomination of Bishop Abel Muzorewa for the Board was disallowed because he "was not a U.S. citizen," despite Foote multinational activities. The nomination of Ms. Hilda Mamson, however, a black leader from Washington, did receive over 20,000 votes. Later in the meeting, CAP representative Richard Traylor introduced a resolution calling on Foote to sell its mine in Rhodesia to a committee composed of various Protestant church agencies dealing with investment questions. The motion was ruled out of order.irate stockholders later attempted to shout down the comments of a Zimbabwean attending

school locally. One stockholder cat-called, "Sit down, you're in America now." Foote management refused to divulge whether they planned any future shipments, but did admit that 100% of the recent shipment would be used commercially, not an ounce going for "defense" purposes.

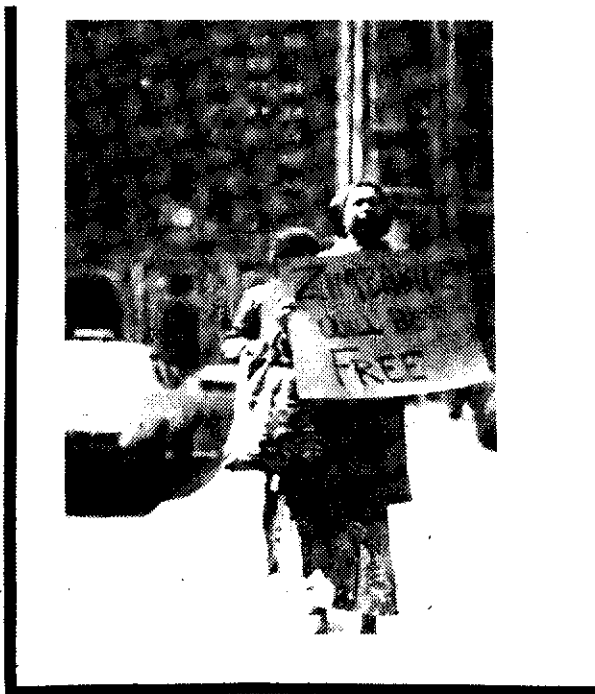
Newmont Mining and AMAX

Newmont Mining and American Metals Climax, 58% co-owners of the Tsumeb Mining Corporation in Namibia, held their annual meetings in Wilmington, Delaware May 1, and in New York City, May 4 respectively. The Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (based in New York) filed identical motions with each company, asking for a full disclosure of the companies' activities in Namibia and South Africa (the companies also co-own O'okiep Mines in South Africa.) Two other resolutions, requesting that the companies recognize the UN as the lawful authority in Namibia, and placing Tsumeb's profits in escrow, were disallowed by the SEC. Curiously enough, both companies chose to argue on their proxy statements that they had no choice but to deal with the illegal occupying power in Namibia, South Africa. At both meetings, Tim Smith of the United Church of Christ and the Southern Africa Committee placed the name of Judge William Booth up for nomination to the Board of Directors as "a person who would be sensitive to the interests of African workers." (Judge Booth has just returned from a visit to the trial of 12 striking workers in Namibia. See SOUTHERN AFRICA, May, 1972.)

Newmont officers came under intense questioning on three of their operations, Tsumeb (managed by Newmont), O'Okiep (58% owned and managed by Newmont), and Foote Mineral (Foote is 32% owned by Newmont, while three Newmont officers sit on its Board of Directors). Numerous questions came from Ms. Barbara Rogers, a former British FSO on Namibia. Rev. Donald Morton, former Methodist minister serving O'Okiep and recent South African exile, made an impassioned speech deploring the working conditions and starvation wages paid to African workers. Morton also opposed the re-election of Mr. David O. Pearce to the Newmont Board of Directors. Pearce was formerly the manager of O'Okiep whom Morton said was widely cited by African workers as a "cruel and racist boss."

In a parliamentary maneuver that topped the outrageous moves by Gulf's President Dorsey, Newmont's Chairman Plato Malezemoff adjourned the meeting without even allowing presentation of ECSA's motion. Only after a very strongly-worded protest was lodged by Dr. Howard Schomer, representing approximately \$2 million worth of Newmont shares held by the United Church of Christ, did Malezemoff "reconvene" the meeting. Schomer moved the disclosure resolution, and read a six-page statement challenging Newmont to respond to the issues being raised. Sitting in, taking notes, was AMAX's Winifred Armstrong.

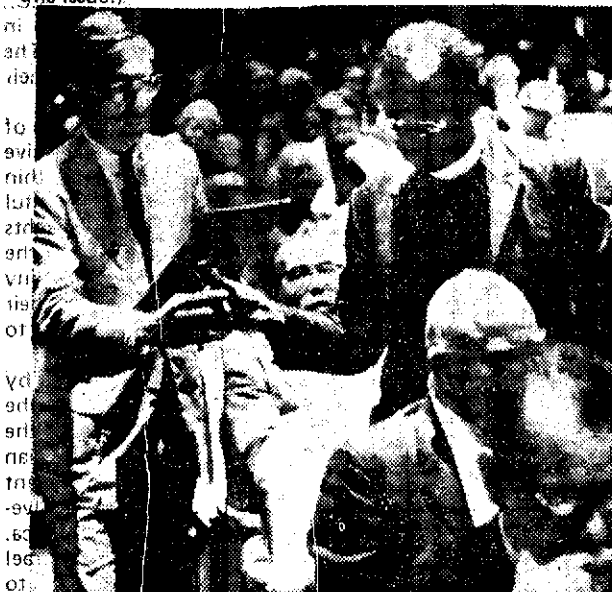
Outside the AMAX meeting, held in the Barbizon Plaza Hotel, shareholders were greeted by leafleters, sporting enlarged photos of the Tsumeb's barracks, with captions such as "Could you support your family on \$28 a month?" Inside the meeting, Father Ted Lockwood, who recently observed several political trials in South Africa,



introduced the resolution. It was seconded by Rev. Dillard Robinson, Dean of the Newark Archdiocese, on behalf of the Episcopal Church. Dillard warned the company that AMAX's activities were being "closely watched by Black Americans." Also speaking were Theo Ben Guiriab, SWAPO representative to the U.S., and Julius Duru, a Nigerian student representing the proxy of the Colorado Conference of the United Church of Christ.

Related questions were fired concerning the members of AMAX's Board of Directors sitting on O'Okiep's Board, on wages paid African workers, and other working conditions. When pressed, Chairman Ian MacGregor conceded that, like Gulf, even though AMAX recommended a vote "against" the disclosure resolution, that a report covering most of the information requested would be issued in the future, written from the AMAX perspective of course. MacGregor claimed "sympathy" with some church aims, but pointed out Botswana's welcome to AMAX. (The New York Times, May 5, 1972)

The interrelationships between AMAX, Newmont, Foote Mineral, and O'Okiep are complex with a number of the same individuals on their respective Boards of Directors. For example, Richard Leather, General Counsel for Newmont (also a Foote Mineral board member) attended not only those stockholder meetings but also those of AMAX and Union Carbide—looking out for the best interests of one affects all. (For more information on AMAX, Newmont, and O'Okiep, see Namibia news, this issue.)



The New York Times/John Solo
The Rev. Dillard Robinson, right, of Trinity Cathedral, Newark, about to speak for Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa at American Metal Climax annual meeting. Group called for report on holdings in Namibia, Africa.

Other Protests

Smaller protests were held at the IBM, Mobil and O'Okiep meetings this year. At IBM in Dallas on April 24, a representative of the Episcopal Church (which had made an agreement with IBM for disclosure of information) elicited from IBM management the fact that their South African interests are "very profitable" and the assertion that foreign policy should be made only by the U.S. Government. (New York Times, Apr. 25, 1972)

At the Mobil meeting in New York on May 4, several questions were posed and the company said it would never pull out of South Africa and defending the profits it provides.

At the O'Okiep Corporation meeting, the Rev. Don Morton challenged the role of the copper company (a primary Newmont subsidiary) and again elicited a corporate speech on its positive role in South Africa. Other protests will occur at the GM meeting in late May.

DIAMOND SYMPOSIUM IN OHIO

The Afro-American, African and Arab students at Ohio State University are organizing a symposium on May 20 (timed to coincide with the African Liberation Day activities that week) focusing on the South African/Israeli diamond industry. The meeting will link together the fact that South Africa (through the Oppenheimer-De Beer interests) is the largest producer of gem diamonds in the world (selling \$140 million worth in 1969); that Israel is the largest polisher of diamonds (it is the country's second largest industry); and the U.S. is the largest consumer, taking 60 percent of the world's gem diamonds. At the symposium will be various professors, including Dr. Richard Stevens of Lincoln University, Dr. Alfred Moleah of Temple, Dr. William Nelson of Ohio State, and Dr. Fuad Suleiman of Central State. The Organization of Arab Students in the U.S.A. and the Association of Arab-American University Graduates will also participate officially in the unique meeting. For information, write "Our Choking Times," P.O. Box 3026, Columbus, Ohio 43210.)

VIET NAM VETERANS PROTEST SHIP EN ROUTE TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The Rhode Island Chapter of the Viet Nam Veterans Against the War (together with some crew members and people connected with the GI paper "All Hands Abandon Ship") demonstrated against the departing destroyer William Arthur Rush which plans a six-month tour of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, stopping in Angola and Mozambique. The rally condemned U.S. aid to Portugal's colonial policies. (Standard of Tanzania, Apr. 6, 1972)

LIBERATION SUPPORT FROM WEST COAST

The Liberation Support Movement, an active west coast based group, has sent from San Francisco four tons of clothing to MPLA and FRELIMO and one ton of concentrated foods as well. It will be sending medicines valued at \$3,500 as well (\$500 came from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, MACSA). From LSM's Vancouver (B.C., Canada) branch it has shipped several thousand dollars worth of medicines to the movements. LSM has also prepared a slide and film packet that is being widely used throughout the U.S.

AUDUBON SOCIETY TRAVELLING LECTURE PROTESTED

Members of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) attended public lectures by Mr. Edgar T. Jones of the Audubon Society entitled "From Rhodesia to Mozambique." They discovered, not surprisingly, that Jones' slides and word portrayed the two countries as bastions of European civilization and preferred to discuss wildlife rather than African conditions. Jones disregarded totally the liberation struggle in Mozambique, and the oppressive Zimbabwe situation. MACSA urges friends to watch for the Audubon lecture in their areas in order to provide a better perspective to the audience (often school children) than Jones' offers. (MACSA News, April 1972)

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE DRAWS HUNDREDS

In a broadly-sponsored conference, called by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ and the African Heritage Studies Association (AHTSA), more than 500 Americans (including some Africans) met to strategize on Southern African issues. Among the speakers were Gil Fernandes of the PAIGC, So Bosgra of the Angola Comite of Holland, Abdul Minty of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in U.K., and a number of Africans and Americans who gave papers and conducted workshops. Although there were a number of points of tactical disagreement, the conference plenary session passed a number of final resolutions.

DENVER PROJECT

A new group, the Clergy and Laity Concerned Southern Africa Project has been founded in Denver, Colorado (1460 Pennsylvania Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80213), and has already engaged in various actions recently, especially related to protesting at local Denver offices of Union Carbide, Foote Mineral, Gulf Oil, and AMAX in conjunction with national anti-corporate actions. The project has shown "End of a Dialogue", the film on South Africa and encouraged participation in African Liberation Day celebrations. (Newsletter)

COMMITTEE FOR POSITIVE ACTION FORMED

Dr. James Turner of Cornell announced the formation of the Committee for Positive Action affiliated with the AHTSA to campaign with black community and others including political candidates on the necessity of support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February, Turner said, "Black Americans can no longer remain silent about these wars going on in Africa. Their struggle is our struggle." (Standard of Tanzania, Apr. 3, 1972)

AMERICAN ACCUSED OF BOMBING ZAIRE MISSION SENTENCED

Larry Pearson who pleaded guilty of being responsible for a bomb placed in the Zaire mission in New York in September has been sentenced to a term of 3½ to 10 years. (Standard, Tanzania, Apr. 25, 1972) It was said that the bombing took place because of Zaire's failure to

allow MPLA to use the country to transit into Angola from the north.

"PORTUGUESE" AFRICAN DEMOS

Blacks in Boston and Washington demonstrated at Portuguese Government offices in April to protest the bombings of Tanzania by the Portuguese. At the Washington action the student and community participants were so adamant and vociferous in their chanting that extra police reinforcements were called in to protect the Portuguese Embassy. The activists then marched to the Tanzanian Embassy where an official thanked the crowd. (African World, May 9, 1972).

MACSA PLANS NAMIBIA DRIVE

The Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa has undertaken a fund raising campaign aimed at collecting \$1,000 for the support of strikers in Namibia and legal defense related to the strike. The Committee has previously raised money for FRELIMO and MPLA. For information write, MACSA, 306 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wisconsin 53715.

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY - A PARTICIPANT'S VIEW

On Sunday, May 28, the former Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, gave a sermon in St. John's Cathedral in New York in which he was reported to have said that the African people in South Africa were the most unloved people in the world. What happened the day before his sermon on African Liberation Day must have escaped his attention, for nearly 60,000 Black people marched throughout the Western hemisphere to demonstrate their solidarity not only with their brothers and sisters in South Africa, but in support of the African people in all of Southern Africa, and indeed for oppressed peoples around the world.

The message of African Liberation Day was carried by an estimated 25 to 30,000 marchers in Washington, D.C.; 10,000 in San Francisco; 2,000 in Toronto; 10,000 in Antigua; 3,000 in Grenada; and 8,000 in Dominica. The African people are neither unloved nor alone in their struggle.

The coalition of forces involved in the coordination of African Liberation Day, resulting in such a massive turn-out represented a broad spectrum of groups within the Black community. There was a decidedly youthful thrust and a notable absence of such veteran civil rights leaders as Roy Wilkins and Dr. Ralph Abernathy. Yet the success of the demonstration in bringing together as many diverse groups as those participating, despite their differences, indicates the strength of the commitment to the cause of Black unity and the struggle for liberation.

It is a strength which is not to be underestimated by either black or white. For the white power structure, the message was loud and clear; the indictments read at the Portuguese and South African embassies, the Rhodesian Information Office and the U.S. State Department strongly condemned U.S. military and economic involvement with the white minority regimes in Southern Africa. Significant mention was made of the ties between Israel and South Africa, and for those who would like to interpret this as Black anti-Semitism, it was clear that Black people are taking note of every link in the chain of support for the white alliance system in Southern Africa. The enemy is not just in South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia.

For Blacks, an equally clear message was the call to maintain an ongoing and active commitment to the liberation struggles. African Liberation Day was definitely not the start of an annual Carnival. There were several indications that a new mood among Blacks is being created, based on an understanding of the demands for serious commitment. Slogans on placards carried in the march called for boycotts of American companies (primarily focused on Gulf Oil) with investments in Southern Africa. Speeches at the rally called for action programs and referred to the need to internationalize the struggle.

This spirit of Black unity and solidarity of oppressed peoples was highlighted by the tribute paid to the memory of Kwame Nkrumah; several speakers gave moving accounts of having attended his funeral.

The approaches to organized action are likely to be as varied as the many groups represented among the planners and participants. But the unity achieved to bring the march into being was significant as a first step. There were many who would have considered themselves past the point of marching and demonstrating by this time, yet felt that they had to come out on this day. The important thing is that the march was not an end in itself and that we must prepare to move on to the next step. It will have to be a forceful one. The recent slap in the face by the U.S. Senate in voting down the attempt to repeal the Byrd Amendment, right on the heels of African Liberation Day, is one such example of the need to intensify the struggle with more concrete actions now that the march has set the pace.

WORDS FROM AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

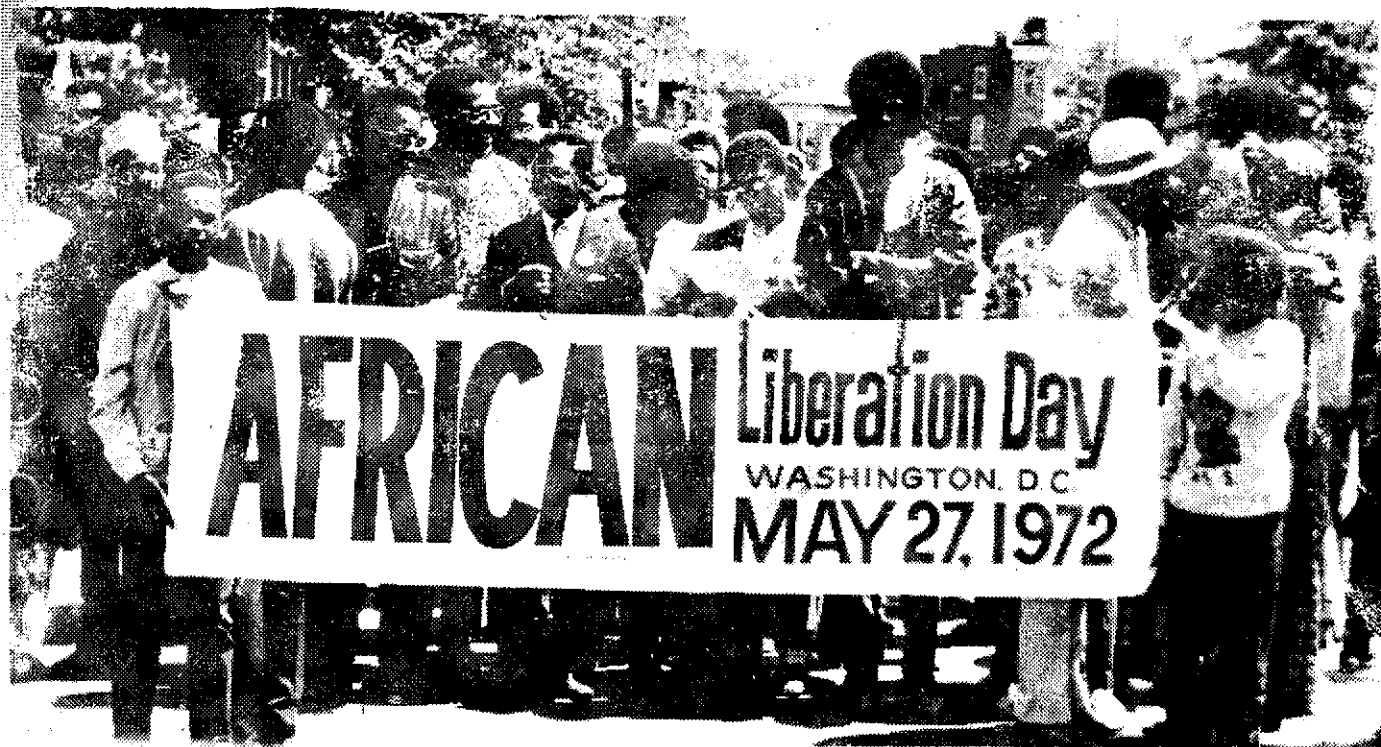
In Washington speakers at various points along the march through Washington were Congressman Charles Diggs, George Wiley of Welfare Rights, Imamu Baraka, Claine Brown of the Panthers, Roy Innes of CORE, Essiah Zhuwarara of FROLIZI and Owusu Sadaukai, one of the prime organizers of the mass activities; in San Francisco, the Rev. Charles Koen of Gary, Indiana, Bobby Seale, Donald Williams of the Black Workers Congress, Nelson Johnson of SOBU, Mayor Richard Hatcher, and many others.

At The Washington Monument, Owusu Sadaukai spoke to the crowd: "No longer will this Government and certain people be able to say that there is no constituency

for issues and questions involving Africa.... Your presence demonstrated that we are no longer buying the argument that Africans on the continent are different from us. We are moving to the point where we understand that this racist capitalist monster, that we are struggling against here, is the same one that oppresses our people in Africa and all over the world." At the San Francisco rally Nelson Johnson of SOBU warned, "...it is important to understand that even those who are today expousing the freedom of Africa, will end up pimping the question of Africa, for their own selfish bourgeois interest. Certainly the co-optation of the revolutionary concept of Blackness should be an indicator of what can happen to the new consciousness that is now developing around the question of Africa." Mayor Hatcher at the same gathering commented: "Whenever people talk about the peace movement in this country, they are talking about getting Americans out of Vietnam.... Unfortunately, if every soldier came home from Vietnam there would be no peace in America or in this world. There will be no peace in this world until Black people are free in Rhodesia and South Africa and every other country on the continent."

In a later interview, Owusu reflected, "So what I see the demonstration as being, and I understand the limitations of a demonstration, but I think it was a kind of mass expression of a willingness on the part of people to internationalize our struggle and a willingness to begin to understand the concept we are an African people...a willingness to accept the notion that Black people throughout the world have a common enemy."

Speakers also commented that the demonstrations were a credit to the ability of Blacks to communicate to each other; that people did not come because of the white media which virtually ignored the event. (African World, June 10, 1972).



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