

SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

Published ten times a year by the Southern Africa Committee, 244 West 27th St
Fifth Floor, New York, New York 10001

VOLUME VI, No. 1

JANUARY, 1973



Amilcar Cabral
JANUARY 20TH, 1973

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AMILCAR CABRAL ASSASSINATED

On Saturday night, January 20th, the African Revolutionary leader and Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) was assassinated outside his home in Conakry, Republic of Guinea.

The Southern Africa Committee and the Committee for a Free Mozambique sent the following telegram:

Supreme Council of the Struggle
PAIGC
Box 298
Conakry, Republic of Guinea

We express our deepest sorrow over the assassination of Comrade Amilcar Cabral. Our recent meetings with him and other comrades in New York renewed our personal link with your struggle. Our sorrow is matched by our anger at Portuguese colonialism and U.S. imperialism. We affirm our commitment to the struggle for which he gave his life: the total liberation of the Guinean people.

Yours in solidarity

Committee for a Free Mozambique
Southern Africa Committee

In the February issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA, we shall carry a full report on Amilcar Cabral's life and the state of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau.

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is published ten times a year including two full double issues (June-July, August-September) by the
Southern Africa Committee
244 West 27th Street
Fifth Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001
and 213 North Gregson Street
Durham, N.C. 27701
(919) 682-7342

Subscription rates are:

Individuals: \$5.00 per year; optional half-year (7 months) \$3.00

Institutions: \$15.00 per year

Back issues (institutions): \$15.00 per year; per issue, regular—\$.50;
double issue—\$.80

Airmail (postage only—add subscription rate): South and Central
America: \$6.00 per year; Africa, Asia, and Europe: \$7.50
per year

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WOMEN OF AFRICA MEET

Report of All-African Women's Conference held in Dar-Es-Salaam

At the end of July this year, hundreds of women from all over the world gathered in Dar-es-Salaam to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the All-African Women's Conference.

Twenty eight National African organisations and fifteen National and International organisations from Asia, Europe and America, took part in a Seminar on the woman's role in the liberation struggle and her participation in the political, economic and socio-cultural development of her country.

Opening the Seminar, the vice-president of Tanzania, Mr. Aboud Jumbe stressed the necessity for women's participation in the liberation struggle. "Africa", he said, "can only be free with the full participation of women."

He went on, "In view of the noble aims of your organisation might I suggest that members of the All-African Women's

Conference look upon themselves, in their respective States, as liberation movements.

In the ten years of the existence of the All-African Women's Conference, women have contributed to the struggle for liberation, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and under-development and, he concluded, "Women of Africa, the future and success of Africa largely depend on your concrete actions."

Among its resolutions, the Conference decided to redouble its efforts to give total and effective support to the valiant African freedom fighters in Southern Africa. They solemnly reaffirmed their faith in the inalienable rights of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence. They totally rejected any attempt by any African State to enter into a dialogue with South Africa.

The Women's Section of the African National Congress presented the following paper to the Conference:

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN AGAINST APARTHEID

Apartheid or Separate Development as the South African racists would like it termed, is a declared policy of the White minority regime of South Africa. The main objective of this abominable policy is to continue holding the Black people of our country in subjugation denying them political, economic and social rights. The indigenous people who constitute more than two-thirds of the total population of the country have been relegated to the level of slaves.

The country is rich and industrially developed, but all the riches and wealth of the country are in the hands of the white minority. This wealth is produced through the ruthless exploitation of the Black people with the African being the most exploited, oppressed and humiliated in the country of his birth.

Threat To Peace In Africa

The conditions of life of the 18 million black people under the apartheid white minority domination continue to deteriorate. The racist Government of Vorster with its apartheid policy has arrogated to itself the role of protecting and maintaining this system which continue to pose a grave

threat to peace and security in Africa and the world. The methods employed by the regime inside the country to arrest the rising tide of our struggle are reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Our country has become a fully fledged police state. The racist regime brooks no opposition to its inhuman policies.

Our people are being moved from their homes and from the areas declared "White" by the racists. They are being thrown into barren areas - areas not fit for human habitation. This continuing policy of mass removals which has already affected more than one million people has caused untold suffering to the Black people.

While the white population's wealth is continuing to grow unemployment, disease and destitution among the Africans have increased sharply. The reserves, Bantustans and the resettlement camps have become reservoirs of cheap labour. Pass laws, being the cornerstone of our oppression, continue to be a means for forcible direction of African labour.

It is worth noting that 87 per cent of the land of our country has been given to the White minority population while the Black people who constitute more than two-thirds of the total population of our country occupy only thirteen per cent.



Albertina Sisulu



Helen Joseph together with Lilian Ngoyi and Mrs. Pillay

Cheapest Labour

In order to understand and appreciate the contribution and the role of the oppressed and struggling women of South Africa, one has to view it in the broad general context of our liberation struggle. The Black women in South Africa are not accorded special privileges or treatment by the white oppressors. They are subjected to the same treatment as their menfolk. In fact they serve as the cheapest labour force compared to men for equal work. Seventy-three per cent (73%) of African women remain in the Reserves cultivating the families' tiny plots, while their husbands work as migrant labourers. But the pitiful small returns force the majority to work under feudal conditions on white farms or as domestic servants.

Only 27 per cent of them can find jobs in the cities as rigorous controls exist to keep them out. Those permitted to live on the employers' premises are liable, like those who live in locations to be disturbed by police raids in the night. And if the employer permitted it, it is illegal for a husband to spend a night in his wife's room.

The only thing not forbidden is the servant's right to love a white child though it will not grow up to treat her like a mother.

Apart from domestic and field work there are few openings for women. Mainly due to economic exploitation, only 0.1 per cent can manage to get secondary education. As a result there are very few African lawyers and university lecturers. Women doctors are rare. Typists, telephone operators and shop assistants are being barred by terms of the Job Reservation Act which seeks to create facilities only to White women in such positions.

The plight of wives and mothers of prisoners is even more tragic. They suffer fear, loneliness, destitution and despair.

"Our women are a rock" is a theme of an African freedom song and as the struggle mounts in heat and intensity more and more women are joining the ranks.

The women of South Africa have never remained indifferent

to the oppression and exploitation of our people. They have always played a prominent role in our liberation struggle.

History of Women's Struggle

Their history of struggle dates as far back as 1897 – but then only as individuals. The birth of Pan Africanism found women in its midst. When the Black radicals from the West Indies met in London to form an Association, Miss "Kincoln", an African woman from South Africa was elected treasurer of the Association. The following year (1898) she returned to South Africa.

When the African National Congress was founded in 1912, Charlotte Maxeke, the first African woman medical doctor in South Africa was the first woman to serve in its National Executive. Her presence in the Executive of the ANC became a source of inspiration to the women of our country. It instilled confidence in them and spurred the African women in the Orange Free State (one of the Provinces of South Africa) in 1913 to throw in their full weight in the fight against the extension of passes to them by the racist regime. This anti-pass campaign was launched under the guidance of the African National Congress. The first organised action was by women who assembled at the Administrative Offices in one place and made bonfires out of the passes. The campaign grew and spread to various parts of the Province. The government was left with no other alternative but to abandon its ill intentions. The idea of extending passes to the women was temporarily abandoned. Each successive government made attempts to impose passes on women, but in each case the attempt met with militant opposition from the women in our country.

Since 1913 there have been many anti-pass revolts, some big, some small. Many were unorganised. As our struggle developed so did the political consciousness of our people, including women. This made our people realise the important role women could play in our liberation struggle; it made them understand the true character and content of our struggle.

Thus in 1943 the African National Congress had noted with satisfaction the need to have an organised body of women. In 1948 the African National Congress Women's League was officially inaugurated at the Bloemfontein Conference of the ANC. Its first President was Miss Ida Mtwana. Since its inception until the banning of the ANC in 1960, the Women's League always worked on a definite programme of activities, besides tackling the problems of a society mad with racism. Regional conferences were held annually; Provincial ones every third year and the National Conferences were held after every five years to plan new strategies, adopt resolutions and elect new office bearers.

S.A. Women's Day

March 8 has always been observed by the South African women together with the progressive women all over the world as International Women's Day and August 9 as South Africa's Women's Day. August 9, 1956 was the culmination of many years of struggle by the women of South Africa; it was born in the heat of the struggle. The African National Congress Women's League was a founder-member of the Federation of South African Women and played a leading role in all its activities. When the Federation was formed in 1954, it had already become crystal clear that in the struggle against apartheid, white domination and oppression the role of women had assumed a dynamic character and that their struggle was inseparable from the overall, nationwide struggle for freedom. The same year, 1954, the Federation of South African Women affiliated to the Women's International Democratic Federation. Many militant struggles were conducted by the women of South Africa against the removal and dispossession of whole tribes and the banishment and deportation of patriotic chiefs.

Many of them were arrested for taking part in the 1952 Defiance Campaign which was launched by the African National Congress. Their role also stands out in the struggle against the Bantu Authorities Act in 1957 at Zeerust, Sekhukhuni and Dinokane.

They also played no small role in the struggle against Bantu Education Act of 1954 which in the final analysis reduces our children to whiteman's slave, leaving them with no prospect of effective contribution in the society we are aspiring to build.

On 26th June, 1955 the Congress Alliance led by the ANC organised a multi-racial Congress which was held in Kliptown near Johannesburg. Other sister organisations were the South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats (representing progressive whites). The Kliptown Congress adopted for the future democratic South Africa a programme which is known as the "Freedom Charter". This Charter has now become the recognised document of the United Nations "Unit on Apartheid", as it embodies the fundamental human rights as set-out in the U.N. Charter. The fascist Government made every effort to break this historic meeting but failed through the determination of the gathering of the representatives of all racial groups of our country. The year following the adoption of the documents, 156 leaders of all races were arrested and charged with high treason. After four years of trial they were all acquitted. Families were broken and some died during the course of the prolonged trial. June 26 is observed inside and outside our country as South African Freedom Day and is recognised by the U.N. Both in the preparations for the historic Congress and during its deliberations, our women played no small role. They launched a house to house campaign collecting the people's demands.

Section of 20 000 women outside Union Buildings in Pretoria



20,000 Women March

The climax of the Women's campaign against unjust laws came on August 9 in 1956, when more than 20,000 women from all parts of our country and from all walks of life and of racial groups converged on the Union Buildings (Pretoria) to meet the then Prime Minister Strijdom in a protest against passes.

Fearing the disciplined but angry mood of the women the Prime Minister absented himself from his office. The women on the war-path were led by the President and Secretary-General of the Federation of the South African women, Mrs Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph respectively. Among the women representatives were teachers, nurses, factory workers, domestic workers and so on. The delegation of the Women headed by the President handed the Prime Minister's Secretary the petitions of grievances and demands signed by women all over the country with a word of protest that they swear that they would never rest until they have won a happy future for their children and the nation.

Police tried without success to prevent the women from getting to Pretoria. Since then, this day August 9 is known as South Africa' Womens Day. The mammoth demonstration intimidated the racist oppressors. Many women were detained on their way to Pretoria, some on their return.

In 1957 in the small town of Zeerust in the Western Transvaal another attempt was made by the Government to compel the women to carry passes. Realising that the women of this area were solidly against the measure, the police opened fire on a peaceful meeting which was convened to express disapproval. Many women were seriously injured and about 58 arrested. Later 51 had their charges withdrawn. Immediately after this incident the ANC suffered its first ban as an organisation in that particular Province.

In August 1959 women in Umzinto and Ixopo in Natal Province destroyed 75 per cent of dipping tanks. 113 were arrested and found guilty. Fine was £25 or three months in jail. As a result of the prolonged struggle by the women and continuous police provocation, in one month in the Natal Province 600 women were in prison with fines totalling £13,000, alternatively 223 days in prison. In the same Province in Ixopo women were sentenced to four months in prison or £35 fine each. They all decided to serve the sentences rather than pay the fine out of the ANC funds. Addressing a protest meeting Chief Albert John Luthuli tabled the following grievances as a cause of women's protest and arrests:

- Removal of people from places they had built and demolition of their homes.
- Influx control and extension of passes to women and the refusal of permits to seek work in towns.
- Increase of rents for houses in locations and increased poll tax.
- New regulations regarding the filling of dipping tanks by women without pay and gathering people for resettlement schemes.

Less than £10 per month

According to figures related in the Survey of Race Relations (1958-59) in Cato Manor, Durban, the 1956 family incomes survey of Africans had shown that 61 percent of workers earned less than £10 per month. The families who were removed to other places had the extra burden of increased transport costs. Women could no longer afford to get part-time work. Opposition to the Government discriminatory laws increased.

In October 1958, in Johannesburg, South Africa, noted big



Lilian Ngoyi

demonstrations of African women against the extension of passes. The women of Sophiatown also played a big role in fighting against the removal of the township; they also initiated a big anti-pass demonstration where thousands were put in jail. In spite of protest and bitter fighting by our people the racists decided to use force in uprooting our people from the area and declaring it White. In support of their Sophiatown sisters against passes, the women in Alexandra township, which was also a free-hold land, staged their anti-pass demonstration and also met the same fate of mass arrests. Alexandra is today being removed to the slum areas of Soweto and barrack-like hostels for domestic workers are being built.

Recently (March) a big hostel for single women was completed in Alexandra. This hostel accommodates 2,834 single women. Its doors are electronically operated from the gate. In case of any trouble the fascists will use these doors to divide the whole hostel into three, locking all the people inside.

Rent (monthly)

- 25 residents share one bath
- 35 residents share one shower
- 20 residents share one basin
- 20 residents share one toilet

No family accommodation. The bathrooms are very small.

In 1957 when the tribe of Sekhukhuniland (Northern Transvaal) revolted against Bantu Authorities forced removals, Chieftainess Madinoge Kholokwe was among those sentenced to death for her role in the disturbances during which traitors and police were stoned to death for provoking the riot. She was reprieved and, was released on the 26th January, 1971, on parole after serving ten years in prison. Political prisoners do not benefit from parole; she was an ex-



Mrs. Mini and her four children. Her husband was hanged after the death of an informer

ception as the fascists allege she was a criminal; to us she is a heroine.

In 1959 in Veeplants (Port Elizabeth) a team of pass officials came to issue passes to women. The women lined up as though they were going to accept them. Instead of taking them they started singing revolutionary songs chanting and shouting slogans. Many of them were arrested. Similar incidents took place in other parts of the country, e.g. Lady Selborne (Pretoria). During the same year, African women mobilised and organised a mass scale campaign to boycott the buying and selling of potatoes. Potatoes were being grown by white farmers on the basis of starvation wages and the use of convict labour. This Campaign was initiated by the ANC and the ANC Women's League played a leading role in it.

Banned, Jailed and Tortured

The first person to be placed under house arrest in South Africa was a woman, the Secretary of the Federation of South African Women, Mrs Helen Joseph.

Many of them such as Dorothy Nyembe are languishing in jail. Dorothy Nyembe is today serving 15 years in prison for furthering the aims of our struggle. Florence Matomela and many others were tortured to death in detention. She died upon her release. When the ANC embarked upon the armed struggle many women joined its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe and underwent military training. They

played no small role in Zimbabwe when the soldiers of the ZAPU-ANC engaged the fascist soldiers in Zimbabwe in 1967-68.

In 1969 five women were among the 22 Africans who faced charges under the Suppression of Communism Act and promoting the aims of the ANC. They were Winnie Mandela, Martha Dlamini, Joyce Sikhakhane, Virginia Mngoma and Rita Nzanga. These women were subjected to Nazi-type torture; being pulled by their hair, spending sleepless nights, standing on bricks during their detention. Shanthie Naidoo and Brysine Namkahlwa were in solitary confinement for almost a year sleeping on cement floor for refusing to give evidence against the accused.

Leaders and many cadres of our Women's organisation have been banned, restricted, house arrested, deported and others have been subjected to other forms of persecution.

Winnie Mandela is still a victim of persecution. Last month on the 13th June, 1972, among the four Indians who appeared in court charged under the notorious Terrorism Act there is a woman Mrs Amina Desai. The State alleges that they were preparing to distribute leaflets by bucket bombs similar to those distributed by the ANC in South Africa. They were also charged with furthering the aims of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

The participation of the women in our struggle for freedom is growing daily. As our struggle develops more and more will join our ranks.

THE ALL-AFRICAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the All African Women's Conference, a Seminar was held in Dar es Salaam from 24 to 31 July. FRELIMO was represented by a delegation composed of comrades Deolinda Raul Guesimane – member of the Central Committee and Head of the delegation, Marcelina Chissano and Rosaria Tembe. We quote from our speech:



FRELIMO women at the AAWC Seminar: Comrade Deolinda is on the left

OUR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE

For us the All African Women's Conference represents a platform of struggle from where women of our continent can coordinate their efforts in the hard struggle they are undertaking against the many forces which oppress them. To define clearly these forces must be our first task. Then it is necessary to decide on the methods of struggle. Finally, we must study and develop ways in which we can best coordinate our efforts so that they can be made more effective. It is with this perspective that we came to this meeting at which we commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the AAWC.

We are supposed to talk about the role of the women in our struggle. We find this somehow difficult, since in our organisation women and men fight and work together, side by side, in every kind of activity: we women participate in the actual fighting, integrated in military units; we work as political commissars, mobilising the people, enlightening them on all aspects of our struggle; we transport war materials to the front lines; we defend the people against enemy incursions; we participate in production; we are active in the schools and in the hospitals. So, if it is true that some tasks, by their nature, fall more under our responsibility – like taking care of children (we have several nurseries and creches which are run by women) – in general we can say that we do the same work as men. And this we consider as one of the greatest achievements of our revolution. Specially if we consider against which back-

ground this situation arises. Traditional society, which kept women absolutely dependent on men, deprived women of any initiative, left them with no voice in the affairs of the community – their only task being the bearing of children and the undertaking of domestic work. And then came colonial society in which women became instruments of labour, even more exploited than men.

All this is being changed now in our country. And we wish to draw your attention to this special point, which tells of our experience; these changes have been accomplished through our political engagement. It has been our militant role in a political organisation having a correct political line that has given us the proper orientation necessary to make our efforts more effective. It is political awareness that has enabled us to find the most correct path to our emancipation. At the same time, we feel that it is within this political perspective that we, the Mozambican women can formulate the best forms of coordinating our efforts with other African women. Our experience – we repeat – taught us that we must organise ourselves and struggle within a movement, that is, our women's organisation must be an arm, an instrument of a political movement.

We wish now to make an appeal to all African women and to the women of the world to help us surmount the difficulties that we face in order to accomplish our task in a more effective way.

Our appeal is not only for material support. It is primarily a call to the African women and all women, to take an active part in our struggle; to mobilise their people, by organising meetings of solidarity, distributing information about the successes and difficulties of our struggle, using every possible means, such as radio, press, cultural manifestations, exhibitions, etc., to develop at all levels – students, workers, etc. – the solidarity movement with our cause. The effort of political mobilisation represents without doubt, the most important contribution, it creates the material solidarity indispensable for the pursuit of our struggle.

We propose also that the women's organisations in Africa, at national and pan-African level, organise collection of funds and materials useful for our activities.

The list of our needs is not limited, it concerns all types of materials needed for the multiple activities that we have to undertake: cloth, clothing, school materials, medical and health equipment, powdered milk, baby foods. . .

The best way to accomplish all of these activities seems to be the creation of support committees at the level of the different organisations existing in the member countries. We feel that this is very necessary in Africa where – we must say it – popular solidarity has not yet found the proper outlet to express the deep feelings of the masses. And, woman must understand that her role of mobilisation starts first of all at home amongst the family.

The above two articles were reprinted respectively from SECHABA, December 1972 and MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION, July-September, 1972

inside south africa

BLACKS IN PARLIAMENT BY 1980?

In two separate studies, the Nationalist Sunday paper *Rapport* has tested the attitudes of Nationalists on the question of African and Coloured representation in the presently all white Parliament. Three thousand people were questioned about Coloured representation. They answered as follows: 55.5 percent anticipated some form of representation in a mixed Parliament; 19.7 percent expected a separate Coloured Parliament; 6.8 percent expected no representation for Coloureds, and 18 percent have no opinion.

Nationalists questioned about African representation gave the following answers: 29.7 percent expected some sort of representation in a central Parliament; 12.9 percent foresaw no representation; 39.8 percent believed Africans would be represented in their own parliaments, and 17.6 percent refused to answer.

According to the *Johannesburg Star*, the surveys indicate remarkably little faith in the Government's declared policy or in its ability to carry out its policy. (*Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 11 and Nov. 25, 1972).

BANTUSTAN NEWS

Bophuthatswana: Chief Minister Lucas Mangope announced that he is going to advertise in the Press, inviting industrialists to invest in Bophuthatswana. He said he would welcome any investment, Black, White or foreign.

Mangope criticized the Bantu Mining Corporation saying that although Bophuthatswana is rich in minerals, the Corporation has done next to nothing to help in extracting them. The Bantu Investment Corporation also came under criticism. Mangope wants Tswanas on the decision making board of the corporation.

The Chairman of the Bantu Mining Corporation was offended by Mangope's remarks. Dr. A.S. von Maltitz said, "I am very disappointed he should have said this, because we have his interests at heart and we are

behind much of the exploration that is going on, although our name-plate is not on the front door." (*Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 11, 1972)

Ciskei: Chief Justice Mabandla of the Ciskei has made a major policy statement outlining his position on a number of key issues, with the full support of his cabinet. Mabandla wants the Ciskei to be completely independent from South Africa, free to make defence treaties with any friendly neighboring state. He pledged his government to work for revision of the migratory labor system and for a clear definition of the territories boundaries.

Rejecting multi-racialism, he called the division between the Xhosa-speaking people into the Ciskei and the Transkei arbitrary and to be ended at some time in the future. However, he does not share the Transkei Chief Mantanzima's hope for a federation of African homelands.

The first general election in the Ciskei will be held next February and Mabandla's statement is seen as an attempt to neutralize his opposition before that time. (*Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 25, 1972).

PRESS BALL CONTROVERSY

South African journalists held a multi-racial ball which was attended by about 300 guests, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Kwazulu leader. Most of the guests were white journalists. Buthelezi asked Mrs. Al Venter, wife of one of the journalists to dance. This has caused a minor scandal. Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Interior and Information said that such functions "went against the grain." It was a "wrong direction" and the government might be forced to see what could be done about it.

Mulder was criticized indirectly in the Nationalist press for his comments. *Rapport* reported that South Africans' ability to handle each racial incident so that it did the country the maximum harm was remarkable. (*London, Observer*, Nov. 19, 1972; *Johannesburg Star*, Nov. 25, 1972).

HEART SURGEON BARNARD JOINS UNITED PARTY

The controversial surgeon of Afrikaner descent, famous for his heart transplants, Dr. Chris Barnard, has joined the United Party. He says that he must make a contribution to topple the present government and will run for office if asked. Commenting on the merits of the United and Progressive Parties, he said that the Progressive Party policies has much merit, but he did not believe they would ever be able to defeat the Nationalists. (*Johannesburg Star* Nov. 25, 1972).

ANC MEMBERS FOUND GUILTY IN SOUTH AFRICAN COURTS

Fana Cietus Mzimela has been sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. He explained his involvement in the banned African National Congress by saying, "I saw my people were frustrated and suppressed and I thought things should be changed." The way in which this case was reported in the *Johannesburg Star* is indicative of the attitudes of the "free press" in South Africa. Under a headline "Fifteen years for ANC terrorist" the article quotes the judge at length but never gives the specific counts on

which Mzimela was found guilty. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 25, 1972).

In a separate case, tried in September, Israel Makhete was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for passing around an ANC book of cartoons to fellow workers.

A new duplicated news sheet has also been circulating widely among South Africa's Indian community. It is called "Searchlight" and one issue ended with the statement: "In this trying period of arrests, torture and police murder Searchlight has no doubt that once again the people will respond to the call for militant action and genuine leaders who are prepared to sacrifice everything for the liberation of our country will emerge from the ranks of the people and lead them to freedom." (London, Anti-Apartheid News, Oct. 1972).

NEW TERRORISM ACT TRIAL BEGINS

Four Africans and two whites appeared in the Pretoria Magistrates Court on November 20th. Although no charges were made and the accused were not asked to plead, the six are being held under the Terrorism Act. The trial will begin on January 15. According to the Minister of Police, S.L. Muller, the four Africans were arrested in the Transvaal after an intensive security police investigation. All four are South Africans: Mr. Theophilus Cholo from the Transkei, Mr. Justice Mpanza of Natal, Mr. Petrus Aaron Tembu of Natal, and Mr. Gardner Kitchener Sejaka of the Transkei. They will be charged with entering South Africa illegally after having received guerrilla training. Muller alleges that they received this training in "Iron Curtain" countries.

The two whites are Mr. Alexander Moumbaris an Australian citizen, and Mr. John William Hosey, an Irish citizen. Their role is alleged to be that of helping the four Africans enter the country. This is the first trial where whites are alleged to have aided guerrillas in entering South Africa. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 18 and 25, 1972; London, Guardian, Nov. 21, 1972).

URBAN AFRICANS FORCED INTO HOSTELS

According to South African Government policy, Africans can only live in "white areas" as servants or industrial workers, and only as "single people." Separate hostels for men and women have been built to house Africans who formerly lived in the township of Alexandra. This township is in a "white area" and unlike Soweto, is close to European Johannesburg. Africans who wish to continue their life and work in this city are forced, regardless of their marital status to live in these single sex hostels. Children of such people must be sent to relatives, if any, in the reserves.

There is no other alternative for most of the residents of the hostels. They are prevented by law from moving into a family home in Soweto, and for many even if they could, they would be too far away from their jobs. Although they can move to their tribal homeland, for most urban Africans, this is to choose isolation, rural poverty and unemployment or employment in a job far below their qualifications.

The hostels are grim homes. According to a report in the Rand Daily Mail, "The rooms are ridiculously spartan. The walls are of whitewashed concrete. The

only furniture supplied is a low-slung iron bed, a mattress, a locker. All are numbered, as in a prison. There is even a number on the wall above each bed... Both these new hostels—which hold the dubious distinction of being the biggest in Africa, possibly in the Western world—have automatically operated steel doors which close at the touch of a button, sealing off one section of the long corridors from another. These, you are told by officials, are for use in times of emergency, like a large-scale disturbance."

The hostels were opened in early September. The men's hostel with its 2,700 beds is virtually full. The women's hostel however has more than 2,000 empty beds, but it is unlikely that these will stay empty. Domestic workers in specified areas of Johannesburg have received notice instructing them to quit their accommodations above white apartments. The hostel is about the only place they can go.

Thirty nine cities and towns in South Africa have hostels. Rules are similar. No resident is allowed to entertain members of the opposite sex in the hostels. When asked about this ridiculous restriction, the Peri-Urban Board's manager of Bantu Administration Coenraad Kotze was embarrassed and said, "in the future, though, we'll have to think this matter over." (Johannesburg, Rand Daily Mail, August 19, 1972; Johannesburg Star, Nov. 18, 1972).



CHURCHES

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS ENDORSED BY ANGLICANS

Anglican Dean Edward King of Cape Town, who is white, and the Rev. Clive McBride of Cape Town, who is Coloured, have issued a joint statement endorsing "black consciousness." At the same time, Anglican Dean A.H. Cross of Bloemfontein, who is white, has charged that there have been incidents of racial prejudice in the Anglican Church of South Africa, and Winston Njongo Ndungane, a black Anglican seminarian at St. Peter's College in Durban has charged the Anglican Church with tolerating racism and bigotry. These developments are related to the reported growth of a "Black power" group within the Anglican Church of South Africa.

Dean King was one of the leading churchmen to report the existence of such a movement at the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town in October. At that time, he asserted that there was a direct clash between "white and black racial interests" in the church. Now, however, Dean King has apparently changed his mind. In the joint statement, he and Rev. McBride said they "do not believe" that there was a black power group at work during the Cape Town Synod. They also declared in their statement that they see "black consciousness" as "good and necessary." The two churchmen confessed "the racism which still exists in our church . . . largely in attitudes and assumptions which we rarely question."

Mr. Ndungane made his comments in a letter to the Durban Sunday Tribune. He denied the existence of any "black power" groups in the church, but asserted that "what is happening is that people are frustrated because the church mouths platitudes but does not honor them with appropriate action, and at the bottleneck are men like Dean King who, instead of listening to and examining what is said, are too ready to take fright and cry 'wolf.'" Ndungane charged that "it is the white Anglicans who want to bring about a split," and asked, "How can a sophisticated church tolerate injustice, racism, bigotry and hypocrisy as the Anglican church does?" (Religious News Service, Nov. 15, 1972).

FIRST AFRICAN MODERATOR—OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS IN CHURCHES

The Rev. Peter Ramalibana has been inducted Moderator of the Northern Transvaal in the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa—the first African elected to this post. He has been a Presbyterian minister since 1953, now serving in Sovenga township, Pietersburg. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 28, 1972).

Another African, the Rev. Jonathan Charles Mvusi, was voted President-elect of the Methodist Church in South Africa at its annual conference in Port Elizabeth in October. He is the second African to hold the position in the Methodist Church. The other was the Rev. Seth Mokitimi, in 1964. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 28, 1972).

Canon George Swartz became the first Coloured Anglican bishop in South Africa in November. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 11, 1972).

NGK LOSING HOLD ON AFRIKANERS?

The results of a University of South Africa religious research project—from which the Nederduistse Gereformeerde Kere (NGK) withdrew its support—indicate that the NGK is losing its hold on the political loyalties of the modern Afrikaner. A news agency of the South African Council of Churches has also reported that the NGK is revealing a more "Verligte" ("open") character, and in the last few months NGK ministers have been mixing and talking with people of other denominations and speaking out on political matters. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 11, 1972).

STUDENTS

RAND STUDENTS WIN ACQUITTAL

On October 24th, 38 Witwatersrand students were acquitted on charges under the infamous Riotous Assemblies Act. The students had all been involved in demonstrations against the "Bantu-education" system. They were acquitted on a technicality because the police officer in charge had not warned the demonstrators 3 times before action would be taken against them. Many students were dragged by their hair and some suffered concussions as a result of the police brutality.

This followed an earlier decision by a Supreme Court judge in Cape Town who reversed the convictions of 12 students and two clergymen who had gathered on the steps of St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, to protest the earlier police action at Wits, and to express solidarity with the expelled students from the black colleges.

Altogether, 608 persons were arrested during the June disturbances and a number of trials are still outstanding. (*I.I.E.E. Bulletin*, Oct. 24) (See churches, below)

STUDENTS DISAPPEAR

Seven black students from Turfloop College who were arrested recently at the Witwatersrand University have since disappeared.

Mr. Malcolm Lyons, a Johannesburg attorney, said he had been instructed to act on behalf of two of the men, Mr. J. Mbatha and Mr. D. Seleko. The police told him they had no knowledge of the missing men. "Wits" students insist that they saw the students in jail and that they had passed food to them and spoken to them during the week-end.

RECTOR QUILTS

The Rector of the Transvaal Indian College of Education, where protesting students have been involved in a series of boycotts, mass walk-outs, and sit-ins over the last 6 months, has resigned.

Last October the students walked out of the lectures in protest after the death while under police detention of Mr. Ahmed Timol, and recently they boycotted lectures in support of the Turfloop students. (*Sechaba*, Oct. 72)

NUSAS ACCUSED OF SMEAR CABLE

Mr. Paul Pretorius, President of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), cabled the

Gazelles rugby team, denying that he had urged the Argentine Students Union to demonstrate against the tourists.

Mr. C. Guarno, the Argentine manager of the Gazelles, told a South Africa Press Association reporter that he was in possession of the cable allegedly sent by NUSAS. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Oct. 18, 1972)

STUDENTS THROW STONES AT SA AMBASSADOR

A visit to western Australia University in Perth by S.A. Ambassador Mr. John Mills, lasted merely 20 seconds after 200 students attacked his car. Students threw vegetables and stones when the car arrived on campus. A young man lept onto the car's trunk and roof, denting it badly.

UNIVERSITIES FORCED TO SELL SA SHARES

At Edinburgh University in Feb. 1971, the University authorities sold £500,000 worth of shares in South African stock. At Hull University this February, over 2,000 students demanded that the universities 600,000 shares in Reckit and Coleman (investing in South Africa) be liquidated.

Now as a result of a decision taken at recent student conferences, a co-ordinated campaign is to be waged against all university investments in apartheid. Research has been undertaken on University holdings and it is clear that virtually every university has investments in firms operating in Southern Africa. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Oct. 72)

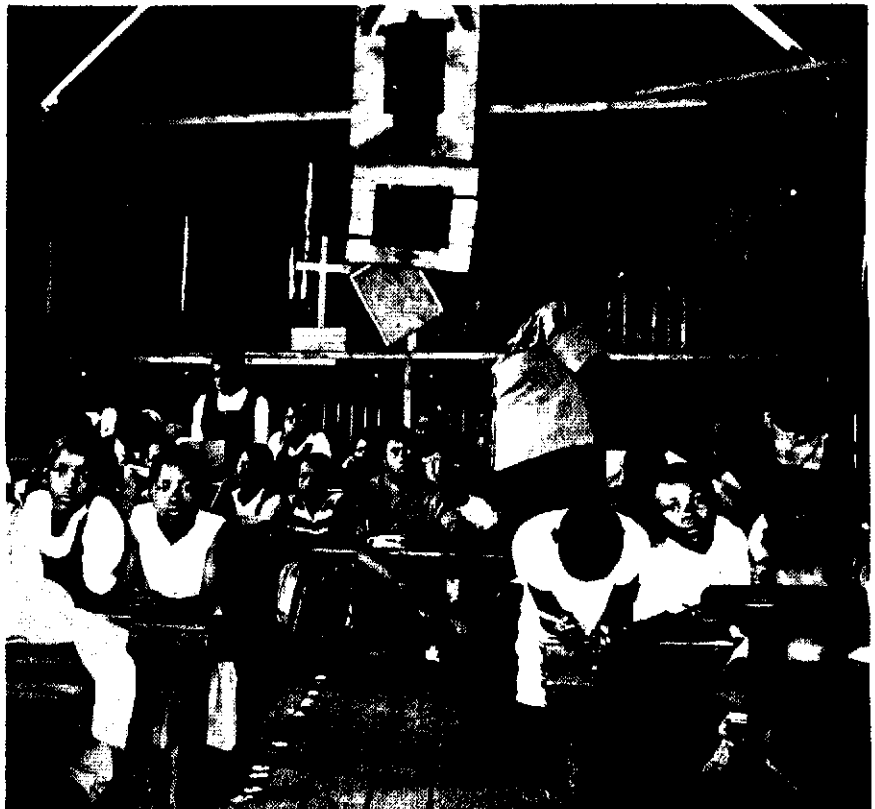
AFRICAN EDUCATION

World attention has been focussed recently upon the brutality with which the S.A. police, backed by the government, has been prepared to suppress opposition to apartheid. What was less clear was the background which led to the protests. It was the students on the black campuses who played the leading role and initiated the protests. The grievances of the black students need to be restated.

Fourteen times as much money is spent on education per white child as is spent per African child. There is *less* government spending on the education of an African child today, than there was 20 years ago. The amount spent on the education of a white child in that same period has doubled. The pupil-teacher ratio at African primary schools has now reached an average of 60:1. There are less black students in South Africa, at universities with lower standards, than there are in Ghana, Nigeria or Madagascar.

The police brutality, following a wave of protests in Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town and Grahamstown, with over 500 arrests, is a common occurrence in the lives of blacks in South Africa. For example, on June 7th in Cape Town, three policemen who had been involved in the baton charge on the white students, turned their attention, in sheer anger, to innocent coloured workers cycling home. They hurled one of them to the ground and beat him repeatedly with truncheons. He was later admitted to the hospital unconscious.

An African
School



THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

INSIDE PORTUGAL

U.S./PORTUGUESE TIES—AGAIN

Prime Minister Caetano of Portugal welcomed President Nixon's re-election "in order that the relations between our two countries remain as cordial as they have been during the last few years." (Diario de Noticias [Port.], 11/10/72)

Typical of the cordial relations referred to are the following developments:

—In October 1972 at the Monsanto Air Force base in Portugal, teachers from the commando school of the U.S. Air Force and the Escola Superior da Forca Aerea Portuguesa exchanged experience and information. (Diario de Noticias [Port] 10/27/72)

—Two American warships stopped briefly in the harbor of Lourenco Marques in Mozambique (Diario de Noticias, 11/8/72)

—Iberian Petroleum Ltd. of Stanford, Conn. applied for oil exploration rights in Angola (Provincia [Angola] 9/22/72) and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation together with Companhia Mineira do Lobito and Companhia de Uranio de Mocambique is shareholder of the company granted mineral rights in the southern part of the Tete district in Mozambique.

—American Airlines carried a five page article in its November 1972 issue of The American Way promoting Portugal and containing an interview with the president of TAP (the Portuguese airline).

INTERNAL SABOTAGE CONTINUES IN PORTUGAL

On September 26, 1972, two blasts shattered Radio Marconi's cables and radio communications centers, crippling communication with North America and southern Africa for several hours. The centers were cable and radio relay stations about 25 miles south and southeast of Lisbon. (International Herald Tribune. [US] 9/28/72)

"Revolutionary brigades" of the patriotic front of national liberation (FPLN) claimed responsibility for the September 26 blasts. The brigades were also linked to the bombing of trucks destined for the Portuguese army on July 11, 1972 and to the armed robbery of hundreds of pounds of explosives in the Algarve on Jun 11, 1972. (Monde [France] 9/28/72)

Associated Press also reported, on December 1, an explosion in a munitions plant in suburban Lisbon. Sabotage was not indicated in the first reports.

PORTUGAL REPEATEDLY OPPOSED IN U.N. ACTIONS

The Political Committee of the General Assembly (4th Committee) voted on September 22 to seat representatives of the liberation movements of southern Africa to participate in the Committee's deliberations on southern Africa and the Portuguese

colonies. On this resolution the U.S. joined Portugal, South Africa and 10 others in voting No—there were 79 Yes and 16 abstentions. On November 13 the same body recognized the liberation movements in "Portuguese" Africa as the authentic representatives of the people in those territories and called for a transfer of power to them. The resolution calls upon Portugal to negotiate with the movements, and to cease its colonial wars and acts of repression in Africa. It appeals to governments and U.N. specialized agencies to give moral and material assistance to liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies, and calls on States, especially those in NATO, to withdraw any assistance to Portugal, especially supplies of arms and military equipment, and to discourage their nationals and corporations from operation in the territories. The vote was 103 Yes, 5 No (U.S., Brazil, Costa Rica, Spain, U.K.), and 11 Abstentions. Portugal and South Africa boycotted the meeting. On November 16, the same body voted to deplore the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons in armed conflict. Portugal has used such weapons in Africa. The vote was 100 Yes, 1 No, 15 Abstentions (including the U.S.).

On November 14, 1972, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution similar to that of its Political Committee the preceding day, condemning Portugal for waging colonial wars in Africa. The following day, November 15, the Security Council took up the debate and also called (unanimously) for negotiations and an end to the fighting in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea. Portugal rejected all suggestions and recommendations and condemned the U.N. for even debating the question—an "internal matter" for Portugal. (U.N. Documents; N.Y. Times 11/13, /11/17, 11/24; N.Y. Post 11/17; Int. Herald Trib. 11/25; Le Monde 11/16)

RHODESIA AND PORTUGAL

Mr. Ian Smith and his wife, of Rhodesia, had a holiday in Portugal in October which included a visit with Prime Minister Caetano. Rhodesia has been assisting Portugal in Mozambique militarily for at least a year and has dutifully returned to Mozambique any Africans fleeing as refugees to Rhodesia. Nonetheless, Rhodesian concern is very high at the apparent lack of Portuguese success in containing FRELIMO activity and expansion south. In November, Caetano publicly rebuked Rhodesia for spreading alarm about the military situation in northern Mozambique. Observers feel that this is just one new sign of deterioration in relations between the leadership of Rhodesia and that of Portugal. (Financial Times [U.K.] 10/7 & 11/16 & 11/17; Star [S.A.] 10/28, Rhodesia Herald 8/17) (See Inside Zimbabwe, "Rhodesia-Portugual Pact Reached," this issue)

GUINEA-BISSAU

AMILCAR CABRAL SPEAKS AT U.N.

On October 19, 1972, Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-general, of the PAIGC addressed the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. He summarized ten years of history of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau and indicated current important events. The National Assembly, recently elected in free areas of Guinea-Bissau, is expected soon to declare independence and the assertion of Guinea-Bissau as a state, whose cities remained occupied by an enemy. (U.N. Doc. A/C.4/SR.1986)

At the same time that Cabral was referring to the increasing desertions to the PAIGC of Africans conscripted by the Portuguese, several articles cited the psychological warfare efforts of Antonio Spínola, the Governor-General and Commander in Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Guinea-Bissau. Spínola is trying to "Africanize" the Portuguese troops in Guinea and already has a full battalion of African commandos. (Star [S.A.] 11/11; Revolution Afr. [Algeria] 11/10; Star [Johannesburg] 10/28)



Amilcar Cabral at the United Nations.
(photo: United Nations)

ANGOLA

MPLA ANNOUNCES FORMATION OF ANGOLAN RED CROSS

Dr. Eduardo dos Santos announced in May 1972 at a press conference in Algiers the creation of an Angolan Red Cross in the areas controlled by the MPLA, as a further attempt to meet the great needs of the people suffering there from weapons of mass destruction used by the Portuguese, such as napalm and chemical agents. (Angola in Arms, August 1972)

MPLA-GRAE DISCUSSION

Radio reports from both Brazzaville and Kinshasa on September 12 and 13 reported a second meeting between the MPLA and the GRAE/FNLA held; taken place during the summit meeting of the countries of East and Central Africa, in Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania. However, the absence of Holden Roberto of GRAE and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, kept the meeting from progressing very far.

MPLA MILITARY ACTIVITY

A communique from the Eastern front for Feb. 28-April 6 reported one attack on the Portuguese Linyonde barracks (3/20), five ambushes and encounters with Portuguese troops, 8 occasions of Portuguese troops or vehicles setting off MPLA mines, and the destruction of a bridge on the Xonga River between Lewa and Xafinda. Several of the incidents were in the areas of Gago Coutinho. Three troops trucks and five other Portuguese military vehicles were reported destroyed and their occupants killed. On many occasions the exact number of Portuguese losses was unknown but 30 were reported dead and 18 wounded in the barracks attack. In reprisal the Portuguese raided a village and killed five villagers and took two local chiefs prisoner who had assisted in the construction of the barracks earlier. In other incidents at least 20 Portuguese troops were killed, including one captain. MPLA lost a group leader in one ambush also.

MOZAMBIQUE

NEWSWEEK REPORTS FRELIMO SUPPORTED BY POPULATION & TOUGH

The November 27, 1972 issue of *Newsweek* (U.S.) has two and one half pages reporting "Africa's Mini-Vietnam" and "A March in Mozambique." One reporter visited with FRELIMO inside the Cabo Delgado province of Mozambique, another spent time with the Portuguese in Mozambique. They talked with both FRELIMO military leader and president, Samora Mosies Machel and with the commander of Portugal's forces in Mozambique, Gen. Kaulza de Arriaga. They report that Arriaga "conceded that his forces have been slow to counter the new FRELIMO campaign" (in Tete province) and cited the Portuguese losses as "one a day killed or seriously wounded on the average." Arriaga spoke especially, however, of the tactic of regrouping the population. He said over 1 million people will be settled in 1000 aldeamentos (fortified hamlets) by the end of 1972. Arriaga feels this regroupment will win the people to the Portuguese side. Frelimo reports indicate the people simply feel imprisoned and become more determined against the Portuguese when forced into such villages.

Jaffe, the reporter who marched inside with FRELIMO reported "the guerrillas clearly hold sway over the rural areas of the north." He witnessed a surprise encounter of FRELIMO with the Portuguese and reported "with consummate tactical skill, Chipande (FRELIMO militant) moved a squad up to pin the Portuguese down and then led our column on a flanking movement that took us safely out of the ambush. There was no pursuit; we suffered no

casualties." He reported, as have other outside observers, that FRELIMO is tough, well-trained, and well-armed. President Samora Machel was cited as saying that FRELIMO intent with regard to the Cabora-Bassa dam was "to make the price of building it increase four or five times," rather than to prevent its construction.

LEADERS OF PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF MOZAMBIQUE IMPRISONED

There are now some details of earlier reports of mass imprisonment of southern Mozambicans, including all the main leadership of the black Presbyterian Church of Mozambique. During July through September approximately 1,800 Africans were imprisoned in southern Mozambique, taken into custody at work or at home. The church reports of its incarcerated members: "Up to this time (Oct. 1972) with two exceptions it has not been permitted to visit the prisoners. The charges... are for 'political offenses.'... The prisoners—two months after imprisonment—have not been allowed to speak with a lawyer." Two Swiss representatives succeeded in visiting the Presbyterian prisoners to celebrate communion only. (Neue Zuercher Zeitung [Swit.] 10&7/72)

ITALIAN, CANADIAN, BRITISH VISITORS TO LIBERATED MOZAMBIQUE

Three Britons visited the Tete district of Mozambique with FRELIMO at the end of August 1972 for

16 days. A Canadian, John Saul, visited at the same time, in Tete, and also in August, a delegation from Italy visited Cabo Delgado, where links have been established between the FRELIMO hospital and an Italian hospital.

Some of the comments of the British group were reported in the October issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA. John Saul, the Canadian who has written several works on Tanzanian development writes: "The reality of military struggle and of national reconstruction in Tete Province... far exceeded anything that I had read of, discussed, or even imagined. In the District of Fingoe, which we walked (ca. 60 miles) from the border to reach, we found an ongoing FRELIMO political system growing right up from the village level, we found schools, hospitals, first aid posts, and we found that the Portuguese could penetrate this area only rarely (and then by air)..."

"... Several points... stand out... One relates to the quality of leadership. I was continually meeting cadres—very often in their early twenties—at various levels of the FRELIMO structure who astonished me with their sure grasp of the essentials of struggle and with their obvious dedication and sense of commitment... Second... the close relationship between such leaders and the people... In visiting a village of some 200 or 300 people we marched... with a group of 40 or more armed men. Yet... we were warmly welcomed; more important, the soldiers mixed freely with the villagers, sitting casually with old women by the fire as the latter cooked supper... Third



John Saul meets two Mozambicans who deserted from the colonial army to join FRELIMO

(concerning) possible dangers of militarism . . . everywhere we witnessed the emphasis that is placed upon the primacy of politics and the people in the present struggle. All militants, even those clearly involved in administrative chores, have military training, and ordinary villagers are actively engaged in the militia; no caste system premised on military professionalism is allowed . . . Fourth . . . collective rural development . . . in the village in which we spent the longest time . . . seven communal fields were in operation and artisans—basket-makers and ironworkers—who had previously worked and earned individualistically had now taken their places within a collective . . . Fifth, spirit, of internationalism . . . seemed consistently to animate the Mozambicans with whom we came in contact, even at the village level. As was constantly reiterated, both at meetings and in casual conversation, here there is no room for simple-minded racialism or opportunist brands of ultra-nationalism. Instead a more sober national spirit defines the enemy—the Portuguese State, Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist allies . . . Final point . . . talking to militants and cadres from all corners of Tete province, to the people themselves, and to several deserters from the Portuguese army, it was clear that FRELIMO is winning the war." (Mozambique Revolution No. 52, July-September 1972)

MILITARY REPORT—FRELIMO

From May to September 1972 in Cabo Delgado province, FRELIMO fighters attacked 12 posts; shot down 2 airplanes and a helicopter, and destroyed several others on the ground; and launched a number of ambushes and sabotage operations, killing more than 200 enemy soldiers and destroying 17 vehicles.

From April to July in Niassa province, FRELIMO attacked 4 posts and a strategic hamlet; derailed 3 trains; sabotaged 2 bridges; destroyed 11 vehicles, and killed over 150 enemy soldiers.

From March to July in Tete province FRELIMO guerrillas shot down 2 planes and a helicopter; blew up 3 locomotives and 16 railcars; attacked 19 posts; sunk 6 boats; sabotaged 5 bridges; launched 127 major ambushes and sabotage operations throughout Tete; destroyed 52 vehicles and killed more than 550 enemy soldiers. (Moz. Rev., Jul-Sept 1972)

Non-FRELIMO sources also indicated that on Oct. 30 1972 a landmine on the Tete railway damaged a locomotive and 10 cars near the southern Malawi border (Ag. Fr. Presse 10/30) and the Guardian (U.K. 11/16/72) indicated that on Saturday Nov. 11 the track was mined at about 20 points along a 100-mile area and had been cut in several places.

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

RHODESIA-PORTUGAL PACT

An agreement on strategy for resisting African freedom fighters was reached recently between Portugal and Rhodesia. During his visit to Lisbon, Rhodesia's Prime Minister Smith met Portugal's Prime Minister Caetano and formalized an agreement which had been under discussion for some time. According to the London Guardian (Oct. 14, 1972), the agreement "concerns the strategy for resisting guerrillas in Southern Africa and tactics for dealing with the United Nations sanctions."

Smith's visit, which had been called a "private visit," became of sudden importance when the Lisbon Foreign Ministry and the Rhodesian Mission in Portugal admitted that officials of the two countries had been working together for a week.

Smith's visit should present an embarrassment to Britain, a staunch ally of Portugal. Britain proffers an image of a country that is fighting Smith and that is 100 per cent behind sanctions. Portugal is obviously breaking sanctions and is a very close ally of Smith. By using South African air services and airports in Portuguese colonies in Africa, Rhodesia has been able to avoid dealing with most African countries.

The Johannesburg Star (Oct. 28, 1972) points out that previous meetings between Portuguese and Rhodesian officials have taken place during Smith's "rugby match" visits to South Africa. Portugal's recent association with the European Common Market, and her longstanding alliance with Britain make Smith's successful agreement with Portugal significant militarily. (Star, Oct. 28, 1972) (See Portuguese Territories, Rhodesia and Portugal, this issue.)

FREEDOM FIGHTERS ON THE BORDER

According to Rhodesian government sources, two soldiers were killed by mines and several farmers were injured by rockets fired by Freedom fighters 40 miles inside the Rhodesian border with Mozambique. (New York Times, Dec. 24, 1972) The report further indicated that all communications with areas towards the northern border with Mozambique had been closed and the military was engaged in a conflict with guerrillas inside the country. The Zanu-Zapu United Command is known to be operating in the area.

The situation in the northern Mozambique border area is believed to have been the main topic of discussion between Smith and Caetano in their recent

meeting in Lisbon. A London Times report pointed out that Smith regards Mozambican success in her wars vital to the security of Rhodesia and was ready to discuss the possibility of "further joint military action and aid." (*The Times*, London, Oct. 7, 1972)

The recent attacks inside Rhodesia follow several incidents in which Rhodesian soldiers were reported killed by guerrilla mines "while visiting Portuguese soldiers across the Mozambican border." Sergeant Jeffrey Hill was killed in one such incident and his companion was injured late in October. It is believed that Rhodesian officials are disturbed by this new mode of operation. (*Guardian*, London, Oct. 30, 1972)

As the Rhodesian-Portuguese talks were taking place in Lisbon, a former Rhodesian general warned settlers of a "deteriorating security situation" on the Mozambican border. Major-General Sam Putterill who was Chief of Staff and General Officer Commanding before UDI told a Congress of the supposedly moderate Centre Party that Mozambique "was in a much weaker situation security-wise." The Major-General was urging a settlement with Britain and the signing of an immediate military pact with Britain to fight Africans. He made a plea for the British "shield" under which "Rhodesia had prospered." (*Daily Telegraph*, Cape Town, Oct. 30, 1972)

While the Major-General was sounding the warning, the Commandant General of the South African forces Admiral H.L. Bierman and the South African Minister of Defense, P.W. Botha were in Salisbury for secret defense talks with their Rhodesian counterparts. (*Cape Times*, Cape Town, Oct. 30, 1972)

THE HALF-HEARTED SANCTIONS

In an editorial, the London Observer (Nov. 12, 1972) accused the British government of a half-hearted attempt at enforcing sanctions. It urged Britain to support the proposals before the United Nations Security Council for a United Nations Commissioner to enforce sanctions. According to Patrick Keatley (*Guardian*, Nov. 22, 1972) several British ships "aid the Smith regime" by transporting mineral products from Beira on the Mozambique coast to the Gulf ports of the United States, from whence the products are shipped to refineries. Most of the cargoes are insured through Lloyd's of London. Keatley suggests that as much as 24,000 tons of chrome reached the United States that way in the past year. Investigations by the American Committee on Africa had exposed this lucrative British sideline and how it violates the UN sanctions.

British Liberal Party Chief Whip, David Steel, also confirmed that British goods reached Rhodesia through British subsidiaries in South Africa. Steel had just returned from Rhodesia and earned a permanent banning order by the Smith regime. Because of immigrations officials desire to help European businessmen coming into the country, Steel was able to enter the country unannounced and complete his investigations. Steel urged closer and more vigorous enforcement of sanctions by the British Government and by other countries as well. He pointed out that sanctions were having a "very serious effect" of the economy of Rhodesia and closely enforced sanctions could increase the pressure on Smith to settle. (*Observer*, London, Oct. 15, 1972)

To placate the Rhodesia Lobby, Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home announced modified sanctions against Rhodesia. Concessions were made by unfreezing some of the funds in Britain and transferring funds from Rhodesia to England for education, health and other "humanitarian" purposes. Africans called it "one more step" towards recognition of the Smith regime and "liquidation" of sanctions. The Smith regime called the concessions "valueless, designed to placate backbenchers of the Conservative Party rather than bring comfort to Rhodesia." Among the concessions are recognition of Rhodesian marriages, divorces and adoptions. (*Le Monde*, Nov. 11)

84 Peers of the Realm signed an open letter to the Times, London, petitioning the end of sanctions against Rhodesia. According to the *Guardian* (Oct. 30, 1972) 65 were of inherited titles, 10 were first creation hereditary peers and the remaining 9 were financial moghuls of the British Empire, including Lord Cole of Unilever and Lord Thomas of Nuffield Organization, one field marshal and three generals and a rear admiral and four former colonial governors. These were led by the Monday Club, the arch defender of traditionalist heirarchical society in England the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, the arch-defender of colonialism. However, the Tory Government managed to get its own version of sanctions passed through Parliament. As former British Representative to the United Nations, Lord Caradon said: "The position of the Conservative Government is that they regard the police nations in South Africa and Rhodesia and Portuguese territories as powerful forces and that a resolution to this problem should be negotiated settlement. . . . to barter away the right of freedom for a Tory mess of pottage." (*Afro-American*, Nov. 18, 1972)

RUSH TOWARDS APARTHEID

The Rhodesian regime is in a hurry to catch up with South Africa. According to the *Guardian* (London, Nov. 21, 1972) the Rhodesian Government is enacting as many racial laws as possible in case Britain decides to implement the 1971 Settlement Proposals. Parliament has just passed a Bill requiring Africans to carry a pass at all times when in the White man's areas and to seek official permission for each journey outside the country. Europeans who hold valid passports of the country do not have to seek permission every time they leave the country.

Parliament is still discussing a new Education Bill which would make it even more difficult than it already is for Africans to attend private (parochial) schools run by missionaries in what have since been declared European areas. In a confrontation with the churches a year ago the Government retracted just a few months before the Pearce Commission came to Rhodesia.

The Government is going ahead with the Bantustanization program which is called "provincialization": setting up tribal homeland authorities with carefully delineated powers. Isolation of the rural African under newly enhanced powers of the chiefs is hoped to produce the "correct answers" to all subsequent questions on Africans.

Three other measures which have been placed before Parliament include the segregated swimming pools; and the "food and drink" curfew for Africans

working in white areas; the "europeanization" of the Lady Chancellor Maternity Hospital, a hospital to which coloured peoples were admitted up to now; and the Africans (Registration and Identification) Amendment Bill. (Guardian, Nov. 17, 1972). The food and drink curfew was immediately quashed by the High Court with costs. Many hotels and restaurants which served Africans stood to lose the major portion of their business. There are many hotels and restaurants in downtown Salisbury which rely almost completely on African clientele. The proposed law aimed at limiting service to Africans after 7 p.m. except in the African towns and African areas. Three hotels and an African journalist took the Government to court. The "Europeanization" of Lady Chancellor means that Asians and Coloureds will have the use of a converted psychiatric ward for a maternity ward. Africans were never admitted into Lady Chancellor. The third piece of legislation will make it next to impossible for an African, with a valid passport to travel abroad. The internal pass laws are devised to control labor in and out of the industrial areas. When the labor supply is plenty the passes will be more difficult to get and raids on African towns will be more frequent and when the labor supply is scarce passes will be easier to get.

INHUMAN PRISON CONDITIONS

34 African political detainees smuggled a letter out of prison to the Minister of Justice, the Red Cross, Amnesty International and several other international organizations interested in prison conditions. The letter was a petition to the Minister of Justice for humane treatment in the prisons.

The letter pointed out that, as political detainees, i.e. detained without trial, they were legally entitled to out of prison supplemental food and clothing supplies and to communications with outside organizations. Recent regulations have, however placed them under conditions which are worse than any convicted persons. They were placed on Scale 3 Food, which they maintain is worse than no food at all and which has led to several TB cases in the group. They are no longer allowed to receive supplemental food or clothing from their families and friends and are not allowed to communicate with any organizations outside the prisons.

Most of the 34 are top members of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) detained in Salisbury remand prison. They include the secretary Robert Mugabe who has now been in detention for almost 10 years, secretary for the youth, Morton Malianga, D. Mutasa and many others. Minister of Justice Lardner-Burke denied all allegations as "preposterous." (Observer, London, Oct. 29, 1972; Guardian, London, Oct. 31, 1972)

ANOTHER SETTLER PARTY

Another white political party has been formed in Salisbury called the Rhodesia Party (RP). The party which apparently has "the support of big business as well as young Europeans" is against African majority rule and what its leaders call "petty racialism." The party hopes to avoid "doctrinaire approaches," and steer a mid-course. "The goal to work towards is freedom of association in the private sphere, and



Africans outside a prison in Salisbury

freedom from discrimination in public life," says their statement.

The party already has a representative in parliament in the person of Allan Savory, a former Rhodesia Front member who resigned from the governing party earlier last year and has been sitting as an independent. Mr. Savory said that the RP does not accept the 1971 Settlement Proposals because "we do not accept that there should be majority rule ever in the country on the lines that there would be unbridled, total black power."

The party is led by Roy Asburner (45) a farmer and former cricketer and includes one old political hand, Dr. Morris Hirsch. (Guardian, London, Oct. 31, 1972)

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

A Catholic priest who edits a weekly newspaper *Moto*, mostly for African readership, was sentenced to five months for publishing a statement written by the Catholic Bishop of Umtali, Bishop D. Lamont.

Father Albert Palngger was charged with publishing a subversive statement and was found guilty of contravening the country's security laws. The "subversive statement" was an article by one of the top Bishops of the country criticizing the Rhodesian Constitution and Government. Father Palngger will appeal.

FIRST CATHOLIC

The Catholics of Rhodesia appointed their first African Bishop. He is Father Patrick Chakaipa (40) who was recently named Auxiliary Bishop of Salisbury.



GENERAL TIRE COMPANY IN SOUTH AFRICA
Fact Sheet Prepared for Black Student Union at Holy Cross College by the Southern Africa Committee (South).

Under an operating agreement with General Tire and Rubber of Ohio, General Tire, South Africa manufactures tires, tubes and repair materials. The U.S. company is a minority shareholder, and considers the "joint venture with South African investors" to have been "amicable and mutually-productive relationship." However, neither President J.W. Foss of Akron nor Managing Director R.C. Nicholson of General Tire, South Africa would give any details about operations to researchers from U.S. churches who questioned them.¹

The South African press reports that 1970 profits for the company (distributable net profit) were \$1,322,000, up 7.5% over the previous year's \$1,229,000.² Profits did not rise as rapidly as had been expected due to higher costs which offset the lower price the company had to pay for rubber.

Like other South African tire manufacturers, General Tire suffered from an inability to produce enough to meet the demand during 1970. The year before had seen a 26% increase in truck tire demand, and a 16% increase in need for passenger vehicle tires.³ Nicholson, who is also Chairman of the Tyre Manufacturers Conference, charged that South Africa was "losing out" in the manufacture of tires because of the acute labor shortage. "Something will have to be done about the importation of labour into the area," he said of the company's Port Elizabeth manufacturing facility, "be it White or non-White."⁴ Nevertheless, he predicted that the supply position would ease within a few months due to the importation of sophisticated machinery to counteract the shortage.

In 1972, though, the company was again having its problems. The first six months of the year indicated that the downhill trend was accelerating. Pre-tax profits were down 14.5% to \$751,800.⁵

Two reasons for the downturn are the increased

capacity of GT's new \$3.5 million extensions at Port Elizabeth without concurrent growth in orders.⁶ This is partly due to the fact that importers cornered 12% of the market during the shortage of domestically-produced tires. Nicholson, in his position as head of the Conference, is pressing the government to raise import restrictions on tire imports to aid local manufacturers.

General Tire can be counted on to follow its own interests in South Africa. Sometimes, its actions will be perceived by uninformed outside observers as being helpful to the development of black people, as when it calls for more rational use of African labor. Yet the structures of power remain the same, and the few extra jobs provided offer no security to the workers who take them. When GT can fulfill its labor needs in ways more acceptable to the South African government - such as importing equipment rather than hiring more black workers - it will do so.

At other times, its self-interest is *directly* supportive of the South African regime, as when it pushes for reduction of imports which saves the country foreign exchange and develops the strength of the economy. Note: General Tire also manufactures UNIROYAL tires at its Port Elizabeth plant. Uniroyal advertises that it is the tire "exclusively designed for South Africa and South African conditions."⁷

Addendum: New Mozambiquan Factory

In December, General Tire announced that construction has begun on a \$10 million factory in Mozambique. The company's involvement in the territory is through a minority investment in Mabor General. The new facility, located in Lourenco Marques, will be operational in 18 months and can be expanded to fulfill total demand for tires in Mozambique.⁸ Through Mabor, GT is also involved in tire manufacturing in Angola.

(Look for a full report of the actions of Holy Cross students with regard to General Tire and their college in the Action section of the February *Southern Africa*.)

General Tire

1. Letter to Harry Applewhite, United Church of Christ from J.W. Foss, January 22, 1971.
2. *Financial Gazette*, March 5, 1971.
3. *Rand Daily Mail*, May 6, 1970.
4. *RDM*, May 18, 1970.
5. *Financial Mail*, September 22, 1972.
6. *ibid.*
7. *Financial Mail*, November 15, 1968.
8. *Wall Street Journal*, December 1, 1972.

US FIRMS MIGHT WITHDRAW

Increasing pressure in the United States might force American firms to withdraw, according to J. Barrat, director of the South African institute for International Affairs. The current trend is for companies to continue their South African involvements, but a "dramatic" escalation of protest might change that. "Careful handling of policy will be needed on both sides," he told a Johannesburg business conference.

"These companies in general stand to lose more, for instance, from work stoppages in their plants within the United States or even from restricted boycotts of

their products there [than] they would from closing down in South Africa," he noted.

"Signs are now appearing that similar pressures are developing in the United Kingdom, too. If these pressures become at all effective they could create serious difficulties both for Britain and South Africa, because of the relatively much greater British financial interest in the Republic."

(*The Journal of Commerce*, November 7, 1972; *The Guardian*, London, November 20, 1972)

US FIRMS MUST WITHDRAW

During a recent tour of the United States, Sonny Leon, President of the Labour Party of South Africa, made frequent pleas for total withdrawal of American firms from South Africa. (The Labour Party, which opposes apartheid, is the "opposition" in the Coloured Representative Council although it was the winner of the election, since the South African government appointed enough members of the defeated (but government-supporting) party to give the latter a majority.) Leon charged that U.S. companies "hide behind racial laws." Their investments "boost whites and apartheid." (*Amsterdam News*, Oct. 28 and Nov. 25, 1972)

BETHLEHEM STEEL EXPLORING NEAR CABORA BASSA DAM

African Development, the London monthly (November), reports the involvement of Bethlehem Steel Corporation in a consortium which holds extensive mineral rights in the south and south west portions of Mozambique's Tete district. The Angolan firm, Companhia Mineira do Lobita, moved outside its own territory for the first time to form the consortium with the participation of Companhia de Uranio de Mocambique. Lying 50 to 90 miles south of the Carbora Bassa Dam, the companies' concession gives them exclusive rights to all minerals except uranium, diamonds, coal and oil.

INTENSIVE SOUTH AFRICAN ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN IN THE US PRESS

During the later months of 1972, the South African Information Service placed a series of ads in the *Wall Street Journal*. In November (11), the *Star* reported that the S.A.I.S. director "said the response had been very good, and that numbers of inquiries were being received from top businessmen and potential investors."

A full-page ad on November 6 read US BUSINESS IS BULLISH ON SOUTH AFRICA.

WHITE SUGAR GROWERS' PLAN TO RETAIN U.S. SUGAR QUOTA

The white South African Sugar Association has proposed a plan to allow sugar companies to farm African-owned land in the reserves. A major aim is "to persuade United States state Department officials of this country's [South Africa] good intentions and so insure the retention of a 60,000 short ton sugar export quota." (*Daily News*, Durban, Oct. 23, 1972)

The Association's plan came as a response to the South African government announcement concerning consolidation of land in the Zulu 'homeland.' The

consolidation would place 128 white and 18 Indian farms in the African area. According to the growers, sugar yield would drop 50% under African management -- a drastic decrease at the time when both local and international demand for sugar is increasing. The plan awaits the government's response.

OUTSPAN INCREASES SALES OF SOUTH AFRICAN FRUIT

During the 1971 season, international sales of South African citrus fruits grew substantially, according to the Outspan organization. The \$90 million* sales represents an increase of more than one million cartons. Outspan distributes South African fruit to some 30 countries from its British base. (*Star*, Nov. 11, 1972)

SOME PAY INCREASES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS: - DOCTORS NOT NURSES

During November and December, wage hikes were announced by several major corporations and organizations. *Johannesburg Consolidated Investments*, one of South Africa's largest mining groups, announced an increase of about 30% for 50,000 black miners. (*Guardian*, Nov. 10, 1972)

In the retail and distributing industry, an equal number of black workers received raises averaging 46%. (*New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1972) The Johannesburg City Health Department decided to pay African doctors the same amount as white doctors receive. The decision, which will mean about a 300% increase was taken following the walkout of 10 black doctors in protest against their low wages. The city's black nurses were not so lucky. Defending the refusal to equalize nurses salaries, a city spokesman stated that there is no shortage of nurses: "Nursing has become a status symbol among young Bantu girls in Soweto. Parents are very proud of their daughters when they become nurses -- so where is the need to lift wages?" (*Star*, Dec. 2, 1972)

[A further discussion of the implications of these and other changes involving workers in South Africa will appear in the February issue.]

*Following the recent devaluation - R1.00 = \$1.2732 (Official Rate), *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 25, 1972

SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF FAVOR WITH INTERNATIONAL BANKS

During 1971, South Africa raised a total of \$154 million in the international money market, nearly equalling its borrowing over the previous four years.

But from September 1972 the situation changed. The European market is split into two camps--one consisting of supporters of South Africa, the other of banks, brokers, and individuals who will not buy loans issued by a South African borrower for economic or political reasons (*X-Ray*, August 6, 1972).

The South African government finds it harder to raise loans than do private companies. Early this year Anglo-American Corporation raised a dollar loan for a larger amount and on better terms than did the government.

book REVIEWS

Richard Gibson, African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles Against White Minority Rule. London: Oxford University Press (for the Institute of Race Relations), 1972. Paperback \$2.95.

The book is the first to attempt a comprehensive survey of the liberation movements in Africa. It is well organized and detailed; it is from a point of view committed to the struggle; it is intended according to the Black American author, to present analysis of obstacles and unpleasant truths; it comes with the backing of the prestigious establishment Institute of Race Relations. This could be, it seems a first, a reference for all those concerned with the struggle in Southern Africa.

Unfortunately, it cannot be so recommended for Gibson's study has some basic flaws. The chronology and the names are there, but the promised analysis is, for the most part, instead of a serious attempt to deal with the problems facing the liberation struggle, a collection of half-truths, innuendo, and gossip. It is impossible within the scope of this review to deal with the whole book in detail, and the quality does vary by section. In the cases where it is almost impossible to find a competing movement (Namibia and Guinea-Bissau), there are relatively sympathetic accounts of the leading organizations, SWAPO and PAIGC. But in the cases of South Africa, Angola, and Mozambique, Gibson's own strong feelings against ANC, MPLA, and FRELIMO seem to get in the way of any constructive analysis.

The basis of these feelings, apart from his own personal contacts with rival movements, seem to be extreme hostility towards any tie of the movements with Moscow-line Communists, and particularly with the largely white Communist Party of South Africa. However, he focuses less on the substantive mistakes in liberation strategy that such ties may have led to, than on comments which seem to imply that the African leaders (for example of the ANC) really have no minds of their own. The presence of one white South African Communist Party member at the ANC Morogoro conference is thus taken as evidence that "the black sheep were to be herded by a white sheep dog" (p. 74). Given the difficulties that all the South African liberation movements have faced in both the decade before Sharpeville, and the decade after, an analysis of the problems of building mass support both in urban and rural contexts, in maintaining contacts on the inside with much of the leadership in prison or in exile, and in building for a protracted armed struggle could have been useful. Instead, we hear almost exclusively of Communist manipulation and factional struggles, a kind of reporting one expects from establishment journalists, but not from supporters of the struggle. (The reader who wishes to try to get at the issues of

what was happening inside the liberation movements of South Africa would be well advised to consult a variety of sources, including Gibson, but also issues of *Africa South*, books by Nelson Mandela, Edward Roux, Mary Benson, H.J. and R.E. Simons, Peter Walshe, Edward Feit, movement publications, etc.)

The consequences of the kind of focus Gibson adopts can be seen clearly in his treatment of FRELIMO, and the developments there since 1967. He first of all consistently downgrades FRELIMO successes, failing to discuss the front in Tete, except in a one-sentence reference followed by the comment that "FRELIMO has a bad record of exaggerated war claims" (the time when the book was written can be no excuse here, since he reports other events through June 1971, by which time FRELIMO forces were not only strongly established in northern Tete, but had moved south of the Zambezi River as well.) And the developments of 1967-1968 are reported in terms of 'so-and-so was Soviet-oriented, or American-oriented, or Chinese-oriented, or had a white wife,' while the issues involved are completely ignored. One of the major issues, for example, was over the character of a protracted struggle: whether the line of a protracted national struggle and social transformation in the liberated areas on the one hand (supported by Mondlane, Machel, and the majority of the Central Committee) was to win out, or the line of concentration of forces in Cabo Delgado province and trying for a quick independence of that province, with opportunities for good positions for such leaders as Kavandame (who later defected to the Portuguese). From Gibson one would not even guess that such a question was being discussed.

This review cannot deal with the details of these developments, which are discussed in several issues of *Mozambique Revolution* at the time, and analyzed in greater detail in a book by Luisa Passerini (*Colonialismo Portoghese e Lotta di Liberazione nel Mozambico*, published in Turin, Italy, by Einaudi, 1970), and briefly in Part Three of Basil Davidson's book *In the Eye of the Storm*. The point is that Gibson not only is led by his hostility to FRELIMO to underestimate its strength (although even for him it is difficult to say much that is positive about COREMO), but that he fails to even deal with the important issues involved. And this is far worse than trying to grapple with the issues, and coming to an erroneous conclusion because it tends to focus the debate on secondary or peripheral rather than central issues. It is a pity that the extensive information Gibson gives us was not analyzed and sifted, and used for a political analysis, rather than allowed to remain, in great measure, in the form of gossip and innuendo.

ACTION GUIDEBOOK: INTERCOM

The New York based Center for War/Peace Studies publishes periodic study/guide books called Intercom for use in schools and groups. The September, 1972 issue of Intercom is entitled "Southern Africa. Problems and U.S. Alternatives—A Guide to Discussion Study and Resources." It contains a great deal of analytical and resource material, but like so many general surveys on Southern Africa it fails, even as a study tool, to successfully relate the fundamental issues of Southern Africa to the lives of Americans in the 1970's. The booklet contains a long survey of the situation in Southern Africa with some suggestions for U.S. policy change by Professor John Marcum (author of *The Angolan Revolution*). Five different study/discussion topics are presented. Topics include U.S. Involvement, the Nature of Apartheid, the Liberation Movements, the Role of External Forces in Southern Africa and Future Prospects. The primary sources utilized range from U.S., South African and Portuguese

Government officials to liberation movement representatives; from Harvard University on its policy toward the Gulf Oil Campaign to militant Black American opinion on U.S. Black responsibility. The booklet also contains lists of films, liberation movements, organizations, and bibliographic sources. Its conglomerate quality has inherent problems. The essays and tone of the booklet are sympathetic to radical change in Southern Africa, but there is a lack of perspective on the full reality of U.S. strategy there, including military and corporate aims (aims which go beyond what Marcum terms the "laissez-faire" nature of U.S. policy). Moreover, there is real discussion of the aims, progress and nature of the liberation struggle. Add to this the lack of linkage with U.S. domestic and foreign policies (i.e. Southern African and IndoChina compared) and the booklet fails to fill a much needed gap in concise and relevant study guides to Southern Africa. ■

INSIDE NAMIBIA

FINNISH LUTHERAN CITES NAMIBIAN TORTURE

The Rev. Mikko Ihamaki found that mission work with blacks in Namibia inevitably led him into activities with the government regarded as improperly political. "The churches, working among different tribes, try to unite people," he says. "But government policy is to divide and conquer, to establish the so-called homelands for the different tribes."

Ihamaki, a Finnish Lutheran who went to Namibia in 1961, has been denied permission to return. When he went home in May for a four-month leave, he had a return visa. But a week before he was to return his visa was withdrawn. He discussed his experience in an interview during a recent 10-day visit to the United States. His activities here included addressing the annual meeting of the U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and calling on various United Nations officials to discuss the situation in Namibia. In addition to the general opposition to the South African Government's policy over the question of apartheid, Ihamaki reported that churches felt they had to speak out against the contract labor system in Namibia because of its harmful effects on family life. The Finnish Mission has worked with the Ovambos since 1870 and about two-thirds of the 300,000-member tribe are Lutherans.

Ihamaki said he also came into conflict with government authorities when black students in church schools were tortured, the police tying wires to their fingers and toes and applying electrical shocks. This kind of treatment was used, he said, while the authorities were interrogating the students about what the missionaries were teaching them. When asked what

churches outside Namibia might do for Namibian blacks, Ihamaki said the possibilities are limited but that they should respond to appeals of black church leaders there. As an example, he noted that Bishop Leonard Auala had urged that American businessmen should continue their operations there, but begin to give equal treatment to their black employees. (Religious News Service, Nov. 20, 1972).

LUTHERANS GIVE NAMIBIA PRIORITY

The U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation said at its annual meeting in New York in November that its international parent organization should give "priority" support to programs in Southern Africa, especially in Namibia. Prompting the statement was a presentation by the Rev. Mikko Ihamaki, a Finnish missionary refused re-entry into Namibia in the fall (see article above). The statement of the Federation's U.S.A. Committee coincided with indications in South African that Vorster intends to move ahead with plans to split up Namibia by granting "self government" to 10 black "homelands."

Dr. Carl Mau, general secretary of the committee, was instructed to inform Chase Manhattan Bank, where funds are deposited, that the financial institution should be sensitive to the human suffering brought about by apartheid. The Federation said that it would terminate all business with banks pursuing policies and practices contributing to the to the worsening of the blacks' position in Southern Africa. (Religious News Service, Nov. 22, 1972). ■

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES

GULF BOYCOTT COMMITTEE CALLS FOR COUNTER-LEAFLETING

Gulf has distributed a number of national and state flag decals to its customers. The Gulf Boycott Coalition headquarters in Dayton, Ohio, encourages people to do mass leafleting of stickered cars in such places as shopping centers, parking lots, and at sports events. For leaflets write to the Gulf Boycott Coalition, Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406

CAROLINA CONFERENCE OF "AFRIKAN" UNITY

A number of Pan-African, African and Black groups sponsored a Thanksgiving weekend conference entitled the "Kwame Nkrumah Conference on Afrikan Youth, Students and Development" held in Durham, North Carolina at N.C. Central University. Participating groups included the Arusha-Konakri Institute, the Congress of African People, Eritrean Liberation Front, Ghanaian Students Union, Zambian Student Union and many others. A follow-up conference is planned for early 1973 in Ghana. The Black participants discussed issues of African unity, politics, and economics, while also viewing and hearing much on the liberation struggles in Southern Africa.

MACSA CONTINUES SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTS BOYCOTT

Members of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa leafleted supermarkets in the Madison area. At one store the manager assured the leafletters that his store would remove South African products (e.g. lobster tails, "Kaffir tea," etc.) but it was apparently a ploy to get rid of the demonstrators. The boycott effort will be extended to restaurants as well as markets.

As part of its fund-raising effort for the PAIGC, MACSA used several films on Guinea-Bissau which received wide exposure in the community. (MACSA News, November, 1972)

CHICAGO SOUTHERN AFRICA SOLIDARITY DAY

On November 19, 300 Chicago area people participated in a day long solidarity day dealing with issues of Liberation and Imperialism in Southern Africa. The conference was sponsored by groups including the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, Southern Africa Task Force, Chicago Anti-Imperialist Coalition, Ethiopian and Iranian Students Union, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, New American Movement, Chicago Area Group on Latin America, Northwestern Organization of African Students, Fight Back and featured speakers from FRELIMO, MPLA, the Africa Informa-

tion Service, MACSA, and Chicago groups. Individual speakers included Robert Van Lierop who recently visited and photographed life in liberated Mozambique, and Melba Smith, who in the summer of 1972 spent time in freed MPLA territory. The conference workshops dealt with Southern African history, the strategies of imperialism in Southern Africa, liberation strategies, the role of workers and liberation support.

In the last year, the Chicago area groups have also arranged speaking engagements with local university, church and community groups for representatives from liberation movements (FRELIMO, PAIGC, SWAPO) as well as other Southern Africans.

Africa based groups in Chicago include:

African American Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 1941, Chicago, Ill. 60690

Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (CCLAMG), 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614 (345-3370)

Black Workers Congress, Box 295, Gary, Indiana

Southern Africa Liberation Information Group, P.O. Box 908, Evanston, Ill. 60201

Southern African Task Force, United Church of Christ, 550 W. Oakdale, Chicago 60657 (281-9279)

VOTES OF INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA RESOLUTIONS REVEALED

Shortly after the 1972 annual corporate shareholder meetings the African American Institute sent a brief questionnaire to 339 major institutional investors asking information on the way they had voted on shareholder resolutions filed with AMAX, Newmont Mining, Gulf, GM and Goodyear. The resolutions requested detailed disclosure of information on the corporations' operations in southern Africa. The shareholder groups did not file resolutions with IBM and Mobil as the result of an agreement reached with these two corporations that they would voluntarily supply the information within four months.

Responses were received from 110, or about one-third, of the 339 institutional investors polled. Approximately 50 per cent of the universities, 25 per cent of the foundations, and 25 per cent of the "for-profit" institutions—banks, insurance companies, and mutual funds—replied.

Substantive responses, that is, completed questionnaires or copies of letters to management, were received from 37 of the nonprofit institutions; 12 of the for-profit institutional investors completed the questionnaire or sent copies of letters to management.

Of the nonprofit institutional votes on the five resolutions (some of the institutions held stock in more than one of the corporations) 21 were for the shareholder resolution, 28 were against, and 14 were

abstentions. Total shares voted in favor of the resolution, as reported to AAI, were 1,484,995; total against, 1,084,548; abstentions, 1,895,649. (Update, A.A.I., Oct. 1972)

The irony of this pattern of institutional voting lies in the fact that the stockholder resolution they voted on merely asked for disclosure of the facts of their involvement in South Africa.

PHOENIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY QUESTIONS GOODYEAR RE SOUTH AFRICA

The Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company wrote a letter to Goodyear about the stockholder resolution asking for disclosure of the facts of Goodyear's involvement in South Africa. The letter concluded, "In our opinion, the problems that exist under South Africa's Apartheid rules are so serious and against the doctrine of free men that we question whether American corporations should continue to make investments in this nation. We would be extremely interested in knowing of the dollar and manpower involvement that the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company has in South Africa."

Replying to this letter from Phoenix, Goodyear said it could "state unequivocally that our subsidiary in South Africa conducts its employee relations with a firm regard for the dignity, work fulfillment, and legal and human rights of all its employees." The company has "for many years" been conducting continuing programs to upgrade work skills of all employees, regardless of race or color; financial support and time for furtherance of formal education is made available in a program that "is not race related" and selection for which is based on individual merit; fringe benefits are provided on an equal basis to all employees. Goodyear said the company's investment in South Africa is less than \$15 million and the number of employees "approximately 2,300 as of this date."

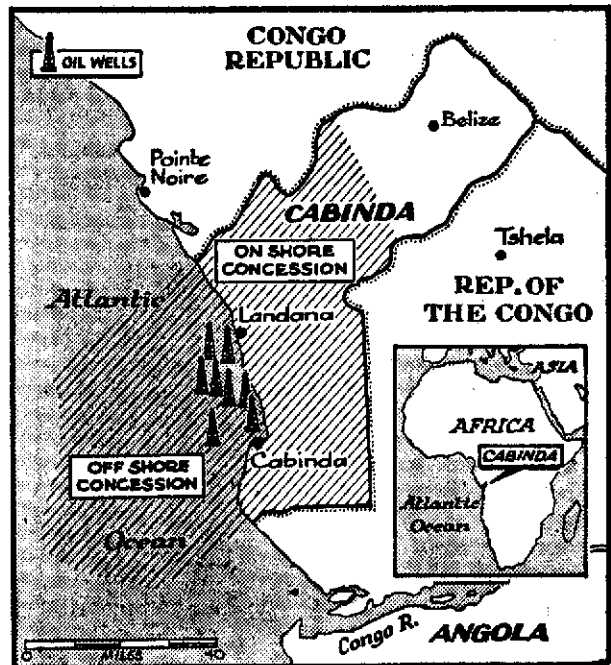
The Goodyear letter went on to say that the resolution was opposed not because disclosure of the information sought would be detrimental to the company, but because it felt "that this information, if obtained, would be used for political action," and that "we simply refuse to be used by a small number of shareholders as a small part of their overall social and political motives."

According to the letter, Goodyear management believes the shareholder resolution calling for disclosure "is only a beginning of a multitude of resolutions to be submitted by shareholders who are not concerned about their investment or the profits your Company may generate in South Africa," and that "Next year this shareholder or other shareholders may submit new resolutions . . . requiring your Company to change its method of operation in South Africa or to completely withdraw its operations from that country."

Stanford University, in its letter to Goodyear explaining its vote in favor of the shareholder resolution, said it did not agree with management that the issue raised was whether the company should do business in South Africa. "We do not share your fears as to what such disclosure will bring and wish to express our concern over your company's lack of responsiveness to the issues implicit in this proposal."

OPEN LETTER PROTESTING EXXON ENTRY INTO ANGOLAN OIL RACE

Esso Exploration, Inc., a subsidiary of the newly named EXXON Corporation, confirmed in a letter to the United Church of Christ that it has applied to the Portuguese Government for a concession to explore for oil off-shore Angola. The American Committee on Africa addressed an open letter to M. Brisco, the president of EXXON, calling upon the company to end its plans to explore in Angola, pointing out that the "prospect of Exxon providing Portugal with millions of dollars" would not only give the colonial regime new monies but would provide "aid to the shaky Portuguese colonial system, [and] also directly and adversely affect the lives of the millions of people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau who are working for political control over their own countries and resources." The letter cites U.N. policy against investment in the Portuguese territories as well as the precedent of opposition set by the anti-Gulf actions. (Letter from ACOA, December 11, 1972)



INTERNATIONAL ACTION

UK MEDICAL JOURNAL ACTS

Dr. Sue Dowling, who worked as a medical doctor in Durban, South Africa, lobbied to have the British Medical Journal remove all advertising for jobs in South Africa on the basis that such posts are inherently discriminatory. The journal, despite protests, has apparently stopped publishing such ads. (Star, Johannesburg, November 11, 1972)

SWISS GROUP EXPOSES COUNTRY'S AID TO APARTHEID

The Centre Europe-Tiers Monde has conducted several studies revealing growing Swiss links with the South African economy, including relationships with the Bantustans. The Centre's work, aided in part by study grants from the World Council of Churches, is

symbolic of growing awareness of the "non-neutral" role of Switzerland in the Third World. (New York Times, November 19, 1972)

ANTI APARTHEID MOVEMENT AND LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

The annual meeting of the Anti-Apartheid Movement held in late October, passed a number of resolutions including a call for no recognition of the Smith regime in Rhodesia; support for the ZAPU-ZANU military alliance; opposition to the U.N.'s consultations with South Africa over Namibia; and to MPLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC; and recognition of the existence of SASO in South Africa. The meeting called on the AAM branches to campaign for an end to all British trade and investment in Southern Africa.

The AAM held an open meeting at the Blackpool Conference of the Labour Party, which attracted a number of Labour Party people who heard speakers from the Movement as well as PAIGC and ANC. Resolutions were passed at the conference calling for increased sanctions against Rhodesia, an end to British emigration to South Africa, and termination of investments in Southern Africa as well as military aid to Portugal. (Anti-Apartheid News, November, 1972)

CAMBRIDGE UNION DEBATE FAVORS NO RHODESIAN SELL-OUT

The annual Cambridge Union debate featured Judith Todd and former clergyman in Southern Africa, Trevor Huddleston, confronting two conservatives over the Rhodesian question. The position opposed to any UK settlement on Rhodesia was overwhelmingly adopted by an audience of more than 1,000. (Anti-Apartheid News, November, 1972)

AAM DISRUPTS SPRINGBOK ASSOCIATION

The Springbok Association holds public relations meetings all over England advocating tourism and exchanges with South Africa. A recent meeting ran less smoothly than usual as Anti-Apartheid Movement members challenged the organizers and talked with participants. The police finally came and removed the protestors. (Anti-Apartheid News, November, 1972)

BLOCKADE CALLED FOR SHIPS FROM NAMIBIA

A group called Operation Omega has called for people to join in blockading ships which comes to England with goods from Namibia. The group has discovered that three or four such ships arrive each month in British ports. (Anti-Apartheid News, November 1972)

BRITISH SHIPS DISTURB PARLIAMENT

Based on information gathered by the American Committee on Africa, concerned M.P.'s have initiated an official inquiry into whether or not British ships have been involved in carrying Rhodesian goods in particular, nickel to the United States. The issue has been raised in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. (ACOA Staff Report, December 12, 1972)

AUSTRALIAN P.M. ACTS QUICKLY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Newly elected Prime Minister Gough Whitlam of Australia's Labour Party announced upon assuming

office, several important moves to cut back former Aussie-South African friendship. Whitlam informed the South African Ambassador to Australia that South African teams chosen racially would not be allowed to enter Australia, and he also announced the closing down of Rhodesia's Information Office in Sydney, over the objection of the Conservative state administration there. Sports tours from South Africa to Australia have been a hot issue for years. (New York Times, December 11, 1972)

UGANDA WELCOMES SOUTHERN AFRICAN TEACHERS

With the exodus of thousands of Asian teachers and the expected departure of British teachers as well, Ugandan Education Minister has said that his government would welcome Blacks from Southern Africa to teach in his country. (Intern. Herald Tribune, November 12, 1972)

AFRICAN STATES OF EEC PROTEST SOUTH AFRICA'S APPEAL

19 African countries with associate status to the EEC (Common Market) have denounced a memo sent by South Africa to the Common Market which it is believed calls for EEC economic links with the apartheid state. (Agence France Presse, October 17, 1972)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE GRANT TO PAIGC

The Congress of African People, chaired by Imamu Amiri Baraka, has announced that it will provide funds to the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau. On December 8, CAP held a Pan African Reception for a representative of PAIGC, Gil Fernandes, which also featured the U.N. Ambassador from Tanzania, Salim Salim. (New York Times, November 16, 1972; Leaflet).

CHAIRMAN OF UK LIBERAL PARTY - TRIP TO GUINEA BISSAU

After a three week visit to liberated Guinea-Bissau, the Chairman of Britain's Liberal Party, Richard Wainwright, has called for an end to the UK-Portuguese alliance with particular efforts aimed at reducing an anticipated celebration of 600 years of Portuguese-British friendship next year. (Times, UK, November 23, 1972)

ALGERIAN FAIR FEATURES MOVEMENTS

Algeria's recognition of the role of the liberation movements in Southern African was affirmed when the groups had high visible representation at an Algerian International Fair held in September. (Anti-Apartheid News, November, 1972)

SWEDEN TO UP AID TO MOVEMENTS

Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs announced at the convention of the Swedish Social Democratic Party that the government would increase aid to the Southern African liberation movements in 1972. (Novaport, [FR.] November 1, 1972)

SOUTHERN AFRICA

ANC LEADER DEAD AT 71

J.B. Marks, an important leader of the African National Congress, former teacher and mine workers' organizer, and member of the South African Communist Party, died on August 1, 1972 after a serious illness. The peak of Marks' career was as the chief organizer of the Mine Workers Union in South Africa and when, in 1946, 100,000 workers went out on strike. "Uncle J.B." was banned in 1950 and left South Africa in 1963 to work in Tanzania with the party's External Headquarters. Memorial meetings were held in Africa, India, England, USSR.

J. B. Marks



RHODESIAN EXCLUSION FROM THE OLYMPIC GAMES

In a controversy pursued through the columns of the Evening Star, conservative columnist James Kilpatrick and Rhodesian representative Kenneth Towsey have accused Congressman Diggs of racism in his support of the decision to exclude Rhodesia from the Olympics. Towsey cited singer Eartha Kitt as distinguishing between the rigidity of South Africa and the more relaxed situation in Rhodesia. He quoted her as saying "you can have mixed audiences [in Rhodesia], and if a Black man has money he can go anywhere he wants to go." Towsey said that his office received more than 300 editorial columns from U.S. papers dealing with the Olympic exclusion, and that 80% were opposed. (*The Star*, Oct. 28, 1972).

PRESTIGIOUS VISITORS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Clark MacGregor, Nixon's campaign manager and now an executive with United Aircraft Corporation, told a television audience in Rhodesia that American non-recognition of Rhodesia was both unpopular and unnatural. He commented that the U.S. might recognize the Smith regime, perhaps "sooner than most people realize." The State Department emphatically denied any intentions of recognition and pointed out that MacGregor is now a business executive and no longer an advisor to Nixon. (*New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1972) Nixon's new Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Clarence Clyde Ferguson, slipped quietly into South Africa in early November shortly after his appointment had been announced in Washington. He stayed with Ambassador Hurd in Pretoria, and met with some senior Government officials. Ferguson is black and a former Ambassador to Uganda and member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. He intended meeting with a wide variety of South Africans "of all colours," but was primarily interested in talking with Americans resident in South Africa, according to U.S. diplomatic sources. He has refused interviews but planned to hold an off-the-record briefing with newsmen at the editor level. (*The Star*, Nov. 11, 1972). Astronaut Neil Armstrong, the first man to set foot on the moon, was due to visit South Africa in late November as the guest of the Jaycee movement. (*The Star*, September 23, 1972).

U.S. AT THE U.N.

The U.S. delegation joined SA, Portugal, France, and Great Britain in voting against a UN resolution condemning colonialism and recognizing the legitimacy of the anti-colonial armed struggle. Ambassador Bush "felt support for the freedom fighters was contrary to the UN charter." The U.S. did not, however, oppose General Assembly resolutions to expand the dissemination of information on colonialism, to co-sponsor with the OAU an international conference against colonialism and apartheid, and to observe the week beginning May 25 as African Liberation Day in solidarity with the colonial peoples of Africa. (*The Afro-American*, Nov. 14, 1972).

A NOTE ON CHROME

According to Ralph Nader, the parliamentary maneuver which allowed the importation of Rhodesian chrome was passed late at night "when half the members present were stoned out of their minds." He promises a subsequent study of this. (*The Observer*, Oct. 22, 1972).



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