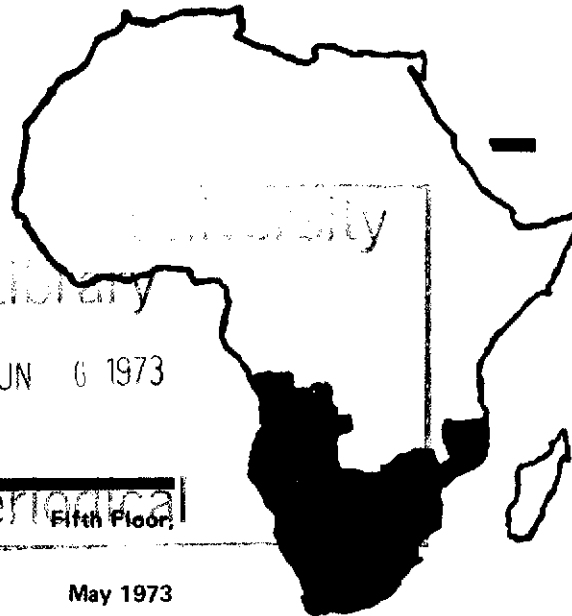


SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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Vol. VI No. 5

May 1973

THE PLOT AGAINST P.A.I.G.C.

Inside story of the Portuguese failure to destroy the liberation movement of Guinea and Cape Verde (translated from an exclusive report in Afrique Asie).

NOTES TO OUR READERS

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Volume VI No. 5

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THE PLOT AGAINST CABRAL

PREFACE—EDITORIAL COMMENT

The article which follows specifies the actions of the major participants in the plot against PAIGC and Cabral which culminated in the actions of January 20, 1973, and shows what motivated them. Although the details are different, the general strategy used by the Portuguese in this plot in Guinea is familiar to those who have analyzed what happened within Mozambique's FRELIMO in the late 1960's. The parallels include the following:

(1) There is a conscious aggravation by the Portuguese of traditional fears and rivalries. In Guinea, not only the differences between tribal groupings, but those between Cape Verdeans and mainlanders are exploited. In Mozambique, the Portuguese stirred up northern/southern fears as well as invoking tribal rivalries.

(2) Infiltrators are planted in the midst of the nationalists. Because they are accepted as militants themselves, the infiltrators are in an excellent position to confuse the thinking and even the allegiances of some of the more susceptible partisans.

(3) The Portuguese and their agents seek out ambitious persons who desire personal aggrandizement, or find

people who believe that because of their education or some other attribute, they should be given power and privilege. Such persons become disillusioned when the traits they most esteem in themselves are not equally regarded by people of the liberated areas whose will determines more and more the distribution of power and responsibility in the struggle. They easily fall for promises of power or esteem if the lure is posed in terms of some form of independence for the people. In Guinea, the "carrot" was an "independent" mainland (within the Portuguese community) but forgetting Cape Verde. In Mozambique, it was a free north, but forgetting the south.

The combination of these Portuguese approaches has resulted in the tragic loss of both Cabral and Mondlane. However, as John S. Saul shows in a recent article ("FRELIMO and the Mozambique Revolution," *Monthly Review* March, 1973) such major tragedies and lesser internal conflicts often reveal contradictions within the movements and enable both the movements and the persons in them to grow and mature in political understanding. The result in the end is a stronger (and more revolutionary), rather than a weaker movement.

REPRINT FROM *AFRIQUE-AS'IE* (France), Feb. 19, 1973 with permission of author Aquino de Braganca. English translation done by Christiane Makward.

THE PLOT AGAINST AFRICA

After Amilcar Cabral's assassination, *Afrique-Asie* was the only international newspaper allowed by Guinea to conduct an investigation on the spot. In Conakry, our special envoy, Aquino de Braganca, stayed for three weeks with the leaders of PAIGC and with the military officials. He closely followed the proceedings of the preliminary inquest commission which interrogated 465 persons, and found 43 to be directly involved, nine to be implicated for complicity, and 42 suspect.

On last January 15, Amilcar Cabral, secretary-general of PAIGC returned to Conakry from Accra, where he had attended a meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee.

In fraternal support of the Guinean Party and government, PAIGC fighters have the free use of a rear base in Guinea-Conakry, including, in the capital, services, residences and harbor facilities for their flotilla.

Arriving in Conakry that day, Cabral was surprised to find one of the PAIGC barges, which should have been at sea with an arms shipment for the liberated regions of Guinea-Bissau, still lying at its hitching. He summoned captain Joaquim da Costa, whose motorboat was to have towed her.

"Why didn't you carry out the orders of the War Council?" asked Cabral.

"Our engine failed."

"Hurry," Cabral insisted. "The field commanders are expecting those arms to settle a key offensive."

In reality, the countdown had already begun.

Da Costa was part of the conspiracy. He was waiting for orders from his accomplice, Inocencio Kani, the other captain of the boat. He knew his part exactly. All the

4 pawns were in place at the very turn of the New Year,



1973, which was to be decisive according to the Portuguese colonialists' plans.

DGS/PIDE (Portuguese secret service), exploiting all kinds of sources for a number of years, had recruited Guinean agents and introduced them into the resistance movement. Adventurers, brainwashed prisoners, old militants now weary, embittered and dissatisfied . . . No

doubt the number was small compared with the mass of fighters and their leaders. The trouble was that some of them had obtained key posts even vital responsibilities. More serious still was the fact that they had managed to secure the trust of the Party leaders and of the secretary-general.

HEADLIGHTS IN THE NIGHT

On the evening of January 20, Joaquim Chissano, a member of the executive committee of FRELIMO, was passing through Conakry and giving a talk at the PAIGC training center. Naturally, a large number of militants and party leaders were involved in this event for the evening.

Cabral, however, was not there. He was attending a reception at the Polish embassy with his wife. His second, Aristides Pereira, was not there either. He stayed at his office, where Cabral was expected to return at 11 p.m. About that time, Cabral and his wife, Ana Maria, left the Polish Embassy, Cabral driving his own Volkswagen.

The African militant felt rather confident that night. Latest reports from the interior front had confirmed that PAIGC troops retained the initiative of operation. Recent changes in the structure of the Party leadership, made by the Executive Committee for the Struggle, which had met in Boke (Guinea-Conakry), were bound to give new impetus to the offensive. The latest OAU conference supported Guinean fighters. Above all, the People's Assembly, newly elected in the liberated areas, was about to proclaim Guinea a sovereign state. Many African and non-African states have pledged immediate recognition.

The road to Ratoma was quiet and the Volkswagen glided through the dark. The house was now very close. Suddenly car headlights blinded the driver. Surprised to recognize a Party jeep, Cabral stopped his car and got out.

"What is the matter?"

Three men climbed out of the army vehicle and pointed their guns at the secretary-general. The apparent leader of the action was well known to Cabral. He was a Party veteran, Inocencio Kani, a former navy commander, who had had some problems of late.

"Follow us," said Inocencio Kani.

Cabral refused and called for the guard posted at his house.

There was no guard.

Nabonia, called "Batia," and a member of the secretary-general's personal guard, had informed the conspirators of the evening's program. They knew Cabral to be alone; that Pereira expected him at his office, and that the other militants were at the Mozambican lecture.

"Get in," Inocencio said, "or we'll have to force you."

One of the aggressors stepped forward with a rope.

"You can't get me that way," lashed Cabral. Nobody can ever tie me up... I never accepted the tying of others... We are fighting precisely to break such chains..."

Fear and dismay swept Kani's face. But it was too late. He hesitated a moment, then raised his gun and shot, practically pointblank.

Hit in the liver, Cabral collapsed, bleeding abundantly.

Inocencio Kani disappeared for awhile, probably to inform his accomplices of the new turn of events. Meanwhile Cabral tried to rise from the ground, where a pool of blood was spreading. The man was not dead. The leader was still conscious. In a final effort, he addressed the other two men, standing motionless:

FINISH HIM OFF

"Why, comrades? If there are differences, we must discuss them... The Party has taught us..."

"What? You're still talking?" roared Kani who

suddenly reappeared. He motioned to the men. "Finish him off. Quickly."

A brief burst of fire. Cabral, hit in the head, fell back, dead. Terrorized and powerless, Ana Maria witnessed the whole scene from the car.

"Take her to the 'Montanha,'" ordered Kani. The "Montanha" is the PAIGC prison. The jeep dashed off.

Other actions had already begun. Shortly before 11 p.m., the conspirators had taken by surprise Aristides Pereira, assistant to the secretary-general, who was at work in his office. A member of the security services and chief of the guards, Mamadou N'Diaye himself, seized Pereira and tied him up.

While several prisoners—who are largely responsible for this sedition—were set free, they locked up Ana Maria and other loyal leaders, including Vasco Cabral and Jose Araujo.

"You will be shot at six a.m.," the rebels informed them.

For now, there were many other things to do, especially because of the new twist in the scheme. Orders had been actually, not to murder Cabral, but to kidnap him and take him to Bissau. Also the shots must have been heard somewhere. Inocencio resumed direction of operations.

Tied up, Aristides Pereira, had been placed in a car that headed for the harbor. All PAIGC vehicles are equipped with a special plate (FF) that enables them to move freely, through an agreement with Conakry officials. It was therefore easy to go through the barriers of the Guinean army, police, or militia.

Inocencio Kani also arrived at the harbor and verified that orders had been carried out.

Pereira had been transferred to boat number four—commanded by Joaquim da Costa—which set off, all lights, towing the arms-laden barge. Cabral's assassin assumed command of boat number seven and left the harbor together with boat number five. The flotilla reached open sea. Harbor service men knew them well and did not move.

However, on land, the shots had actually been heard. A member of the War Council, commander Oswaldo Viera, who lived close by, took up his gun. A nurse also turned up. She discovered Amilcar Cabral's body, found no pulse.

"He is dead," she said.

In anguish, they picked up the leader's glasses and a sheet of paper, a letter he had started writing to his daughter... also notes for a book he was working on. At that moment, many people arrived on the scene, as the audience of the Mozambican speaker was now going home. A certain amount of confusion reigned.

It was two hours later that Ana Maria Cabral and her companions were freed from jail.

But President Ahmed Sekou Toure was informed at 11:30. A little later, when the Cuban ambassador, Oscar Oramas, telephoned the President with the news he had just heard, he responded that he had been informed.

First reaction: Sekou Toure ordered the harbor officials to cancel all departures. He was told the three PAIGC boats had already left. He ordered them to be chased. At the same time, Guinean forces enclosed the capital with remarkable speed. By midnight, Conakry was cut off. The troops on the border were on the alert. The air force took to the air. The MIGs of the air patrol and radar surveillance eventually spotted the fugitives' vessels off Boke at dawn. Guinean speedboats were called up and started after them. At five a.m. they were seized and led into the mouth of the Nunes river, near Boke and still in

Guinea-Conakry waters.

Da Costa, Inocencio, and their men were arrested.

"Where is Aristides Pereira?" they were asked.

"He is somewhere in liberated territory in Guinea-Bissau," the cool-headed traitors answered.

However, Guinean officials doubted them. Jose Pereira was there. He was in charge of the border area of Guinea-Bissau, and came along with the governor of that region.

It was decided to check the barge, which was also seized, and which was full of arms. Around noon, Aristides Pereira was finally discovered in the hold, tied up, and with gangrene started in his hands. He confirmed that his aggressors had told him that they intended to present him to the Portuguese governor in Bissau, General Spínola.

THE SCHEME IS FOILED

The plot had many aspects. It became obvious that the objective was much wider. To go back to that dramatic night of January 20/21. While events followed their course at sea and in the city, a group of conspirators asked an interview with President Sekou Toure. Among them, Mamadou Toure, called "Momo," Aristides Barbosa, Joao Tomaz, Soares da Gama, three of them dubious

individuals, whom PAIGC had dismissed several months before. "Momo" and Aristides Barbosa were in jail until that night, under charges of treason. Cabral's assassins had just set them free. Joao Tomaz had been convicted of collaborating with the Portuguese, sentenced to ten years hard labor, then given amnesty on the occasion of the Party's 25th anniversary. Soares da Gama, on probation, was about to be tried on a corruption charge. At midnight, then, the group turned up at President Sekou Toure's office, guided by the driver Sana Kassana. "Momo" was spokesman:

"We came to inform the supreme leader of the Revolution," he said, "that we have now assumed the responsibility for the struggle. Cabral had to be removed, even at the price of his life, to save our country. Grassroots militants and commanders on the interior front have appointed me," the man testified shamelessly, "to take command of PAIGC."

Sekou Toure listened sternly. The monstrous plot was quite obvious to him.

"I cannot hear you at this time," he answered. And he summoned FRELIMO president, Samora Machel, who happened to be on an official visit in Conakry, also his friends, the Ambassador from Algeria, M. Zitouni, and the Ambassador from Cuba, Mr. Oscar Oramas.

CONCEPTION AND ORGANIZATION:

A Portuguese operational group, composed of four superior officers, was in charge of organizing and controlling the conspiracy:

- Vice-admiral Pereira Crespo, secretary for Navy
- General Costa Gomes, general staff director of the Armed Forces
- General Spínola, military governor of Guinea-Bissau
- Major Paes, head of DGS/PIDE

On December 23, Crespo went to Bissau to confer with Spínola. A few days later Costa Gomes paid a similar visit. This was the time when the date of the plot was finally decided to be January 20. "D"-day, originally scheduled for December 15, had to be changed because of Cabral's trip to the OAU meeting in Accra and because of doubt as to the date of his return to Conakry.

THE THREE GROUPS IN THE CONSPIRACY

Three groups took part in the execution of the plot, at different levels:

The first group was made up of former militants of PAIGC, from the pre-revolutionary period, who were recruited by the Portuguese secret service in Bissau. Their leader was Rafael Barbosa, former president of PAIGC. Its principal actor was Mamadou Toure, called "Momo."

The second group included elements of PAIGC, living in Conakry, who had grown corrupt and weary of the war, a prey easily recruited by Portuguese agents. Among them: Cabral's assassin, Inocencio Kani; N'Diaye; Tomaz; Soares da Gama; Nabonia, etc.

The third group was made up of African specialists in counter-guerrilla activity, trained in the best NATO centers, and who had joined PAIGC as deserters from the colonial army.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS

The January 20th plot, which cost Amílcar Cabral his life, was not the first to be mounted by Portuguese secret services against the PAIGC secretary-general. Several others preceded it but the vigilance of the Party's security services had always managed to reveal them in time. Before January 20, Cabral had barely been missed by a bazooka firing, when passing through Dakar. Had that attempt succeeded, the conspirators plan to liquidate the current PAIGC leadership would have remained. It would simply have been unfolded earlier.

MAIN EXECUTORS

RAPHAEL BARBOSA: former president of PAIGC, rallied by the new Portuguese neo-colonial strategy.

MAMADOU TOURE (called "Momo"): former member of the PAIGC central committee before the start of the armed struggle. In 1971, he infiltrated the PAIGC base in Conakry, after converting to Portuguese ideas. He was exposed and arrested by PAIGC in 1972.

ARISTIDES BARBOSA: Portuguese PIDE agent, infiltrated into the Tarrafal concentration camp to win the confidence of detained nationalists. He was exposed and arrested (with "Momo") by PAIGC in 1972.

JOAO TOMAZ: Member of PAIGC from its inception, central committee member, and Union leader until his arrest at Kundera, on the northern border of the Republic of Guinea. PAIGC security services caught and indicted him for collaboration with the Portuguese. Sentenced to ten years detention, he was granted amnesty in August 1972.

SOARES DA GAMA: PAIGC member since the beginning of the armed struggle, commander of operations on the southern front, who had been relieved of his command. Political commissar for the Navy until August 1971, then suspended on a corruption charge. His case was under investigation.

MAMADOU N'DIAYE: former PAIGC commander on various fronts for several years, critically wounded twice, and hospitalized in Socialist countries. His physical condition barring him from combat, he was appointed to security, which Aristides Pereira personally directed. It is difficult at the moment to account for his rallying to the enemy.

KODA NABONIA (called "Batia"): Member of Amílcar Cabral's personal guard. He committed suicide after complete confession.

VALENTINO MANGANA: Portuguese agent who posed as a Portuguese army deserter. Conning with Soares da Gama brought about his promotion to joint commander of motorboat number five.

"NENE": one of the men in charge of PAIGC telecommunications. A close collaborator with the conspirators in their regular contacts with Bissau.

INOCENCIO KANI: Joined PAIGC at its beginning. Formerly a member of the Executive Committee for the struggle, a unanimous vote excluded him in August 1971, and he was also relieved of his function on the three-man committee in charge of the navy. He was given command of a motorboat.

He was Cabral's assassin.

"Momo" was insistent:

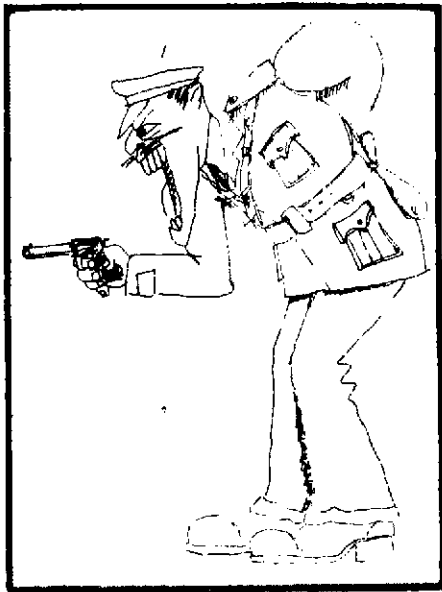
"What happened tonight was primarily to let me out of prison."

"I said I would not hear you at this time. You must wait," the President cut in angrily.

Already the cards were down. Cabral was dead, but the city was secure, the harbor closed, the main conspirators arrested, one after the other. Now was the time to settle accounts. Also to learn what must be construed from the affair and delivered to Africa and to the world. Thus, President Sekou Toure, initiated, a few minutes after midnight on January 21, a preliminary Commission of Inquiry in Conakry. The commission gathered officials from FRELIMO, from the Democratic Party of Guinea, (PDG), subsequently joined by the ambassadors of Cuba and Algeria. Later the commission would be enlarged to include other countries.

The traitors, exposed, spoke for twelve hours without pause. Naturally the key men among the accused denied any connection with the Portuguese. But others spelled it out. Valentino Mangana's confession laid bare Lisbon's Machiavellian plan. Quite precisely, he laid out the process of organization and the use of various subversive methods, aimed at destroying the movement, rather than destroying the secretary-general of the PAIGC. Mangana explained that the Portuguese colonial officials had proposed the following to him:

"Portugal is ready to grant independence to the Black population of Guinea-Bissau, on the condition that, first, the PAIGC be suppressed; second, that Cape-Verdeans be left out of any nationalist movement, because Portugal will not let go of the islands as they are important as a strategic base, paramount to Portugal and her allies. Also,



the Blacks must get rid of all the Mulattos, after which Portugal will set up a government with those men who have accomplished their missions efficiently. Portuguese forces will withdraw to the Cape Verde Islands and provide any necessary cooperation to protect the Blacks of Guinea-Bissau."

Mangana added that some of the leaders were touched by the Portuguese colonialists' promises and consequently organized themselves to carry out the tasks assigned to

them. Then infiltration of the PAIGC was organized. Black agents of PIDE/DGS, systematically posing as deserters of the colonial forces and as staunch nationalists, were used for this purpose.

Mangana's statement was corroborated and completed by that of Lansana Bangoura, another late-hour recruit. Bangoura explained the details of an aggression scheme aimed at the Republic of Guinea and the Republics of Tanzania and Zambia, simultaneously. The plan was to induce disorder in those three countries, through the subversive actions of traitors infiltrated into the PAIGC, FRELIMO, and MPLA. Taking advantage of the confusion created inside these three countries, attacks were to be undertaken by air, sea, and land forces. At the same time a major offensive by the Portuguese Army was to begin against the liberated zones in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. The year 1973, according to fascist Portuguese strategy, was to be decisive for the liquidation of the liberation movements.

Then came "Nene" the one responsible for PAIGC telecommunications. Faced with the evidence, he confessed to having already transmitted to Bissau the stamping out of the "big man" (Cabral). His testimony provided conclusive evidence that the conspirators were completely manipulated by the Portuguese agencies, and that Mamadou Toure, "Momo," was, in all likelihood, their envoy in Conakry.

Another traitor, Nabonia, called "Batia," was a member of Cabral's personal guard. It was he who had passed on to the assassins the evening's schedule of the Party leaders. He had always enjoyed the complete confidence of Cabral. It was he who required that his confession be recorded, giving his accomplices' names, and detailing the connections with Spinola's services. The next day after breakfast, while under close surveillance with his fellow prisoners, he asked to go to the bathroom. Passing a sentinel, he suddenly pounced on the man, pushed him out of the window, grabbed an "AK" rifle, turned it against himself, and fired. He died in the hospital.

Inocencio Kani, Cabral's assassin, also arrested at sea with the twenty-one men who had obeyed him, confessed, while searching for absurd excuses:

"I shot Cabral," he said, "because he was reaching for his gun" (Unfortunately, Cabral was not armed that day.) "We weren't supposed to kill him," he specified.

His motivation? One must probe his agitated life. A Catholic and a teacher, he had joined the movement just before the start of the armed struggle. He assumed responsibilities in combat, but after a few years the man's stamina was gone. He was not up to the job any longer. Cabral, whose constant concern was to redeem men, insisted in 1967 that Inocencio be given different tasks, namely, to strengthen the navy of free Guinea-Bissau. Thus Kani went into training at the Soviet Naval Academy, came back to head a three-man committee for the navy, and joined the executive committee of the struggle.

THE REAL CONSPIRATORS

1971 brought his fall. He was unanimously voted out of the executive committee, and appeared to have been involved in the sale of a boat engine. Inocencio denied the charge. A new investigation was opened, while Cabral temporarily put him in command of a boat. This very man was to kill him.

However, he was only the arm of the conspirators. This arm was controlled by the principal actor, sent to Conakry eighteen months earlier by Bissau: Mamadou Toure, called "Momo." A former bartender, now 33 years

old, this man was a member of the central committee of PAIGC prior to the armed struggle. On March 13, 1962, "Momo" was arrested by PIDE on a plantation in Bissau. At the time he was a courageous activist, in charge of the capital's third zone, and serving as liaison agent with the leadership, set up in Conakry, Republic of Guinea. Summarily tried by a Portuguese military court, "Momo" was sentenced to eight years forced labor at the dreary Tarafal camp, located on the Sao Tiago Island of the Cape Verde archipelago. There he was to meet the man who gave a decisive turn to his career as a traitor.

Aristides Barbosa, 30, was a Portuguese agent, introduced in the Tarafal concentration camp in order to win the confidence of nationalist prisoners. An expert at psychological manipulation, he asserted himself as a very intensive and effective political educator, an enemy of illiteracy among the PAIGC prisoners of the camp. He quickly became "Momo's" friend and succeeded in recruiting him for the Portuguese secret service. When, in 1970, Governor Spínola granted them amnesty, "Momo" and Aristides Barbosa returned to Bissau to make themselves available to the Portuguese authorities. In Bissau, "Momo" renewed contact with the most important character in the affair, Rafael Barbosa (no relation to Aristides Barbosa).

And who is this man? How and why did the first president of PAIGC rally to the Portuguese and agree to take part in the plot? The son of a Cape Verdian man and a Guinean mother, Rafael Barbosa, alias "Zain Lopes," was a foreman with public works when he joined the PAIGC in the early days of the struggle. He was soon chosen to preside over the small central committee, an honorary function no doubt, but one which made him nonetheless, a historical figure. He was brave, efficient, and close to Amílcar Cabral. Arrested in 1962 by the Portuguese, he was for seven years a model prisoner. In 1969 he was granted amnesty and thereupon rallied to the politics of collaboration with the colonizers, the so-called "policy for a better Guinea" invented by the Portuguese Governor Spínola. Rafael Barbosa had actually been converted during detention. He had been promised the supreme office in a forthcoming autonomous Guinea within the Portuguese community. He had even been made to understand that he could eventually lead his country to some sort of independence granted under Lisbon's neo-colonialist control, and subject to renouncing the Cape Verde Islands. Along those lines, Spínola put together a shadow organization in Bissau, named the United Liberation Front (FUL) under Rafael Barbosa's leadership.

Under the direction of the Portuguese secret service, "Momo" and Rafael Barbosa worked out the minute details of a plot that was to overthrow PAIGC leadership, take over, and then "negotiate" with Lisbon for Guinea-Bissau's independence. To that end, "Momo" and his accomplice, Aristides Barbosa, had to go to Conakry, infiltrate PAIGC, secure support from corrupt and ambitious members, and recruit the many deserters who were to join PAIGC by order of Governor Spínola, make all arrangements, and carry out the plan designed in Lisbon and Bissau. This "Momo" and his colleague set to work in August, 1971.

"Spínola wanted me rearrested," claimed "Momo" on his arrival in Conakry to justify his unexpected appearance. Cabral welcomed him with open arms and sent him to relax in a socialist country. On his return, "Momo" delivered a speech about his life at the Tarafal camp, at the Party's training center, and concluded with a

eulogy of honest Rafael Barbosa. Indeed, he explained, Rafael had made some statements that sounded favorable to the Portuguese, but in very delicate circumstances:

"These must not be taken literally," "Momo" said, "for I know for a fact that he is patriotic and never faltered."

This attempt to rehabilitate the former president of the Party who had previously been severely condemned by the militants, caused quite a commotion. Cabral, however, did not settle the question:

"Rafael," he said, "was a brave man. I know him well. He served his prison term with dignity. Before we take a final decision about his case, we must try to see clearly in this ambiguous situation."

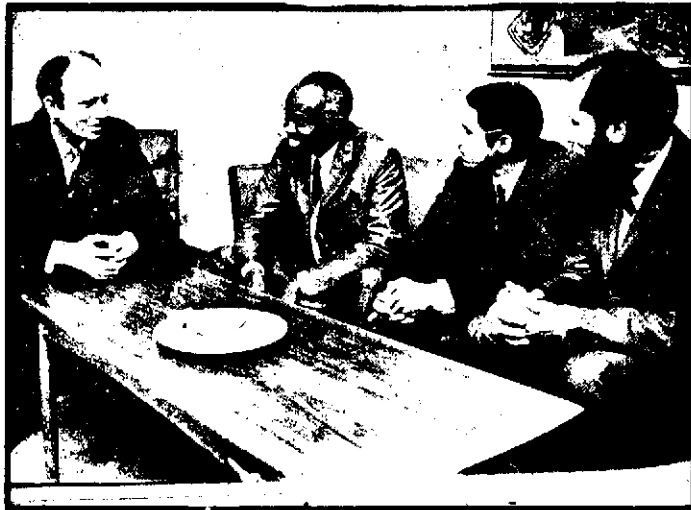
But "Momo" continued his disaffecting and subversive activity. He was a Malinka and a Moslem. He told the Fula and Mandinga representatives who make up the Moslem minority, that the Balante, allied with the Cape Verdeans, were a danger to Islam.

THE CHIEF OF THE GUARDS

In meetings, often unauthorized, he pitched Guineans and Cape Verdeans against one another: "If Cabral were not so adamant on liberating Cape Verde," he stated repeatedly, "I am convinced that Portugal would renounce Guinea and we would now, after ten years of fighting, be free..."

Eventually he was exposed by PAIGC security in June 1972, and arrested at the same time as his accomplice and close collaborator, Aristides Barbosa. At that time, "Momo" confessed having made contact with Inocencio Kani and Ignacio Soares da Gama, among others, two PAIGC navy officers, in view of overthrowing the Party's leadership. The latter flatly denied the charges, "slander from a traitor to vilify the navy." They were believed. All the more so because they were officers who had fought the Portuguese occupation, arm in hand. The Party knew that "Momo" had already accused a number of irreproachable comrades, in his attempt to create confusion. Awaiting their trials at the "Montanha" prison, "Momo" and Aristides Barbosa carried on with the preparations for the coup all the same. Their contacts with Bissau and with the conspirators were maintained through the chief of the guards, Mamadou N'Diaye.

This takes us to that fateful night of January 20, 1973.



Aristides Pereira, new secretary-general of PAIGC (seated second from the left) with Onesimo Silveira, representative in Stockholm, Dr. Fernando Cabral and the Norwegian vice minister of Foreign Affairs.

inside south africa

BLOOD APARTHEID—FATAL

Mr. Phillip Shakwane, who was injured in a train accident, died because of "blood apartheid." Following the amputation of his leg, the doctor gave instructions that he should receive a blood transfusion. The Rob Ferreira Hospital had run out of "African Blood" and the transfusion was not given. When a second order was issued to give him "White Blood," it was too late and Mr. Shakwane died. (*Guardian*, London, March 14, 1973)

IN THE COURTS

Bail has been granted to two men who were sentenced last October to five years imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. Yousif Hassan Essack and Indhrasen Moodley were released on \$7,000 bail each, pending the outcome of their appeal against their convictions. The other two defendants in the October, 1972 trial, Mohamed Essop and Amina Desai, were refused the right to appeal.

All four were convicted of conspiring with Ahmed Timol and/or the banned South African Communist Party, and/or the African National Congress. Their intention, according to the prosecuting judge was the violent overthrow of the South African Government. The most damaging evidence given against them was their acquaintance with Timol, a man who died in police custody in October, 1971. Timol was never found guilty of any crime in a court of law.

Essack and Moodley are required to report twice a day to the police. They are not allowed to leave the magisterial district of Durban without the permission of the head of the Security Police there. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973).

NEW TRIAL UNDER TERRORISM ACT

The trial of six men accused of plotting violent revolution in South Africa began on March 14. They are being tried under the Terrorism Act which carries a minimum sentence on conviction of five years in prison and a maximum sentence of death. Under the act, the security police may imprison people "for interrogation" indefinitely. Only the Minister of Justice must be informed of the imprisonment, and no court has any right to intervene. The families of such detainees have no rights of information or access to the person held.

Four of those on trial are South Africans: Mr. Tloi Theophilus Cholo, Mr. Gardener Sandi Sijaka, Mr. Maquina Justice Mphanza, and Mr. Petrus Aton Mtembu. The other defendants are Mr. Alexandre Moumbaris, an Australian, and Mr. John William Hosey of Northern Ireland.

There are a total of nineteen counts against the accused. They include the charge that the men boarded the motor yacht *Adventura* in Kismayu, Somalia, loaded it with arms, ammunition, and explosives, and set off for the Transkei coast to prepare for violent revolution. They are accused of conspiring with one another, with the banned African National Congress, and with others to instigate and encourage revolution. The conspiracy is



The parents of Mr John Hosey with four of their children—Norcan, Peter, Sheila and Christopher—were among those who protested yesterday in a protest outside South Africa House in London.

alleged to have had ties in England, South Africa, Russia, and Somalia between January, 1970 and July, 1972. The accused allegedly agreed to enter South Africa secretly with arms, ammunition, and explosives, to set up a secret communications system within the country, and to recruit people in order to train them for warfare and subversion.

Finally, they are accused of seeking military and political training in Russia and in African states north of the Zambezi between 1962 and 1972. The training is alleged to have been in propaganda, guerrilla warfare, terrorism and subversion.

Mr. Hosey is said to have contacted the Africans, and supplied them with forged passports, tax receipts and money. He was arrested on October 25, 1972, the very day he arrived in Johannesburg.

It was five weeks before anyone knew what had happened to him, and without the urgings by Irish diplomats his whereabouts might have remained secret until the trial began.

Mr. Moumbaris was detained in June, 1972, as was his wife, Marie-Jose Moumbaris. She was deported in November, 1972, having spent four months in complete isolation in prison. She was 7½ months pregnant at the time. Not until her release did the Australian Embassy learn of her detention. Mrs. Moumbaris is a French citizen, and the Australians learned of Mr. Moumbaris from French diplomatic sources.

The trial is expected to be a long one, and already there is action in Britain to protest the trial and support the accused. The day the trial opened there was a demonstration in London outside South Africa House. It was attended by five Labour MPs, union officials, and members of the Anti-Apartheid movement. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973; *Guardian*, London, March 13, 15, 1973)

INTERNATIONAL LINKS

General Yitzhak Rabin, chief of staff of the Israeli forces during the 1967 War and outgoing Israeli Ambassador to the US will visit South Africa in May. He will undertake a lecture tour on behalf of Jewish organizations.

The Mayor of Tehran, Iran, Dr. G.R. Nikpay, who is a former Deputy Prime Minister of Iran, will visit South Africa in March. He has been invited by the mayors of Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban, and Pretoria. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973)

East Germany has announced that it will refuse to establish diplomatic links with Israel and with "racist regimes" such as South Africa and Rhodesia. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973)

France's strong ties with South Africa are expected to continue unchanged, following the French general elections which saw the Government coalition returned to power with a "comfortable and unexpected majority." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER AND THE VENOMOUS SNAKE

At a banquet in honor of the Portuguese foreign minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs appealed to the countries of Southern Africa to cooperate in wiping out terrorism. Dr. H. Muller called terrorism "an evil which will benefit none, but eventually harm all." He said, "Not only does this scourge mar relations, but is a venomous snake which eventually strikes its would-be benefactor. Like an infectious disease, it cannot benefit anybody coming within its sphere of contact." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 10, 1973)

CENSORSHIP UP-DATE

Seventy-nine films were banned from South Africa in 1972. They include: *A Patch of Blue*, *Clockwork Orange*, *Love Machine*, *The Legend of Nigger Charlie* and *Portnoy's Complaint*. In addition, 359 films were approved for viewing "only by certain races or classes," and 285 films were approved after cuts were made.

The censors in South Africa cannot distinguish between pornography and films and novels of genuine worth which deal frankly with sex. The result is that many novels of great literary merit are banned. These include Nabokov's *Lolita*, Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and the works of Henry Miller, including *The Tropic of Cancer*, and *The Tropic of Capricorn*. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 17, 1973)

HANGINGS IN PRETORIA

Four men were hanged on March 8. They were an African sentenced to death for murder of a white woman, two Coloureds also convicted of murder, and a Coloured convicted of rape. (*International Herald Tribune*, March 9, 1973)

CASTRATION FOR SEX CRIMINALS

An eight-man commission headed by a judge and including some of South Africa's top psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists, has strongly recommended that the Government consider castrating sex criminals. They have been joined by Evangelist Billy Graham, on tour in South Africa, who publicly stated he shares their belief. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973)

NEW SECURITY COMMISSION FORMED

The Schlegbusch Commission was established to investigate the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the Christian Institute (CI), and the University Christian Movement. Its members have recommended that the commission become a permanent body. They claim that such a body is needed because of what they have discovered about the above organizations. Already eight members of NUSAS have been banned. The SAIRR and CI are under scrutiny and these organizations are having internal debates about whether or not to cooperate with the Schlegbusch Commission. Individuals in each organization are refusing to give evidence.

Helen Suzman, Progressive Party MP, has criticised both the commission in its present form and the proposal for a permanent body. Labelling the new body "a pale imitation of the disgusting McCarthy committee which ruined the lives of so many good Americans in the '50s," Suzman has stated that no self-respecting member of Parliament would agree to serve on it. Regarding the Schlegbusch Commission she said, "The report (recommending action against the eight) is a mass of insinuations, suppositions, and deductions from suppositions. Nowhere is it claimed that the students acted illegally. If they had, presumably they would have been charged in a court of law." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973)

Nevertheless, Prime Minister Vorster is determined to establish this new "watchdog," and the opposition United Party is backing his position. The task of the commission will be to expose the activities of certain organizations and individuals to members of the public and to Parliament. The advantage that it will have over the already existing security apparatus is that it will have a much more public role.

The other security organs in South Africa include the State Security Council, which is headed by the Prime Minister, and consists of the senior Cabinet minister; the Ministers of Defence, Police, Foreign Affairs, and Justice; and other co-opted members. The council has wide responsibility for both the internal security and external operations of the country's intelligence apparatus. There is also the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), which is basically an intelligence-gathering and interpreting organization with no executive powers. The Security Police, on the other hand, have wide powers for maintaining internal security. There is in addition the Defense Force and Military Intelligence.

The new body will be formed later this year. One of its first tasks may be that of amending the Suppression of Communism Act. The recent banning of NUSAS and South African Student's Organization (SASO) members were carried out under this act. The Government is believed to be embarrassed by the Act as it stands and in fact regards it as outdated, having served its purposes already. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 10, 17, 1973)

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Minister of Information, Dr. Mulder, has announced that he will review the existing laws governing the South African press. "Press freedom could be maintained, but Press irresponsibility be restricted; measures would be adequate to deal with newspapers guilty of whipping up racial friction, damaging the image of South Africa abroad, or endangering State security." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973)

In a separate action, Nationalist Senator, H.M.J. van Rensburg has called for the Government to compel newspapers to report how many readers of each racial group they have. Van Rensburg is concerned that some of the English language papers print special editions for the "Bantu." "The influence being built by the Press in this regard should be taken note of by the Government," according to van Rensburg. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, March 7, 1973)

POLICE NEWS

The Minister of Police, Mr. S.L. Muller, has released the following statistics at the request of Ms. Helen Suzman: the South African police shot and killed 94 people and wounded a 299 "in the execution of duties" during 1972. Three of the dead and 14 wounded were juveniles. Of the 94 killed, 77 were Africans, 14 Coloureds, and three White. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973)

Muller stated in Parliament in February that of 205 policemen convicted of crimes of violence during 1972, only 13 had been discharged from the force (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 25, 1973)



An African is clubbed to the ground by police during the riots in Durban.

Defense

CONCORD PURCHASE DROPPED

South African Airways has decided not to purchase the supersonic Concorde airliner at the present time. The decision was revealed in the House of Assembly by Mr. J.J. Rall, the Deputy Minister of Transport.

British Aircraft Corporation officials had been testing the Concorde, on its takeoffs and climbs in Johannesburg's hot and rarified atmosphere. It was thought that the plane might be incorporated into South African Airways flights by 1975.

Mr. Rall said that the purchase will not go through because of the general uncertainty regarding its economic viability and other operational aspects. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973, Feb. 10, 1973, Feb. 19, 1973)

ARMED FORCES INCREASE

Statistics on South Africa's military in a recent issue of *The Military Balance*, which is published by the Institute of Strategic Studies, London, show a marked increase in armed forces' military personnel and equipment from 1970-71 to 1972-73. The total armed forces personnel has increased from 42,250 to 109,300. Figures for vehicles show an increase of 300 to 800 for AML-60 and AML-90 armoured cars. The number of Saracen armoured personnel carriers now stands at approximately 250. Centurian tanks at 100, Comet tanks at 20, and Ferret scout cars at 50.

Naval manpower has increased from 9,000 (3,000 regulars, 1,250 citizen force and 4,750 trained reserves) to 11,300 (2,300 regulars and 9,000 trained reserves). The Navy's frigates have increased to nine, with five being held in reserve. Submarines now number three, an increase of two from last year; coastal minesweepers number ten, seven being held in reserve; escort minesweepers, one; destroyers, two; seaward defence boats, five; and fleet replenishment tankers, one.

The Air Forces' personnel has remained constant at 8,000, being composed of 5,000 regulars and 3,000 citizen force reserves. The total number of combat aircraft has increased from three to 166. Impala trainer aircrafts, now being manufactured in South Africa, have increased from 50 to 75. Although Alouette 11/111 helicopters have decreased from 106 to 60, this has been offset by the purchase of 16 Puma helicopters. The Buccaneer, Canberra and Mirage aircraft have remained constant.

The para-military forces, commandos, are estimated at 75,000. This figure last year was 78,000 but it included 3,000 police who were on loan from the army. (*X-Ray*, Feb., 1973)

WOMEN'S MILITARY FORCE INCREASES

Military training for women, now in its third year, has begun at the Civil Defence College for Women at George. According to Hilda Botha, the second in command at the college, more emphasis will be placed on administrative work because of the growing interest shown by South African women in a career in the South African Defence Force. This year 147 young women are enrolled. Four who completed their training at the college last year have joined the permanent force and will act as instructors to the new women (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1973)

NEW DEFENCE COLLEGE

The study of South Africa's strategic problems and the joint operations between the Army, Navy and Air Force will be the main functions of the new Defence College at Voortrekkerhoogte. The college is considered the Defence Force's highest seat of learning. It will give officers above the rank of colonel the chance to learn how to organize operations that unite the three arms of the service.

In the past, South African officers have been sent to joint services staff colleges abroad but the subject matter in these institutions no longer suits the needs of the Defence Force.

South Africa is concerned with insurgency which could lead to conventional attacks whereas other nations' defences are based on nuclear weapons and conventionally organized armies. Other countries work on the basis of unlimited manpower and weapons deployed in a limited theatre of war. South Africa has limited manpower and resources in a relatively unlimited theatre of operations. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 10, 1973)



Afrikaner women training to shoot fire arms

FIREARMS RELICENSED

According to Deputy Minister of Police, Mr. Kruger, a total of 239,244 firearms had to be relicensed in South Africa between Feb. 2, 1972 and Dec. 31, 1972 because the terms of the Arms and Ammunitions Act of 1969 transferred the issuing of firearms licenses from magistrates to the Commissioner of Police. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 10, 1973)

DRUG BATTALION

The establishment of Greefswald, an experimental military station, is South Africa's response to its growing drug problem. The 3rd company, 4th South African Infantry Battalion, at Greefswald, is a company of drug addicts. The Defence Force took note in the late 60's of the increasing number of youths reporting for compulsory national service who were white drug addicts.

The military camp, a bleak and remote frontline station, is located in the rocky hills along the Limpopo River, the dividing line of Botswana, Rhodesia and South Africa. It has been in operation for three years and is staffed with a special team of doctors, psychiatrists, social workers and chaplains.

The surgeon general of the South African army, Lt. General Colin Cockcroft, stated during an interview that 85% of the 450 troops who have passed through Greefswald were suffering personality or background problems. Only 15% could be classed as psychologically normal. While in the camp, only 60% of the addicts have been cured. Thirty percent of those leaving the camp still have psychological or personality problems. The prognosis of 10% of those leaving is thought to be serious. Cockworth states it was found that every single one of the men felt that they did not belong, that they had been cast overboard by society.

Although all bodily, mental, and spiritual needs are provided for, the military camp drills the addicts into a cohesive military unit reacting in an alert manner under combat conditions and during war games. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 16, 1973)

COMMUNICATIONS HEADQUARTERS OPENS

"South Africa was determined to defend itself and the free world to the utmost of its capabilities, even though the free world persisted in denying her the armaments necessary for the task." This was the statement made by Mr. Vorster the South African Prime Minister when he

officially commissioned the maritime operational and communications headquarters at Silvermine near Capetown.

Present at the speechmaking were leading South African military men, representatives of the French, and Portuguese, Ministers of Defence and a representative of the British Royal Navy. Silvermine was established because South Africa feels that a western maritime presence in the oceans around Southern Africa is a necessity against the Communist threat.

Silvermine, one of the most modern communications centers in the world, is a three story building sunk into the slopes of Constantia mountain not far from the site where silver was discovered in 1687. The complex is designed to stay operational even during nuclear or bacteriological attack.

The entrance is protected by two heavy steel doors which can withstand a direct hit from a 55kg. bomb and which become an airlock during a nuclear or bacteriological attack. One door cannot be opened unless the other is closed and between the doors is a bullet proof window where an armed guard checks identity clearances. There are other entrances and exits in case the doors should be put out of commission, but this is classified information. The air-conditioned building is well stocked to continue functioning for a specified period in the event of war.

The building houses the most modern radio equipment and radio teleprinters. Direct contact can be made with Britain through Mauritius and with the United States through Puerto Rico. Fixed radio communication exists with Whitehall, Mauritius, Luanda, Lourenco Marques, Buenos Aires, Dakar, Diego Suarez, San Juan, and Lagos.

There are three modern computers which plot the position of ships in the control area which stretches from the South Pole to North Africa and from South Africa to Bangladesh. Silvermine forms an important link in the radio network serving merchant ships and it forms an integrated part of the international search and rescue organization for merchant ships and civil aircraft. In case of a shipping disaster, the computer, within seconds, can indicate the positions of the nearest ships which can help. Silvermine also contributes to the communications network for international sailing races.

Much of Silvermine's equipment was made in South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 10, 1973, March 17, 1973)

Churches



Cosmos Desmond

COSMOS DESMOND'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION

After my meeting with the Provincial, and having read the minutes of his meeting with the brethren, it is quite clear to me that my views differ radically from his and those of most of the brethren, and that the only honest thing for me to do is leave, since I cannot subscribe to these views.

Shortly after I was banned I received a letter from the Provincial Definitory assuring me of their support and expressing their conviction that the work I had been doing was a legitimate form of Franciscan apostolate. Now the Provincial tells me that I am "on my own." He also made it quite clear at the meeting that he did not approve of my actions and that I did not have the support of the order. His attitude and that of various other members of the order towards my parents in England further confirms this.

... My dissatisfaction with the "official" Church has always centred around its attitude towards the socio-political role of the Church. I now see that the official policy of the order is the Church does not really have such a role. It has an almost exclusively "spiritual" role and must be maintained as an institution with its present structures at all costs.

We are faced in this country not just with innumerable cases of suffering and injustice, but with a religio-political system which is diametrically opposed to Christ's teaching since it is based on division and racial superiority. The preaching of the Gospel is bound to come into conflict with this all-embracing ideology. So are we to limit our preaching, lest, as a modern-day Caiaphas might say "the Government come and take our schools and deport our missionaries"?

When the Rhodesian Government published its proposals for a new Constitution, the Bishops publicly stated: "... the proposals for the new constitution are in many respects completely contrary to Christian teaching and we must therefore reject them ... and publicly condemn them."

In a later statement they claimed that the whole future of the Church was at stake because "the missionary who is sent to teach all nations may henceforth exercise his apostolic function on sufferance only, where and when and for as long as he is issued by the State with a permit to do so ... It may well be that we shall also be denied, in violation of our conscience, the right to educate in our schools whomsoever we will. We may even be forced by

regulation to refuse hospital beds to anyone not of the race approved in that area. Priests, nuns and teaching brothers may have to be segregated in their communities according to their racial origins."

The state of affairs which they feared and refused to accept has long been legalised in South Africa. The South African RC hierarchy has repeatedly condemned apartheid in principle and has made such statements as "Let there be no doubt among us that it is a Christian duty to use every lawful means to bring about a more equitable and harmonious relationship between all the different groups of people who together form our Southern African Society."

But they have not come to the same logical conclusion as the Rhodesian Bishops: "We are now compelled to declare: 'We must obey God rather than man.' We cannot in conscience and will not in practice accept any limitation of our freedom to deal with all people irrespective of race ... " While the Church in South Africa has said that it cannot accept apartheid and its consequences in conscience, it has accepted them in practice.

If people are to make moral judgments on the social situation they must at least know the facts. For example, two of the Provincial's comments on matters of fact were nonsense. They were only minor points, but then he did not make any major ones. Whoever heard of a black going to prison for three years for being in a white area? And Mr. Oppenheimer certainly would not be very impressed with the statement that most mines are controlled from overseas.

Further, what grounds have two of the brethren for saying that protests and demonstrations simply cause antagonism? This is a typical view of the privileged white minority who do not want their own complacency disturbed. Also it is not true. I can quote numerous instances where protests have had concrete results: Limehill, Morsgat, Kuruman, Alexandra Hostels, the Boss Act etc.

But more important still is the consideration of how much worse things would now be if nobody had ever protested. True it is only "plugging small holes," as was said at the meeting. But plugging a small hole in his belly may mean a lot to a starving person.

Reading these minutes one would never think that the meeting had taken place in South Africa. There seemed to be little realisation of the enormity of the evil we are facing, the extent of the suffering this causes, and the urgency of the situation both for the people who are oppressed and for the Church as such. (For example, during one three-hour session at the end of which you could not agree to pay employees 50c an hour at least 60 children in South Africa died of malnutrition.)

Much of this may be due to our enforced residence in white areas. It is amazing how quickly priests coming from England and being stationed in a white town adapt to the prevailing white attitudes, possibly because virtually all their social intercourse is with whites. Hence they, perhaps subconsciously, apply double standards. How much work would anyone expect a white person to do for 10c an hour? To earn R35 p.m. a person can be expected to work for only about one hour a day.

(If someone's point about Afrikaners privately supporting us but being frightened to say so in public is true, why is this not reflected in the ballot box which is secret enough? ... Anyway, if someone is jumping on your head it is not much consolation to know that he is having qualms of conscience while doing so and is only

doing it to keep up appearances. Has he ever considered how the oppressed people feel about this misplaced charity towards the oppressors? It is easy for us to be "charitable," we aren't the ones who are suffering.)

... Why we should question our residence in such white areas. The Provincial's reply to Godfrey that St. Francis lived a life of poverty although he lived in the castles and palaces of noblemen is quite facile. He did not adopt their way of life. And to quote "eat whatever is put before you" is bordering on the cynical when what is put before you is three cooked meals a day while at least 70 per cent of the African population are living below the poverty datum line and many are actually starving. It is almost as bad as our novice master telling us that he was entitled to nice clothes and various other things because Christ said if anyone left father or mother, etc., for His sake he would receive a hundredfold in this life!

What would happen if the Church in this country were to fulfill its prophetic role and protest against the man-made political security of apartheid? I know the hierarchy has spoken about it but what if they and we actually did something? (Christ did not just talk; He died for being a prophet).

A number of people, including priests, might be banned or deported or at least refused permission to enter African areas and so would be unable to continue their spiritual ministrations. We would lose the financial and other support of a number of white "Catholics" and so be unable to maintain institutions and buildings. In other words, we would suffer persecution for justice's sake.

Perhaps it is only by suffering such persecution that we can fulfill our mission of witnessing to Christ. In this country alone there are hundreds of thousands of people who have never heard of Christ; there are hundreds of thousands of others who have heard of Him but have been disillusioned by the actions of His professed followers. Whereas an effective witness to the principles of charity and justice would make Christ present, through the actions of His followers, to all these people. Even though it might lead to a drop in numbers of formal members of the Church it would lead to a far greater number of people being brought under the influence of Christ. The influence of Christ would be felt although it may never be explicitly acknowledged. Do you think Christ would mind not getting the credit titles?

There are many other points I could go into, but I think that most of my objections stem from this dualistic and other worldly attitude of the official Church and its consequent lack of concern for, and involvement with people. There is nothing original in what I have written. But I have written it partly to explain my position and show that my decision has not been a hasty, ill-considered, emotional one, and partly to clarify my own thoughts.

I hope this attempted explanation will give rise to some meaningful discussion and not simply ribald comments and we always knew he was off-beam. (Excerpts from *Guardian*, UK, Dec. 27, 1972)

LUTHERAN CONTROVERSY BORDERS ON SCHISM

The Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA) came close to schism recently on the issue of unity between racially-constituted denominations. Made up of eleven Lutheran and two Moravian churches in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, the organization marked a bitter confrontation between black delegates from Namibia and

conservative white participants at its fourth conference in Johannesburg in February. One of the thorniest issues was a proposal that the federation support a 1971 "Open Letter" in which Lutheran leaders in Namibia took a strong stand against apartheid and other policies of South Africa in Namibia. The proposal failed by a two-vote margin, 16-14. When the question of interracial unity came up, some white FELCSA delegates advised "patience" and "go slow" approaches. The black rejoinder was that the white German church has been in Namibia for 130 years. "Time is running short," said a black delegate. "We can't wait for white churches to come to unity. We as Lutherans must show our stand as Christians. We must be the mouth of our oppressed people because it is the only way the churches can survive. We are ready to look for other churches who will join us in this unity—black or white."

During the course of the meeting, Bishop Leonard Auala of Namibia, the prime mover of the "Open Letter," said the Ovambokavango Church is experiencing increasing government attempts to divide the Ovambo and Kavango people in Ovamboland, Northern Namibia. The strike in Durban which, as the Lutheran conference met, had closed down 60 industrial and commercial firms, was discussed frequently. Some 50,000 black workers were involved in the unprecedented "job action." (Religious News Service, Feb. 26, 1973)

BRITISH DOMINICAN BARRED

Father Edmund Hill, O.P., has been refused permission to re-enter South Africa after a vacation in Britain. The order against the 50-year-old Dominican priest was announced in Johannesburg in early March. No reason was given by the government for the decision. Father Hill had served as prior of Saint Nicholas Priory at Stellenbosch since entering South Africa in 1966. He later taught at Saint Peter's Seminary at Hammansraal and at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice.

The re-entry refusal against Hill is the second issued against a Dominican in two months. The first was in early February against Father Peter Sanders, O.P., whose views on abortion were in direct conflict with his church.

NHK CHURCH BACKS "WHITES ONLY" STANCE

Clergy of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk, one of South Africa's three Dutch Reformed churches, have unanimously endorsed its "whites only" membership policy. Professor J.P. Oberholzer, vice-chairman of the denomination's General Assembly, reported that at its recent closed session in Pretoria the Assembly was "unanimous in regard to the church's traditional policy on racial affairs. This opposes multi-racialism in the church, and confines Hervormde Church membership to whites." (Religious News Service, March 29, 1973)

Sports

SA GAMES OPEN WITH 'HISTORIC' SOCCER MATCH

History is sometimes made reluctantly. This may well have been the case on March 26, when South African soccer teams representing Africans, Whites, Coloureds, and Indians met at Rand Stadium in Johannesburg before a multiracial crowd of 48,000 (seated in separate sections) in the first scheduled competition of the South African Games. That night the Whites defeated the Coloured team

4-0 and the Africans beat the Asians 5-0; the following night, the White team scored a 4-0 victory over the African team. Yet on both nights, the significance lay not in who won or lost, but in the fact that the games were held at all.

Had the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) permitted member teams to compete in the South African Games, competition between South Africa's racially separated teams would probably not have taken place. As it turned out, FIFA's decision to refuse England and Brazil permission to participate in the Games forced Piet Koornhof, South Africa's Minister of Sport, to make a hard decision. In the absence of overseas teams willing to play, adherence to the Nationalist Government's policy, which forbids national sports competition between the races, would have meant no soccer games at all. The alternative was to "internationalize" soccer on the grounds that it is an Olympic sport sub-division. This Koornhof did, to the delight of those South Africans who would like to see a more open sports policy, and to the dismay of white-nationalist extremists, who viewed Koornhof's decision as a capitulation to international pressure and a threat to the entire racist system.

Of course, letting racially exclusive teams play against one another does not mean the end of apartheid in soccer or in any other sport. Whether Koornhof's decision was in fact a "major breakthrough" or a temporary pragmatic solution remains to be seen. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 18, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Feb. 16, 1973; *New York Times*, March 27 & 28, 1973.)

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION SCORES CONTROVERSY

By participating in the South African Games, American athletes, including five Oregon State University wrestlers, have defied the decision of the US Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). As a result, they are likely to be banned from future Olympic Games, other international competition, and AAU events in the US. The AAU decision to withhold permits to athletes wishing to go to South Africa came at the strong urging of two black Congressmen, Ralph Metcalfe, Democrat of Illinois (a former Olympic gold medalist in track and field), and Charles Diggs, Democrat of Michigan, and also from the American Committee on Africa (ACOA).

Among the American athletes invited, the following, all white, accepted: swimmers Steven Genter, Bill Patterson, Ann Simmons, and Susie Atwood; divers Barbara Schaffer and Steve Skilken; wrestlers Jim Crumley, Jim Hagen, Greg Strobel, Rich Lawinger and Mark Massery. The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), has little control over swimming activities, where black athletes have never been very prominent.

The ACOA sent letters directly to the coordinators of track and filed athletes planning to go to South Africa, to the head of AAU track and field, and to five white track men who had applied for permits to go. The usual "sports, not politics" argument was used by Americans supporting US participation in the games. (*New York Times*, March 20 & 27, April 5, 1973; *ACOA Press Release*.)

'MULTINATIONAL GAMES'—A FORCE OR FARCE

The South African Government has put tremendous amounts of time, energy, and manpower into making the South African Games work. They had to take down all those potentially troublesome "whites only" and "non-whites only" signs all over Pretoria and around the Rand Stadium in Johannesburg; they had to set up

security and complex machinery to guard against "embarrassing incidents"; they had to arrange for multiracial hotel, eating, and drinking accommodations in a country where such accommodations are, in all other circumstances, against the law; they had to assign large squads of government officials to attend to the needs of the athletes. Apparently, it can be done. The question is, what does it mean?

About 500 athletes from overseas were invited to attend the games, but as of March 20, only 77 from 20 countries had accepted. Although this figure most likely went up, it seems clear that the vast majority of athletes and of international sporting bodies regarded the South African Games as a carefully orchestrated farce, designed to obscure rather than alter South Africa's policy of apartheid in sport. Two members of the International Olympic Committee, however, Freckell of Finland and Kunze of West Germany, are in attendance at the Games. Kunze expressed hope for a favorable reconsideration of South Africa's position by the committee.

It is clear that the games were arranged in an attempt to change the current plight of South African athletes internationally. The Olympics, Davis Cup Tennis, international football—these are the events that matter to South African sportsmen. Indeed, they matter so much that the Government was persuaded to go to tremendous expense and effort and to "ignore" sports apartheid for a brief period in March-April. It remains to be seen whether the "multi-nationalism" of the moment disappears again when it must confront other racist aspects of South African life. (*New York Times*, March 20, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 21 & 24, 1973)

MULTIRACIAL TEAM TOURS BELGIUM

A team of South African athletes which included two non-White members recently toured Belgium. The tour was considered a great success, and Belgian, Dutch, and French officials have all expressed interest in further visits from mixed South African teams. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973)

ANYONE FOR TENNIS?

Argentina is currently faced with the problem of whether or not to allow the Argentine Tennis Association to play South Africa, which is competing as a "zoneless nation" in the next round of the Davis Cup. The Association, which has decided "not to let politics interfere with sports," wants the matches to take place despite the UN resolution condemning apartheid which was supported by 105 countries in 1971. Ernesto Cilley Hernandez, Under Secretary for Sports, indicated that since Argentina had diplomatic ties with South Africa it is more inclined to take part in sporting events with that country than with non-recognized Rhodessa, which also practices racism.

If Argentina agrees to play heavily-favored South Africa in their third-round match of the South American Zone, it is likely that South Africa, will face Chile in late May. Chile, like all socialist countries, has opposed South African participation in international sports and will probably default its match, leaving South Africa to face the winner of the US-Mexico match in the American Zone final in mid-July. Since the US is favored to win this one, the South African political ball will land in the laps of US Lawn Tennis Association officials, who concede that it will probably be impossible to schedule US-South African matches any place in the US.

South Africa was expelled from the Davis Cup in

March, 1970. An attempt at reinstatement made in 1972 failed. Reinstated for the 1973 competition, South Africa entered the South American zone matches in the hope of averting "political" problems. (*New York Times*, April 4, 1973)

FLASH! South African tennis team beaten by Argentina at Davis Cup games which were held in Uruguay.

inside namibia



African Residential area in Windhoek

NEW ADVISORY COUNCIL DENOUNCED

In February, Prime Minister Vorster announced in the South African Parliament that he intended to establish a multi-racial advisory council for Namibia in keeping with the agreement reached between his government and United Nations representative Dr. Escher. In March the first twelve members of the Council were announced—ten are Blacks and two are Whites. The black members are traditionalists sympathetic to the Nationalist Bantustan policy. No Black opponents of the policy have been selected. Two of the Black members were unknown to observers in Windhoek. One is a "Bushman" whose name is simply given as "Zonewa".

The appointments were immediately denounced by Black political leaders in Namibia. Chief Clemens Kapuu, leader of the Hereros and an outspoken critic of *apartheid*, said: "The members of the Council represent nobody. They are not the true leaders of the people." He went on to say that the South African Government had no legal right to appoint such a Council. Criticism of the Council also came from Whites. A leader of the United Party in Namibia, Mr. Bryan O'Lynn, said: "Any assertion that the present members are truly representative of the

various peoples is an insult to the intelligence. They merely represent sectional interests within the ethnic groups. The more sophisticated and politically aware non-Whites (*sic*) in the urban areas are excluded." The two White members of the Council are drawn from the all Nationalist Legislative Assembly in Namibia.

Soon after the announcement of the Council was made, Ovambos living in Katatura township near Windhoek staged demonstrations. A black supporter of the new Council was addressing men in the compound, explaining the virtues of the Council, when he was attacked. He was quickly hustled to safety by the security policemen on the scene. Five thousand men from the compound then stormed the municipal building throwing stones and breaking windows. Two rooms in the building were totally destroyed by fire along with records and dossiers on the township residents. Armed police rushed to the compound and sealed it off. By the next day police were in the area "sifting out" men who "did not belong there."

Within the next few days the police arrested at least 200 men. Eighty-seven appeared in the Windhoek magistrates court and were charged with being in Windhoek illegally. It is anticipated that the court will be asked to "repatriate" them. Further charges of malicious damage to property and incitement to riot may be brought after the police have completed their investigations. The remaining men have since been released.

The official organ of the Nationalist Party, *Die Suidwester*, described the demonstration as an ethnic clash between workers from Ovambo and Kavango. (About ten percent of the men in the compound come from Kavango.) No mention was made of political motives. However this could not be substantiated by the Nationalist-appointed head of Native Affairs who said: "The mob would not listen to him (the speaker). They shouted him down and called him a government stooge."

Black opposition to the Advisory Council is growing. The black political alliance, the National Convention, has totally rejected the advisory council. In a strongly worded statement they said: "South Africa has proved to the world that it is not yet fit to govern itself. How then could the non-whites' fate be trusted to such a country. Namibians prefer to be misgoverned or misruled by themselves rather than by others."

The Council of Namibia at the United Nations has indicated that it will call for an end to the dialogue with the Nationalist government in South Africa. A deadline of April 30th had been set. Western nations may attempt to get this extended, as they have in the past. The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) has maintained consistently that the "dialogue" was only buying time for South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 10, March 17, 1973; *Guardian*, U.K., March 8, March 13, 1973)

SWAPO ATTACKS POLICE STATION IN CAPRIVI

South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas attacked a South African police post in the Caprivi Strip in the last week of January and wounded five white policemen. The incident marked the first time that SWAPO has launched a direct attack against a police post. Previous South African casualties have all been the result of landmine explosions. Within 48 hours of the attack on the police post, SWAPO attacked again—this time ambushing a police patrol at nightfall. An Indian policeman was wounded in the attack. (*Anti-apartheid News*, London, March, 2973.)

Inside Zimbabwe

SECOND WAVE OF ATTACKS: MORE COMING

Rhodesian forces believe they are now facing a second wave of attacks from Freedom Fighters and that more attacks will be coming. According to the Johannesburg *Star* (March 3 & 17) the new wave is centered round Karoi, a town about 70 miles north of Salisbury. Action has now spread over a wide area from Mt. Darwin (northeast) to Karoi (north). Several major clashes have now been fought in the Karoi-Mangula area. Several settler soldiers and reservists have been killed and farms destroyed. Action still continues in the Centenary (northeast) area.

Rhodesian Air Force jets pounded several suspected Freedom Fighter bases with rockets in the Centenary area. (*Zambia Mail*, Feb. 28; *Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973). At least one of the planes was shot down and two crewmen killed. The Smith Regime has set up a board of inquiry to establish the cause of the crash. The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) revealed that eight soldiers killed in a battle in Tete Province (Mozambique) were Rhodesian. Twelve Portuguese soldiers were also killed in a battle at Mukumbura and several others were killed by landmines. (*Tanzania Daily News*, March 2, 1973)

One of three men on trial in Salisbury for guerrilla activities in the Centenary area told the court that his group was only the first of many other guerrilla groups that would follow. He also told the court that he had voluntarily joined the guerrilla movement and so had many other young men in his village (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 10, 1973). According to the *Christian Science Monitor* (Feb. 5), "Guerrilla raids by black nationalist movements could become a permanent feature of this country's life . . . The raids appear likely to continue until the ruling whites reach a workable accommodation with African aspirations." The white settlers continue to use communism as the red herring despite the clear political statement of African opinion indicated by the rejection of the Pearce Proposals.

URBAN GUERRILLAS IN ACTION

The Smith Regime went on TV and radio after the discovery of a cache of arms in a maid's quarters in suburban Salisbury and the arrest of a freedom fighter in Umvuma, a small town, a 100 miles south of Salisbury and in the center of Rhodesia. The regime warned the settlers that guerrilla infiltration is more wide-spread than they thought. The statement was read on all TV and radio stations by a spokesman of the Police Department. The policeman also indicated that the arrested man was a member of a group responsible for a hold-up and car theft in the Gatooma-Hartley area, about 60 miles southwest of Salisbury. This was the first admission by the regime that Freedom Fighters were operating in areas south of Salisbury and other diverse urban and rural areas. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1972)

One of the settlers captured by ZANLA forces was formally reported to be a POW by ZANU chairman, Herbert Chitepo. At a press conference in Dar es Salaam, Chitepo said that "Gerald Hawkesworth will be treated

the same as any captured member of an armed force in a war situation." Six of the African soldiers captured with him have joined the Freedom Fighters. Two escaped. (*New York Post*, Feb. 7, 1973).

MEASURES AGAINST GUERRILLAS

Former Prime Minister Roy Welensky has suggested that Rhodesia build an 8,000 strong standing army to fight African Freedom Fighters. Welensky said that the war could go on for a long time and therefore Rhodesians should face up to the threat although it may be costly. He suggested an army of 7,000 Africans and 1,000 settlers. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 7, 1973). Smith replied to the guerrilla attacks by closing all shops, businesses, and schools in the Chiweshe area, the African section adjacent to the Centenary. (*Guardian*, NY, Feb. 7, 1973). Africans leaving the area to go anywhere were subjected to checks and restrictions. Some of the schools were used as interrogation centers by the security forces. Africans regard the closing of schools as collective punishment of the community. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 17, 1973). The Regime has also decreed that punishments for individuals accused of aiding would be raised from 5 years to 20 years in jail. (*Guardian*, Feb. 16, 1973) A collective fine of RS150 was imposed on the village of Chikukwa, allegedly for aiding guerrillas. (No trial and no evidence are needed under this decree). Soldiers and police rounded up all the cattle of the villagers they could lay their hands on to pay for the fine. Chief Makope, a former Salvation Army Officer in the area who was active in the community, has been detained by the Regime. (*NY Times*, Feb. 13, 1973). A second area near the town of Mt. Darwin has also been closed to the public and all schools and places of business closed. The Chesa area where Africans can buy small holdings of land was sealed to "enable the security officers to search for terrorists." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March, 3, 1973)

Guardian, London, '73

● One of those rather select, rather correct Rhodesian golf clubs, in the Centenary district of North East Rhodesia, has amended its rules to cope with the guerrilla activity in the area. Members may henceforth take again any stroke interrupted by gunfire; and they must now check the hole, before putting, to make sure there are no land mines

SMITH SEEKS A SETTLEMENT

The desirability of a speedy settlement with Britain is now apparent among most Rhodesian settlers who have lived through several years of "fictitious independence," according to the conservative *London Daily Telegraph*, (Feb. 20, 1973). The paper suggests that the landmines and battles in the northeast frontier have brought "some quickening of the mind" to many settlers who may have lived in "delusion." The search for legal status and recognition among nations that might support her is now paramount among the settlers. Portugal and South Africa

were not particularly pleased by Smith's blockade of trade against Zambia and are unhappy with the Rhodesian situation. The *Daily Telegraph* also reports that industrialists who have supported Smith are now unhappy with a bungling "Cabinet of amateurs in foreign affairs." The paper concludes, however, that although Smith is criticised, he is the only settler leader visible and that Smith is still working to get African groups to reverse the African "NO" vote to the Pearce Proposals.

AFRICANS WORKING FOR SMITH POSITION

Two African groups have emerged with what they claim as 80,000 signatures by Africans to reverse the African decision to Anglo-Rhodesian Settlement Proposals of 1971. Representatives of the Rhodesian Settlement Forum are leaving for London soon with their list of 80,000 which they have been collecting secretly. Another group called the African Settlement Convention has been holding meetings in various parts of the country. The Smith Regime is hoping that such pro-settlement activity will persuade the African National Council into further talks which would convince the British Government that Africans have changed their minds. (*Guardian*, March 5, 1973). In an interview with the *London Times* (March 10, 1973) Smith disclosed that his Regime was making concerted efforts to marshal African support for settlement proposals. The Regime is anxious to include the ANC because with them he could claim majority African support. (*Times*, London, March 10, 1973)

ZANU-ZAPU FORM UNITED FRONT

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Moyo faction of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) have signed an agreement for a united front in their opposition to settler control of the country. Following a series of meetings in Lusaka, Herbert Chitepo signed for ZANU and Jason Moyo for ZAPU, and the two groups agreed to form a political council that will handle all political and diplomatic activities of the Movement. The two already had a joint command responsible for military activities. (*Times*, London, March 19, 1973)

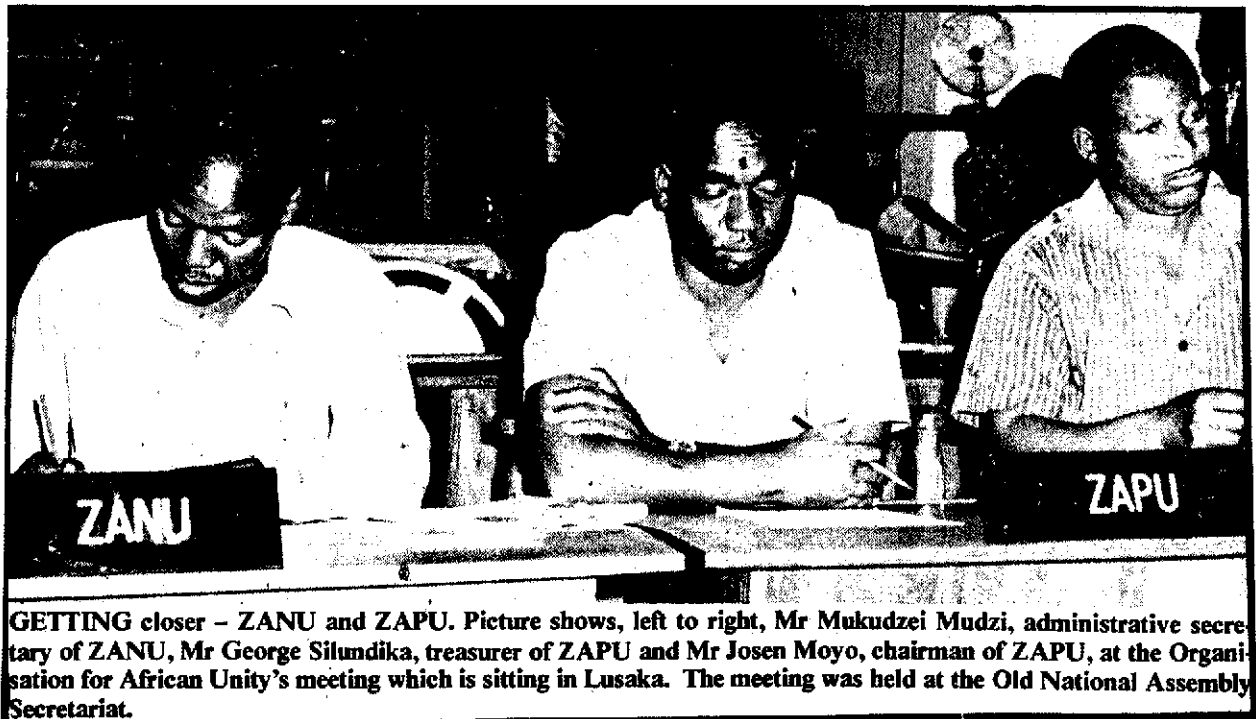
ANC ROLE IN SETTLEMENT

The African National Council is expected to enter into talks with Smith sometime this month. ANC leader Bishop Muzorewa said he saw "signs" of talks with the Smith Regime. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973). Muzorewa said he believed a just settlement was possible before the end of the year. Speculation about talks between Smith and Muzorewa has been rife in the Rhodesian capital. Asked if the ANC has worked out its own terms of settlement, the Bishop said: "I can't elaborate a lot without divulging what we have in our proposals, but I think they (Africans) will be happily surprised." The Bishop had made an urgent call for talks because "there seems to be a terrible deterioration of racial attitudes on both sides." Brief talks between the ANC and the Smith Regime were held last year, but were abandoned after they became public knowledge and embarrassing to both parties.

Bishop Muzorewa was severely criticized by ZANU for his anti-guerrilla statements. In a statement from Dar es Salaam ZANU said the Bishop had failed to distinguish between a just war and an unjust war. "Zimbabwe guerrillas are fighting a just war of liberation and in every respect a Christian war against a fascist, and therefore, unchristian regime," said the statement. It further pointed out that all possible peaceful means had been tried for 80 years, but the settlers had continued to abuse the people. "The voice of the people is, in this case, the voice of God."

SETTLERS' RIGHT FLANK

The United Front, one of the rightwing flanks of the settlers severely criticised Smith for handling Kaunda and "other powers to the north" with "kid gloves." They urged the Smith Regime to cut off all electric power from the Kariba power plant jointly owned by Zambia and Rhodesia. They further called for pre-emptive strikes against guerrilla camps in Zambia, Tanzania, and other African nations. A few incidents on the Zambia-Rhodesia



GETTING closer - ZANU and ZAPU. Picture shows, left to right, Mr Mukudzei Mudzi, administrative secretary of ZANU, Mr George Silundika, treasurer of ZAPU and Mr Josen Moyo, chairman of ZAPU, at the Organisation for African Unity's meeting which is sitting in Lusaka. The meeting was held at the Old National Assembly Secretariat.

border recently led to a meeting of the United Nations Security Council and to a Security Council Mission to investigate the situation. Rhodesia was roundly condemned by all the nations.

A new settler party, called the Rhodesia Party, entered the stormy sea of Rhodesian politics with severe criticisms of the Smith Regime's blockade of trade with Zambia and communal fines for African communities accused of supporting guerrillas. The new party includes Dr. Morriss Hirsch, an old hand at Rhodesian politics and a former Federal Member of Parliament. *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 21, 1973) The generally middle-of-the-road Center Party has decided it can no longer support the Smith Regime because of its recent actions on foreign policy. ■

south africa's neighbors

ZAMBIA: "PART AND PARCEL OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE"

MISSION TO ZAMBIA REPORTS

A Security Council mission reported March 8 that it would cost about \$250 million during the first year to develop and sustain alternate trade routes for Zambia following that country's decision to make no further use of the rail line through Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia). Chairman of the four-nation mission, Chaidir Anwar Sani of Indonesia told the Council that Zambia's economy would be "seriously and adversely affected" if assistance was not soon provided. The four-man team traveled to London, Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya, (see *Southern Africa* March & April) and issued its 40 page report in March. The report states that Zambia could transfer some of its 120,000 tons annually in imports through various alternate routes: 23,000 tons through Zaire, 17,000 through Malawi, 65,000 through Tanzania, and 15,000 tons by airlift. About 75,000 tons were formerly carried through Rhodesia. Roughly half the expense will be for expanding the fleet of trucks to and from Dar Es Salaam plus \$50-60 million to cover increased transport costs and \$6.5 million a month for airlifts until alternate routes are fully worked out.

While the UN team was in Zambia, a landmine explosion wounding five civilians occurred. The explosion was another grim reminder of the tension on the Rhodesian-Zambian border. Other reports indicated gunfire exchanges between South African and Zambian troops near the Caprivi strip, where the ferry between Botswana and Zambia was said to be shut down.

In Lusaka, the capitol, a Zambian who admitted laying mines after receiving bribes from Rhodesian officers was sentenced to nine years hard labor. Five others are on trial for allegedly arranging to have 34 men trained by South Africa in military techniques in order to overthrow the Zambian government. ■

The UN team condemned Rhodesia for its acts of provocation, and South Africa for sending troops into the area, while praising Zambia for its "policy of restraint, calm and moderation." The Security Council then called upon the nations of the world to contribute money towards supporting Zambian economic independence from Rhodesia. A second resolution declared that the only solution to the "grave situation" between Rhodesia and Zambia was self-determination and independence for the peoples of Rhodesia. Britain and the US abstained on this resolution. The *Guardian* (UK, March 12, 1973) claims that the idea of a special UN voluntary fund for Zambian aid was defeated by the US and the Soviet Union, who did not wish to feel obligated to contribute towards such a fund. However, Zambian Foreign Minister Elijah Mudenda hailed the motions as presaging the downfall of the illegal Rhodesian regime. He stated, "The support given to Zambia by all these countries shows that Ian Smith is a lonely man."

Zambia published the text of Ambassador Paul Lusaka's speech before the Security Council in a special full-page ad in the *New York Times* (March 11, 1973). Lusaka emphasized that the real solution to the situation meant "ending the rebellion in Rhodesia" and recognizing the African liberation struggle as "the inevitable reaction of the oppressed masses against the tyranny and terror of the minority" in Rhodesia. He read a list of a dozen items that Zambia sorely needed in order to sustain its independent course.

In Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda reminded his countrymen that the crisis facing Zambia is "part and parcel of the liberation struggle in southern Africa." He called for belt-tightening, stating that the situation of conflict with white minority regimes to the south would be with them for a long time, and they must be "prepared accordingly." Kaunda warned against hoarding supplies, as Zambia is short on a number of items, cooking oil and beef in particular. The *Times* of Zambia, following the government's cue, called for rationing. However, at present, the situation does not require such drastic measures.

AID FOR ZAMBIA

In other international action, an emergency Commonwealth committee was established to aid Zambia, following a report by Robert Good of New Zealand to the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. Several high commissioners reportedly offered immediate packages of practical assistance to Zambia. Among others, Australia, Canada, India, and Nigeria will be represented on the committee. At the meeting, Zambia noted with appreciation the recent decision of the new Whitlam administration in Australia henceforth to cease all wheat sales to Rhodesia.

In Africa, Swaziland and Malawi, both highly dependent on South Africa, extended their support to Zambia in the crisis. Swaziland sent its Minister of Justice on a mission to the Zambian President and extended Swaziland's support "in the strongest terms," despite that nation's small size. Likewise, President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi declared that "Zambia and Malawi are one country." Given Banda's indications that he may be reversing his close alliance with white minority regimes in southern Africa, Zambia is reported to be reconsidering a possible joint railway project with Malawi. (*Zambia Mail*, Feb. 28, 1973; *Washington Post*, March 11, 1973; *Guardian*, UK, Feb. 16, 20, 23, March 5, 9, 12, 1973; *London Times*, Feb. 16, March 12, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 17, March 17, 1973) ■

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW with ZAPU LEADER

INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY-GENERAL OF ZAPU, EDWARD NDLOVU IN CAIRO.

The following interview with the Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe African People's Union was conducted in Cairo on March 24, 1973 by Stephanie Urdang, member of the Southern Africa Committee. Mr. Ndlovu had just arrived from Lusaka, Zambia, ZAPU Headquarters, on a short visit to Cairo.



Edward Ndlovu, National Secretary of ZAPU (Zimbabwe People's Union)

Can you first please outline the history of ZAPU?

ZAPU is the successor to the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia, banned in 1959, and the National Democratic Party, banned in 1961. ZAPU was formed in December, 1961, immediately after the banning of the NDP, and banned in August 1962. All three organizations were led by Joshua Nkomo, who is presently in a concentration camp, detained since 1964.

After the banning of ZAPU, it was decided that we should not form any more organizations, but to continue our activities underground in the name of ZAPU. The provisional headquarters have been set up in Lusaka, Zambia. This is under the directorate of the following members of the national executive committee: Jason Moyo, National Treasurer, and current chairman of the Revolutionary Council; George Silundika, Secretary for Publicity and Information; Jane Ngwenya, Secretary for Welfare and Women; and myself, Secretary-General. This

directorate is an external mission of ZAPU whose authority is inside Zimbabwe. The rest of the members of the National Executive are in prisons, detentions and concentration camps.

What are the functions of this external mission?

To solicit international support for the armed revolutionary struggle being waged inside Zimbabwe. All policy decisions are made in consultation with the people inside the country.

What are the goals of ZAPU?

The goals of ZAPU are to liberate Zimbabwe through armed revolutionary struggle. Liberation means the freeing of ourselves from an economic system which creates rich and poor, which creates racism and encourages privileges, and it will mean liberation of ourselves as individuals from ways of thinking which allow us to accept such a system. Thus all our energies must be devoted to creating a new, non-racial society of genuine

freedom, where we operate collectively for the advancement of all. This is the true meaning of the armed revolutionary struggle. We are embarking on an attempt not just to eliminate racial discrimination, but to destroy a system of exploitation on any basis. For, in the final analysis what matters is not whether the exploiter is black or white, but that exploitation is allowed to exist at all.

What is the role of women in the Zimbabwe struggle?

The role of the women in Zimbabwe is similar to the role of the men. Hence ZAPU from the beginning established what is known as the Zimbabwe African Women's Union (ZAWU), whose objectives are the same as those of ZAPU. ZAWU is the women's league of ZAPU and its secretary, Jane Ngwengwa, is also secretary for welfare under ZAPU and a member of the ZAPU central committee. She spent six years in detention, four of which was solitary confinement. Members of ZAWU, like members of the ZAPU Youth Wing and the Men's Section, are recruited to the army, trained on the same basis, equally treated, and deployed into the country to fight shoulder to shoulder as brothers and sisters and comrades-in-arms.

Some of Zimbabwe women heroes have died in cells inside Zimbabwe, like Comrade Mushambi, who died in a Salisbury prison; others are presently in concentration camps, in detention and prisons; some are detained while pregnant and not even released for the birth of their children.

What will be the role of women in a free Zimbabwe?

The role of women in a free Zimbabwe will be to share responsibility equally with men in developing and administrating the country. There will be no discrimination of any kind whatsoever on the basis of sex when it comes to employment or appointments. All Zimbabweans will be employed or appointed on the basis of merit and not on the basis of sex. Hence ZAPU has embarked on an educational program to send young Zimbabwean women to school to acquire similar professions to young male Zimbabweans. There are many young women sponsored by ZAPU in various universities in all socialist countries of Europe training for different professions such as medicine, all fields of engineering, teaching etc. The intention is to eliminate the imbalance existing in many societies between men and women.

SOUTHERN AFRICA magazine has carried reports of recent activities within Zimbabwe. Could you give me details about these activities?

Guerrilla operations inside Zimbabwe have been going on for sometime now. Well, recently we have intensified our operations throughout the country, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. Some of these operations precipitated the closure of the Zambia/Rhodesia border by Ian Smith.

One of the latest incidents occurred on January 9th, the day of the closure of the border. In fact, this was the incident which precipitated Smith's decision to close the border.

An anti-tank mine blew up a troop carrier, which normally carries up to 30 soldiers, in the Victoria Falls National Park area where there are two South African military camps and one Rhodesian military camp. The troop carrier was travelling in the direction of the camps, bringing troop reinforcements from Salisbury and Pretoria. At the time the anti-tank mine was laid, anti-personnel mines were laid in the vicinity. An hour and a half later, officers were flown in by helicopter to inspect the damage. As they walked to the scene of the incident, the anti-personnel mine blew up, killing two South African officers, injuring two other South Africans and three Rhodesians.

In a radio broadcast, announcing the closure of the border, Ian Smith reported the losses of the officers only, but concealed the losses of the troops killed by the anti-tank mine explosion. However, this is characteristic of Ian Smith and Vorster. In the same announcement, Smith acknowledged that ZAPU was responsible for this and many other incidents.

Why do you think Smith found it necessary to close the border?

He wanted to create a situation which would give him an excuse for naked aggression against Zambia. He also wanted to detract world attention from his preparations for his bloody massacre to destroy the revolution in Zimbabwe, by putting the blame and focus on Zambia.

You referred to the presence of South African troops in Zimbabwe. Could you elaborate?

We have information of a highly confidential nature that the presence of South African troops in Zimbabwe is a result of a secret agreement between the British government and the South African racist regime, made shortly before UDI in 1965. The agreement said that South Africa would send troops to Zimbabwe in the event of a "break down of law and order" by the African people following UDI. The British government assured Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd that Her Majesty's government would control international reaction in the event of South Africa sending troops to strengthen Smith's forces on behalf of Britain. Therefore, the presence of South African troops in Zimbabwe "does not violate Britain's authority over the colony," but strengthens it by maintaining Britain's kith and kin agents in power over the African people.

As of January 1973, the number of South African troops is estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000.

We have recently had reports of the establishment of a Joint Military Command of ZAPU and ZANU in March 1972, and the creation of the Zimbabwe Political Council, also comprising both movements this month. What does this mean for the struggle?*

It means combined effort in the intensification of the armed struggle and a basis for achieving genuine unity for the people of Zimbabwe. All of us in Zimbabwe have come from the same repressive situation and the efforts now being made by ZAPU and ZANU reveal a common bond in our dedication to liberate Zimbabwe through the armed revolutionary struggle. It also reveals the commitment of each and every one of us to achieve freedom for our people.

Although Britain is responsible for Rhodesia, it appears that the UK is making no positive efforts to bring about a solution to the Zimbabwe problem. Could you comment on this?

Britain pretends to be opposed to Smith's rebellion and if it had genuinely wanted to establish majority rule in Zimbabwe there is no doubt that it could have done so by military action in 1965 after UDI. Instead, Britain pretended that economic action would produce the same result, but it modified economic sanctions so that kith and kin could still survive. Some crucial aspects of the economic action were never applied as a result many British firms continue to trade with Rhodesia. South Africa and Portugal were allowed with impunity to assist the Rhodesian regime, to beat the sanctions that were enforced. In many former colonies Britain happily negotiated away political independence during the sixties, in each case under a majority rule constitution. But whenever it came to the question of Southern Rhodesia, Britain's nervous system became spastic, and it could not carry it through. The case of Southern Rhodesia, it claimed, was different. The white settlers there would not

agree to majority rule and since they have always ruled themselves, Britain could not impose majority rule. As a result, Britain preferred to let the whole world believe that its imperial power was being defied by a quarter of a million impudent colonials, than to let the world know the truth—that it did not *want* to arrange for majority rule in Zimbabwe. All negotiations on the future of Zimbabwe by Britain have never included representatives of the Zimbabwe people, and this explains Britain's racist policy on the Zimbabwe issue. UDI pushed Britain into an exposed position and in fact it was an answer to its prayers that Southern Rhodesia should remain in the hands of racist kith and kin. And thus Britain could stop pretending to safeguard the interest of the African people. But Britain was sensitive enough to world opinion that it did not want its delight in UDI to be perceived. So it created a smokescreen called 'sanctions.' If economic sanctions were meant to be effective, Britain would have included communications, put a stop to the endless stream of visits by British businessmen, politicians, sympathisers, representatives of various British industries, insurance companies—all of whom gave material and moral encouragement to the racist regime. Britain would have protested vigorously to Washington at the United States decision to import chrome and demand that the United States stop giving material assistance to a rebellion against the crown—clearly an unfriendly act. It would have passed legislation to the effect that all goods from the rebel colony, from the moment they leave Rhodesia, are vested in the crown; thereafter Britain could sue in the courts of any country in the world where such goods appear for their recovery for the crown. But once again this British policy of economic sanctions was just a smokescreen, never intended to succeed to bring about majority rule in Zimbabwe.

ans that life will ever be more miserable for them if they do not change their minds and accept the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals.

Following the results of the 1971 Commonwealth Conference in Singapore when Britain decided to sell arms to South Africa, what do you think will happen at the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference in Canada?

At the Singapore Commonwealth Conference, British policy on southern Africa was glimpsed by anyone who cared to look when the smokescreen lifted briefly. There, the direct issue was South Africa, not Rhodesia. But, the implications were directly aimed at Rhodesia. Britain showed arrogance in the face of criticism, treating other members of the Commonwealth as school children, and not as equals just because they dared to question the integrity of the decision to supply arms to South Africa. At the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference in Canada, Britain will steer the conference to a discussion of its entry into the Common Market, trying to make this a dominant theme so that the issues around southern Africa will not surface. It is likely that Britain will mention in passing that the Pearce Commission "NO" verdict is unacceptable to the British government, since they are presently working in close cooperation with Smith to change the verdict to a "YES." The African people of Zimbabwe are confident that African member countries as well as Asian ones, Australia, New Zealand, and the Caribbean will take a firm stand to endorse the "NO" verdict.

What is ZAPU's relation with the other liberation movements in southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau?

We have never believed that the revolution in Zimbabwe can succeed in isolation from other areas of conflict, be they in Africa, Asia or Latin America. For this reason we have genuine solidarity with our brothers and sisters of PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia, MPLA of Angola, and FRELIMO of Mozambique. We believe that our people are organically linked, and fighting a common enemy and that we have common objectives. Similarly, we have established genuine solidarity with our brothers and sisters and comrades-in-arms of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. The history of Palestine is not different from the history of Zimbabwe insofar as the nature of colonialism is concerned. Documentary evidence sufficiently links Cecil Rhodes and Theodore Herzl in their plans on how best they could colonize Zimbabwe and Palestine. In Vietnam we have close links with the National Liberation Front, as we do with other revolutionaries in Latin America.

With the prospect of ending the Vietnam war, what do you think the progressive international community could do to support the liberation movements of southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

The imperialist forces who have been collaborating in their onslaught to commit genocide in Vietnam have had to bend their knees to sign a declaration of defeat. Now the United States hawks are flapping their wings to converge on southern Africa, an area of conflict from where they could make enormous financial profits from their military hardware. This part of Africa yields very large profits from their investments. All the western countries and Japan have investments in southern Africa. Unlike Vietnam, where they were fighting to preserve the myth of western democracy, they will find it necessary to do everything possible to defend their investments. Since prevention is better than cure we believe that the



Could you outline how Smith is attempting to entrench his position?

Since the people of Zimbabwe rejected Britain's attempts to legitimize the Smith rebellion through the Pearce Commission early in 1972, Smith has retaliated by intensifying his terror campaign against the people of Zimbabwe. In seeking to weaken the people's revolutionary will to resist racist minority rule, he has carried out arrests, detentions, bannings, torture, and murder on an unprecedented scale. At the same time he has tried to force Zimbabweans into submission by wholesale intimidation and lastly by legislation intended to debilitate and destroy the African community. These repressive measures are designed to convince Zimbabwe-

international community can prevent the creation of a worse Vietnam in southern Africa, and thus ensure international peace and security, by strongly supporting the liberation movements as they did in the case of the Vietnamese people, clearly a support for justice and human rights. We appeal to all progressive forces in the United States and other western countries to channel the material and financial assistance as well as political and moral support which formerly went to Vietnam, to the African liberation movements in southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

* The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1963, after a number of ZAPU left their party to form ZANU. It has been cited recently as responsible for heightened guerrilla activities in northeastern Zimbabwe.



FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Congressman Diggs and 32 other Representatives, including the 15 voting members of the Black Caucus, have introduced legislation which would make fair employment practices by US businesses in South Africa and Namibia a criterion for granting US Government contracts to those businesses or their parent companies. Fair employment practices include equal pay for equal work, equal fringe benefits, equal hiring and training opportunities, and equal advancement opportunities without regard to race or color. The Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance would monitor the activities of the businesses. The bill now goes to the Judiciary committee of the House where many observers expect that it will die for want of support, as a similar measure did last year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973; news sheet of the Washington Office on Africa, Feb. 16, 1973)

BUTHELEZI IN WASHINGTON

Ken Owen writes from Washington that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi "is the most effective weapon" the State Department has thus far found against liberal critics of the Nixon Southern Africa policy. Buthelezi was recently touring the United States as a guest of the US Government and the African American Institute, and was

singled out for a special greeting by Nixon at a recent congressional prayer breakfast. Buthelezi has proved to be very adept at fielding questions from critics both at the house parties offered by "Black nationalists" and "professional exiles" and in classroom situations such as at Howard University, where he recently parried sharp questions from Mrs. Goler Butcher, Prof. Herschelle Challenor and others. He refuses to condemn Black African countries for lukewarm support of liberation, or criticize "moderate American Blacks like Roy Wilkins." He argues for a change in US business practices in South Africa rather than withdrawal. He asks American Blacks for support for education, not for bombs and violence. "At the end, the professional diplomat is awed with the sheer skill of the performance. Even the radicals, having got nothing for their cause, are admiring." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 17, 1973)

ATTACK ON BANNINGS

Senator Kennedy and Representative Diggs have condemned the South African Government's banning of NUSAS and SASO students. In a speech on the Senate floor, Kennedy said, "South Africa singularly wears the banner of the most undeveloped society in the family of nations." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973)

NIXON VISIT TO AFRICA?

During his second term, President Nixon plans to visit Africa, according to a comment made to a guest at a White House reception. (SAPA-REUTER, reported in the *Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973)

AMBASSADOR DENIES RACISM

In Washington, South African Ambassador Botha asserted to Washington and San Francisco (The Commonwealth Club of California) audiences that racial discrimination was not an objective of his Government's policy. He suggested that South Africa hopes to evolve into a free association of independent states, white and black. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 17, 1973)

OUTCRY AT ZAMBIA TOBACCO LOAN

A recent World Bank decision to loan Zambia \$11.5 million to increase maize and tobacco production has raised an outcry among American conservatives and tobacco interests. Encouraged by Senator Strom Thurmond of S.C., and ostensibly to protect American tobacco against future Zambian competition, the State Congress of South Carolina has just petitioned the US Congress and President Nixon to make sure that Zambian tobacco will not compete directly with American exports in Europe, where the Zambian product would enjoy a tariff advantage. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973)

BILLY GRAHAM TOURS

South Africa evidently agreed to modify some of its policies on interracial mixing on behalf of the Rev. Billy Graham's appearance in Durban in early March. "This was one of the conditions laid down before he accepted the invitation to come to South Africa," one of Graham's aides said. "There is to be no separate seating. People can sit exactly where they want to." Paying his first visit to South Africa, Graham gleaned a lot of international coverage when he urged South Africans to bury their racial hatchet and try to get along together before it was too late and a holocaust ensued. But he got even more

rapists should be castrated. The US press had in particular scored Graham for that remark.

Speaking in Durban before 45,000 people, Graham admonished: "If we don't become brothers—and become brothers first—we will destroy ourselves in worldwide racial conflagration . . . This is not just a South African problem. This is a worldwide problem. America today has the finest civil rights laws the world has known, but the problem is deeper than the law. The problem is the human heart. We all need a new heart." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 17 and March 15, 1973; *Jet*, April 5, 1973)

NEW AIR ROUTE PROPOSED

When South African Airways (SAA) began direct flights to New York (via Rio) in 1969, a number of organizations demonstrated against this new token of US support for South Africa. Now SAA has applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for another route via the Canary Islands, as well as charter privileges. This time the application is being challenged through a petition signed by American Committee on Africa, IFCO-Action, Black United Front, African Heritage Studies Association, and led by the Congressional Black Caucus.

Peter Connell of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law argued recently before a CAB hearing that SAA violates US civil rights legislation because of its discriminatory employment policies, and because it is a government agency that affects passengers' access to and treatment in South Africa. This is apparently the first CAB hearing in history to deal with a racial question. (*Washington Post*, Feb. 22; *Journal of Commerce*, New York, Feb. 27, 1973).

The Administrative Judge of the Civil Aeronautics Board has ruled that possible discrimination in granting visas to American Blacks because of apartheid regulations at South African airports and in South Africa is not applicable to the proposal. Judge Newmann has ruled, however, that "questions of discrimination within the US" are relevant to the application, and asked that the licence be granted only on condition that SAA not advertise in the US facilities which are available only to Whites. SAA is expected to oppose that request on the grounds that it complies already with the rules and practice required of airlines in regard to the prohibition of racial discrimination in America. Hearings will be held later in March. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 3, 1973)



ECONOMICS

RHODESIA HURT BY BORDER CLOSURE

Rhodesia, who closed its border with Zambia to protest the use of Zambian soil by liberation forces, stands to lose \$49 million a year in revenues from railway charges and exports. Zambia's shipments of copper across Rhodesia towards the sea were worth an annual \$17 million, and Rhodesia has been exporting approximately \$32 million worth of goods to Zambia and Zaire.

A possible further cost to Rhodesia has been pointed out by the South African *Financial Mail*. The journal said now that Rhodesia's rail lines no longer carry goods bound to and from Zambia, they are sitting targets." It added that the threat to Rhodesia's economy is greater now than it has ever been under sanctions. (*X-Ray*, London, April, 1973; *Financial Mail*, Jan. 19, 1973)

CHROME DEAL HURTS WORKERS

Foote Mineral Company's Steubenville, Ohio plant is closing down because it "cannot compete with foreign markets." It is one of several US plants that have been affected by the importation of chrome and ferro-chrome from Rhodesia in defiance of United Nations sanctions against that country's minority white government. Other places where workers have been hurt by lay-offs and firings are Calbert City, Kentucky; Woorstock, Tennessee; Alloy and Graham, West Virginia; Marietta and Beverly, Ohio; Niagara Falls, New York; and Tacoma, Washington. (Washington Office on Africa)

US STEEL IN ANGOLA

US Steel has applied to the Portuguese government for a mineral concession in Angola. If granted, the company would gain exploration and exploitation rights in a certain region for all minerals except diamonds. (*Diario de Noticias*, Portugal, Feb. 20, 1973, in *Facts and Reports*)

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK JOINS IN ANGOLA BANK

First National City Bank of New York has linked up with a Portuguese bank to form a new commercial bank in Angola. The venture marks the first direct investment by a major international banking institution in this Portuguese colony. Citibank and the Lisbon-based Banco Esprito Santo e Comercial have each put up about \$3.25 million in the new corporation, Banco Interunido. While engaging in normal commercial banking operations, Banco Interunido will concentrate on "the provision of medium and long-term capital to meet the growing demands caused by Angola's rapid expansion rate." (*Journal of Commerce*, Feb. 7, 1973)

GULF SEEKS BETTER CORPORATE IMAGE

Though Gulf has been heavily criticized for its involvement in Angola, a *Wall Street Journal* article states

that "few companies have a better record of employing members of minority groups at home." (Feb. 22, 1973) Most protests against Gulf have focused on Portuguese colonialism and the right of self-determination for the Angolan people, while Gulf officials have attempted to counter with proof that the company is not "racist." Since 1970, according to the *Journal's* report, Gulf employment of minority group persons has risen by 600, to about 12% of the work force.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS?

Among the ten new members of the board of the Foreign Policy Association, joining 65 other "scholars, lawyers, businessmen and civic leaders," are Milton Rosenthal, president of Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation of Newark, N.J., and Kemmons Wilson, chairman of Holiday Inns of Memphis, Tenn. Both companies have considerable interests in Southern Africa.



at the united nations



APARTHEID COMMITTEE TENTH ANNIVERSARY

The Special Committee on Apartheid marked the tenth anniversary of its establishment on April 2 as it began its annual Special Session. The five meeting session ended with two meetings devoted to ways and means of mobilizing media to support the international campaign against *apartheid*. In commending the Committee for its constant work in promoting ways to combat racial discrimination and to eliminate apartheid, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General, said that he hoped that the International Conference for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa to be held in Oslo on April 9 to 14 will lead to constructive proposals for greater actions at all levels. He urged the opponents of apartheid not to be disheartened. He said the steadily increasing international awareness and condemnation of apartheid has given the oppressed people of Southern Africa hope and encouragement. (UN Press Release SG/SM/1837 GA/AP/317, April 2, 1973). In addition, the Committee heard statements by Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the ANC of South Africa and others. (UN Press Release GA/AP/318, April 2, 1973.)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN OSLO

The Conference to Support victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in southern Africa will bring together experts chosen by governments, UN bodies and agencies, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as leaders of liberation movements and others to draw up a program of action to speed the decolonization process and eliminate *apartheid*. It is being organized by the UN in cooperation with the OAU. Leaders of the nine liberation movements, recognized by the OAU in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands have been invited to the conference to describe the situation in their respective territories, their immediate and long term needs, and ways in which the international community can aid them in their struggle. The Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, have made voluntary contributions of about \$80,000 to cover the costs. The Secretary General was asked to convene the Conference in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly last November. The proposal originated from the OAU. Plenary sessions will be open to the public and the press.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

GUINEA-BISSAU

MILITARY NOTES

PAIGC communiques at the end of February reported that despite Cabral's death, military activity was at a high level during February, with attacks mentioned particularly against military installations at Gabu, the fortified camp of Gampara, and at Farim.

Portuguese communiques corroborate the claim of a high level of guerrilla activity, reporting fierce fighting in the third week of the month and claiming sinking of at least two boats full of PAIGC militants, one of which carried eight Cubans, who were killed. But more important, General Spínola instituted strict security measures in the city of Bissau during the month including road blocks and areas out-of bounds for the population. The time of Carnival, the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, was seen as particularly hazardous since additional people usually crowd into Bissau from the countryside at that time. (*Guardian*, US, Mar. 21, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 10, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Feb. 28, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, London, Feb. 20 & 27, 1973; *Le Monde*, Paris, Feb. 20; *Financial Times*, London, Feb. 22, 1973)

NEITHER SIDE FORGETS CAPE VERDE

The Cape Verde Islands are in a strategic position for Portugal as a base for its African colonial wars. They also are seen as potentially important as a communications link between both sides of the north and south Atlantic, between Africa and America. The PAIGC includes them as part of their own program for independence, although organization on the islands remains at a clandestine level to date.

Portuguese security expenditure and development plans for Cape Verde notably increased in the last few years. The total military budget for the islands went from \$700,000 in 1967 to \$1.3 million in 1971. In 1971 alone the budget for the Cape Verde Public Security Police increased 44 per cent. Airports are being expanded on the islands of Sal and Praia to accommodate international jets, including the 747's. And on the island of Boa Vista, a large tourist project is being planned which includes construction of a new airport, new roads, a port, and electrical installations.

Shortly before his murder, Cabral spoke of Cape Verde: "We consider the two territories—Guinea and Cape Verde—as one people, one country. On Cape Verde the opposition to the Portuguese is growing. It is difficult to fight on an island, but not impossible. The day when the action is expanded to Cape Verde, the struggle will be practically ended." (*Guardian*, US, Feb. 28, 1973; *Wirtschaftsberichte Deutsche Uberseische Bank*, W. Germany, Jan. 1973)

DAILY LIFE IN LIBERATED GUINEA

An article by Basil Davidson in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Feb. 1973) updates information on the patterns of development inside liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, based on his observations during a visit in 1972.

Committees penetrate all levels of peoples' organizations, with village committees elected by the villagers themselves being basic. Since 1968, each sector has had a committee elected by these village committees, and in 1972 for the first time the structure was enlarged to provide for the election of a National Assembly. The committees deal with all local matters.

Related to the committee structure is a network of courts, whose judge and two assessors appointed by their respective village committees, and with sector courts at a higher level to deal with the referral of more serious cases. Only capital crimes are tried by military tribunal. Fines, punishment by labor, and imprisonment exist. Capital punishment does not.

Schools and dispensaries for public health services also have reached vast numbers of persons who did not receive them under the Portuguese. School statistics as of October, 1972 in PAIGC schools are:

1st grade	6,988 students
2nd grade	849 students
3rd grade	506 students
4th grade	172 students
5th grade	31 students
Kindergarten	28 students



School in liberated Guinea

These students are in 150 primary schools for the first four grades, all inside Guinea-Bissau, and two schools in Conakry for Kindergarten and for secondary education, beginning with the 5th year. Of the 8,574 students, 2,155 are young women, less than the PAIGC wishes, but a considerable advance considering the traditional treatment of women. Besides these young students there are about 7,000 adults in literacy programs wherever there is someone to teach—at the clinics, in the camps, in the villages. Cabral, as early as 1965, in a guide for work and

behavior of militants, said: "It is necessary for responsible members of the Party to try seriously to study; it is essential that they be interested in the facts and the problems of our life and of our daily struggle in more than a superficial way . . . Learn from life, from people, from books, learn from the experience of others. But never stop learning."

In the area of health, PAIGC was administering 125 small dispensaries, nine small hospitals, and three large hospitals. Among the personnel are eight PAIGC doctors educated in Europe or the USSR, two Cuban volunteer doctors and three from Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs run the Party's surgical hospital in Conakry. Of the nurses, 90 were trained in Europe or the USSR and 169 were trained locally by the PAIGC.

ANGOLA

PROTESTANT MISSIONS SUBVERSIVE

In late 1968 the colonial government of Angola held a major symposium on counter-subversion. A complete set of the 25 reports of the six study commissions at that conference has now been clandestinely delivered to the Angola Comite of the Netherlands which will publish them later this year. Sections discussing the role of churches in Angola have already been made available to Dutch church leadership. They cite the activities of Protestant missions as serving "political ideals contrary to the portugalization of the native masses" because they provide educational, health and other services which make the Portuguese look bad in comparison; they discover and cultivate local leadership; and they provide ideals which people absorb and begin to live for which are not consistent with portugalization. It is proposed that Catholic missions, the Angolan Government or both begin to do the same things in order to advance portugalization—i.e. "find and indoctrinate . . . the born leaders; impregnate them with an ideal which can fill their hearts with fire and their minds with ideas; make them true apostles of the ideal that their fatherland is on the road of true portugalization," and provide better services in health and education.

The documents say the Protestants "admit political interference and ideas not confined to the service of God" whereas "the Catholic mission hierarchy insists on non-intervention regarding politics . . . The bishops of Angola have manifested very well their patriotism and their dynamic will for the expansion of the Catholic faith among the masses, with accent on civilizing in the constructive sense of portugalization." But "unfortunately" the Catholic missions have inadequate resources and numbers to do what is needed to neutralize the detrimental work of the Protestant missions.

The reports call for the strict observance of restrictions on foreign missionaries, most of whom are Protestant; increased requirements for such personnel to thoroughly learn the Portuguese language and culture before arrival in Angola; the requirement that all missions "be required categorically to cooperate in the work of portugalization of the native masses" with continual supervision over the teaching administered by the missions; and an increase in the amount of information gathered about Protestant missions—clandestinely if necessary—since at present they are unable to prove any specific examples of subversion (*IDOC Bulletin*, Rome, February, 1973)

Other documents in the material received by the Angola Comite give detailed information about the

following: forced concentration of the population in regroupment camps, racial discrimination; labor conditions on European plantations; Portuguese policy to deprive the African population of their own identity; and the Portuguese view of the liberation movements. (*Volkskrant*, Holland, Feb. 21, 1973)

MPLA 1972 MILITARY SUMMARY

In 1972 the MPLA totally destroyed five enemy posts, put 837 enemy troops out of action, captured a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and freed many Angolans, according to MPLA sources. It was again asserted that mercenaries from Rhodesia and South Africa have been assisting the Portuguese. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Feb. 7, 1973)



Angola militant

ARMED FORCES BUDGET FOR ANGOLA

The Portuguese Minister of Defense approved a budget for the Angolan Armed Forces, reported as follows:

Expenditures:

Army	1,595,556,000 escudos
Air Force	311,000,000 escudos
Navy	130,680,000 escudos
	<hr/>
	2,037,236,000 escudos
	(approx. \$81.5 million)

Receipts:

Budget of Metropolitan Portugal	250,000,000 escudos
Fund for Milit. Devel.	
Overseas Territories	86,000,000 escudos
Loan to be raised	80,005,000 escudos
Angolan Budget	893,472,000 escudos
Budgets various	
Angolan govt. depts.	266,523,000 escudos
Defense Tax paid in Angola	450,000,000 escudos
	<hr/>
	2,026,000,000 escudos

Diario, Mozambique, Feb. 22, 1973) 27

MOZAMBIQUE

MILITARY NOTES

In mid-March, the Portuguese reported the loss of two planes, one over Niassa province and one in Tete. In early March, FRELIMO made a heavy attack on enemy camps at Gago Coutinho, destroying houses, vehicles, and depots. According to FRELIMO, "many" were killed. According to the Portuguese, they suffered two severe injuries and five slight injuries. A Portuguese search and destroy mission in reaction to the attack yielded little.

The Portuguese reported a large-scale offensive in February against FRELIMO in Tete province, saying they destroyed 165 camps, 19 other installations, and "recovered" 500 cattle and 59 tons of corn.

Consuls from West Germany, the US, and South Africa attended the graduation ceremonies of a new Portuguese commando company in Montepuez, Mozambique. The company is mostly African.

The Portuguese are opening three new airfields in Cabo Delgado province in Antadora, Nhica do Rovuma, and Pundandar. They will be the responsibility of the Army.

The 1973 budget for the Mozambican Armed Forces 1,831,130,000 escudos for the Army and 267,000,000 escudos for the Air Force or a total of 2,1 b. escudos, \$83.2 m. *Le Monde*, Paris, Mar. 20; *Le Figaro*, Paris, Mar. 19; *Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 10; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Mar. 2 & 3; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Mar. 6; *Jornal de Comercio*, Lisbon, Feb. 27; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, Feb. 23, 1973)



Frelimo militants

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE:

The Organization of African Unity has recognized a new movement against Portuguese colonialism: The Liberation Movement for the Portuguese Territories of Sao Tome and Principe. (*Guardian*, US, Mar. 21, 1973)

PORTUGAL

ARMY PHOTO CENTER RAIDED

The revolutionary Brigade claims to have taken complete sets of maps and plans related to Angola,

Mozambique, Guinea, and Cape Verde in a raid during February on the Portuguese Army's photography center in Lisbon. They intend to give the material to MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC. The materials are the result of years of aerial photography, show positions of Portuguese installations and other strategic information. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 14, 1973)

BOMBINGS IN LISBON

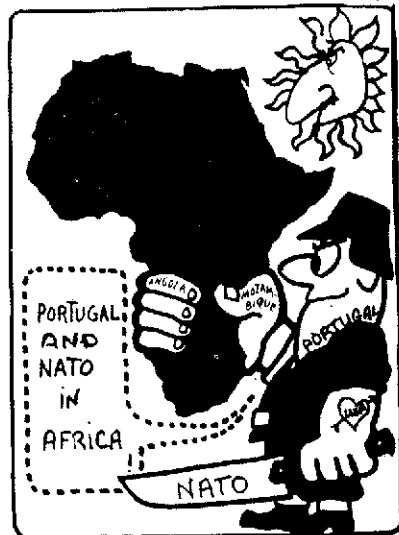
On March 9 and 10 military installations in Lisbon were hit by four bombs. The first bomb exploded at the Ministry of the Army in a recruitment center. The second exploded in a new building beside a supply office at the same headquarters. Two more bombs exploded in administrative offices of the Army on the following day. The official casualty list included two dead and seven wounded, though more victims were possible in the rubble. The administrative offices attacked were of particular importance in the deployment of troops for Africa. (*Le Monde*, Paris, Mar. 12; *Times*, NY, Mar. 10 & 11, 1973)

DEFENSE PACT DISCOUNTED

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, emphatically stated at a press conference in Cape Town that Portugal did not care to enter into unnecessary alliances and preferred to fight its own battles. He emphasized that one of the cornerstones of his country's foreign policy was non-intervention in the affairs of other countries, discounting the prospect of a Southern African defence pact between Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia.

Dr. Patricio appeared to be suggesting that although Portugal has much in common with South Africa in technical and economic affairs, it is not anxious to enter into any formal association or alliance that would imply Portugal's official recognition of apartheid policies.

He further indicated that Portugal would not act against Tanzania or Zambia in reprisal. Zambia's copper export traffic, because of the closure of the Zambia-Rhodesia frontier, has been switched largely from Beira to Lobito. (*Financial Times*, UK, March 7, 1973)





ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES ACTIONS

WIDE SUPPORT FOR ALSC

This year demonstrations are planned on African Liberation Day (May 26) in more than 20 cities across the US. In 1972 demonstrations took place in only two US cities. In a speech and press conference, Owusu Sadaukai, National Chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) which is organizing the demonstrations, said that the widening actions were a response to "America's escalation of the war in Southern Africa," as shown by the assassination of Cabral and Zimbabwe's (Rhodesia's) closure of its border with Zambia.

Sadaukai also cited growing US aid to Portugal and the role of "Uncle Toms" from the black community who go to "entertain" in South Africa. Finally he commented that with the winding down of the direct war in IndoChina, the US would "develop greater designs for Africa as a source of raw materials, markets, and cheap labor," and that demonstrations in the black world were needed to build a mass base. Supporters of the ALSC plans include people from behind prison walls, such as H. Rap Brown; organizational heads like Roy Innes of CORE, Leon Modeste of the National Committee of Black Churchmen; Stokely Carmichael of the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party; government people such as Congressman Charles Diggs, and Mayor Richard Hatcher; and a number of other individuals and organizations such as the Congress of African Peoples, Black Workers Congress, Republic of New Africa, Third World Women's Coalition, Pan African Students Organization in the Americas, Caribbean Unity Conference, and many others. (Press Conference, ALSC, March 5, 1973).

Elsewhere meetings were held in Madison, Wisconsin, in connection with their fund-raising for defence and aid, and at schools in Iowa. In the two weeks following Sharpeville there were several conferences on Southern Africa, one in the Durham, North Carolina area, and meetings in New York and Chicago.



Nelson Johnson, Owusu Sadaukai, Hansani Mweusi and Kwodwo Akpan announce plans for African Liberation Day

SHARPEVILLE COMMEMORATIONS

The thirteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre was commemorated in many American cities and throughout the world.

In New York there was a Southern Africa Week sponsored by the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBU) which featured meetings and seminars at Columbia University and Barnard College on the unity of the struggles between Africa and the US, the role of women, and other subjects. Film-showings and fund-raising for the liberation movements were also conducted by YOBU and the African Liberation Support Committee. (*New York Amsterdam News*, March 31, 1973). Elsewhere individuals from the American Committee on Africa, SAC, and others ran an all day vigil in front of the South African Airways office on Fifth Avenue. ACOA also widely distributed a poster/leaflet paralleling Sharpeville with recent student/worker protests in South Africa. Several local radio shows had programs on Southern Africa. On the evening of the 21st there was a meeting at St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Harlem at which the President of the National Council of Churches spoke.

PAIGC SUPPORT COMMITTEE LEADER BOMBED

The newly formed PAIGC Support Committee, (P.O. Box 1510, Duxbury, Massachusetts 02332) has begun its work with great vigor and received predictable negative reactions. The Committee's aim is "to inform people about the liberation movement in West Coast Africa in the country of Guinea Bissau." Thus far they have sponsored a well-attended demonstration at the Portuguese Consulate in Boston after the assassination of Amilcar Cabral; convened its first Conference in Plymouth, Mass; co-sponsored a lecture tour by LSM in Rhode Island; and formed chapters in Ohio, California, Florida, and Washington. As a result of this work, and because of the potential for the Committee particularly to organize Americans from Cape Verde Islands, the car of one of the Committee's leaders, Antonio Gonsalves, was fire-bombed. Although the bomb exploded, no one was injured. (*Cape Verdean*, Feb., March, 1973; *Guardian*, 29 March 21, 1973)

BLACK JOURNAL TV SHOW

Public TV, via *Black Journal*, ran an hour long program in February entitled "War in Africa." The broadcast focused on Southern Africa, showing clips from the film on Mozambique, "A Luta Continua," as well as excerpts from a number of speeches given by African OAU, UN and liberation movement representatives during their presentations at a black press conference last fall. (*MACSA News*, Madison, Wisc. Feb., 1973).

MACSA SPRING FUND RAISING

The spring fund-raising focus of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa will be aid to political prisoners and their families. *MACSA*, which chooses a new target for fund-raising each fall and spring in coalition with other black and African groups, launched the drive by a film-showing on March 20 and a Sharpeville commemoration on the 21st. Funds will be channeled through the International Defence and Aid Fund. *MACSA* has been making extensive use of the Southern Africa Committee's slide-tape show on Southern Africa also. (*MACSA News*, March, 1973).

VICTORY OVER UNION CARBIDE

Gulf Oil, Union Carbide, and other companies which are under overt and obvious attack for their Southern African policies have responded by pouring considerable time, energy, and money into building a positive image in the American black community.

Union Carbide was to be one of the 1973 recipients of the Urban League's Frederick Douglass Equal Opportunity Award at a hotel banquet in early May. Although the award was to be given ostensibly for Carbide's financial aid to the League's street academy program in Brooklyn, it was cancelled due to controversy over awarding a company which is breaking UN sanctions against Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and moving US policy closer toward helping the white minority Smith regime. After a long and hard discussion within the Urban League Board of Directors, in which the black staff faced the predominantly white, corporately-connected Board, the League announced the withdrawal of the award to Carbide, although thanking the company for its announced decision to continue aiding the street academy program.

The protest was triggered when Frederick Douglass' great grandson, Frederick S. Weaver, wrote a letter to the banquet sponsors saying that Carbide "doesn't give a damn about our Black brothers in South Africa... and that /he/ would rather slice those veins and spill that blood than concur in these awards by my physical presence as a 'special guest' and degrade the memory of so distinguished an ancestor." (*New York Times*, March 20; *New York Post*, March 20, *Amsterdam News*, New York, March 24, 1973).

FAIR PRACTICES BILL THREATENS CORPORATIONS

At a press conference held in New York City April 2, New York State Assemblyman, Franz Leichter announced that he and 15 other legislators had introduced a bill in the State Legislature to force companies which have contracts with the State or in which the State deposits its funds or invests its pension moneys to follow fair employment practices in South Africa.

Leichter stated "We all know that in New York State we have laws on the books to end racially discriminatory

employment practices by businesses operating here and we have established agencies to enforce their fair employment laws.

But today many of our corporations here, ones with household names, run by some of our most prominent and respected business leaders, companies that often carry the phrase 'equal opportunity employer' in their advertising, are deeply involved to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars in the most notorious system of racial oppression—the *apartheid* system in South Africa."

The bill establishes a Fair Employment Practices Board, composed of seven appointees of the Governor, including the Chairman of the Human Rights Commission and the Commissioner of Commerce, to determine whether New York State-based corporations conducting business activities in the Republic of South Africa are following "fair employment practices." If a company contracting with New York State fails to follow such practices, its contract can be cancelled. State funds and investment of government pension funds will only be made in companies which are on a roster of companies found by the Fair Business Practices Board to be following fair employment practices in South Africa.

A background paper on US involvement in South Africa, showing that New York State has \$84 million and New York City \$162 million of pension funds invested in the top 15 American investors in South Africa and Namibia (South West Africa) was distributed at the press conference.



SWAPO representative Ben Gurirab reading a statement in front of Newmont Mining Co. in New York.

Also present were Hulbert James, representing the National Council of Churches, Virginia Bell for Congressman Charles Rangel, and State Senator Sidney Von Luther who committed himself to fight to get the bill out of the Committee on Government Operations on to the floor. Other supporters mentioned at the conference included Samuel Myers of the United Automobile Workers, Borough President Percy Sutton, and a number of church and Southern Africa Organizations

In closing, Assemblyman Leichter said "We are seeking by this bill to end the hypocrisy and double standard which commits New York State to human rights, but allows the moneys of its tax payers to go to companies which violate human rights in South Africa."

Copies of the Bill and Information about Pension Funds available from Assemblyman Franz Leichter, 21 East 40th St., New York City 10016. Also contact Episcopal Churches on S.A., 14 W. 11th St., NY 10011. (Press Release, April 2, 1973)

PRESBYTERIANS AND ITT RESOLUTION

The United Presbyterian Church announced in February that it had withdrawn a stockholder resolution asking International Telephone and Telegraph for a disclosure statement on operations in South Africa. Withdrawal followed ITT's agreement to publish a report on South Africa for its stockholders. The report will be in the form of a presentation by Standard Telephone and Cable's manager. The United Presbyterian Church, said it had assurance from ITT president Francis J. Dunleavy that the report will be mailed to stockholders before the corporation's annual meeting on May 9. (Religious News Service, Feb. 8, 1973)

METHODISTS AND DISCLOSURE RESOLUTIONS

The World Division of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries has withdrawn one of two resolutions it had filed with corporations asking them to disclose information about their involvement with South Africa. Texaco, Inc. has agreed to undertake to provide the World Division and Texaco stockholders with a report about the company's South African interests. The Division holds 24,574 shares of Texaco stock valued at about \$940,000. The company agreed to review with the Division information about Texaco interests in South Africa with a view to providing a "satisfactory report" which would take into account the Division's request. Accordingly, the Division has withdrawn the resolution it had submitted for presentation at Texaco's 1973 annual meeting and has so informed the Securities Exchange Commission. The information was to be provided no later than 120 days after the corporation's annual meeting April 24.

The resolution filed with Texaco was one of 12 similar disclosure resolutions filed by six Protestant church groups with 12 corporations and announced Jan. 16, 1973. The groups are part of the Church Projects on US Investments in Southern Africa. The requested information includes details of corporate involvement in South Africa, including the history, comparative statistics on numbers of workers, wages paid, trade union contracts with workers of different racial backgrounds, compliance with apartheid laws, and any efforts the corporation may be making to have the government modify the laws.

Meanwhile, plans are proceeding to follow through on a disclosure resolution filed by the World Division with the Eastman Kodak Company. The Division owns 19,496 shares of Eastman Kodak valued at \$2,875,000. The Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries has filed a similar disclosure resolution on South Africa with the Caterpillar Tractor Company. The Division owns 8,000 shares of Caterpillar stock valued at about \$544,000. (United Methodist Information, Feb. 13, 1973)

OBERLIN COLLEGE STUDENT SOLIDARITY

In early March the Student Senate of Oberlin College in Ohio passed a resolution protesting South African Government repression against students, and expressing solidarity with NUSAS and SASO people placed under recent banning orders (see *Southern Africa*, April, 1973).

international

INTERNATIONAL GROUPS

The Geneva International Commission of Jurists has soundly condemned Portugal's African policy as an abrogation of all "normal" judicial procedure and the embodiment of a true "police state." The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has telegraphed the UN Secretary General condemning Portugal's false moves toward autonomy in the colonies. (*Agence France Presse*, Feb. 6; *Helvetische Typographia*, Switzerland, Feb. 4, 1973)

The Assembly of the specialized UN agency, the International Civil Aviation Organization, voted recently to exclude Portugal from meetings except those dealing with certain technical questions. South Africa was excluded in 1971. (*UN Press Release*, ICAO/601, March 1, 1973)

The World Federation of Democratic Youth based in Budapest held a press conference in late October with youth representatives of MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC. The Federation also sent solidarity greetings to MPLA on Feb. 4, its national day, and to the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization on its 15th Anniversary. (WFDY, Jan. 1973; *World Youth*)

ENGLISH ANTI-CORPORATION ACTIONS

An Oxford based group on Portuguese Africa plans a boycott of the 300 or so Gulf Oil stations in Britain, thus joining the widening anti-Gulf actions. In other anti-corporate actions the Shadow Foreign Secretary of the British Labour Party has called on Prime Minister Heath to initiate a public inquiry on the issue of wages paid by British corporations in South Africa. This action has evolved from the series of exposes in British news about discriminatory and degrading wages paid by UK companies there. The inquiry has been initiated by a loose coalition of peace, anti-apartheid, and liberation movements. (*Guardian*, UK, Feb. 22; *Star*, March 17, 1973).

CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN SHAREHOLDER ROW

The Church of England faces an internal political tussle over one of its big investment fund's holdings in South Africa. A National campaign is to be launched by radical churchmen to persuade the church's central board of finance to sell its 70,000 shares in Consolidated Gold Fields Limited. The Community of Resurrection, an Anglican order, has sold its 4,800 shares in the firm, but the board still holds 70,000 shares. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973)

The challenge from within the church is based on a belief that holding such shares is allowing the church to live off "immoral earnings." An attempt will be made at the church's next meeting to get a clear ethical as well as financial policy on investments. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 22, 1973)

SUPPORT FOR STRIKES

The first major success in British university anti-corporate organizing occurred when Leeds University voted to sell \$45,000 worth of shares in the chemical company ICI, and voted new criteria for its investment policy. This includes not investing in South African registered companies or ones which employ a large number of Africans with low pay. Also, British trade unionists picketed South Africa House supporting the strikers in South Africa. The unionists represented the Transport and General Workers Union; the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff; Mineworkers Union. They presented a letter to Embassy officials calling on UK firms to withdraw from SA and for workers not to emigrate there. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, March, 1973)



A demonstration outside South Africa House in London on the thirteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre

CALL FOR ALLIANCE END

In campaigns related to Portuguese Africa, a number of memorial services and meetings were held after the assassination of Cabral. There are also protests concerning British policy toward Portugal as symbolized by the Anglo-Portuguese alliance celebrations. Prime Minister Heath was questioned at a Birmingham University meeting, while the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea has run workshops in Scotland and England calling for an "End to the Alliance." The Committee's new address is 12/13 Little Newport St., London W.C. 2, ENGLAND. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, March, 1973)

CANADIAN GROUPS FOCUS ON COFFEE

Groups in Canada (see list below) are producing more and more information about Canadian economic, military, and political support for Portugal in Africa. The focus emerging from at least two groups' materials, i.e. the South Africa Information Group in Ottawa and the Fraser Group in Vancouver, are Canadian imports of Angolan coffee and oil. SAIG's studies indicate that 11 per cent of Angola's green coffee is imported by Canada. They calculate that through Angola's special defense taxes on coffee companies and budget allocations from coffee exports, \$20 million is annually gained by Portugal for Angolan defense via the export of coffee. (see SAIG,

"Coffee for Canada, Blood for Angola") Canada has just assigned a new commercial representative to Angola to boost trade there.

For further information contact the following:

Fraser Group, P.O. Box 6255, Station G, Vancouver
Community Alternatives, Canadian Memorial Church, Tel. 736-9515

Liberation Support Movement, P.O. Box 338, Richmond
Liberation Support Movement, P.O. Box 5776, Vancouver
VANCOSA, Vancouver Committee on Southern Africa, P.O. Box 2095, Vancouver 2, B.C.

The Ottawa-South African Information Group, Box 4433, Station E, Ottawa 1, Ontario
Operation Mozambique, The International Education Project, 44 St. George St., Toronto, Ontario

HOLLAND BOYCOTTS ORANGES

"Boycott Outspan Aktie" or "Boycott South African Oranges" was launched at a weekend conference in Leyden, Holland recently. The BOA group hopes that this action will expand to include other South African imports. (*Star*, March 17, 1973)

* * *

LIBYA BANS AIRCRAFT

Libya, following up its earlier actions against flights bound for South Africa (see *Southern Africa*, March, 1973) has now announced the banning of Portuguese and Rhodesian aircraft from Libyan airspace. Libya announced its policy at the OAU meeting in Addis. (*Agence France Presse*, Feb. 9, 1973)

* * *

JAMAICA PROHIBITS IMPORTS

The Government of Jamaica has prohibited the import of Portuguese goods. African states have united also to protest against Portugal's attempts to attain observer status at the Organization of American States. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Feb. 28, *Diario de Noticias*, March 2, 1973).

* * *

BELGIUM LEAFLETS

The Southern Africa Campaign group spent the last week of November and first week of December leafleting and educating people in Belgium about Southern African issues. Booklets, including material on the liberation movements, were produced as well. (*Namibia News*, London, Nov.-Dec., 1972)

* * *

WEST GERMANY COLLUSION

Several groups including the Angola Comite in Holland and groups in Western Germany have called upon African countries through the UN and OAU to oppose West Germany's bid to enter the UN until that country stops supporting Portugal's colonial effort in Africa. As an example of such collusion, the groups pointed out that a warship built in Hamburg is now sailing in waters off Mozambique. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Feb. 6, 1973)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

SWEDISH AID TO PAIGC AND ANC

In spite of Portuguese press reports that Cabral's death has created a "reconsideration" of western funding to PAIGC, the Premier of Sweden wrote to Cabral's widow

saying that \$2 million would go to the movement. The total liberation movement budget will be almost \$4 million with aid going for the first time to the African National Congress of South Africa, and to Zimbabwe movements. (*Daily Telegraph*, UK, Feb. 17; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Feb. 7 and Feb. 19, 1973)

YUGOSLAV AID TO MPLA

The Conference of Trade Unions in Yugoslavia has contributed a truck to MPLA, delivering it in Lusaka. The MPLA President, Agostino Neto, has also recently visited Yugoslavia. (*Times of Zambia*, Feb. 17; *Agence France Press*, March 23, 1973)

MATERIAL AID CONFERENCE

The Material Support Conference was organized by the Angola Medical Committee of Holland for organizations in Europe and North America supporting the liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies: FRELIMO (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola), and the PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau). The conference developed out of the Easter conferences which have been held for the past three years in Europe for groups supporting the three movements, but which some groups felt gave insufficient attention to the development and coordination of material support work, including the raising of funds and sending material aid of all kinds.

Of the six North American groups invited to the conference, those represented were the Committee for a Free Mozambique, the African Information Service, and the American Committee on Africa, all from New York City.

There were 57 support organizations invited from Europe and North America, as well the Afro-Asian solidarity organizations from the socialist countries and several international organizations. Twenty-nine organizations were represented at the conference.

From the liberation movements there were the following representatives: FRELIMO—Xavier Sulita and Janet Mondlane; MPLA—Antonio Alberto Neto; PAIGC—Oliviero Peres.

Some of the recommendations of the conference are summarized below.

1. On material support work:

—coordination and cooperation on the national level by support groups is urged;

—The Angola Medical Committee will work to coordinate medical support work to the three liberation movements;

—Advice on technical aspects of support will be available from the Cabora Bassa Gruppe in Frankfurt, West Germany;

—The liberation movements will publicize any plans for "cite" projects (i.e. an orphanage, or medical facility) that could be the focus of a coordinated support effort;

2. Political Issues:

—Of major importance is the coming declaration of independence of Guinea-Bissau. All groups are urged to work hard on educational and informational work on the significance of this;

—African Liberation Day (May 26) and the international week of solidarity with the people of southern Africa at that time;

—Portugal and the Common Market;



resources

BLACK AMERICANS STAY OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

This booklet, produced by Black Concern, an organization of Black Americans prominent in the Arts, outlines why Blacks should not have any "accommodation with the present racist regime of South Africa." It summarizes South African structures, US involvement, positions of the OAU, liberation movements, and SA's public relations strategy. For copies write to Africa Information Service, 112 West 120th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

PARTNERS IN APARTHEID—A new slide tape show on South Africa and United States Corporate Involvement

30 minutes, slides from inside South Africa, description of apartheid, liberation struggles

\$15 rental (\$25 for institutions); \$50 sale

Contact
Southern Africa Committee
244 West 27th St.—5th Fl.
New York, N.Y. 10001

call to action on byrd amendment!

ACTION NEEDED TO REPEAL BYRD AMENDMENT AND RE-INSTATE SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

Senator Humphrey and Congressman Don Fraser will introduce legislation in May, 1973 to repeal the sanctions-breaking Byrd Amendment. A Senate vote will probably come in June. In the House, the vote will probably be in early fall. We must work now to organize local constituency actions to influence key representatives, especially in the House, to vote to re-instate sanctions.

EIGHT REASONS WHY TO SUPPORT RE-INSTATING SANCTIONS

1. *Renewing sanctions would support self-determination by the majority in Rhodesia.* Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the African National Council, continues to feel that strong sanctions are the only hope for a non-violent solution satisfactory to his people. We support the right of the majority of the people to self-determination and the real independence of Zimbabwe, the African name for "Rhodesia."

2. *The U.S. has a treaty obligation to stand by the sanctions program which we co-sponsored in the United Nations.* The position of the United States in the U.N. has been severely damaged by our international lawbreaking.

3. *Importing chrome gives overt support to the forced labor system in Rhodesia.* The Apartheid-like system in Rhodesia restricts Africans to arid wastelands or "tribal reserves." Made foreigners in their own country, Africans must work for a pittance as migrant laborers or see their families starve. In the mines Blacks earn on the average 1/10 to 1/20 of what whites earn. If a worker breaks his contract, he can be jailed. Union Carbide and Foote Mineral Company own chrome mines that operate within and support this system.

4. *Importing Rhodesian ferrochrome has serious detrimental effects on the U.S. ferrochrome industry.* 758 people in ferrochrome plants in Steubenville and Brilliant, Ohio, plus 215 workers in Charleston, South Carolina are going to lose their jobs, because the market is flooded with ferrochrome produced in Rhodesia and South Africa by "forced labor." (Last year the U.S. imported 42,000 tons of processed ferrochrome—an intermediate product used in the production of stainless steel—from these two countries alone, almost as much as we previously imported from the world.)

5. *Sanctions-breaking is an example of U.S. policy made to support the special interests of U.S. corporations, particularly Union Carbide, rather than the interests of the people.* Foreign policy which represents us, all American citizens, should be made on the basis of support for self-determination for all people, not on the basis of the illegitimate economic interests of a few.

6. *Sanctions have contributed to the economic and political pressure on the Ian Smith regime.* Rhodesia's 1971 trade deficit was the largest in Rhodesian history, and foreign exchange reserves are low at present. In addition, sanctions have increased world consciousness of the situation in Rhodesia and have exerted pressure for political change on the white minority regime.

7. *Breaking sanctions puts the U.S. on the side of the white-minority Smith regime.* The U.S. is helping to support the government in power politically and economically by subverting international attempts to press the Smith regime to accept a settlement for African majority rule.

8. *Independent African countries recognize the hypocrisy of our professed position of support for both white- and Black-ruled Africa.* Zambian President Kaunda has said, "Indeed the future of the African-American relations will be greatly determined by the U.S. policy in matters relating to self-determination in southern Africa."

ACTION SUGGESTIONS

We urge you to work to repeal the Byrd Amendment and re-instate full United States compliance with United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia.

INFLUENCE CONGRESS DIRECTLY . . . visit your representatives in their local offices when they make home visits.

. . . **conduct a constituent letter-writing campaign** directed at influencable Congressmen (see list) (positions of Congressmen are available from the Washington Office on Africa)

INFLUENCE THE WHITE HOUSE . . . write to President Nixon urging strong White House support for Congressional legislation re-instating sanctions.

RAISE CONCERN ABOUT THE ISSUE . . . hold community educational and strategy meetings, including media when appropriate.

. . . **publicize the issue** using establishment and non-establishment media.

. . . use particular arguments your Congressman will respond to, i.e., loss of U.S. jobs, international law, rational foreign policy, exploitation and suffering of Rhodesian people.

For further information:

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA
110 Maryland Ave. N.E. D.C. 20002
202-546-7961

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA
164 Madison Ave. N.Y., N.Y. 10016
212-532-3700

SWING CONGRESSMEN ON REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT

KEY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

OHIO	district
Wayne Hays	18th
Charles Carney	20th
James Stanton	20th

ILLINOIS

**Frank Annunzio 11th
 **Ed Derwinski 4th
 **Dan Rostenkowski 8th
 **John Kluczynski 5th
 Robert McClory 13th
 Kenneth Gray 24th
 George Shipley 22nd
 Tom Railsback 19th

MICHIGAN

**Guy Vander Jagt 9th
 **Martha Griffiths 17th
 William Broomfield 19th
 Philip Ruppe 11th
 Gary Brown ,3rd

INDIANA

**Ray Madden 1st
 William Hudnut 11th
 J. Edward Roush 4th

MISSOURI

**Leonor Sullivan 3rd
 Bill Burlison 10th
 William Randall 4th

WISCONSIN

William Steiger 6th

MINNESOTA

Joseph Karth 4th

KANSAS

William Roy 2nd

PENNSYLVANIA

**Thomas Morgan 22nd
 **John Dent 21st
 **Joseph Vigorito 24th
 Lawrence Coughlin 13th
 Gus Yatron 6th
 Joseph McDade 10th
 Fred Rooney 15th
 William Moorehead 14th
 John Heinz 18th

NEW YORK

Otis Pike 1st
 Jack Kemp 38th
 James Hanley 32nd
 **Thaddeus Dulski 37th
 Mario Biaggi 10th
 Peter Peyser 23rd
 Sam Stratton 28th

MARYLAND

William Mills 1st
 **Clarence Long 2nd

KENTUCKY

**Frank Stubblefield 1st
 Carl Perkins 7th

NORTH CAROLINA

**Ike Andrews 4th

FLORIDA

**Charles Bennett 3rd
 Sam Gibbons 7th
 William Chappell 4th
 **Claude Pepper 14th

TENNESSEE

**Richard Fulton 5th

WEST VIRGINIA

Robert Mollohan 1st

TEXAS

Jack Brooks 9th

CALIFORNIA

**Charles Wilson 31st
 John McFall 15th

OREGON

Edith Green 3rd

MONTANA

John Melcher 2nd

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MASSACHUSETTS

Silvio Conte

CONNECTICUT

**Robert Giarmo 3rd

NEW JERSEY

**Dominick Daniels 14th

NEW HAMPSHIRE

James Cleveland 2nd

KEY MEMBERS OF THE SENATE**OHIO**

**Robert Taft
 William Saxbe

PENNSYLVANIA

**Richard Schweiker

DELAWARE

**William Roth

CONNECTICUT

**Lowell Weicker

MARYLAND

**Charles Mathias
 James Pearson

KENTUCKY

**Marlow Cook
 **Walter Huddleston

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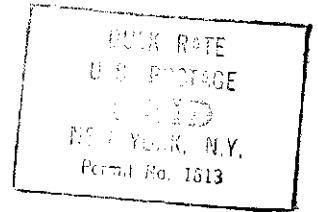
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