

# SOUTHERN AFRICA



**A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion**

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**SHARPEVILLE  
1960**



**DURBAN  
1973**

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# EDITORIAL

**SHARPEVILLE—March 21, 1960**

"Sons and daughters of the soil, on Monday, March 21, 1960, we launch our Positive Decisive Action against the Pass Laws . . . Are we still prepared to be citizens—men and women in a democratic non-racial South Africa? How long shall we be called Bantu, Native, Non-Europeans, Non-White, or stinking Kaffir . . . ? How long shall we rot physically, spiritually and morally? How long shall we be a rightless, voteless, and voiceless 11,000,000 in our fatherland?"

With these words Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, called for a massive non-violent protest against the Pass Laws. On March 21st 1960, in the township of Sharpeville, the police fired on a crowd of demonstrators, killing sixty-nine and injuring many more.

The crisis that followed the massacre shaped the

context for the next years of protest in South Africa. African political parties were banned, and the Government tightened its control by more repressive legislation, including the infamous Terrorism Act.

Nevertheless, opposition in South Africa has endured and the spirit of the Blacks has not been broken. In January and February, massive strikes have taken place in Durban, involving more than 50,000 workers. Their demands are immediate and practical: enough money to live.

In spite of small improvements and minor concessions, the demands of the Durban workers, and the demands of the martyred at Sharpeville, will not be met until there is an end to white supremacy in South Africa. Commemoration of Sharpeville and support for the Durban workers means participating in the fundamental struggle: the struggle for Blacks to shape their own history.



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**FRONT COVER:**

*On Guard in Durban:*  
Riot police flown in from Pretoria in Durban, South Africa, where, for the past month, black workers at more than 100 firms have been staging wildcat strikers to protest low wages.

Photo: AP

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# FEATURE ARTICLE

## PRETORIA WANTS A SOUTH AFRICAN "HOLLYWOOD"

Reprint of an article by Michael Raeburn from the book, *LES CINEMAS AFRICAINS EN 1972*, ed. Guy Hennebelle, Paris, Societe Africaine d'Editions, 1972. 371 pp. Translated and footnoted by Richard Leonard.

\*The films that are made in South Africa by all white South Africans are not shown abroad. It is surprising that most people don't know that South Africa has been producing full-length films regularly since 1916. These films are made by Whites for Whites. The financing is made possible by the high standard of living of the privileged white minority. Proportionate to its population, the number of movie houses in South Africa is much greater than in other countries. Attendance has greatly increased since the opening of the first American-style drive-ins in the 40's. It must be emphasized that the deliberate absence of television (one understands the noxious problems for apartheid) with the full concurrence of the film industry has again accentuated the phenomenal number of movie-goers.

### Born in 1915 for the Needs of Propaganda

According to a magazine "Actualities," called today *The African Mirror*, the South African cinema was founded in 1915 in Johannesburg. The first long productions (silents) released before 1920 quickly set the pattern for the "national cinema." *Die Voortrekkers* (1916) showed, for example, the Dutch colonialists (Boers) courageously guiding their wagons toward the interior of Africa, fighting simultaneously against the sun and the wicked Blacks. This film was followed in 1918 by *Symbol of Sacrifice*. It portrayed the English victory over the Zulus in the battle of Roukes Drift. The first film put the accent on the heroism of the Boers (called today "Afrikaners") while the second very "diplomatically" recalled the role played by Great Britain in the conquest of this part of Africa. Everyone was thus satisfied.

From the beginning, South African film has been so used to diffuse the spirit and the culture of white imperialism (favoring the contributions of the Boers, without minimizing that of the English, while in reality, the antagonisms between the two colonial nationalities and their respective cultures still exists strongly today. The goal of the cinema was always to bind together the white population and to promote good morale as well as "healthy" attitudes toward the subjugated but always menacing black majority.

### Vigilant Censorship

After propaganda, the other drive of the South African cinema is profit. Government control of film content is done by means of money for productions. The State reimburses the producers directly through the sale of tickets. If the film is in English, the producer recovers 44 per cent of each ticket sold. If the film is in Afrikaans, the producer gets 55 per cent of the ticket sales. This system insures the dominance of Afrikaans directors. There is no need to say that no films made in South Africa go against the regime, since the distribution of works of art depends entirely on the consent of the censors. The powers of censorship have been recently augmented by the creation of a "film bank" which has considerable funds but which lends no money without the authorization of the censor.

The only opposition films ever made have been those filmed secretly like *Come Back Africa* by Lionel Rogosin and *End of the Dialogue* made by the Pan Africanist Congress. They have evidently never been shown in South Africa.

### The Savagery of the Blacks

The more a script pleases the government, the more generous are the loans. This system is at the same time convenient for the politicians and the businessmen: those who have made propaganda films in South Africa have prospered for 50 years. The films have become longer and longer, and increasingly grandiose. *Dingska* (1967), one of the longest historical studies made in South Africa, was followed by *Majuba* which shows the conquests of the Boers for more than three hours. To lend an epic tone to *Majuba* the government put the Army at the disposal of the producers:

It was in 1971 in Rhodesia that *Shangani Patrol* was made. It is the story of a group of English soldiers in pursuit of the King of the Matabeles, Lobengula, during a rebellion against the colonialists at the end of the 19th century. The Matabeles were attacking when the Englishmen found themselves cut off by the rising of the Shangani River: they were wiped out. This was the only victory of the Matabeles against the colonialists, who had pillaged their gold, stolen their lands and pursued their king. The film presents the battle as a symbol of the courage of the pioneers against the savagery of the Blacks.

### The "Black Actors" Are White

The good technical quality of these films is overshadowed by the superabundance of melodrama and the mediocrity of the intellectual content. The cardboard characters are always given a glorified image to make the white audiences think that their country is a flourishing Hollywood. But a deeper analysis reveals that is a false Hollywood. Actually the budgets are miserably limited. *Majuba* would have cost \$2.4 million in America, but cost only \$800,000 in South Africa. *Shangani Patrol* which is 140 minutes long, only cost \$240,000.

It is evident that one cannot economize greatly on equipment and film when making a 35 mm. cinemascope color film. The "secret" of these unbeatable prices is explained by the availability of the Army for the battle scenes, and by the unlimited recourse to black extras paid next to nothing for playing the role of tribal warriors. For *Shangani Patrol*, six hundred "Matabeles" were lodged, fed, and paid during six weeks of shooting for approximately \$4.80 per person per week. It must be said that the salaries of the white actors and film crews (mandatorily and exclusively white) are much better than those of the Blacks, but not as high as those in Europe or in North America. An assistant makes \$144 per month and actors average \$28 per day. Besides these salaries, the production house for *Shangani Patrol* paid out \$6 per day for bringing in food for the actors and the crew (white, of course). Thanks to the small budget, the

producers of *Shangani Patrol* count on making 100% profit on the distribution of the film in South Africa. That is to say they will clear \$240,000.

It must be emphasized that no "non-White" actor (whether Black, Coloured, or Asian) can aspire to an important role: in the white films, the "non-whites" are only the extras. If the script calls for a "non-white" to speak with or touch a White, the role must be played by a White darkened with make-up. One can see how far the madness of *apartheid* extends.

### 100 Full Length Films Made Since 1945

Since the Second World War, 100 full-length films have been made in South Africa. In 1971 there were 13 films in production. Aside from the "historical epics," one finds comedies, operettas, adventures, and police films. All of these films are pale imitations of the Anglo-American archetypes: comedies that try to match the humor of a Jack Lemmon; adventure films a la James Bond, filled with beautiful women set in Johannesburg, Cape Town, or on the beaches of Durban; the Afrikaans operettas inspired by *Oklahoma*. The titles are eloquent: *Kom Saam Vanaad* (Come With Us Tonight), *Banana Beach*, *Petticoat Safari*, *The Professor and the Beauty Queen*, *Escape Route Cape Town*.

To my knowledge, there is only one film that rises above banality: *Sidney and the Boer* by Jamie Uys. One finds scenes in this reminiscent of Jacques Tati. But this story of a foot race between a South African English and a South African Boer aims at making fun of the rivalry between the two segments of the white population faced with a "black peril": it is thus equally a propaganda film.

### Verkampte and Verligte

I explained above that it is impossible to distribute controversial (opposition) films in South Africa. For many years the system has been shaken by discords and differences of opinion. The founders of *apartheid*, the political leaders of the Nationalist Party, (that of Vorster) are not certain, it appears, of the direction to follow. The recent visit of the puppet Banda from Malawi provoked the *Verkampte*, the extreme *apartheid* supporters, who have a horror of the least contact, even tactical, with "non-Whites." They are distinguished from more flexible *Verligte*, who certainly do not desire a multiracial state, but who think that free discussion is necessary (they know that in every way the system of *apartheid* is sufficiently strong to resist internal decomposition.)

This division between *Verkampte* and *Verligte* permitted Emil Noval and Jans Rautenbach to make *Katrina*, the story of a woman born of a mixed couple (Black and White) who passes for a white woman. She has a son who goes to London to study medicine. Returning to South Africa he falls in love with a White woman (he ignores his genetic origins). At the same time his mother falls in love with a white priest, convinced of the idea that happiness will not blossom in South African society without the complete separation of the races. One can imagine the drama when the secret is divulged. The family of the white girl forces her to separate from the now cursed doctor. On his part, the priest is obliged to leave the mother and this separation traumatizes him greatly. The moral of the story, evidently, is that the mixing of the races leads straight to unhappiness. To live happily, live separately. On the other hand, to appease the consciences of the white South Africans, the script makes the priest a drunkard; if he likes a Colored woman, (as happens in the film) it is because he is not in full possession of his mental faculties. As much as it wants to be a film "engagé," it falls into the trap of mystifications. Yet this film is cited in South Africa as a prototype of a controversial type of film. That is to say it becomes in a subtle and indirect way a work of political propaganda in favor of the established order.

### Promoting the "South Africa Way of Life"

Actually, the South African Government looks forward to the development of cinematic activities in South Africa. It is aware of the fact that thanks to

American films, the world public is familiar with the "American Way of Life." It is aware of the enormous advantages of this situation in the political realm. The producers of Johannesburg live in hope of exporting their films abroad. To encourage this expansion, the South African Government created the National Film Board in 1963, on the advice of English filmmaker John Grierson, who contributed as well to the founding of the Canadian National Film Board. Located in Pretoria, this office provides the funds for documentaries, promotes the distribution of all South African films, stores prints, teaches film techniques. Above all, it works in the way that a publicity bureau works domestically, on the foreign scene. It is clear that this office plays and will continue to play a determining role in the expansion of South African cinema on a world scale.

### To Interest Western Producers

The independent producers are also eager to penetrate the foreign markets. To this end, they are trying to interest foreign producers from the West in the production of films in South Africa. That they provide investment, a celebrated actor, or director, is of little importance. The essential thing is that in return they work to distribute the film in other countries.

An American living in South Africa, Percival Rubens, is an important cog in these transactions. He puts the South Africans in touch with potential investors in the United States. Through him another American, Noel Marshall, made the actor Will Hutchins available for *Shangani Patrol*, as well as for one of the latest films of Jamie Uys, *Lost in the Desert*. These films will have foreign distribution, thanks to the help of American firms.

The exchange of goods proceeds: Foreign productions made in South Africa hire actors and technicians locally. That was the case for *Zulu*, as well as for a production for the firm Hammer Films of London, *Creatures of the World Forgot*, that was shot in Namibia (the territory that South Africa refuses to give up, in spite of UN resolutions).\*



Joseph E. Levine presents ZULU

### A Film Against the Fighters of Zimbabwe

In line with this strategy of foreign expansion, the largest production company in South Africa, Ster Films, tried to raise in England and the US 50 per cent of a total budget of \$5 million as well as a director, to shoot a film about the penetration of the guerrillas in Rhodesia. The film borrows the title of a Rhodesian novel called the *The Whispering Death*. It will "prove," of course, that the Zimbabwe liberation movement is made up of bandits without loyalty or laws, with intention only to loot, and of course violate white women. It concludes with a "happy ending": the destruction of the group of villainous black bandits by the heroic white forces. Up to now, Ster Films has not found a buyer in the West.

### 500 Movie Theaters for "Non-Whites"

I have only spoken so far of the "white" films, for the good reason that all the South African films have been made for the white population only (3½ million people). No films were made for the millions of South African Blacks until suddenly in 1970 the existence of a vast black clientel was discovered.

Mr. Anthony Handley, founder of a company specializing in films for the black population, said recently: "We have discovered some shocking things. We have perceived ourselves that there exists in South Africa some 500 movie theaters patronized by non-Whites. Further, these cinemas are only allowed to show "B" films, made for Whites, as well as old westerns. We are now aware that the Blacks are eager to see themselves on the screen. The film that draws the largest Black crowds today in this country dates back twenty years. It is *Cry the Beloved Country*, produced by the British Lion company of London in 1950. Its success rests basically on the fact that some of the roles in the film are played by non-white South Africans."

### Objective: To Produce 100 Feature Films per Year

For the white producers, films for Black audiences are in the process of becoming the goose that laid the golden egg. It is a particularly interesting field for financial speculation. In the first place, the number of black movie-goers is potentially three times more than the number of White movie-goers. In the second place, these films, which pass for being "liberal," will be easier to sell abroad. At least that is what they hope.

*Distribution in the United States for these "Black" films is already guaranteed* (My emphasis). This is what encourages the South African Government to invest \$72 million in "African" films. Business expenses are estimated at \$31.2 million per year. The objective is to produce 100 full-length films per year. For the moment the producers know that it is necessary to get white

directors to make the films for Black audiences, but they foresee the day when Blacks will become directors. One can imagine under whose supervision!

\*In 1971 the Black *Amsterdam News* published in New York City carried an article about a new film *Tokoloshe* concerning a "young Bantu boy" and "produced entirely" on location in South Africa." (*NY Amsterdam News*, Spet. 18, 1971)

### Win the "Goodwill" of African Countries

This is how Mr. Andre Pieterse, \*PDG (President-Director General) of Film Trust Ltd. (an organization founded by the government to produce these "African" films) explains his policy:

"Our project is for the goal of educating the Bantu people, to communicate to them the message of life, to enlarge their vision: that which betters the relations between Whites and non-whites, . . . In other words the government envisages the development of the African cinema in a twofold sense: first it aims at enriching, secondly at creating a propaganda arm that will be indispensable." (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, ND)

\*Pieterse is now an Executive Vice President of MGM which he joined in 1970. In charge of production of films in Britain and Europe for foreign markets, Pieterse will also supervise circulation of films made by MGM outside North America. (*South African Digest*, February 25, 1972)

And the charming Mr. Pieterse exclaims:

"I have the intention of making South Africa the Hollywood of Africa. We, sons of South Africa, we understand the Bantus. We are better able to make films that are able to please them than Hollywood, Moscow, or Peking. We will conclude with exporting these films to other African countries: we will win not only good foreign reviews, but also the political goodwill of these countries."

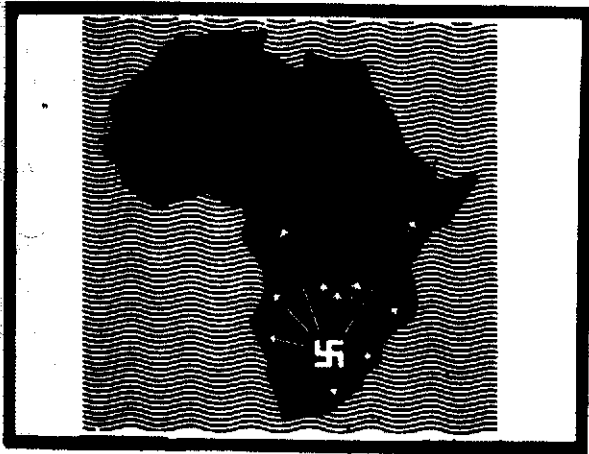
Another aspect of the film industry in South Africa is the control over foreign films allowed to be shown in South Africa. Foreign films are censored to remove any scenes with interracial contact that are contrary to the laws and customs of apartheid. Thus US film companies allow their films to be censored and distributed in South Africa, clearly disregarding the calls for the cultural boycott made by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

In the US, Congressman Charles Diggs has recently initiated a specific protest against Paramount Pictures for allowing the distribution of a censored version of *The Godfather* in South Africa.

Another recent aspect of the situation is that South African Whites have taken to arranging "private" showings of uncensored foreign films—to an extent that has apparently hurt the commercial box offices. The South African Government is apparently reacting to restrict the private distribution of uncensored films.



# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA



## BLACK WORKERS WIN CONCESSIONS

Striking African and Indian workers in the South African port city of Durban have forced concessions from their employers and the white government in that country's largest wave of labor unrest since 1946. In late January, strikes spread from one Durban business to another, becoming particularly effective on Feb. 5, when 16,000 municipal employees joined the walkouts. By mid-February, more than 50,000 workers had been involved, affecting at least 100 firms. Employers were forced to grant wage increases, and the government began considering new labor legislation. Among the operations closed by strikes was the Coca-Cola Bottling plant.

The strikers most common demand was a minimum weekly wage of \$30—about \$12 higher than the current average. Researchers have found that the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) for the city is about \$93. per month, but this figure is only sufficient for a family to maintain itself in health and decency over a short period. Only when income is 1½ times the PDL is a family able to meet its essential needs. Research by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal has found 80% of African and Indian families in Durban living below the higher poverty figure (\$140).

City officials offered workers a 15% increase, about \$2.30 weekly. The strikers responded with booing. However, the pressure of hungry families, intensified police activity, and knowledge that their action could be repeated persuaded most city employees to return to work after a few days. Other strikers received similar raises, as more and more businesses were affected. In mid-February, when press reports were saying all the action was over, some of Durban's dock workers stopped work and demanded 60% wage hikes. The port, which handles more cargo than any other in Africa, was hit by another strike only three months ago.

White Durban residents found themselves without the usual milk bottle on their doorstep. Garbage piled up in the streets, and produce trucks stood unloaded at the markets. White volunteers filled in for some of the striking Blacks, as did white Namibian residents when that territory was hit by strikes in early 1972.

The Government flew thousands of riot police to Durban; and soon after their arrival marching strikers

were attacked with clubs and tear gas. About 200 were arrested. Police also raided the headquarters of the South African Student Organization and arrested about 5 SASO members and officials of the Black Peoples' Convention, two black groups which are outspokenly critical of government policies. Under South African law, Africans have no collective bargaining rights; all strikes by Africans and most strikes by other workers are illegal. Throughout the country's history, workers' protests have been met with violent repression. Police reaction in this instance was comparatively mild, since the Government was anxious to avoid any incident which would heighten outside sympathy for the striking workers. A similar approach was used during last year's Namibian strike, but after the action had quieted, police arrested and intimidated thousands of persons. The same thing will probably occur in Durban.

South Africa has experienced a rising number of strikes by black (African, Coloured and Asian) workers in recent months. These workers have suffered from the country's escalating inflation; the current rate of 12-13% is twice the 1970 rate. Experts estimate that the cost of living for Africans is increasing faster than the general rate, while their wages are rising more slowly. Thus, the wage gap between Whites and Africans—currently about 20:1 in mining and 6:1 in manufacturing—is widening.

The new increases will raise the average African wage in Durban to about \$85 per month—\$55 below the minimum monthly requirements. Although they may return to work, most of the strikers remain unsatisfied by the response. Even if the current wave dies down, similar actions can be expected in Durban and other cities. US-owned firms, which were not heavily affected by the recent stoppages, could well be targets next time. Mobil Oil, the largest US-owned firm in Durban, has drastically increased its black pay rates in the past year. Even so, about 84% of its African employees receive wages below or at parity with the minimum monthly requirement of \$140. Many other US subsidiaries pay much less.

The Government is clearly worried about the spread of industrial labor unrest. Current legislation is so inadequate that it has no apologists. While many moderate white trade unionists and businessmen would like to give collective bargaining rights to Africans and encourage their participation in white-controlled unions, African aspirations are for full union rights, plus equal pay for equal work with equal opportunity. These conditions have long been the program of the multi-racial, but predominantly African South African Congress of Trade Unions, which has had to operate in exile for several years due to government persecution. The Government's reform plan is much more limited. It would set up negotiation machinery involving the Department of Labor, employers' organizations, and officials of the tribal reserves (Bantustans). The tribal leaders would work out employment conditions for all Zulus, or Xhosas or Sothos, who are employed in a particular industry. Under this scheme, Africans would still be denied basic trade union rights, and the apartheid/separate development system would be strengthened.

But no government blueprints, police intimidation, or sham reforms can stop the rising spirit of resistance in

South Africa, most recently demonstrated by Durban workers. (Nightly news broadcasts by the Voice of America; British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio South Africa; *Washington Post*, Feb. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 1973; *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 9, 11, 1973; *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 7, 8, 12, 1973; *Johannesburg Star*, Jan. 13, 27, and Feb. 3, 1973; *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 2, 1973.)

### MASSIVE PAY GAP CAUSES CONCERN

Just days before strikes in the South African port of Durban brought city services to a standstill and crippled dozens of factories, the Department of Statistics in Pretoria released figures showing widening gaps between the wages of black and white workers.

The week before, a seminar in Johannesburg sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations showed a gap between black and white understanding of the urgency of the problem as well. White delegates, according to *Sunday Times* correspondent J.P. Serfontein, were well-meaning and sincere but preoccupied by "so-called economic laws" and by a knowledge of the conservatism of white voters. The Blacks, said Serfontein, who represented "moderate opinion," bluntly told the seminar they were uninterested in "theoretical discussions while our people are starving..." After several confrontations, a number of Blacks along with a few white supporters, walked out of the meeting.

*Sunday Times* columnist Hans Strydom wrote that the government considers labor strife the most potentially explosive issue in South Africa. (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Jan. 21 and 28, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 26, 1973)

### AFRICAN WORKERS TO BE PROSECUTED

The South African Department of Labour has decided to prosecute unskilled African workers for performing tasks reserved for Whites in construction jobs. The decision came after attempts to convict employers failed because African laborers who were to testify failed to appear, perhaps out of fear.

Frank Mossman, Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers has called the decision a "scandal," saying, "I know that no man, let alone an unskilled laborer, can ever be expected to remember all the 100 or so operations which African laborers are now allowed to do." Mr. Mossman said he knew of sub-contractors who employed Africans at \$0.70 an hour to do skilled artisans' work normally worth \$2.10 per hour.

The profits, Mossman charged, were going into the pockets of unscrupulous employers while innocent Africans suffered. "Today an African laborer does what he is told to do by his white employer and he knows that if he does not do it he will be sacked." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 14, 1973)

### BLACKS RECEIVE POLICE TRAINING

Soweto, the African township that houses the majority of Johannesburg's black workers, has an exceedingly high crime rate. In an effort to deal with this problem, a new police division of 30 uniformed men and detectives has been formed. The commander of the division, Brigadier P.J. Lerm, is optimistic about the new force but refuses to give any details of how it will function saying, "A good general does not publicize his strategy." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan 6, 1973).

For the first time, Coloured men in South Africa are receiving military training in a "voluntary non-White National Service" program. Two hundred men reported for duty in January at the South African Cape Corps Service Battalion at Faure, near Cape Town. The year long course is reportedly identical with that of white National Servicemen. For the first 16 weeks, the trainees will learn map-reading, parade-ground work, musketry, saluting, and military law. After that they will receive vocational training to become drivers, chefs, storemen, and clerks. After their year of training is completed, they will be assisted by the Defence Force and Department of Labour to find work. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan 27, 1973).

A small number of Indians are already serving as railway policemen. A five month training course ended in



Striking African workers in Durban



August, 1972. Forty-three graduates were trained in "the maintenance of law and order, internal security and the prevention of crime, criminal law and procedure, railways acts and regulations, police duty, as well as rifle drill, target shooting with revolvers, first aid, and physical training."

The aim of the course was to equip the men to protect the property and interests of the South African Railways and Harbours Administration. (Fiat Lux; Vol. 7, No. 7 September 1972).

## TRIALS

### WHO IS SCORPIO?

A number of opponents of South Africa's apartheid government have been the objects of attacks, such as the petrol bombing of homes and cars over the past year and a half. The name "Scorpio" has become linked with these attacks. (Scorpio first appeared in anonymous leaflets in Sept., 1972, long after the attacks had begun.) The December trial of Desmond Helmuth Welthagen raised the question of the identity of Scorpio. A reporter for the *Cape Town Times* received a phone call in which the caller identified himself as Scorpio. The reporter taped the call and the voice was alleged to be that of Mr. Welthagen.

However, the connection between Welthagen and Scorpio was dropped by the State in the course of Welthagen's trial. Welthagen was accused of unlawful possession of igniters and of distributing pamphlets containing criminal libels. He was convicted on the second charge and fined \$420. Thus, the identity of Scorpio remains a mystery.

Scorpio is thought to be a group, not an individual. It is suspected of burning St. Thomas' Church hall in Rondebosch as well as petrol bombing the home of the Rev. Theo Kötze. Kötze works for the Christian Institute of South Africa.

The crimes committed by Scorpio are punishable under the Terrorism Act and Sabotage Act. Many observers have criticized the Security Forces for failure to solve the crimes, saying that if the perpetrators were attacking pro-government targets, more efforts would be made to capture them. (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Dec. 24, 1972).

## TERRORISM TRIAL IN MARCH

The trial of six men under the Terrorism Act will be heard before the Supreme Court beginning March 14. The men, four Africans and two Whites, first appeared in court on Nov. 20, 1972. The Africans are from South Africa and will be charged with entering the country illegally after having received guerilla training in "Iron Curtain" countries. The Whites, who are not South Africans, are alleged to have helped the Africans enter the country. The trial was to have begun Jan. 15 but has been put off until March. (see *Southern Africa*, January, 1973). (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973.)

## BANTUSTANS TO RECEIVE FOREIGN AID

South African Prime Minister Vorster has announced that the areas set aside as tribal "homelands" for Africans will be allowed to accept development aid from abroad. Up to now, all aid to the black areas has been channelled exclusively through development corporations controlled by the central government. The statement by the Prime Minister left unclear how much jurisdiction South Africa will exercise on the kind and source of grants to the tribal authorities. It seems unlikely, however, that Pretoria will give up its right to review funds coming into the country. (*Sunday Times* Johannesburg, Jan. 28, 1973)

## DROUGHT CAUSES CRISIS

The long dry summer has hit hard in Southern Africa, where crops are failing and farmers becoming desperate. Fodder reserves dwindled through the month of January, as governments in the area became concerned about the economy and about the large numbers of people whose food comes from subsistence agriculture. Entire corn crops, the basic staple food for most Africans, have been lost.

Minister of Agriculture in South Africa, Hendrik Schoeman, said that the nation was facing an emergency as it sought to avert what some press reports have already termed "a national disaster." The immediate agricultural loss in South Africa alone, was estimated to be \$320 million in early January.



## VORSTER'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

Bemoaning the ever increasing menace of violence and terrorism, Prime Minister John Vorster stated in his New Year's message that one of the by-products of this terrorism was "the tendency of minorities to claim it as their right to force their will upon the majority by what could best be described in a democratic society as extra-parliamentary action."

This seemingly absurd statement is an excellent example of the perversion of thought that dominates the minds of White politicians: Vorster maintains that South Africa is a democracy and that the majority is in control there.

Population statistics have just been released. In mid-1972, there were 3,958,000 Whites, 16,217,000 Africans, 668,000 Asians, 2,144,000 Coloureds. Thus of a total population of 22,987,000, the "majority" of 3,958,000 Whites run a democratic government. Of course, according to Nationalist ideology, only the White population participates in the White government because the other segments of the population have their own political institutions. The fact that these alternative political institutions were forced on the black population by the White minority is simply irrelevant in South African political terms.

Vorster also expressed his strong fear of Communism in his New Years address. He spoke of the "almost indecent haste with which democratic states vied in 1972 to come to an understanding and open diplomatic relations with Communist dictatorships." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 6, 1973).



Buthelezi

#### ZULUS REJECT GOVERNMENT LAND PLAN

The Kwa-Zulu Parliament met in Nongoma on January 17 to discuss the South African Government's plan to "consolidate" Zululand into six widely separate blocks of territory. The Government's plan leaves almost all valuable land outside Zulu boundaries, makes the important port of Richards Bay an exclusively White industrial complex, and in effect turns over to the Zulus only those areas that Whites can easily live without.

In a brilliant statement which carefully recognized what powers he does and does not have, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi called the plan an example of "white avarice gone mad." He stated very clearly that he and his government will not negotiate further with the White government. To negotiate is to give the impression that there is the possibility of progress and there is not. Buthelezi will not play that game and be used as a facade.

However, he went on to say that in spite of his unwillingness to negotiate, the Zulus would bow, as in the past, to the unilateral decrees of the White minority government. The reality of powerlessness was stated very plainly. The Zulus were not seeking a violent confrontation with the Government although he realized that "some whites were itching to make cannon fodder of my people."

Buthelezi explodes the myth that Africans are willingly accepting "separate development." When the Nationalist Party leader in Natal, Senator Owen Horwood said he could "not accept or understand" Buthelezi's view that there was no room for negotiation, Buthelezi spoke bluntly. "Senator Horwood's views are typical of White baas-skap. He expects Africans to swallow the decisions of the white government... There is no scope for negotiations at all." (*Guardian*, London, Jan. 18, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 27, 1973.)

#### WHITES RALLY BEHIND RHODESIA

The recent deaths of two South African policemen in Rhodesia and the closing by Salisbury of the Zambia-Rhodesia border has evoked a strong reaction in White South Africa. From Dr. Albert Hertzog of the far-right Herstigte Nasionale Party to spokesmen for the United Party, there is unanimous White support for Rhodesia and condemnation of Zambia.

Nationalist Prime Minister John Vorster issued the following statement: "... the Prime Minister of Rhodesia explained the circumstances which compelled his country, in its own interest and for the protection of the life and property of its citizens to close its border with Zambia.

"From experience I know that Rhodesia did not seek this confrontation, Zambia, on the other hand, had done nothing on its part to prevent it or to promote good neighbourly relations and must throughout have realized that its actions and the granting of passage to and the harbouring of terrorists would sooner or later lead to trouble.

"Also those who encouraged it, defended it or closed their eyes to it, must bear the blame for this deteriorating state of affairs. It can only be hoped that responsible countries will make efforts as South Africa has already in the past attempted to do, to normalise relations and endeavour to avoid further escalation.

"Although, as I have already announced, South Africa was not a party to this decision on the part of Rhodesia, and although one can expect divergent speculation as to the wisdom or otherwise of this step, South Africa will continue to treat the matter in accordance with the following basic principles which have repeatedly been stated by us:

"We do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries.

"We do not initiate boycotts and we do not reply to sanctions with counter-boycotts.

"We are unconditionally opposed to terrorism and we shall in terms of our declared policy render assistance within our means to governments who seek it in their fight against terrorism.

"Where and when we are directly threatened we shall at all times take all steps to protect the life and property of our people and our territorial integrity.

"Meanwhile the interests of our country can best be served by calmly awaiting developments and on our part doing nothing to make matters worse. The delicate nature of the matter makes this imperative." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973.)

On February 3, 1973, Rhodesia announced that the border would be reopened. This action underlines the obvious skepticism that Vorster's Government had from the beginning about the wisdom of the Rhodesian move. However, it is also clear that Vorster will not openly attack Smith, and that South Africa is fully prepared to do what it believes is necessary to defeat the liberation movement forces. (*Guardian*, London, Jan. 20, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 20, 27, 1973; *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1973.)

#### SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY ROLE IN RHODESIA

Typical of the reporting of the recent guerilla action in Rhodesia by the "opposition press" in South Africa, is an article in the Jan 13, Johannesburg *Star*. Entitled "Bravery at the Front," the article reports on the "South African Police involvement in the guerrilla war in Rhodesia" over the past five and a half years.

South African Police (SAP) first went to Rhodesia in

1967 to fight the combined forces of the South African, African National Congress (ANC), and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). According to the *Star*, "SAP units played some part in this action, but their first major 'bleeding' was in skirmishes in July 1968 with rebels along the Rhodesia-Zambia border."

Prior to the December, 1972 outbreak of fighting, the border had been quiet since 1970. In January, 1970, a SAP post was attacked near Victoria Falls. Six South Africans were wounded and considerable damage was done to vehicles, radios, and tents. South Africa reports that three SAP men have been killed in the recent fighting, others have died in accidents, and more than 20 have been wounded in direct action against guerillas.

The recent attacks in Rhodesia are reported to have been carried out by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

The *Star*, reports: "It is not possible, for obvious reasons to disclose the exact number of SAP involved in the fighting in Rhodesia. But the SAP are right at the forefront of the battle to guard Rhodesia—and South Africa—against incursions from the north." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973.)



Rhodesian Border Patrol  
on Zambezi

### ECONOMIST CRITIQUES MIGRANT SYSTEM

In a survey entitled "Migrant Labor in South Africa: A Report to the South African Council of Churches," economist Francis Wilson has detailed particulars of the status of 1.3 million migrant workers, who represent half of all Africans working legally in "white" areas. The report presents statistics on the wages, conditions, and attitudes of the men who must come to the areas classified "white" to earn a living, but must leave their families in the rural or "homeland" areas where Africans are permitted to reside.

Photographs, quotes from well-known South African authorities and a 10-page appendix of laws governing migrants complete the document. Joint publishers are the South African Council of Churches and the Special Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Spros-Cas). (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Jan. 21, 1973)

### JEWISH YOUTHS SPEAK OUT

Jewish youths in South Africa reportedly have become so disgusted with the organized Jewish community's failure to speak out against *apartheid* that they may dissolve their affiliation with the Jewish Board of Deputies. The conflict has been evident for some time, and was reflected in a student walk-out from the board's national conference in Johannesburg in early 1972.

In October, 23 Jewish students in Johannesburg wrote an open letter to Chief Rabbi B. M. Casper declaring that they were "ashamed of being Jews" in view of the failure of South African Jewry to take a stand against *apartheid*. Just before the board's annual Cape conference in late November, the Capetown Students Jewish Association (SJA) distributed more than 2,000 pamphlets, accusing South African Jewry of being "quick to call for support to other groups that are facing discrimination. "Our leadership has condemned Israeli opposition to *apartheid*, has attacked the USSR for its oppression of the Jews, and has even expressed gratitude in our name for the cultural and political freedom which South African Jews enjoy," the pamphlet said, adding, "it seems their stand is not bound by principle, but by expediency."

At the Cape conference of the Board, which is the supreme body of South Africa's Jewish community, a resolution calling on it to "speak out on moral issues" was offered by the students. The board passed an amended version declaring that the Jewish community recognizes a "challenge" to establish a "just, stable and peaceful relationship between all races" and to "maintain group identity and culture and to exercise the opportunity to advance in all spheres." SJA Chairman Barry Sibul said he was "very disillusioned" by the statement because he felt the board was "continuing to avoid the issue." As a result, the SJA is now considering a move to disaffiliate itself from the board—a move which, it is believed, would be unprecedented in the history of South Africa's Jewish community. (*Religious News Service*, Dec. 11, 1972)

## churches

### ARREST IN BISHOP'S LIBEL CASE

Desmond Helmuth Welthagen, 39, has been arrested and placed on trial in Cape Town on charges of criminal libel against two Protestant clergymen and possession of explosives (see January *Southern Africa*). Welthagen is alleged to have been responsible for pamphlets accusing Anglican Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor of Cape Town and the Rev. Theo Kotze, Methodist clergyman and Cape regional director of the Christian Institute of South Africa, of being "religious Marxists."

Testifying at Welthagen's trial, Archbishop Taylor said he was "grieved" by what he described as an "apparent smear campaign" against the Anglican church and himself. He referred to documents that were circulated last July that were alleged to have been compiled by him advocating communism. (*Religious News Service*, Dec. 12, 1972)

## METHODISTS DISMISSED AS PRISON CHAPLAINS

The Rev. Stanley Pitts, president of the Methodist Church in South Africa, and one of the four ministers involved, revealed that numerous Methodist religious workers have had their prison permits withdrawn in the last few years without any reason given. Others, nominated by the church for prison service, have been "toned down" by the department.

Revealing that many more religious workers had been dismissed than was originally realized, Pitts indicated that the church was not meekly accepting the situation, but that inquiries were being made "in high places." Although he could not speak for the other ministers involved, his own case revealed that the government was "incredibly sensitive to any kind of criticism." In the absence of any reasons for his dismissal, he could only attribute it to an official statement he had made at the Methodist Synod in which he had deplored the police action against students during May demonstrations. In his year as prison chaplain he had never had any difficulty with police or prison officials and could only attribute the summary termination of his service to "this statement made at my own synod." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972; *Religious News Service*, Dec. 27, 1972)

## CLERGYMEN HIKE TO PROTEST LABOR SYSTEM

Anglican Bishop Bill Bendyshe Barnett of Grahamstown led an interdenominational group of six clergymen, two university lecturers, and eight students on a 570-mile hike from Grahamstown to Cape Town to protest South Africa's migratory labor

system at Christmas time. Before embarking on the long march December 16, Bishop Barnett told newsmen that the migrant labor system, which involves about 1,500,000 blacks, was a "social evil we have lived with for many years and continue to accept as a normal part of the South African way of life." He denounced the system as "a planned assault on black African family life," that demonstrated "how far we have departed from Judeo-Christian—or even merely Western humanitarian—values in pursuit of our ideological objectives.

Taking part in the march were the Rev. Francois Bill, a Presbyterian minister from Alice; the Roman Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley of Durban; the Anglican bishop Alpheus Zulu, Bishop of Zululand; the Rev. Allan Hendricks, former moderator of the congregational Union of South Africa, and the Rev. Stanley Pitts, president of the Methodist Conference. The march was also supported by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Robert Selby Taylor. The express purpose of the march as stated to the press, was to protest the migratory labor laws. "South African society is tearing husband and wife apart. Thousands of voteless black citizens are being undermined daily by a system which flouts the command of our Lord. We are asking parliament to make it legal for every South African husband and wife who wish to do so, to live together with their children in a family home at their place of work." (*Religious News Service*, Dec. 21, 1972; *The Washington Post*, Dec. 23, 1972; *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 22, 1972)

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## SPORTS

### ISOLATION FROM INTERNATIONAL SPORTS CAUSES CONCERN

It is becoming apparent that isolation from the world of international sports is one of the "few consequences of apartheid that has strongly affected white South African feelings." Thus, when the Robins XI, a Black British cricket team arrived in South Africa in early January, they were greeted with tremendous joy and enthusiasm by a nation of "sporting fanatics" increasingly starved for international competition. It was the first visit from overseas cricketers in three years.

South Africa has been banned from more than ten international sporting events in the past two years, and has been ejected from the Olympics and from world sports associations in football, judo, amateur boxing, weight-lifting, cycling, wrestling, and table tennis. With world sports bodies and leading statesmen such as Australia's Prime Minister Gough Whitlam now taking a stand against racism in sports, white South Africans are finding it "hard to escape the reality of the world's view of apartheid" . . . and it hurts.

As a result, South Africa's sporting organizations have been putting pressure on the Government to adapt its policies to this world view. So far, however, the South African Government has refused requests for the inclusion of Blacks on touring teams made by these organizations. Instead, it has reacted to domestic and foreign pressure by engaging in "an increasingly Bizarre series of policy shifts on interracial sport" that leaves the rules so complicated and full of exceptions that few can understand them. For

example, "non-whites" can now compete in a handful of "open internationals" (mainly golf and tennis tournaments), but cannot participate in "ordinary internationals" or team sports, except in the case of certain overseas events such as the Olympic Games, the Canada Cup golf tournament, and the Federation and Davis Cup tennis tournaments, where racially mixed teams are approved. Even in these cases, however, mixed trials are forbidden, and "non-whites" selected cannot be regarded as Springboks. Multi-racial teams visiting South Africa can only play segregated teams on segregated grounds. South African Whites cannot watch an overseas multi-racial team play South African "non-whites," and so on. Indeed, the situation would be laughable were it not, in fact, so unjust and unfortunate. (*Guardian*, London, Jan 1, 1973)

### INTERNATIONAL GAMES PLANNED

Expecting 500 participants from some 30 countries, South Africa is planning its own Open International Games in Pretoria from March 23 or April 7. According to Mr. Doepie Du Plessis, chief organizer of the games, the "reaction to the invitations to overseas stars in many sports has been excellent." "It is obvious," stated Du Plessis, "that the games have caught the imagination of overseas sportsmen, hence their keenness to compete in Pretoria." Time will tell whether the "overseas stars" are as keen as Du Plessis suggests. In the meantime, seating at Pilditch Stadium has been increased to over 22,000 to accommodate anticipated spectators and an indoor stadium to seat 4,300 is being built. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan 20, 1973)

# inside zimbabwe

## US AND THE ZAMBEZI BORDER QUESTION

Well-placed American officials regard the recent incidents in Rhodesia and Smith's closing of the border as a victory for the liberation movements. They conclude that the guerrillas are getting more support from the local population than before and are looking more critically at the question of white Rhodesian stability, and morale. They interpret the guerrilla activities as designed to impress the OAU Liberation Committee, and the Salisbury reaction has exceeded even the guerrilla expectations in this regard. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973).

Christopher Phillips of the US delegation to the UN supported the maintenance and tightening of sanctions against Rhodesia before the Security Council, in spite of the Byrd legislation which broke the American embargo. The US then voted in favor of a Security Council resolution calling for sanctions, criticizing Smith for the closing of the border, and demanding the removal of all South African forces operating in Rhodesia. The resolution passed. (*New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1973). ■



Photoreporters

Prime Minister John Vorster and caddie on golf course

## GARY PLAYER SEEKS TO EXPOSE THE "GOOD SIDE"

South African golf star Gary Player thinks Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam has made a big mistake in announcing that racially selected South African teams will not be allowed into Australia, even in transit. (see Jan. *South Africa*) He has therefore offered to send a "well-informed" South African to Australia to meet Mr. Whitlam in public debate and enlighten him regarding the virtues and values of the South African way of life.

Referred to by his critics in South Africa as a "kindergarten politician," Player has apparently been spurred to this offer both by the specific stance adopted by the Australian Government and by his own general conviction that countries like Britain and the United States see only the "bad side" of South Africa. In an interview with the *Star*, Player stated that he would be the "first to admit that South Africa has some unfair laws," but added, "a lot can also be said in our favour." He insisted that things were "definitely getting better fast" in the field of sport, but gave no examples. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973) ■

## SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS

### BANDA ANGRY AT PORTUGAL

President Banda of Malawi has been the only African leader overtly supporting the Portuguese in their colonial wars. Recently there have been several conflicts between Banda and the Portuguese. In December, Banda bristled at a Portuguese military communique saying FRELIMO's military forces were operating from inside Malawi. After denying any such thing, Banda's official paper, *Malawi News* said, "The whole issue tends to make us think that the Portuguese military authorities in Mozambique are finding the FRELIMO nationalists too hard a nut to crack, and in their frustration are seeking excuses for their military inefficiency."

In a second but related event, Banda is understood to have demanded the recall of the Portuguese Ambassador to Malawi, following repeated incursions by Portuguese troops from Mozambique into Malawi during which a number of Malawian civilians have been killed or seriously injured. The Portuguese Ambassador's explanation was only that the soldiers crossed the border on their own initiative. This reply angered Banda, who had already had a tiff with the Ambassador over the hair length of a Portuguese band playing in Malawi. (*Daily Nation* (Kenya), Dec. 19, 1972 & *Observer* London, Dec. 17, 1972) ■

# economics

## CORPORATIONS

### MONSANTO

A Monsanto absorption process for pollution control is to be used in the building of 500-ton capacity sulphuric acid plant for South Africa's African Explosives and Chemical Industries Company. Simon-Carves (Africa) will build the plant, the third they have built using the Monsanto process. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973)

### INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES

Corporate planning expert William W. Simmons, a consultant to IBM, New York, led a seminar on exploratory planning for the National Development and Management Foundation of Johannesburg in February. The Foundation acts as an advisory agency to South African business. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973)

### JOHN DEERE

Expansion underway at John Deere's South African factory at Nigel will enable the company to double its exports in the next twelve months. The South African plant already sells to markets in the U.S., Europe, and England, and has recently received new orders from Guatemala and Iran. The export of manufactured goods is a great boost to South Africa's economy which is plagued by balance of payments problems.

### EXXON

Esso Exploration Guinea, a unit of Exxon Corporation, has won an exclusive prospecting and production contract for oil development in Guinea (Bissau). The concession covers 3,700 miles along the coast and on the continental shelf.

The Portuguese government in Lisbon reported that Exxon has already spent nearly \$30 million under a 1966 concession which produced encouraging results. In New York, Exxon revealed that it has been exploring for oil in Guinea since 1958. Although several wells have been drilled, there is as yet no significant production. (*Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 17, 1973)

### FORD

Production is scheduled to begin in June at a second vehicle assembly plant being built by Ford in Port Elizabeth in South Africa's Eastern Cape. The company is spending some \$11.5 million on the new facility. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 6, 1973)

### MOBIL

Major extensions are being added to Mobil's refinery in Durban, South Africa. A \$5.1 million contract for engineering has been awarded to the Roberts Construction Company of South Africa as a sub-contract from the Chiyoda Chemical Engineering Company of Yokohama, Japan. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973)

### SIEMENS

Siemens, the German electrical firm, has received a \$1.9 million order for extensions to the Mozambique telephone network. The order includes teleprinters and current converters. The company will also install a transit exchange in Lourenco Marques which will provide facilities for direct dialing throughout the world via a satellite exchange. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973)

### CHRYSLER CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL SHIPPING

A federal grand jury has charged Chrysler Corporation with violating the Munitions Control Act by shipping

engines to Portugal without US government clearance. The charge stems from a November, 1971 investigation which resulted in the indictment of a Detroit freight-forwarding company for illegally shipping military parts to Portugal. The following May two Detroit men and a Portuguese army major were indicted for plotting to give Portugal blueprints and a prototype for an armored amphibious vehicle.

The vehicle is an XM-706 built by Cadillac Gage Company (a unit of Ec-Cell-O Corporation), and is used in both Vietnam and the United States by the military and by some police departments.

A mysterious Portuguese company called Bravia Sociedade Luso Brasileira da Viaturas E. Equipmentos SARRL received both shipments of military parts. Government lawyers say that Joao Battiate Donas-Botto, the army major who was indicted, is, or was, president of Bravia.

Chrysler is charged with having sent 40 engines worth \$76,385 in 1968, and 60 engines worth \$101,088 two years later. Chrysler could be fined up to \$25,000 for each shipment. The company has stated that it believes it hasn't violated the law which says all shipments of military goods to Portugal must have special permits from the government. (*Wall Street Journal* Jan. 12, 1973)



### CHRYSLER ACCUSED OF ILLEGAL EXPORTS TO PORTUGAL

Chrysler Corporation was accused January 16 of illegally exporting militarized engines into Portugal. A two-count indictment, returned by a federal grand jury in US District Court in Detroit, says the corporation sent the engines to Portugal without a license or the permission of the State Department. The corporation was charged with shipping, on June 10, 1968, and on Sept. 30, 1970, "arms and implements of war" in the form of an unspecified number of militarized HT361-212 engines manufactured by Chrysler which has its headquarters in Highland Park, Michigan. (*Daily Cardinal*, Madison, Jan. 17, 1973)

# THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES



FRELIMO CARTOON

Portuguese soldiers, including a major.

Twenty African troops with their weapons are said to have defected to the guerrillas. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 14 & 30, 1972)

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION PLANNED

Following the granting of partial self-determination to the African colonies, Portugal is now in the process of publishing new statutes governing the administration of the African territories. It is supposedly beginning voter registration for election of regional parliaments, which, although have some powers, will be subject to veto from Lisbon and will have no power over external and defense matters.

The new parliament in Angola will have 53 seats—32 elected at large, the rest elected by "interest groups." Angola is the only colony which will have a directly elected majority in its Parliament. Franchise qualifications grant automatic registration for civil servants, and require persons of whatever race to read and write Portuguese. With Portuguese claims about graduating "tens of thousands" of high school and college students each year, some people wonder whether they will be registered and whether they might even form a majority of the voters. Elections are scheduled for Mar. 31, 1973 in all three African colonies. (*Financial Times* London, Jan. 5, 1973)

## ANGOLA

### SUPREME COUNCIL OF MPLA AND FNLA OUTLINED

More details are now available on the agreement signed between MPLA and FNLA on December 13. The joint Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (CSLA) will be based in Zaire with Roberto as President and Neto as Vice-President. The Council will meet twice a year, leaving primary responsibility for day-to-day activity to the Unified Military Command (CMU) and the Angolan Political Council (CPA). The military command will coordinate guerrilla activities and intelligence. MPLA will name the CMU President, FNLA will name its Deputy President, and it will be made up of 12 other members, half from MPLA, half from FNLA. The CPA will handle the administration of liberated areas, propaganda, and diplomacy. FNLA will nominate the President and MPLA the Deputy President; it also will have 12 other members, half from each movement. The Supreme Council will be made up of all members of CMU and CPA. The decisions of all bodies will be based on a simple majority vote. The agreement will be implemented under the supervision of Congo, Zaire, Zambia, and Tanzania. It is expected that among other results, the 1200-mile border between Angola and Zaire will become available to MPLA cadre, making attacks on the coffee and diamond areas of Angola much easier. (*The Guardian*, N.Y., Jan. 10, 1973; *The Washington Post*, D.C. Dec. 25, 1972; Radio Report, Kinshasa, Dec. 13, 1972)

### BRITISH CONCORDE FLIES MPLA FLAG

The British Aircraft Corporation is searching for the person responsible for flying an MPLA flag on their Concorde as it arrived in Angola. They apologized to the Portuguese Government and said the crew really thought it was the flag of Angola. (*N.Y. Times*, Jan. 28, 1973)

### MPLA MILITARY NOTES

During the first week of December, MPLA cadres shot down an Alouette III helicopter with two South Africans and three Portuguese officers aboard. All five survived the crash but were stopped and shot by local inhabitants, according to MPLA. The incident was near Karipande in southeast Angola.

Another incident, an ambush on November 8 between Luso and Gago Countinho, destroyed five vehicles and 17



Agostinho Neto speaking at meeting inside liberated area of Angola

## GUINEA-BISSAU

### PAIGC MILITARY REPORT

Basil Davidson, a British historian, spent four weeks in November and December of 1972 visiting with the PAIGC inside Guinea-Bissau, after an absence of five years. In *West Africa* for January 22, he lays out the basic military situation as he sees it: "Spinola (Portuguese General with military responsibility in Guinea-Bissau) strongly holds the capital and outskirts of Bissau itself, and of several towns such as Bafata and Bolama. Outside these he still has a large number of fortified posts and small rural centers, their garrisons varying in size between about 150 and 1000 men." In the southern region where Davidson travelled he observed at fairly close quarters the situation of both large garrisons at Catio and Bedanda, and several smaller ones.

He found all Portuguese garrisons heavily on the defensive, some closely blockaded by the PAIGC. Some are isolated from each other and from Bissau and supplies must be sent by helicopter or sometimes by naval convoy from Bissau. Offensive acts by the Portuguese are confined to bombing and strafing and occasional raids by troops lifted in by helicopter or landed by the navy. He observed repeated bombing from high altitudes by Portuguese aircraft. Both napalm and high explosives are dropped.

He found the PAIGC far stronger than five years ago. The organizing, training, and arming of local militias, just beginning then, is nearly complete now. This frees assault units of the regular PAIGC army to harass and eliminate enemy garrisons, leaving local defense of the rear to the militias. The military assault units themselves have been reorganized into numerous smaller regional commands which are more mobile and are capable of acting individually as well as collectively. He found a large number of men in their early twenties who by now are trained commanders, so that actions can be more numerous and effective. Communications have improved with wireless telegraphy, and the PAIGC is beginning to have mechanized transportation inside the borders, as well as control of several long stretches of rural road. Finally he noted an improvement in weaponry, with the older weapons now in the hands of the militias. The assault units are using the largest caliber of mortars and 122 mm rocket-throwers with a range up to nearly seven miles. Davidson himself was within three or four miles of several Portuguese garrisons in daylight hours, at which range the rocket-throwers have even greater accuracy.

In a recent information bulletin of the Portuguese Armed Forces of Guinea, it was claimed that between October 1 and 15 the Portuguese killed 16 enemy and captured a number of weapons. As part of its efforts at winning the people the bulletin also mentioned the armed forces placed 197 teachers in 129 teaching posts with up to 10,000 students. (*Jornal do Exercito*, Lisbon, November, 1972)

A PAIGC communique recently issued stated 147 Portuguese soldiers were killed in November and more than 100 wounded, one of the highest monthly death tolls for the Portuguese since the war began. During the same month the PAIGC made 75 attacks and ambushes, also the highest number since the war began. Several officers, including a Portuguese captain were among the dead. However the PAIGC accused the Portuguese of using napalm in bombing raids on villages in southern Guinea-Bissau controlled by the nationalists. Some villages were destroyed and 25 people, including women and children, were killed, it said. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 16, 1972)

Amilcar Cabral



### AMILCAR CABRAL ASSASSINATED

"Our independence is just around the corner although some of us may not live to taste the fruits of our sweat." (Amilcar Cabral at OAU Liberation Committee meeting in Accra in early January, reported in *Daily Nation*, Kenya, Jan. 23, 1973)

On Saturday, January 20, 1973, at 10:30 p.m. in front of his own house in Conakry, Republic of Guinea, Amilcar Cabral, secretary general of the PAIGC, was shot and killed, reportedly by Inocente Camil and accomplices. The assassins, apparently posing as deserters from the Portuguese army, had been accepted by the PAIGC, and assumed positions of importance.

Cabral's brother, Vasco, is reported to have commented that Camil "was a man who made many, many mistakes in the organization and he was sent to one job after another, lower and lower in responsibility . . . he lost esteem, he grew angry and joined with the Portuguese." (*New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1973)

One of Cabral's bodyguards also was killed in the attack, and Aristides Pereira, from the top PAIGC leadership, and several of his aides, were captured, bound, tortured, and forced into three boats by the assassins who headed for Bissau. However, 12 hours later, the navy of the Republic of Guinea stopped the boats, freed the captured leaders, and arrested the assassins, who according to Radio Conakry will be turned over to the PAIGC for trial.

Sekou Touré, the President of the Republic of Guinea, reported Camil has confessed that Portuguese authorities had promised to grant independence to Guinea-Bissau on condition that Cabral was killed and PAIGC was destroyed. The assassination was intended to provoke division between Black and Mulatto and stir up tribal rivalries. Under the agreement Camil supposedly had with Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands were to remain under Portuguese rule.



The Portuguese Government issued the statement that its "Policy rejects murder as a solution and we feel the death of Cabral is likely to create greater problems for us than it solves." Other agents of the Portuguese Government began to circulate rumors, suggesting that the assassin was a member of the pro-Portuguese Fula tribe, or someone involved in the Russian/Chinese split alleged to exist in African movements.

They also suggested the killing was the result of the differences between the mainland of Guinea versus the Cape Verde island, or because of problems between Republic of Guinea and the PAIGC. As an African paper commented: "Lisbon's 'explanation' are likely to catch the eyes and ears of the media's Western readership. In Africa things are seen in a slightly different—probably more—perspective." (*Daily Nation*, Kenya, Jan. 23, 1973; *Guardian*, UK, Jan. 23, 1973).

PAIGC people from liberated areas and from external missions are meeting in Conakry, and a meeting of the Supreme Council will occur before the end of March. (*New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1973) The most recent news indicates that Cabral's successor will be Aristides Pereira, who will become Acting Secretary General until the Party Council meets. (*New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1973).

Cabral's funeral was on Feb. 1 in Conakry. A crowd of at least 25,000 packed the Conakry stadium for the memorial which included words by Sekou Touré and a military parade. According to the *New York Times*, the tone set by Sekou Touré was "No tears, comrades; the only action that must count now is the revolutionary one." On Jan. 31, delegates from 80 nations, guerrilla movements, and support organizations from Europe and the United States participated in a symposium in honor of Amilcar Cabral throughout the day in Conakry. The worldwide esteem in which Dr. Cabral had been held was evidenced in the hundreds of messages, statements, and memorial services in his honor. In the U.S. memorial services were widespread. (see Action News)

On Jan. 22, the PAIGC issued a communique, excerpted as follows:

The PAIGC (African Independence Party for

Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands) as the driving force of the great liberation struggle waged since 1960, has seen its influence and effectiveness constantly increasing. The PAIGC confronted by the ignoble crime committed against the person of its great leader, comrade Amilcar Cabral, and conscious of the fact that international imperialism and Portuguese fascism were the real instruments of the assassination of the man responsible before all others for the struggle waged to secure a happy future, addresses its profound indignation to the traitors against the nation who served as their reckless and ignoble agents. The PAIGC solemnly reaffirms its strong determination to avenge the ignoble killing by exterminating the colonialists and their corrupt agents on the sacred soil of the motherland . . . Far from discouraging the struggle the killing only serves to strengthen their hatred of the colonial domination and thereby it provides inspiration for speeding up the movement for emancipation of the peoples . . .

The PAIGC pays glowing tribute to the man who was its founder, its organizer, its guide and whose exemplary conduct throughout the whole of the war will serve as a guiding light and point of reference to all revolutionary militants in Africa.

The PAIGC thanks the fraternal countries of Africa for their compassionate attitude; it thanks the progressive countries of the world, all the mass parties and organizations who have been kind enough to share in its mourning and who once more have confirmed their full and complete support for the liberation struggle the PAIGC is waging and its victorious outcome which will not be long in coming.

The PAIGC thanks, in particular, the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea for having arrested the criminals used by imperialism against Africa and for having given to the fighters of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde full responsibility for judging the case concerned with this monstrous crime. The PAIGC declares in the name of the fighting people of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde that it will assume and fulfil its



PAIGC militants  
marching inside  
Guinea Bissau



FRELIMO class  
in Tete Province

duty, in meting out to the criminals just punishment for their crime. PAIGC reaffirms its faith in the fraternal peoples and Governments of the African continent, particularly the neighbouring states, whose active solidarity is still needed . . .

Down with Portuguese fascism, down with international imperialism. Long live African unity and solidarity; long live the PAIGC. The struggle continues. Also Jan. 22, the Organization of African Unity called for all nations to support the African liberation movements in eliminating colonialism from the continent. The response so far seems quite positive, with several nations indicating intent to substantially increase their contributions through the OAU Liberation Committee. Despite the real setback the assassination is to the PAIGC, the movement is greater than one man and will continue. As was shown when a comparable leader, Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO, was assassinated, such setbacks only strengthen the determination and resolve of the people to pursue the struggle until total liberation is won. (*New York Times*, Jan. 22, 23, 24, 28, and Feb. 2, 1973; *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, Feb. 3, 1973; *The Guardian*, New York, Jan. 31, 1973; *Muhammad Speaks*, Chicago, Feb. 2 & 9, 1973; *West Africa*, London, Jan. 29, 1973; *Newsweek*, US, Feb. 5, 1973; etc.) ■

## MOZAMBIQUE

### ANOTHER PRESBYTERIAN LEADER "HANGED"

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches announced in Geneva in December that another Presbyterian church leader in Mozambique had been found hanged in his jail cell. The dead man was identified as Jose Disumos, a member of the Majacaze District Church Council. Disumos had been imprisoned, along with 20 to 30 other Presbyterian church leaders, during mass arrests of several hundred Mozambicans last June. His death was said to have taken place in July, and the place of his burial was not disclosed.

The World Alliance, according to Dr. Edmond Perret its general secretary, announced earlier that the organization was demanding "an independent inquiry by Portuguese and international authorities into the circumstances and motives" leading to the "suicide" of the Rev. Zedequias Manganhela, 60, president of the Presbyterian

Church in Mozambique. Manganhela, according to the Alliance, killed himself in jail after six months of isolation and interrogation by Portuguese officials. His death took place on the night of December 10.

The mass arrests in June were reported to be aimed at church leaders and others who were suspected of supporting FRELIMO. (*Religious News Service*, Dec. 20, 1972)

### DEATHS AT MACHAVA PRISON

Another Mozambican Presbyterian Church leader Jose Sidumo has died in Machava Prison. He is said to have hanged himself last July, although it was only in December that the authorities made the information available, after the president of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, Rev. Zedequias Manganhela, was found hanged on December 10. Amnesty International has asked Premier Caetano to investigate the Machava Prison and the kinds of stress placed on prisoners there that might lead to such suicides. The group also urged release of the rest of Machava prisoners who had been held for more than six months without trial. The number of Protestants in Mozambique is only about 200,000, or 2.5% of the population, and they are concentrated in the far south and in the larger towns. The imprisonment of 39 of their leaders on June 13, 1972 and the death of two of those leaders while in prison has been a trying experience. The 37 remaining church prisoners were released at the end of December, 1972 after six months detention.

In a second case, two Catholic priests, the Rev. Joaquim Sampaio and the Rev. Fernando Mendes, who were arrested in January 1972 after they refused to let the Portuguese flag be carried into their church in Beira were found guilty of anti-government activities by a Portuguese military tribunal, fined \$50 apiece, and given suspended jail sentences.

(*N.Y. Times*, Jan. 28, 1973; *Journal de Geneve*, Switzerland, Dec. 28, 1972; *Times*, London, Dec. 20, 1972; *Daily Nation*, Kenya, Dec. 22, 1972)

### FRELIMO MILITARY NOTES

A FRELIMO communique reports that in Tete province between August and November, guerrillas shot down four planes and killed about 200 Portuguese soldiers. One of

# ATI THE UNITED NATIONS

the planes was Rhodesian. Nine Portuguese military centers were attacked, six boats were sunk on the Zambezi, and the Beira-Tete railway was sabotaged three times.

The Portuguese claim to have launched infantry and commando attacks in four different parts of Tete north of the Zambezi before the new year, killing 98 FRELIMO guerrillas. They also received help from Rhodesian soldiers in action south of the Zambezi where another 51 "terrorists" were killed, according to "a well-informed source in Beira." The Rhodesians flushed the "terrorists" across the border where the Portuguese were waiting to pick them off. Portugal also alleges atrocities by FRELIMO against Tete area villagers and reports internal problems in FRELIMO caused by the defection to the Portuguese of its Tete provincial secretary, Kadewele.

In mid-December, two Zambian soldiers were captured by the Portuguese on the Mozambique side of the border. On January 22, 1973, Portuguese planes from Mozambique are reported to have bombed a Tanzanian border village. (*N.Y. Times*, Jan. 24, 1973; *Star, Johannesburg*, Dec. 23; *Agence France Presse*, Jan. 2 & 3, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, London, Dec. 2, Jan. 12; *Times London*, Dec. 27, 1972; *Daily News, Tanzania*, Dec. 19, 1972; *Times of Zambia*, Dec. 30, 1972) ■

## INSIDE PORTUGAL

### PAMPHLET BOMBS EXPLODE IN LISBON

On January 1 and 8 there were explosions in Lisbon of homemade devices designed to scatter political leaflets over a wide area. They are claimed as the work of the Revolutionary Workers, making at least five underground groups that have been involved in similar activities in Portugal. The separateness of the groups makes it more difficult for the Portuguese police to do anything about it. (*Guardian UK*, Jan. 8, 1973; *Daily Telegraph, U.K.*, Jan. 8, 1973)

### PORTUGUESE DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

NATO Review for Nov./Dec. 1972 has a chart of total defense expenditures of NATO countries from 1963 to 1971 with a prediction for the 1972 total as well.

Portuguese expenditures are listed in millions of escudos:

1972 (forecast)	16,559
1971	14,699
1970	12,538
1969	10,779
1968	10,692
1967	9,575
1966	7,393



### SPECIAL MISSION TO ZAMBIA

The special mission of the Security Council left New York on Feb. 8 to assess the situation in the area following the illegal Smith regime's actions against Zambia. The mission is composed of the Security Council representatives from Austria, Indonesia, Peru and the Sudan and will report back to the Council no later than March 1. The mission was also asked to assess Zambia's need to maintain alternative transportation and communications and was to be assisted in this task by a team of six UN experts. (UN Press Release SC/3388, Feb. 7, 1973)

On Feb. 2, the Security Council adopted a resolution calling on Britain to take all measures to bring about an end to Rhodesia's blockade against Zambia. The Council responded to a Zambian complaint protesting the Rhodesian closure on Jan. 9 of the 400 mile border and charging that the Government of Ian Smith was conducting economic war and aggression against Zambia with the help of 400 South African troops. Under another resolution the Council commended Zambia for its decision to sever all remaining economic and trade relations with Southern Rhodesia and took note of the special economic hardships confronting Zambia as a result. In his message President Kaunda said the tension had continued to rise in Zambia as "more of our people are killed by land mines planted on the Zambia soil by the forces of the Ian Smith regime and South Africa." Six Zambians had been killed, and others wounded. (UN Press release SC/3387, Feb. 2, 1973, Ws/592, Feb. 2, 1973; *NY Times*, Feb. 4, 1973)

### DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE COMMEMORATES CABRAL

The Special Committee of 24 held a special meeting in honor of the late Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde (PAIGC) who was assassinated in Conakry, Guinea on Jan. 20, 1973. The representative of Tunisia recommended that a commemorative stamp be

issued bearing a portrait of Mr. Cabral and that it be distributed at the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa to be held in Oslo April 9 to 14.

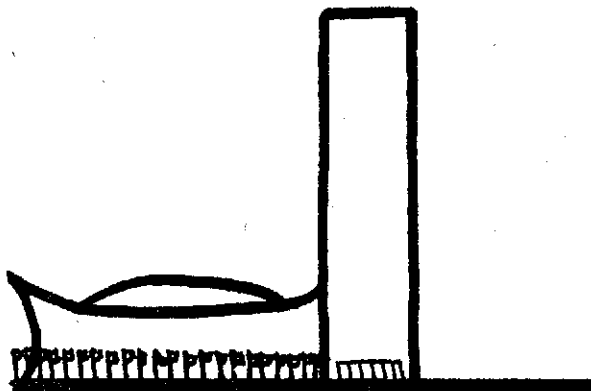
#### **COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA ELECTS PAUL LUSAKA PRESIDENT**

The newly enlarged UN Council for Namibia met on Dec. 21, 1972 and elected Paul Lusaka of Zambia to serve a one-year term as President for 1963. The seven new members are Burundi, China, Liberia, Mexico, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union. The Council also deplored police arrests of 107 Ovambos in Windhoek, Namibia, after rejection of a South African proposed advisory council. (Un Press Release, NAM/46 & BIO/991 NAM/47, Dec. 21, 1972)

Subsequent UN actions called for tougher measures against South Africa with Zambia urging that the UN should use economic sanctions to force the Republic of South Africa to quit Namibia. The Security Council continued to debate whether to continue talks with South Africa over self-determination for Namibia. African representatives asserted that the report of special representative Alfred Escher contained no evidence that South Africa was prepared to reconcile its differences on self-determination with the UN Secretary General Waldheim who is pressing Pretoria for a more specific definition of its attitude. At a news conference in Jan. Dr. Waldheim reported that he had two extensive meetings with the South African Ambassador, Mr. Carl von Hirschberg, and had asked for clarification of those points raised by the Security Council. "Only after the clarification of those open questions, when I see that there is a reasonable basis for further direct action, do I intend to undertake such action—either to send somebody to South Africa or to request somebody from the South African Government to come to New York to discuss the matter further. First, I wish to clarify the situation through normal diplomatic channels." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973, *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 12, 1973)

#### **\$52.5 MILLION LOAN FOR EAST AFRICAN PORTS**

Backed by \$52.5 million in loans from Canada and the World Bank, the East African Harbours Corporation (EAHC) will undertake a 5 year project for the modernization and expansion of the region's three major ports, Tanga and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, and Mombasa in Kenya. (UNDP, Pre-Investment News, Dec. 1972)



# **THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA**

#### **93rd CONGRESS BELIEVED MORE LIBERAL**

The Rev. Edgar (Ted) Lockwood, an Episcopal clergyman who heads the Washington Office on Africa (sponsored by a number of U.S. denominations), believes that the 93rd Congress will be "somewhat more inclined to take liberal positions" on African issues than the last Congress was, and will be "more independent of the President." He bases this observation on the results of the November election. In the change of the composition of the new Congress he sees reason to be optimistic that progress toward individual freedom and majority rule in Southern African countries—an aim of his organization—can be made. Statistically, he envisions that "we are probably about three votes better off in the Senate" and "about five votes better off" in the House on these issues than was the case in the 92nd Congress. Among some of the bills and issues he hopes this change will influence are Rep.-Diggs' bill on fair employment practices by American corporations which are investors in South Africa, which should be heard by one of the subcommittees of the House Judiciary Committee, the sugar quota bill from South Africa, which comes up for renewal in September; and the International Coffee Agreement, which may come up "but the probability is that the coffee agreement may die before then." The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin its probe of the multinational corporations, he said. A staff has been hired for the \$200,000 study and, according to Lockwood, the director has expressed an interest in the views of those concerned about the effect of US corporations on the third world economies and in South Africa.

The Washington Office on Africa is a research and lobbying group sponsored by the Southern Africa Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church; the Africa Office of the Board for Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church; the Board of World Ministries of the United Church of Christ; and the American Committee on Africa. (*Religious News Service*, Jan. 3, 1973)

#### **TWO VIEWS: CONGRESS AND THE "SOUTHERN AFRICA LOBBY"**

1 American Congressional and other leaders associated with the fight against white-dominated Southern Africa seem much more quiet this year than last. Rep. Diggs is much more preoccupied with the District of Columbia Committee than with the House Subcommittee on Africa, and Nicholas Katsenbach and Cyrus Vance are not signing any more petitions condemning the state of affairs in the southern part of the continent. This is probably to be attributed to the shift in leadership in the lobby from Whites to more radical Blacks which began in December 1971. The Washington conference in March of the following year alienated some traditional foes of apartheid like the UAW and "the United Church of Christ, in a quiet reorganization, shut down a most active anti-apartheid unit—the radical Harvard-based Africa

Research Group, run by Whites, and handed its files to a Black group in New York." Whites are now reluctant to be involved, realizing they would have to keep company "with such (Black leaders) as Owusu Sadauki (sic),... who run a disreputable little institution in North Carolina called the Malcolm X University." (Ken Owens, *Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 30, 1972)

2) In the new Congress, the old leaders of action against White-dominated Southern Africa seem ready to mount fresh campaigns. Although Rep. Diggs has been very preoccupied with the District of Columbia Committee of late, he has retained the services of Mrs. Goler Butcher as a consultant on Africa, and her work has transformed his Africa Subcommittee into a very effective "instrument of attack" on the *status quo*. Most recently she forced NASA to demand from the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research promises to improve working and living situations of its Africa employees at the space tracking mission outside Johannesburg. Senator McGee is weighing the possibility of another try against the Byrd Amendment allowing importation of Rhodesian materials. Rep. Fraser retains his chairmanship of the subcommittee on international organizations, with responsibility for UN questions, and may also renew the campaign against the Byrd proposal. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973)

#### ASTRONOMICAL FEES FOR AN ASTRONAUT

Jaycee officials hosting Astronaut Neil Armstrong's visit to South Africa have been embarrassed to acknowledge that their visitor's trip is costing \$8,400 and that Armstrong requires \$2,800 for every extra speech—his standard fee! (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972)

#### TRADE AND INVESTMENT

Bilateral trade between South Africa and the US jumped from \$789.6 million to more than \$850 million in 1972, with South African exports to the US (up from \$256.1 million to \$301.4 million) making some dent in the chronic trade deficit with America (from \$277 million in 1971 to \$247 million 1972). In addition, the Nixon Administration has lifted the stringent controls on the export of capital to South Africa, which had reduced American investment in SA from a level of about \$50 million a year to only \$6 million 1968 and 1969. However, US investment rose to \$46 million in 1970 and up to \$52 million in 1971. The previous restriction had been considered a punitive measure imposed by the Democrats, second only to the arms embargo, and the lifting of it was seen as another basic change by the Nixon Administration. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 6, 1973)

#### US SANCTION-BREAKING INCREASES

The Byrd Amendment, passed in defiance of United Nations sanctions against Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), is being used as a loophole to import more than the chrome which was its original target. According to official US reports to the United Nations, no chrome ore was imported from Zimbabwe during the second and third quarters of last year, but beryllium ore, nickel, asbestos, and ferrochrome were. Reports for the fourth quarter are not yet available, but indications are that six shipments of nickel cathodes totalling 531 tons arrived with a ferrochrome shipment. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973)



'Aren't you the one who fought to end Slavery?'

## book reviews

Cosmas Desmond, *The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa*. Baltimore; Penguin Books, 1971. \$1.95. 265 pp.

In 1967 Cosmas Desmond, a white Catholic priest at a mission station in northern Natal, South Africa, was confronted at firsthand by the South African Government's "removal" policy which is an outgrowth of the apartheid system. The station had been officially declared a "Black spot", and the Africans there were to be relocated to a "closer settlement area" in the reserve. After futile attempts to stop the government-ordered move, Father Desmond undertook, on his own initiative, a tour of such "resettlement schemes" in all parts of South Africa. The result is this book, a graphic and detailed portrayal of one aspect of White domination in South Africa.

Desmond correctly points out that the resettlement schemes are a final step in the implementation of separation of the races, and comes from policies stemming from South Africa's whole history, not just the ideological extremes of "apartheid" ideology advocated and implemented by Nationalist governments since 1948. The system of forcing Africans to migrate from the overcrowded 13% of the land reserved for them to White areas for the purpose of working is not new. In 1922 a government commission recommended that an African "should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is

willing to enter and minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases to minister." Although this system has been basic to South Africa, it has not been completely consistent. Some land in "White" areas had been bought by Africans in the nineteenth century, and while the mine workers were essentially molded to the migratory labor pattern, many Africans in industry and services had been established with their families in urban areas by the mid-20th century. The resettlement schemes are designed to clear up these discrepancies. "Black spots" are places outside the tribal reserves where Africans live, whether as tenants (as on mission land), as owners of land, or as labor tenants on White farms. These are to be eliminated by resettling such Africans in the reserves. To this number are to be added "the Bantu in the European area who are normally regarded as non-productive," including "the aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependent children . . . Bantu on European farms who become superfluous as a result of age, disability or the application of Chapter 4 of the Bantu Trust and Land Act" (quoted by Desmond from the government General Circular No. 25 of 1967).

The reserve areas are already overcrowded, and those resettled are to be fitted into "townships" of "closer settlement areas" there. These are the places Desmond visited, and describes in his book. They are areas distant from employment (so that the men are forced to go away as migrant laborers), with housing, water, and sanitation conditions ranging from bad to completely impossible. Incredible levels of malnutrition and disease exist, and for the most part people do not have the opportunity to farm or raise cattle even if they relocated from farms of their own. In short, these are precisely the facilities one might expect for those classified as "superfluous."

If an occasional incident, or an especially bad resettlement area, attracts the attention of a few liberal Whites, who attempt some minimal relief, some publicity, those calling attention to suffering can be expelled by the South African government (if they are foreign missionaries, for example), or banned (as was, and is, Cosmas Desmond). Often those raising the protests about the resettlement areas have been churchmen (for they are the Whites most likely to observe the areas), and there is a lesson here too. For they seem to be isolated voices, supported haltingly if at all by their churches.

This book is not a description of the whole system of White domination in South Africa, nor does it offer any solutions. It simply paints a picture, in firsthand detail and poignant clarity, of some of the inhuman consequences of that system. And the removals which it describes, far from being things of the past to be themselves removed by the "liberalizing" consequences of industrialization, are part of an accelerating, "modernizing" intensification of the apartheid system. Those who still hope for gradual reform would do well to read this book very carefully.

### SOUTHERN AFRICA SCENARIO

In a new book entitled *Southern Africa in Perspective; Essays in Regional Politics* (Free Press, New York and Collier-Macmillan Ltd., London) edited by American academics Christian Potholm and Richard Dale, 22 writers analyze in detail the whole Southern African situation. In the conclusion, Potholm outlines nine possible scenarios for the future and then suggests the following: 1) for the next five years, the *status quo* will prevail, including a virtual stalemate in the Angola and Mozambique wars;

2) over the intermediate term (10-15 years) Southern Africa as a white bastion may well be reduced or subjected to great pressure, although the opposite is also conceivable, that South Africa might come to dominate Zambia and Zaire; 3) over the long term: at least a truncated form of white-dominated Southern Africa is likely to survive, unless there is some great power intervention, in which case "middle-range coercion" (air strikes, massive support for guerrillas, economic blockade, but no invasion) might bring a change to majority rule. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972) (See *Southern Africa* February, 1973 issue, for full review of book)

You bore  
As few men can  
The burden of existence  
Yet, it, you bore  
With patience,  
Innocence  
And strength of Will  
Though you still fell  
Foolishly like us all  
At the hands of a one  
Wheeled Innocent.  
Canada was, and came  
And came in the name  
Of a comrade!

You chose  
Like us all  
And resolved like  
A student always does  
To struggle with Heart  
and Might, and Mind  
But vainly  
Just like us all  
You lost your soul  
Yet for a Cause  
(But we have lost  
Both Cause and Soul!)  
All is spent  
In the reality of our dreams.

You dreamt  
Like us all  
Of Utopia when in hell  
Of Bissau-Bafata when  
In Conakry—  
The kraal where you returned  
To Clay—  
A Hero only once perhaps—  
You dreamt  
And dreamt—But  
What can men do without  
Their dreams  
Of gods when unwell?  
But yours were good dreams

You saw  
And saw them come alive:  
From back-to-back to  
Side-to-side to  
Face-to-face till all  
Were in Arms  
The master unclad the mothers  
The land ripped off their roots  
But now you too are gone

With your dreams?  
Curse this land, Curse Afrika  
If we bury your body  
And turn our bodies bawdy  
Sheba lives in Amerika, not Afrikal!



S. Phaniso C. Moyo



# ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

## CABRAL'S ASSASSINATION—MEMORIALS, COMMEMORATIONS, PROTESTS

From Dar es Salaam to Los Angeles the spirit and memory of Amilcar Cabral were honored. At a student-called meeting at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzanian Foreign Minister Malecela said: "By killing Cabral, the enemy is only succeeding in speeding up their own departure from African soil." FRELIMO's Marcelino Dos Santos said: "The killing of Comrade Cabral leaves us even stronger, for the African revolution needs a bit of blood of the sons and daughters of Africa." (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 23, 1973).

A number of national and international organizations and individuals issued statements including UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, the All African Conference of Churches, the OAU, Southern African liberation movements, independent African governments, and European nations. There was also a memorial given at the UN the week after the assassination. The theme of the more militant or involved organizations was one of rededication and intensification of the struggle calling for increased material aid to the liberation movements. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 23, *East African Standard*, Kenya, Jan. 23, 1973).

In England, supporters of the Guinea revolution gathered before the Portuguese Embassy in London. A placard read, "You can kill a man, but you can't kill a movement." In Manchester 50 people occupied the Portuguese consulate and then stood vigil, while numerous groups, including the Labour Party, Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, issued statements. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, UK, Feb. 1973) Swedish Premier Palme called Cabral "one of the most outstanding personalities I have ever met." (*Agence France Press*, Jan. 21, 1973).

"Long Live the Spirit of Amilcar Cabral" chanted some 75 demonstrators in front of the government's Casa de Portugal in New York. The demonstration on Jan. 22 was quickly organized by Southern Africa Committee, Committee for a Free Mozambique, and American Committee on Africa with many supporters. A larger action, including a march from 125th Street to the Casa de Portugal, was sponsored by Africa Information Service (AIS) in New York and included 200 demonstrators, among them students from the UHURU SASA School in Brooklyn.

Memorials and commemorative services were held in New York, Chicago, Washington (see below), Madison, Wisconsin, and Durham, N.C., while other demonstrations were organized in Los Angeles, Chicago, Ithaca, N.Y. and Washington. In Boston 200 people, many of Cape Verdian descent, rallied at the Portuguese Consulate. A Portuguese flag was burned. (*Guardian*, NY, Feb. 14, 1973)

The memorial service in New York, sponsored by AIS, was held at St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Harlem and attended by at least 700 persons, including members of

the diplomatic community. All of the speakers emphasized the need for collective action as a response to Cabral's life and death. Robert Van Lierop of AIS outlined the importance of understanding the international significance of the many assassinations over the last decade, including Malcolm X, George Jackson, Eduardo Mondlane and many unnamed brothers, in connection with US imperialist actions from the Bay of Pigs to the invasion of Guinea. Abel Guimaraes of MPLA (Angola) spoke as did Owusu Sadaukai of Malcolm X University. "Where is the Peace?" queried Sadaukai in reference to IndoChina developments. Not in Africa. Sadaukai talked about the necessity to connect the realities of life on 125th St. to such facts as the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique, and to understand the international nature of the struggle. He announced that the African Liberation Support Committee would raise \$100,000 this year for liberation movements (See below). The meeting closed with a eulogy to Cabral by the Reverend Lucious Walker of Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO). Walker announced that IFCO's Washington Community Organization Training Institute would be renamed the Amilcar Cabral Institute, and that IFCO would also launch a fund for PAIGC. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, Feb., 1973)

In other services, Gerard Chaliand, one of the first scholars to visit Guinea-Bissau, spoke at Duke University in Durham. In Madison a program consisted of the reading of poetry composed in memory of Cabral; music for the funeral of a king, the singing of the PAIGC National Anthem, and the reading of extracts from Cabral's speeches. \$500 was raised for the PAIGC.

Several booklets were produced in conjunction with the memorials. In Madison, a collection of poems by Daniel Kunene, S. Phaniso C. Moyo and Eugenia Neto was prepared and is available from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 731 State Street, Madison, Wisc. A booklet including the Liberation News Service story about Cabral written by American Andy Marx, who had been in liberated Guinea-Bissau, and excerpts from Cabral's works, are available from SAC-South, 213 North Gregson, Durham, N.C.

## WASHINGTON MOURNS AMILCAR CABRAL

Some 500 members of the Washington community gathered on Wednesday, Jan. 24th, at All Souls Unitarian Church to pay tribute to the memory of Amilcar Cabral. The mood was one of rededication and determination to achieve liberation in Africa.

The representative of the Guinean Embassy, speaking in French, expressed his firm conviction that while the forces of evil have assassinated a man, liberty belongs to every one.

Mr. Coulbary, the Ambassador of Bengali, pointed out that while he mourned the death of a man who was kind, approachable and sympathetic while exercising true determined leadership, the support of those present could

not fail to have an impact on the world and would trigger the liberation of all of Southern Africa.

Congressman Charles Diggs spoke at some length about Cabral's qualities of leadership: "An intellectual, he never lost touch with those he led . . . He taught us that we can use the system for revolutionary purposes. He was the 'spook' that sat at the door. He worked for the Portuguese to conduct an agricultural census. While he learned Marxism and Maoism, he knew they had to be Africanized to be relevant. Since there was no urban proletariat in his country, he politicized the disaffected intellectuals, traders and dock workers. He was joined by marginal rural leaders."

Diggs pointed out that Cabral knew Portugal, the "sick man of Europe," could not succeed without massive external assistance. He brought cheers with a call for a war against America's defiance of mandatory sanctions, its aid and comfort to South Africa and for international assistance to liberation movements.

A message from Stokeley Carmichael was read calling Portugal a puppet of racist American imperialism.

The Reverend Douglas Moore of Washington roused the audience to fervor. "Amilcar Cabral's death is the gunshot of a new war. A new war has been spoken by the words of Marx Essex." Pointing out that hardly anything happens that doesn't pass through Washington, DC, the administrative heart of the capitalist empire, he called on those present to prepare themselves. "We don't need any dumb revolutionaries!" "Amilcar Cabral has fertilized the field with his blood. Now it is your turn!"

Donald Isaacs of the African Liberation Day Support Committee called upon the assembly to stop reacting and to move forward in militant action:

1. To educate a constituency of support for liberation movements.
2. To form a cadre for truth aimed at white media, at legislation and to teach ongoing classes in regard to issues in Southern Africa.
3. Participation in welfare rights, public housing and DC Black Assembly.
4. Collection of funds and goods especially clothing and medical supplies. A fundraising event is planned for Feb. 16th.

The evening ended with the cry, "Carry on until we can say 'Africa for the Africans!'"

The sponsors of the Cabral memorial were the Black

United Front, African Liberation Day Support Committee, Mozambican Student Union and the Washington Task Force on African Affairs.

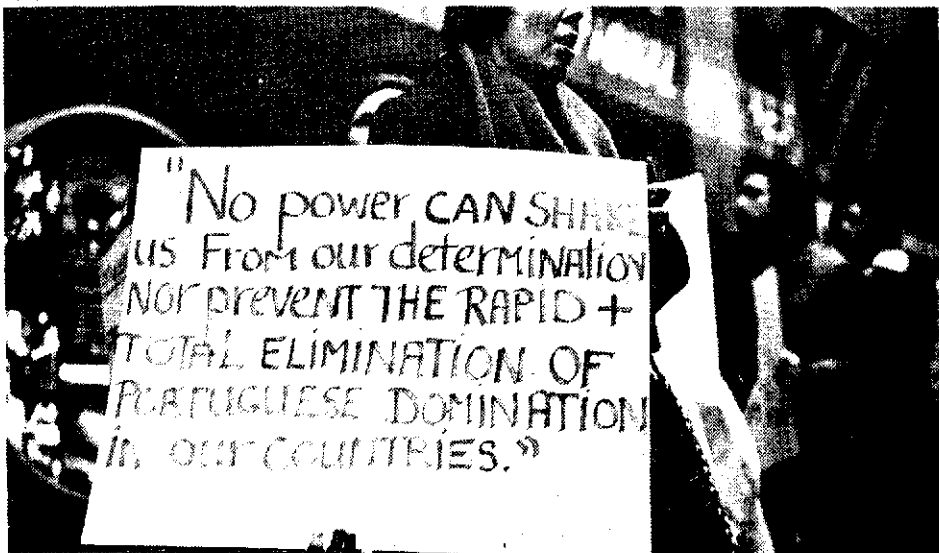
## COURT ACTIONS ON RHODESIAN IMPORTS CONTINUE

Last Fall the Black Caucus of Congress, ACOA, SAC, SCLC, ZANU, IFCO-Action, ECSA, United Church of Christ, and a number of individuals, including several Zimbabweans, submitted a legal complaint to the Treasury Department and Union Carbide calling for an end to US imports of Rhodesian goods (in particular metallurgical chromite). They cited the constitutional issue involving the conflict between the Congressional authorization of such imports and the treaty obligations of the US to the UN sanctions. (See May 1972 issue of *Southern Africa*) The District Court in Washington, DC dismissed the complaint prepared by persons from the Center for Constitutional Rights, National Conference of Black Lawyers and the NYU Center for International Studies. In an appeal to the Appellate Court of Washington, DC the judgement on Oct. 31 again ruled against the plaintiffs. But the Court did act against the earlier District ruling and said that the plaintiffs *did* have standing to bring the suit because some "appellants, have suffered, and continue to suffer, tangible injuries at the hands of Southern Rhodesia." The Appellate Court agreed with the District Court ruling that the issue is primarily related to the Congressional passage of the Byrd Amendment allowing chrome imports from Rhodesia despite the UN sanctions and thus is a question of "political policy which courts do not inquire into." But it also found that the Amendment was deliberately designed to breach the UN Charter.

The lawyers have now presented a petition to the US Supreme Court asking for a review of the earlier proceedings, raising questions about the power of the President of the US to violate a treaty (i.e. UN Charter) when Congress does not present a clear legislative direction, the implications of a Congressional statute which does not refer to the treaty obligations, and other issues of UN/US relations.

For more information on the case, including important background material on US relations with Southern Rhodesia, write to: Center for Constitutional Rights, 588 Ninth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Demonstration  
outside  
Casa de Portugal





## INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

### COFFEE AND OIL IMPORTS DROP IN HOLLAND

The Angola Comite of Amsterdam has had some success in cutting back Dutch imports of Angolan coffee and oil. Angolan coffee imports have dropped from more than 30 per cent of Holland's coffee intake to a mere 2.3 per cent by October 1972. All Angolan oil (exported via Gulf Corporation) has been cut off. At this time most petroleum from Cabinda is exported to Canada and the West Indies (Trinidad and Tobago.) The *Star* of Johannesburg reports that Brazil and Angola are developing closer economic ties, particularly in the coffee arena, in order to undermine the boycott of Angolan beans, but no contract has been signed. (*Peace News*, U.K., January 5, 1973; *African Development*, London, Jan. 1973; and *Star* Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972; Angola Comite, press release)

South Africa has refused to grant a visa to Dutch Minister of State Marga Klompe who wanted to enter South Africa to deliver 20,000 signatures on a petition supporting banned Catholic priest Cosmos Desmond. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973.)

### LIBYA STOPS/STARTS FLIGHTS TO SA

On Dec. 23 the Government of Libya informed various national airlines that they could not use Libyan air space for flights destined for South Africa. The policy, which is supported by a number of African states, meant the immediate diversion of several British and Belgian planes to Egypt. A day later the ban was apparently abandoned, probably due to Egyptian pressures to maintain healthy relations with European arms suppliers. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23; *Guardian*, UK, Dec. 23 & 28, 1972)

### OAU MEETS LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Ghana's Colonel Acheampong hosted the 17 member OAU Liberation Committee in Accra from Jan. 8-12. The conference concentrated on expanding the military involvement of independent African states in the liberation struggle. They agreed to utilize front line areas such as Dar es Salaam, where the Committee is headquartered, as its "War headquarters." Tanzania has agreed to the new emphasis and to the resolution calling for volunteers to help in the liberation struggle. Ghana will set up an OAU Liberation Information Center in Accra and provide other facilities for the movements. All the various liberation organizations were asked to sign a "unity pledge" at the Conference at the same time a conciliation committee was established to unite the Zimbabwe movements. How the resolutions relate to past discussions of an African High Command, and to the stated emphasis on liberation of the "Portuguese" areas is unclear. OAU Liberation Committee Executive Hashim Mbita has been spending more time in liberated zones. In October he spent one month in liberated Guinea-Bissau. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 22 & 23, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 20 & 23, 1973; Radio Report, Guinea, October 22, 1972)

In other Africa news, Nigeria's leader Gowon emphasized the need for total African liberation in his annual New Year's Message. Senegal's President Senghor, acting as Chairman of the Franco-phone African organization OCAM, has informed the Common Market that any links it might make with South Africa would violate international law on the Namibian issue. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 2, 1973; *Guardian* UK, Jan. 17, 1973).

### BENGAL RELIEF MONIES REJECTED

In spite of pleas from the Asian community in South Africa, the Government of India has turned back \$14,000 raised for Bengal relief to the fund raisers in South Africa declaring that it does not want South African money. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973)

### UN CONFERENCE PLANNED

Representatives of nine liberation movements will meet with people from the OAU, UN and its specialized agencies in a special United Nations conference paid for and hosted by the Scandinavian Governments in Oslo in April. The conference will emphasize action to support rapid decolonization and will be attended by people from the UN's Special Committee on Apartheid, the Council for Namibia, the Committee of 24 on Decolonization, and the OAU Liberation Committee as well as the Security Council member states. (*Times of Zambia*, Jan. 5, 1973; *Star* Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 1973)

### SUPPORT COMMITTEE TO RAISE \$100,000

The African Liberation Support Committee, affiliated with Africa Liberation Day groups, has branches through the U.S. and has scheduled a number of fund-raising events with the goal of collecting \$100,000 by next May's African Liberation Day. In the New York-New Jersey area contact: Alice Reid, ALSC, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 560, New York, N.Y. 10027.

### SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICAN STRIKERS

A small but hearty group of demonstrators braved subfreezing temperatures to show their solidarity with the Durban strikers on Saturday, Feb. 10, by leafleting and demonstrating in front of the lush South African Airways office on Fifth Avenue in New York City. Future actions are planned by groups including SDS, the Namibia Support Group coalition and others.

### SWISS BACKING SOUTH AFRICA?

The World Council of Churches Program to Combat Racism and the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement recently examined 50 Swiss companies operating in South Africa and produced a 446-page report that states that Switzerland's attitude toward South Africa is "openly partial" and a "violation of Swiss neutrality." Continuing, the report said, "Switzerland's attitude to South Africa is not simply equivocal, but openly partial and constitutes a flagrant violation of Swiss neutrality ... Methods of support are not limited to capital investment and the retailing of South African gold, but include the spreading of propaganda for *apartheid* in Switzerland," it claimed. "The powerful South African lobby at work in Switzerland threatens the federation's neutrality," it said. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972)

### WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SELLS STOCK

The World Council of Churches has sold its stock in U.S., British, Swiss, and Dutch companies which have operations in Southern Africa. The action, which follows a decision taken by the WCC's Central Committee in August, was announced by finance director Frank Northam, who said the sales represented 30 to 40 per cent of the organization's shareholdings. In the United States, 164 companies were affected.

Following the announcement, Northam disclosed that the World Council had decided to include banks in the list of firms with which the Council would conclude its holdings. There was agreement, he said, that banks

provide facilities and services supportive of the minority regimes just as other corporations do. Market value of the stocks which have been sold is about \$1.5 million. Divestment of banking shares will await a report on which banks have "direct" operations in Southern Africa. (*New York Times*, Jan. 23, 24, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 24, 25, 1973)

### CHURCH COALITION CHALLENGES CORPORATIONS

A coalition of Protestant church agencies has recently filed disclosure resolutions with 10 American corporations having major investments in South Africa. The venture represents the largest cooperative Protestant effort to date to encourage corporate responsibility in firms in which they hold stock.

Various national program units of the American Baptist Churches, the Episcopal Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the United Methodist Church and the Unitarian-Universalist Association, plus the National Council of Churches, altogether representing 118,639 shares, have filed resolutions. The requests ask that the Board of Directors of each corporation provide a full, written report to the shareholders within four months of the date of the 1973 annual meeting on the involvement of the corporation in the Republic of South Africa.

The report should include a history of the corporation's involvement in South Africa since 1962, a detailed listing of current wages and employee benefits by functional job descriptions, comparing African, Asian, Coloured and White workers, and a description, broken down by race, of technical training, general education, legal assistance, housing or other programs provided by the corporations for workers and their families. The reports must also explain those South African laws which directly affect the corporations' employment practices and any efforts the corporations may be making to have the government modify the laws.

These requests are an attempt to translate into action the churches' expressed opposition to colonialism and racism in Southern Africa. The information will help the Churches, and all investors, to know what to do with stocks they hold in firms conducting Southern African operations. At a press conference on January 16 the Rev. W. Sterling Cary, newly elected president of the National Council of Churches, said, "For decades US companies have invested in South Africa... [and] have made huge profits there while paying their black workers pitifully inadequate wages. They have run their plants like plantations because they felt no one cared. They have provided products for the white government and military, thereby strengthening white control. They have helped create a flourishing economy—for whites." Also speaking in support of the resolution, the president of the American Baptist Churches, the Rev. Eugene Bartlett said, "Denominations, which are multi-million dollar shareholders in corporate America, are no longer concerned solely with the dollar return on their investments but also with the ways in which those profits are made. For too long the church has kept its stock portfolio in one pocket and its ethics in another."

The church coalition will actively solicit supporting proxy votes from universities, foundations, mutual funds, other churches, and unions as well as from concerned individual investors, as it challenges ten corporations operating within the Republic of South Africa. The corporations are International Business Machines, Xerox, First National City Bank, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, General Electric, International Telephone

and Telegraph, Chrysler, Caterpillar Tractor, Texaco, and Eastman Kodak.

The Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa was formed in 1971. Last year it filed stockholder resolutions requesting full disclosure of the involvement of Mobil, Goodyear, IBM and General Motors in South Africa and Gulf Oil in Angola. Mobil agreed to disclose the information and sent it to all shareholders. IBM made a similar agreement, but in the end disclosed only a portion of the information. Gulf disclosed data only after a proxy contest.

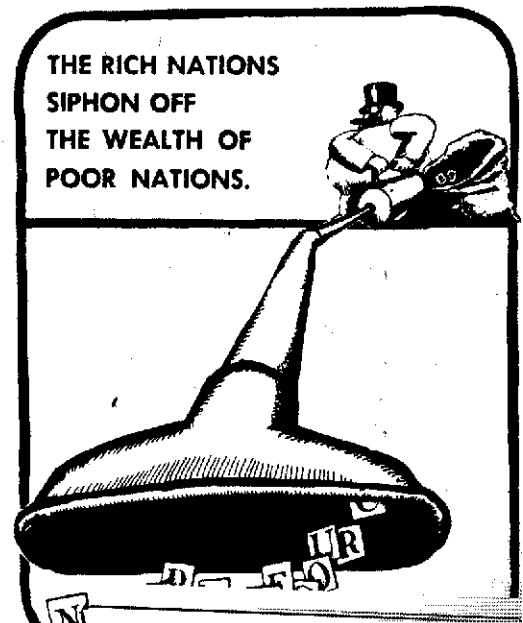
Acting as part of the Church Project, the Unitarian Universalist Association challenged Exxon's plans to invest in Angola, urging them instead to establish a committee including representatives of the liberation movements to fully examine the implications of such a move.

The Episcopal Church also filed a resolution urging Phillips Petroleum Company to withdraw from Namibia.

For the full text of these resolutions and further information, write the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa—1973, Room 845, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC 10027.

### CHURCH CAMPAIGN ON INVESTMENTS

On Jan. 19 the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa held a press conference announcing the filing of motions with ten companies which would require disclosure of their operations in Southern Africa. The companies are Caterpillar Tractors, Chrysler, Eastman Kodak, First National City Bank, General Electric, IBM, International Telephone and Telegraph, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, Texaco and Xerox. The interdenominational group has also filed motions with Phillips Petroleum which would bar it from operating in South West Africa and is asking the Exxon Corporation (formerly Esso) to establish a committee to examine its investment in Angola. Last year motions were filed with only 5 companies. This year Urroughs Corporation agreed to disclose its operations and their motion was dropped. While it is impossible to say that past campaigns getting very small percentages of the shareholder vote have changed company policies, it is interesting to note that both Polaroid and Pepsi-Cola have recently instituted improvements for their non-white workers in South Africa. (*Star* Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973)



## CHURCH GROUP PRESSES CORPORATIONS ON NAMIBIA

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, an independent organization of Episcopalians, has filed stockholder resolutions calling on two American mining corporations to wind up their involvement in Namibia (South West Africa). ECSA charges that the corporations are part-owners of a company paying taxes to and accepting the apartheid laws of South Africa, which occupies Namibia in defiance of the United Nations. The US companies are American Metal Climax, Inc. and Newmont Mining Corporation, each of which owns 29% of Tsumeb Corporation, a major component of Namibia's rich mining industry. Newmont operates Tsumeb. AMAX and Newmont are both listed on the New York Stock Exchange, and ECSA holds three shares of AMAX and two shares of Newmont.

The United Nations General Assembly in 1966, by a vote of 114 to 2—the United States concurring—terminated the League of Nations mandate by which South Africa had governed Namibia. The UN set up the Council

for Namibia to administer the country, but it has not so far been able to exercise its authority. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and a 1971 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice have consistently sustained the UN's lawful rights in Namibia.

The Churchmen's resolution requested that an amendment be made to the Certificate of Incorporation of American Metal Climax stating that the corporation "shall not conduct or be part to any operations in Namibia (South West Africa), either directly or through subsidiaries or affiliates, and shall use its best efforts to see to it that present operations in Namibia (South West Africa) in which it has an interest are wound up."

In a statement supporting their resolution, ECSA said that cooperation with South Africa presents a danger to the corporation by involving it in direct support of an illegal regime that uses forced labor.

Copies of the texts of both the resolution and the supporting statement may be obtained from: Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, 14 West 11th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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## Resources



## New Groups

The Namibia Support Group, since it was formed in January 1972 to support striking Namibian workers, has been a working coalition of three New York-based organizations: American Committee on Africa, Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, and the Southern Africa Committee.

During the six-week long Namibian strike, NSG prepared a packet of background materials, which was distributed to groups and persons around the country. *All copies of the packet are now sold.*

Much of the NSG's attention has focused on the role of the U.S. owners of Namibia's largest employer of contract labor—Tsumeb Corporation, controlled by Newmont Mining Corporation and American Metal Climax, Inc., both with headquarters in New York City.

Because the legal status of the Territory of Namibia continues to focus attention on it, with continuing discussions between the United Nations Secretary General and the South African Government, with the likelihood of another strike and with the gathering force of solidarity amongst the Namibian people, NSG has decided to stay together as a coordinating body.

*Individuals* who might want further information or are willing to make a contribution of time or money to support Namibian independence are asked to contact one of the groups listed below.

*Organizations* who might wish to join the coalition should write to the contact person, Bill Johnston.

While there are no more Namibia Support Group packets available, other material exists and is being prepared.

American Committee on Africa  
164 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
Phone: (212) 532-3700

**THE GUARDIAN**, a radical, independent weekly, has consistent coverage of events in Africa, Southern Africa in particular. Subscription rates are \$10; \$5 for students; \$1 trial subscription for 10 weeks. (Add \$2 for Canada.) Write: **THE GUARDIAN**, 32 West 22nd Street, New York, NY 10010.

Southern Africa Committee  
244 West 27th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10001  
Phone: (212) 741-3480

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa  
Attn: Bill Johnston  
14 West 11th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10011  
Phone: (212) 477-0066

Southern Africa Committee (South)  
213 Gregson Street  
Durham, N.C. 27701  
Phone: (919) 682-3857

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Address \_\_\_\_\_

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See page 3 for further details

Southern Africa Committee  
 244 West 27th Street  
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