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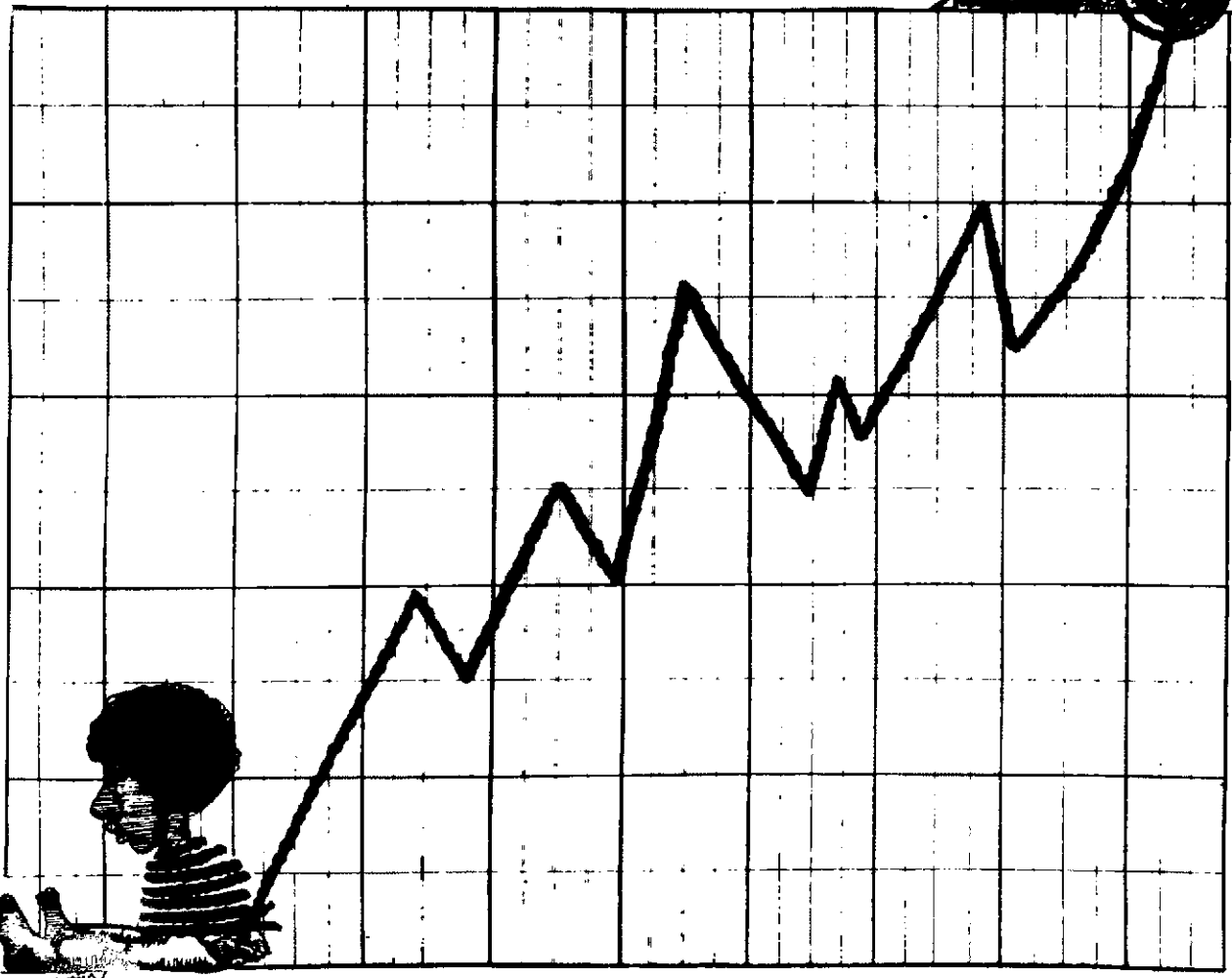
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feature

Gulf Oil and Mid-East War Strengthen Portugal's Bargaining Power

Reed Kramer

The recent Mideast conflict produced an unexpected bonanza for Portugal, with unfortunate consequences for the liberation struggles in Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique. And Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States is right in the midst of it.

It began on October 14, when Portugal agreed to allow U.S. transport planes flying war materiel to Israel to refuel in the Azores (Portuguese-held islands in the Atlantic). "Virtually as the U.S.-Portuguese agreement was being concluded, the American supply planes were beginning to land, refuel, and take off from the American-built Lajes base in the Azores," reported the *Christian Science Monitor* on October 20th.

Portugal was the only member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to allow the giant C-5A and C-141 transports to use its territory. Other governments made it clear that they did not want to be associated with U.S. supply activities, an attitude which brought a bitter U.S. response. And Spain, not a NATO member but a close U.S. ally, openly announced its refusal to permit any of the \$500 million worth of U.S. bases in that country to be used for the Mideast War.

Although the *Monitor* says it took "a massive bit of U.S. diplomatic arm twisting" to get Lisbon to agree, the decision has clearly enhanced Portugal's bargaining strength in Washington. The events came at a crucial time diplomatically and militarily for the Portuguese, who are faced with intensification of the fighting in all three African territories and growing international recognition of the new state of Guinea Bissau.

The Caetano government lost no time in testing the strength of its new-found leverage. Joao Hall Themido, the Portuguese ambassador in Washington, met with Acting Secretary of Defense on November 14—the same day David Ottaway reported in the *Washington Post* that the Portuguese want the U.S. to supply them with "sophisticated arms to deal with advanced Soviet weapons, including surface-to-air missiles." Heat-seeking SAM-7 missiles have played an important role in recent military successes by the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde (PAIGC). PAIGC combatants, using the shoulder-carried weapons, have downed at least 29 Portuguese planes since last Spring. And *Le Monde* reports that they are in use in Angola also.

Portugal moves on Capitol Hill

On Capitol Hill, the Portuguese counted on strong support for U.S. aid to Israel to offset Congressional moves to curtail U.S. military support for Portugal. Themido's first target was an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act to make into law the 1961 executive order banning the supply of U.S. military equipment to Portugal for use in the African wars. The ambassador called on Senator John Tunney, the amendment's Senate sponsor, according to Ottaway. He also visited Senator Edward Kennedy and several other supporters to stress the importance of his country's cooperation in the transfer of military equipment to Israel.

Although the amendment had already passed both Houses of Congress, Themido's efforts were not in vain. The joint Senate-House committee charged with ironing out the differences between the two differing versions suddenly deleted Portugal's name from the amendment. The measure now carries only a general reference to European countries with African territories. Since the Caetano regime claims that the three countries are neither territories or colonies but integral parts of Portugal, it can even pretend the bill does not apply to Portugal.

The conferees also accepted the weaker House-passed version, which would require the President to give only a one-time report—rather than an annual review—on the implications for the African wars of U.S. military and economic aid to Portugal. The approved version would also place no controls on such potentially vital items as helicopters, small aircraft, and herbicides.

Another issue on which Lisbon wants support from Washington is blocking United Nations membership for Guinea Bissau. Only one month after declaring independence from colonial rule, the new state was welcomed by the UN General Assembly and a resolution was passed demanding that Portugal desist from its illegal occupation. 93 countries voted aye and 30 abstained. Seven negative votes were cast by the U.S., Britain, Brazil, Greece, Portugal, South Africa, Spain.

The London *Guardian* (October 29 and November 15) and the *Monitor* (November 21) claim that the U.S. government agreed to oppose Guinea-Bissau's admission as part of the agreement to use the Azores base in the Israel airlift. The papers suggest that, with the overwhelming support already shown the new state, a veto will be required in the Security Council to block it from membership.

Next February, the U.S. lease on the Lajes base expires. And, whereas it once seemed that the Nixon administration might be forced to give it up, the base apparently now offers the Caetano government another

bargaining tool for increased aid. U.S. military aid to Portugal jumped from one million dollars in 1971 to \$7.5 million in 1972, while economic aid grew from \$17.1 to \$30.4 million. A new Azores agreement will likely include an even greater aid hike, continuation of the \$400 million loan guarantee from the previous pact, and perhaps new weaponry or aircraft.

Gulf: A friend indeed

There is one crucial reason why Portugal, unlike any other European country, could ignore the threat of an Arab oil boycott and aid the U.S. airlift. Gulf Oil Corporation's Angolan subsidiary produces enough petroleum to supply all the requirements of Portugal and its colonies.

Until November, Portugal received nearly 90 percent of its crude oil imports from Arab countries—Iraq (about half), Saudi Arabia, and Bahrein. Then, reports from Damascus said that Arab states would no longer supply oil to Portugal because of its "hostile attitude" and the fact that its territory was used as "a transit center for Israel during the October war." (*Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, November 8)

At the extraordinary Organization of African Unity foreign ministers meeting, held in Addis Ababa in mid-November to discuss the Mideast situation, Arab states were asked to fully implement an oil boycott of Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia. Arab leaders, meeting in Algiers soon after, resolved to do what the OAU asked—an expression of "reciprocal solidarity" for the solid African backing given the Arab cause. [Twenty-nine African states have broken ties with Israel in the past two years—21 since the recent fighting began; and now only South Africa, Lesotho, Malawi, and Swaziland maintain relations.]

Lisbon began preparations before the embargo was announced, in the words of the *Journal of Commerce*, "casting covetous glances at its big African territory of Angola as a source [for oil] in any real emergency." (November 1) The concession agreement for Cabinda Gulf Oil, the company's Angolan subsidiary, gives the government the right to half of Cabinda Gulf's output—by taking its 12.5 percent royalty in kind (oil) and buying 37.5 percent outright. Further, according to Gulf's *Orange Disc*, "the Government has reserved the right to purchase their needs for domestic consumption as well as the right to take all production in the event of war or national emergency."

Cabinda oil, which has a high wax content, is not perfectly suitable for Portugal's refineries. However, a communique from the Portuguese Ministry for Overseas Territories published in late October, states that "the contract commits Gulf Oil to provide Portugal with oil from other sources to compensate for any technical difficulties that may arise from refining the Cabinda crude." A Gulf spokesperson told *Africa News* that there was no such provision in the contract, although it could become a matter for negotiation. He said, moreover, that Portugal's refineries could use Cabinda crude, after some fairly simple adjustments had been made.

In 1972, Cabinda Gulf produced 6.2 million metric tons of petroleum, most of which was exported to Canada (37%), the U.S.A. (29%), and Japan (21%). Output, which in 1973 was expected to be about 7.5 million metric tons is sufficient to supply the crude oil needs of Portugal (less than 5 million per year) and Mozambique (about 1

million). Angola is self-sufficient in unrefined petroleum even without using any Cabinda oil.

The first shipments of oil from Cabinda Gulf began arriving in Lourenco Marques at the end of November. The *Johannesburg Star* (Nov. 24) reports that Gulf had signed a contract with the Lourenco Marquee refinery to supply the territory's entire oil needs—the first phase in Gulf's oil aid for Portugal.

Is Cabinda a new Kuwait?

In the midst of this re-direction of Cabinda's output, the London Sunday *Observer* drew attention to the area by reporting that Gulf had discovered vast new oilfields offshore of Angola and Zaire. The story—which was widely recounted in the U.S. media—was quickly denied by Gulf and Lisbon. The *Observer* article, written by Arslam Humbarachi, claimed that Gulf had discovered what it called "a new Kuwait" in the coastal waters of Cabinda and Zaire. Humbarachi says he has maps produced by Gulf which pinpoint seven new oil finds off Cabinda, two of which—called 44-IX and 61-IX—are already commercial. Two others—Moto IX and Mibale IX—are further south off Zaire.

In Pittsburg, a Gulf spokesperson said there was no truth in the report. "I have no idea where it came from," Associated Press quoted him as saying. Humbarachi, though, told the BBC he is sure about his facts.

There are several particulars which seem to support him. International oil companies, which have intensified their world-wide exploration activities, have given much attention recently to Africa's west coast. And Gulf itself, in *Orange Disc*, has said that individual wells in Cabinda "are among the most prolific south of the Middle East."



On the other hand, some observers believe that the *Observer* account may be exaggerated. They think the Portuguese government might have leaked false maps to make it more difficult for U.S. policy makers to reduce support for Portugal.

Humbarachi asserts that the new finds have been kept secret because of the political situation in Angola: Gulf's fear of increased public protest and especially the growing activities of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the area. MPLA has penetrated much further than the Portuguese admit, he reports based on maps given the *Observer* by Portuguese army deserters. The movement's forces have intensified their activities in Cabinda and on October 8, attacked the Miconje barracks with cannons, rocket-launchers, and light automatic weapons. (MPLA Communiqué, Oct. 15) Another attack on Miconje on October 24, was so successful that survivors in the barracks had to be evacuated by planes flown from Luanda, Humbarachi says. And thus, Gulf's installations—which have not faced serious military threat in several years—will have to be even more heavily guarded.

A distressing aspect of the *Observer* story is the assertion that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko has agreed to allow Gulf Oil to pipe crude from Zaire wells north through Cabinda to Gulf's Malongo terminal.

In an interview with the BBC, Humbarachi points out that the pipeline would be very vulnerable to destruction by guerrilla forces. For this reason, he said, Mobutu is anxious to stem the military activities of MPLA in that area. Mobutu's role is another major reason for the secrecy, says the journalist. The Zaire president has been an ardent critic of white rule in southern Africa and was one of three sponsors of the recent OAU meeting which endorsed the oil boycott of Portugal. [Exposure of such a deal by Gulf, if true, would be a major embarrassment to him.]

Zaire is in a key position, as a prospering African nation with strong links to Western nations. [U.S. investment in the mineral-rich country has been expanding rapidly in recent times.] Zaire, as do some other African countries, also maintains trade links with white southern Africa. The value of the country's imports from Rhodesia and South Africa is reportedly more than \$50 million per year (*African Research Bulletin*, Feb. 28, 1973)—or about 10 percent of total imports.

Various reports in recent months have raised questions about the Zaire President's influence on the Angolan liberation struggle. Early last year (1973) Mobutu played a key role in promoting the detente between MPLA and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). FNLA has always been regarded as one of the African liberation movements most closely linked to Western interests. Some sources, both within and outside MPLA, have charged that Mobutu wants to moderate the policies of MPLA to bring them more in line with his own views and those of FNLA.

More than speculation?

In all, these recent events do not give much cause for joy. Lisbon has new and additional leverage in Washington and may enjoy more if reports of the new oil find are true. And the role of powerful Zaire in supporting the Angolan struggle remains unclear.

Without knowing more about Humbarachi's sources on both the reported Gulf "Kuwait" or the Zaire-Cabinda pipeline it is difficult to establish a pattern of events, beyond mere speculation.

Whatever the reality, one has to be aware of Zaire's importance in relation to the liberation movements in the south, and of Mobutu's growing importance as an African leader. He appears to oscillate between support and manipulation. One can only hope that the former will win through. ■

south africa

SILENCING OF CRITICS CONTINUES

On October 15, Ben Khoapa, director of the Black Community Program in Durban, was banned for five years and placed under house arrest. Dot Cleminshaw of Sprocas has had her passport withdrawn, and Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute, whose passport was withdrawn earlier, has been fined \$70 for refusing to testify before the Schlebusch Commission. These are the latest victims of a major Government attack on liberal critics.

To review the case, the Schlebusch Commission is investigating the National Union of South African Students, and twelve NUSAS members have had their passports withdrawn or refused, while eight have been banned for five years. The Commission is investigating the University Christian Movement and two of its leaders have been banned. The Institute of Race Relations has suffered one banning, and the Christian Institute has had passports removed from all its major leaders. (*Cape Argus*, Oct. 14, 1973).

Ben Khoapa's banning is a major blow to Sprocas (Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society). The Black Community Program he headed was started by Sprocas in January of 1972 and only became autonomous in March of 1973. Khoapa was directly involved in writing five important Sprocas publications, all of which must now be withdrawn from circulation because banned persons are not allowed to have their writings published. In fact it appears that rather than directly ban Sprocas, the government intends to destroy it by banning the people who have written for it. According to Sprocas director, Peter Randall, 16 of 25 published books will have to be withdrawn or severely edited. Randall stated, "It means we can no longer tell the truth, and I don't know if we can go on in this situation." (*Natal Mercury*, Oct. 16, 1973).

The action against Beyers Naude has caused a great deal of discussion both inside and outside South Africa, because Naude is well known in international Church circles. Many feel that if the Government will go after

Naude, then truly no one in South Africa is safe. Naude has impeccable Afrikaner Nationalist credentials and was a leader in the Dutch Reformed Church. After the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 he began to question the status quo in South Africa, and he has moved out of his position in the D.R.C. to head the Christian Institute which is dedicated to non-racial Christian reconciliation.

Systematic silencing of all Black leaders who refuse to work within the structures of apartheid goes on. Now, White leaders who seek solutions outside a Nationalist Afrikaner framework are also in danger. (*Cape Times*, Sept. 29, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 17, 1973). Black and White do not receive equal treatment even in punishment. Khoapa's five year banning and Naude's small fine are accurate symbols of the difference. With no intention of belittling Beyers Naude's courageous stand, it is tragic that it is only he who is known and who will receive support from people around the world. Khoapa and others like him endure alone and without support.

JAIL FOR "INDIRECT COMMUNICATION"

The case involving alleged contravention of banning orders by Winnie Mandela and Peter Magubane reveals the degree of harassment possible under South African law. Mandela and Magubane are both banned, and thus it is illegal for them to communicate with each other. According to the magistrate who sentenced each to one year in jail, they communicated "indirectly" on May 8 and 9, 1973. Magubane allegedly brought Mandela's children to see her during her lunch hour, and that was "a type of communication." The children are said to have made the arrangements, but as long as something passed "from the mind of one to that of another, that was communication." For that communication, a sentence of one year in jail was pronounced. The case, however, is being appealed. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973).

BANTUSTAN LEADERS HOLD SUMMIT TALK

"I'm sure, sons and daughters of Africa, that none of the proponents of the policy of separate development ever thought we would use it as a platform of solidarity." Chief Gatsha Buthelezi captured the essence of the meeting of the Bantustan leaders with these words. Separate development was devised to divide the Africans in to small, powerless units. For the first time, the leaders of the Bantustans have met to say that they reject that aim. Instead, the leaders are calling on the Central Government to consolidate the various reserves because of a unanimous agreement that a federation policy is vital for the unity and development of Blacks in South Africa.

The details of what was discussed are not known because white reporters were barred from the meetings and other reports have not been received. Seven of the eight Bantustan leaders were said to have attended, with Matanzima of the Transkei playing host. The meeting was held in Umtata.

The leaders declared that they would accept nothing short of full human rights in their own fatherland. Their power lay in their numbers, and with unity they would liberate themselves. Nevertheless, the dilemma faced by the Bantustan leaders was clear even in their united stand. As long as they are dependent on the Central Government to act, as long as they are in a position of petitioning it, calling on it to consolidate their lands, rather than having the power to act independently of the Central Government, the meaning of their call for full human



Winnie Mandela

rights seems little more than empty rhetoric. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 10, 1973).

BANTUSTAN ELECTIONS:

Vendaland:

The November issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA reported that the ruling party in Vendaland, under the leadership of Chief Patrick Mphephu, had lost the election to the Independent People's Party, lead by a Soweto sociologist, Mr. B. Mudau. However, Chief Mphephu continues to control Vendaland. In addition to the elected members to the Legislative Assembly, there are 42 chiefs. The Chiefs have supported Mphephu, and thus insured his continued leadership. Prior to the election, Mphephu arranged a three day tour of a game reserve for the chiefs. He has denied suggestions that this contributed to his victory.

The Legislative Assembly is made up of 42 chiefs and 18 elected members. None of the 18 were appointed to Mphephu's cabinet, an indication that Vendaland is the most conservative of all the Bantustans. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973).

The Transkei:

The ruling Transkei National Independence Party was returned to power in the Transkei elections which were held in late October. In the Transkei, 45 of the Assembly members are elected and 64 are Chiefs. In all the Bantustans, the chiefs are appointed and paid by the white government.

The National Independence Party is lead by Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who has headed the Bantustan since it was established in 1960. Matanzima made "independence within the next five years" one of his election platforms. He also is demanding more land and Africanization of posts still held by Whites. Although he is critical of apartheid, he has always argued that working within its structures is the only practical option of the African people. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Nov. 8, 1973; *Times*, London, Oct. 25, 1973).



TIMOL'S DEATH MARKED DESPITE BAN

The South African Government placed a two week ban on any open-air meeting at which "any principle or policy of the Government is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed." The ban was announced on October 19, just two days before a large rally was scheduled to mark the death in detention of Ahmed Timol and to call for the release of all political prisoners. The Government refused to admit that the ban had anything to do with the rally. An official statement simply said that the "action was expedient for the maintenance of the public peace as a result of political activities by certain individuals and organizations." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Oct. 22, 1973).

Since out-door meetings were banned, about 400 people met in the great hall of the University of the Witwatersrand. Among the speakers were a number of former political prisoners and detainees, including Helen Joseph who was under house arrest for more than ten years. Ms. R. Saloojee reminded the audience of the political prisoners still being held on Robben Island. Messages of support for the rally were received from all over the world. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 23, 1973).

POLICE CLEARED IN CARLETONVILLE KILLINGS

On Oct. 25, following a month long inquest (including 13 days of hearings) into the deaths of 11 miners shot by police at Western Deep Levels gold mine on Sept. 11, Presiding Magistrate C.H. Bandehorst exonerated the police from all blame. He ruled that the deaths were not due to any act of omission by any person amounting to an offence. Although mine manager Algey von Holdt testified at the inquest that no pillaging or property damage had occurred before the police arrived and began firing tear gas, and although it was also pointed out that so-called attacks on the administration building by miners had resulted in no window breakage and that only one policeman had in fact suffered serious injury, Judge Bandehorst ruled that the police killings amounted to no more than the taking of adequate measures to "preserve life and property." (*Guardian*, U.K., Oct. 9, Oct. 26, 1973; *Times*, London, Oct. 26, 1973; *Africa News*, Nov. 1, 1973).

In a press release issued Sept. 21, George Meany stated that the AFL-CIO was "shocked and outraged" by the shootings. Indicating that the AFL-CIO wished to express "once again its solidarity with the workers of southern Africa, victims of the vicious, inhuman system of injustice known as apartheid," Meany concluded: "We call upon the labor movements and other democratic forces the world over to renew their efforts to obtain human rights, economic and social justice—including full trade union rights—for all peoples of southern Africa." (AFL-CIO Press Release, Sept. 20, 1973).

IF YOU ARE BLACK IN SOUTH AFRICA . . .

A sampling of recent press items dealing with apartheid in practice illustrates the indignities and hardships confronted by the black South African who wishes to use public facilities for the normal daily functions of shopping, eating, resting and going to the toilet.

Cape Town: White-owned supermarkets and clothing stores have a vested economic interest in seeing to it that shopping remains one of the few integrated activities left in South Africa. Yet according to Dr. Connie Mulder, the Minister of the Interior, the Government is now seriously considering the whole question of commercial rights in the context of apartheid due to "complaints from all sides that Bantu are flooding certain streets and shops." Although Mulder would like to curb integrated shopping except in cases where the African customers are "sent . . . by their missis to buy something," the dilemma is this: Nationalist Government apartheid policies do not permit White operation of shops in non-white areas. At the same time, the Government does not want to allow Blacks to run shops in black townships because this would, in Mulder's words, "give them a monopoly and . . . a permanence which would work against the movement back to the homelands." (*Times*, London, Oct. 30, 1973).

Pretoria: The decision of the Pretoria City Council to lift a 69-year old ban on Africans in the city's parks ("nannies" in charge of white children excepted) is meeting with strong protest from Pretoria's white citizenry. Pressure groups opposed to lifting the ban have been canvassing door to door, leafletting, and threatening political repercussions for the Nationalists and for city councilors who voted for lifting the ban. Aware that Blacks do have to eat and rest *somewhere*, the Pretoria Afrikanse Sakekamer is investigating the possibility of providing facilities somewhere . . . (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 10, Oct. 20, Oct. 27, 1973).

On The Road: A recent *Rand Daily Mail* survey of 15 garage toilet facilities on the Johannesburg-Durban road revealed that white toilets were "often beautifully appointed and well maintained" while "toilets for Blacks were frequently filthy, out of order, and lacking basics like soap, toilet paper and a basin." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Sept. 28, 1973).

INDIANS' LIBERTIES CURBED

Mr. Chanderdoo Sewpershad, the president of the Natal Indian Congress, was served with a banning order on Oct. 29 which restricts him from attending any social or political gathering for the next five years. The third leader of the recently revived Natal Indian Congress to receive such an order, Sewpershad joins Rev. Rubin Phillips, the first Indian priest in South Africa to be banned, and at least 54 other South Africans (mostly Black) banned without trial this year. (*Guardian*, London, Oct. 30,

Times, London, Oct. 29; and *Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973).

In November, Rashid and Shehnaz, teenage children of former banned person Mr. I.C. Meer and Natal University lecturer Fatima Meer were denied passports to study overseas. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973).

Dr. R.A.M. Salojee, a leader of Johannesburg's Indian Community, recently warned a Progressive Party gathering at Witwatersrand that Indian leaders were beginning to lose their youth to "Black Power," and that the "point of no return" was "very near." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 18, 1973).

ECONOMICS

VAST STEEL PROCESSING PLANT PLANNED

The government-owned South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation has announced its decision to build a plant to turn iron ore into semi-manufactured steel. The \$900 million plant will be built at Saldanha Bay in the western Cape Province, and will receive ore from mines at Sishen in the country's north west. Railroad lines will be built to transport the ore.

Radio RSA, the external service of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, said the move meant South Africa is on the way towards abandoning its traditional role as an exporter of raw materials. "In the past," said RSA's commentary, "South Africa's vast natural resources have served as a milk-cow for the great industrial nations."

South Africa's position is a classic one of dependent nations. To quote Radio RSA further, "Year by year its reserves have been depleted at minimum profit to South Africa and maximum profit to others, since it is not the sale of raw materials but the processing of them that is the real generator of wealth."

And yet, unlike many nations, South Africa is able to revise its position. Upon the resources of diamonds, and—above all—gold, South Africa has built industries and developed expertise of its own. That industrial and financial base will again be called into use for the Sishen-Saldanha scheme.

However, South Africa cannot do the job alone. Foreign capital and equipment will be needed. ISCOR already has a preliminary agreement with Voest of Austria for a 49 per cent interest in the project. The *Johannesburg Star* of November 3 also reported that German and American groups are interested in participating in the project, either now or at later stages.

The magnitude of the building plan is considerable. In addition to the plant at Saldanha Bay and the railway lines across the 530 miles of rural South Africa, the project includes expanding port facilities, possibly including construction of a huge drydock to repair supertankers and other large ships.

Radio RSA says the foreign exchange earnings from steel exports will bring more than \$6 billion to South Africa over the next 30 years, more than twice the amount earned by diamonds.

There are still problems to be ironed out, though. The logistics difficulties involved in developing Saldanha Bay caused great delay in the government decision of where to build the facility. A further complication is the finding of markets for exports once the plant is built.

The long delay in deciding on the spot may have already lost South Africa a lucrative agreement with the Japanese for a large volume of Saldanha's potential

output. Japan, with a preference for long-range planning and good management, lost patience with the South African government's inability to make up its mind. (*Radio RSA*, Nov. 1, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973; *Financial Gazette*, South Africa)

DESIRE TO EXPORT OIL KNOW-HOW AND COAL

In the midst of the world's energy shortage, South African business interests are trying to export the country's oil-from-coal expertise as well as some of its vast reserves of coal.

D.P. de Villiers, managing director of Sasol (see previous article), says his company's experience with converting coal into oil and gas has drawn international interest. He said Sasol is already acting as consultants for two U.S. firms which want to produce natural gas from coal and is advising a German concern which is building an oil gasification power plant in Lunen, West Germany. (*Financial Gazette*, Johannesburg, July 20, 1973; and *Star*, Johannesburg, July 21.)

Others, though, are not so convinced about Sasol's ability. *Forbes*, the U.S. business bi-weekly, termed Sasol's experience with oil-from-coal conversion "disappointing to say the least." (Oct. 15) The magazine says that although three American companies are "adopting the same German process that Sasol uses," Sasol itself has doubts. "Economically," *Forbes* quotes de Villiers saying, "we need a quite different process." Sasol chairman P.E. Rousseau further explained: "The biggest problem is the very high capital cost of the known process. The danger exists that the escalation of capital costs may well keep pace with the increase in the price of crude oil."

Prospects for significant exports of coal are much better. The government and the coal industry are cooperating on a project which will enable the country to export large quantities of coal by 1976.

South Africa is the world's eighth largest coal producer, and its reserves—though not of high quality—are large enough to last more than 100 years. Low labor costs (because of low wages for African miners) and accessibility of the coal enable the companies to extract it at a much cheaper price than the world average. Though transport costs have limited exports in the past, construction of a new port at Richards Bay—in proximity to most of the coal reserves—will allow a major increase in coal exports soon. Customers are already lined up in France, Japan, the U.S.A., and W. Germany. (*Journal of Commerce*, New York, Oct. 5, 1973; *Star*, Oct. 6; and SA *Financial Gazette* "Energy Survey," July 20, 1973).

SOUTH AFRICA'S ENERGY PROBLEMS: "SERIOUS BUT NO CRISIS:"

Following the announcement of a total boycott of South Africa by Arab oil producers, Prime Minister Vorster said his country's energy problems are "serious but no real crisis is expected." The boycott was approved by Arab leaders at their Algiers summit meeting following an appeal by the Organization of African Unity for such a move. African foreign ministers, at the November extraordinary OAU session, asked Arab oil producers to give the boycott of South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia a high priority and to continue it after the embargo is lifted against the United States and other countries.

A boycott of South Africa by at least one major Arab oil producer was announced almost a month before the Algiers summit. Saudi Arabia placed South Africa in the

total embargo category with the U.S. and Holland, according to the Middle East Economic Survey. (*New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1973)

In 1972, the Republic imported about 11.5 million metric tons at a cost of about \$250 million. The oil came from Iran (37.8%), Saudi Arabia (23.9%), Iraq (18.3%), and the Gulf States of Oman, Qatar, and Abu Dhabi.

However, the Republic is able to meet much of its energy needs by internally-available means. Coal, of which it has vast reserves, supplies about three-fourths of energy consumed. And, the government-controlled South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation (Sasol) operates the world's largest plant for converting coal into oil and gas. This process, though, is expensive, and the Sasol plant provides only a small proportion (reportedly well under 10 per cent) of South Africa's petroleum consumption. (*Bulletin of the African Institute*, Pretoria, #3, 1973; *Guardian*, London, Nov. 22; and *Star*, Nov. 10)

The impact may be most seriously felt by several of South Africa's neighbors. Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Kwazulu, condemned the cut-off saying that it would be black people in the country who would suffer. And, a South African government statement after the OAU meeting hinted that Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland could not expect the receive as much oil as before.

Government representatives from all three of those countries, which are totally dependent on South Africa for their oil supplies, rushed to Pretoria for discussions immediately after the Algiers summit. According to BBC correspondent Stanley Uys, South African officials told the three governments that they must try to get the OAU and Arab leaders to call off the boycott or expect a serious cut in their own supply. (*Focus on Africa*, Nov. 30) [A joint Arab-African committee was set up to investigate the effect of oil shortages on independent African states.]

Another country dependent on South Africa for its petroleum—Rhodesia—apparently will not be treated the same way by Pretoria. An editorial in the *Rand Daily Mail*, noting that Rhodesia gets most of its oil through South Africa and that South Africa's oil supplies are so precarious, suggested that the government might "exert major pressure on Rhodesia to achieve a settlement" with Britain. Prime Minister Vorster reacted angrily, saying South Africa would not cut supplies to Rhodesia for blackmail. "In my entire long public career I have never yet read anything that has shocked me so much," he said. (*Star*, Nov. 17, 1973)

The impact on South Africa of the Arab oil embargo will be lessened not only by the country's heavy use of coal but also by its relations with Iran—the world's second largest oil producer. The non-Arab Middle East nation—which supplies the biggest share of South Africa's crude imports—has made clear that it will not participate in any political boycotts. Further indication that Iran will not likely cut off shipments to South Africa is the fact that National Iranian Oil Corporation has a major share in one of South Africa's largest refineries.

The apartheid regime is probably better prepared than any other government in the world for an oil cut-off. To protect itself against international sanctions in the early-1960's, South Africa began stockpiling many strategic raw materials, including petroleum. As *Forbes* magazine describes it, "the South Africans launched a costly program to store two-year's oil stock in abandoned coal mines in the eastern Transvaal." (Oct. 15) Petroleum

is also stored in large tanks, above—and below-ground, throughout the country; and though the exact size is classified information, it may be enough to fill the country's oil needs for four years.

GOLD MARKET CHANGES MAY HURT SOUTH AFRICA

In the vaults beneath the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, thousands of bars of gold bullion reside in air-conditioned comfort. The gold is kept in compartments representing various nations, as well as gold-holding organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

When a paper transaction is made that transfers gold between one country or group and another, the gold in the vaults is physically moved from compartment to compartment by workers using fork lifts and conveyor belts. On an average day in 1970, 2000 gold bars worth \$14,000 each were transferred.

Today gold is still an important commodity, but the increased use of paper money—called Special Drawing Rights (S.D.R.'s)—has decreased its importance. And, the November announcement by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns, revealing that the U.S. and six European governments can again sell gold on the private market, may further limit gold's monetary function.

The South African government is not at all pleased. At the recent Nairobi meeting of the IMF, SA Finance Minister Nicolaas Diererichs re-iterated his strong endorsement of a significant increase in the official price of gold and a return to fixed exchange rates. It is only in this way, he argued, that international inflation can be stopped and confidence and credibility restored in the world monetary system.

The now-abolished "two-tier market" was set up in March, 1968, to avoid depletion of national gold stocks during a large rush to exchange various currencies into gold. The countries involved—including the U.S. and the major European nations except France—agreed to sell gold only to each others' central banks and only at the official price, currently \$42.22 an ounce. Non-governmental dealers bought and sold on the free market, where the price was allowed to fluctuate according to supply and demand.

This big step towards "de-monetization" of gold was followed in August of 1971, by the U.S. decision to stop redeeming dollars from other governments for gold.

One immediate effect of the announcement ending the "two-tier" system was a drop in the price to \$85. Within the preceding year, the price had soared as high as \$125 per ounce. But, soon after the initial fall, it again rose to around \$90, where it stayed for the rest of November continuing into December.

The decision is not likely to lead to much, if any, selling of gold stocks by the major capitalist countries. The European governments involved—Belgium, Germany, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland—apparently demanded the change to stabilize their currencies and keep the European Economic Community united. France never agreed to the two-tier approach, since the Pompidou government favors a strong role for gold in the world monetary system. France's EEC partners, though not favoring a permanent role for gold, want it to be phased out slowly. The U.S. favors a quicker change-over to a monetary system based on an international currency like S.D.R.'s.

According to *Le Monde*, the main immediate effect may be stabilization of exchange rates. European countries have been accumulating debts which had to be paid in gold. Now, they can expect to obtain a better value for their gold reserves than the \$42.22 rate which has governed inter-governmental transactions.

South Africa's financial fortunes are closely tied to gold. The country's mines yield two-thirds of the world's total output. Gold sales provide one-third of the Republic's exports, earn it valuable foreign exchange, and help to finance the high living standard of the white population.

Government officials fear that a reduction in gold's monetary role will mean disaster for the economy, but other South African and international economists believe that the value of gold would likely rise after "de-monetization," as silver did after a brief decline.

Whatever happens to the monetary role of gold, the conditions for the 350,000 Africans who mine it are unlikely to improve. Their grueling under the worst conditions imaginable is the only reason there is any gold to sell at all. And, their incomes have risen hardly, if at all, in real terms since the turn of the century.

Commenting on their impoverishment, the *London Economist* magazine points out that their plight cannot be merely blamed on the apartheid system: "No one can afford to be pious about this exploitation: the monetary system of the western world could not have survived in its .. Brief 8, 1968, p. 10) (Sources include *New York Times*, Oct. 3, Nov. 15 & 21; *Washington Post*, Nov. 15; *Le Monde*, Nov. 16; *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 15 & 29)

RUPERT/ROTHMANS INCREASES SHARE IN U.S. TOBACCO

Rothmans International, controlled by the South African capitalist Anton Rupert, has increased its share in an American tobacco manufacturing company to more than 5 percent. Liggett and Nyers—makers of L & M, Chesterfield, and Lark—refused to give any details of the purchase, saying only that the company "Has had extensive business relationships with members of Rothmans International Group over a period of years." (*Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 11, 1973) The two firms jointly own a cigarette company in Brazil, and Rothmans' subsidiaries are licensed to manufacture L & M brands in many countries.

The South African Rembrandt group, parent firm of Rothmans' dominates the tobacco market in South Africa and many other African countries. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* has called Rupert's company "a unique multi-national group in which the residents of a country hold the majority of the shares in the operations of Rembrandt within their borders." (January 31, 1973)

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Rothmans refused to reveal the total number of L & M shares held by the group and also declined comment on "whether the concern was interested in seeking a seat on L & M's board or if this move was the first toward a take-over of the diversified American tobacco company." (Sept. 11, 1973)

In 1973, Rembrandt entered negotiations with the largest U.S. cigarette manufacturer, R.J. Reynolds, but no agreement was reached.

MILITARY

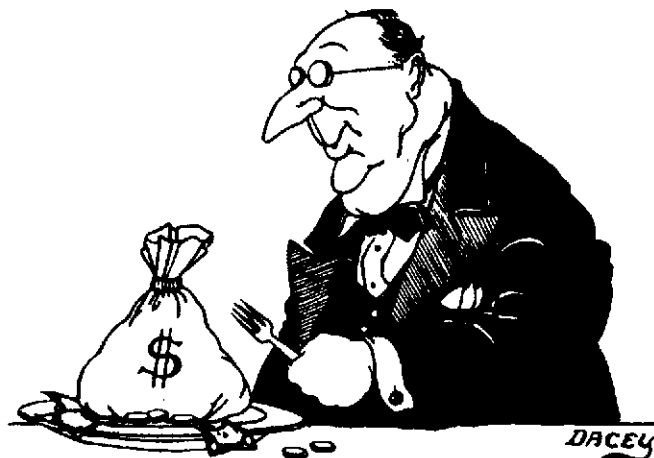
SOME MORE AID FROM THEIR FRIENDS

In November we reported that South Africa was buying a large number of Italian trainer aircraft, for military use. These planes, the Aermacchi MB326K, are fitted with Rolls-Royce Viper 632 turbo-jet engines, made under licence by the Italian Fiat controlled company Piaggio. Protests to the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence and Foreign Office have met with no response, despite the fact that the sale of aircraft containing Rolls-Royce engines involves Britain in an open violation of the arms embargo.

According to reports in the British and South African press Britain has also begun delivery of seven Westland Wasp helicopters to the South African Navy. Readers may recall that the promised delivery of these helicopters caused a major row at the January 1971 Commonwealth Conference. At that time in response to a strong attack from African and other Commonwealth-member-countries British Prime-Minister Heath promised that no deliveries would be made until an eight-nation Committee had met to consider the question. The Committee never met, and instead Mr. Heath ordered a legal opinion to be prepared by the Attorney-General defining Britain's obligations under the so-called Simonstown Agreement of 1955. A subsequent White Paper, published in February 1971 argued that Britain was obliged to deliver the seven helicopters needed by her three President frigates.

Then the whole issue vanished from sight—and commentators speculated that perhaps the most important ingredient of the debate for the South Africans had been the public position of support taken by the British Government.

It appears now, however that South Africa is to gain more than a propaganda victory. All seven helicopters are expected to be delivered before Christmas, and there have been rumours that the first three helicopters were delivered in time to take part in a recent joint exercise involving the British and South African navies. (*The Star*, Johannesburg, 3 November 1973. *Guardian*, London, 29 November 1973)



STUDENTS

NUSAS NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

At the National Council meeting held in September, NUSAS (the National Union of South Africa Students) passed a resolution condemning Vorster's recent threat to the press (see *Southern Africa*, December 1973). In another resolution NUSAS expressed solidarity with those members of the Christian Institute, SPROCAS (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society) and the Institute of Race Relations, who refused to testify before the Schibusch Commission owing to "dictates of conscience".

Also, a statement demanding "full trade union rights for all workers and payment of human wages" was issued by the President of NUSAS.

STUDENT PROTEST AND THE WHITE PUBLIC

The Institute of Social Research of the University of Natal has published a report on "Student Protest and the White Public in Durban". The report is based on a survey conducted in Durban, and indicates that the majority of the whites view the protests favorably. English speaking people are more sympathetic than Afrikaners, younger people are more sympathetic than the older, and the higher the level of education, the higher the level of sympathy. However, the people most strongly opposed come from the 35-49 age group. High school graduates are less sympathetic than those who graduated from school two years earlier. It is suggested that the 35-49 age group is made up of business and commercial people to a greater extent than the age group above 50. (*Dissent*, NUSAS publication, September-October, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, November 10, 1973)

namibia

RESISTANCE GROWS

Popular protest and resistance has continued to grow in Namibia in the months since the massive boycott of elections for the Ovambo Bantustan Legislative Council on August 1st and 2nd. The South African Government, attempting to utilise "divide and rule" tactics has placed considerable powers of punishment in the hands of the Ovamboland Bantustan government, now being run primarily by a group of reactionary Chiefs, including Chief Filemon Elifas, (Chief Minister) and Chief Jafet Munhundi (Minister Of Justice). It has been announced that the 7 Headmen of Owambo (the official name for the new Bantustan), including Chief Elifas, are being provided with a specially trained police force of 300 Ovambos, to act as their private body-guards and "to enforce tribal justice". (*Dissent*, South Africa, October-November, 1973)

The nature of this "tribal justice" has emerged with horrible clarity, as reports of brutal mass floggings, banning of all opposition parties, and the persecution of SWAPO and other opposition leaders gradually reach the outside world. The Chiefs and the South African Police have established a close working alliance aimed at smashing all opposition to South African authority. The Bantustan Government, given the power to control political activity in its territory, has exercised this power by refusing to allow any opposition party to operate openly in the territory. Only 'registered' political parties have been allowed even to apply for permission to hold public meetings. Neither of the opposition parties, SWAPO or DEMKOP (Democratic Co-operative Development Party) were granted registration by the Ovambo 'Cabinet', so that they have been forced to hold meetings illegally.

The South African Police have seized on the opportunity thus presented to conduct a campaign of arrests and intimidation designed to destroy growing

SWAPO strength in Namibia. They have acted quickly, using their vast range of powers, including those conferred on them by Proclamation R17 of 1972, which gives them powers of arbitrary arrest and indefinite detention, without the detainee having any rights to a trial, lawyers, family contact etc. SWAPO leaders and others have been arrested in large numbers, many have been held for long periods of detention and interrogation, a few have been brought to trial, and many have been handed over to the tribal authorities for punishment.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN NAMIBIA

An early victim of this new method of repression was Johannes Nangutuuala, leader of DEMKOP, a man prominent in the 1971/72 African contract worker strike. On October 24th Mr. Nangutuuala was released from the police cells a Ondangua, the Ovambo capital, where he was being held incommunicado, without charge, and was handed over to the tribal council by the South African Police. He was then publicly flogged, under the watchful eye of Chief Filemon Elifas, being given 21 lashes with the rib of a palm branch, a weapon capable of administering severe damage. He required hospital treatment after the ordeal.

An urgent attempt was made by the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, Rt. Rev. Richard Wood, to prevent this and other floggings. Bishop Wood applied to the Supreme Court in Windhoek for an interdict (court order) preventing the floggings at least until such time as the Court had reviewed the tribal council's proceedings. The evidence presented in support of the application horrified even South African Judge Hoexter who was hearing the case, and he granted the order asked for.

Affidavits presented to the Judge from three women nursing students at an Anglican mission stated that they had been brought before the tribal court on September 12 and asked questions which related to no apparent charge.

They were then told to wait outside, and when called back were told that they had been found guilty of being absent from duty without leave (the implication being that they had used this time to organise meetings for SWAPO). They were not allowed to defend themselves, were sentenced to 6 strokes each with a palm rib, and the punishment was immediately inflicted upon them in front of an audience of some 150-200 people. They were made to raise their dresses, were held down over a stool by four men, and were each given six strokes.

Subsequent reports of similar incidents have included the public flogging of several other SWAPO leaders. On the 26th October Mr. Andreeas Nuukwawo, an executive member of SWAPO was given 16 lashes on his naked buttocks and had to be taken to hospital. An Anglican Archdeacon attending a synod meeting in Johannesburg described having seen nine male students, aged between 17 and 21 flogged on September 12th. He said each of the youths was sentenced to 20 strokes and was made to pull down his trousers for the whipping which was administered with a palm branch about a yard long, two and three quarter inches wide and half an inch thick.

SWAPO has issued a statement reporting that more than 100 people have been publicly flogged and that many of the Namibians who have gone through this ordeal are now being put into a concentration-camp type detention center in the very north of Namibia, on the border with Angola, at a place called Omidamba. (*Times*, London 26 and 27 October, 1973. *Sunday Times*, London 18 November 1973, *Daily News*, Tanzania, 17 November 1973)

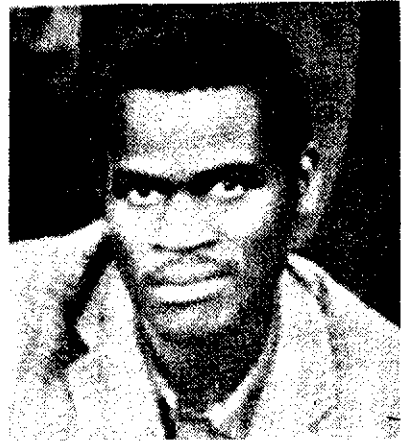
Reports of the floggings stirred considerable controversy in South Africa, where many commentators were concerned about the damage such 'incidents' would cause to South Africa's "good name". The *Windhoek Advertiser*, a Namibian newspaper, called for an inquiry into the floggings, the white opposition South West Africa United Party called for a judicial enquiry into the entire system of tribal authority in Ovamboland, Sir de Villiers Graaf, Leader of the Opposition in Parliament warned that public floggings could have serious repercussions at the United Nations.

On November 19th in a further Court hearing in Windhoek, Judge Hoexter ordered the two tribal authorities involved to stop the flogging of political offenders; the case will come to Court again on February 22nd, at which time the tribal authorities will have to show cause why the order should not be made a permanent one. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 27 October 1973; *Guardian*, England, 20th November 1973)

TRIALS

Late in September three politicians, Johannes Nanguutuuala, (DEMKOP) John Otto (SWAPO) and Andreas Nuukwawo were found guilty in the Owambo Territorial Court of taking part in illegal meetings in the homeland. Nanguutuuala was fined R400 (or two years in jail), Otto R200 (or one year in jail). Half of their sentences were conditionally suspended for three years. Nuukwawo was fined R100 (or six months). His whole sentence was conditionally suspended. Both Nanguutuuala and Nuukwawo were not released, but were held by the South African Police until the day in October when they were publicly flogged in the incidents described above.

In another trial in September, 8 SWAPO Youth Leaguers were found guilty in the Owambo Territorial Court on a charge under the emergency regulations of



John G. Otto.

holding an illegal meeting. In November three SWAPO Youth League members, including the chairman, Mr. Jeremia Ekandjo and the Vice-chairman, Mr. Jacob Nghidinua and Mr. Martin Kapawasa were sentenced to 8 years imprisonment each after a trial in Swakopmund, for engaging in SWAPO activities. (*Star*, Johannesburg 3 November 1973, 29 September 1973, *Daily News*, Tanzania, 22 November 1973)

ANGLICAN ARCHDEACON BANISHED

In other attempts to crush all political opposition the Council of Chiefs in Owambo ordered the Anglican Archdeacon of Odibo, the Venerable Philip Shilango to quit the village where he is stationed as director of a mission. The South West Africa Supreme Court was asked in an urgent application to prevent the expulsion, and the order was in fact granted by Judge Hoexter. But the Chiefs' police force, defying the order, forced the Archdeacon to leave the Mission, under threat of physical violence, and he was forcibly removed to his home elsewhere in the Bantustan.

Namibia News, the English language magazine of SWAPO, produced in London, was recently banned in South Africa and Namibia, according to a report in the *Guardian* of 18th October 1973.

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Mishake Muyonga, Acting Vice President of SWAPO, addressed the Decolonization Committee on 26th October. He spoke in the capacity of official observer, following on the September 27 decision of the Committee to confer such status on the representatives of SWAPO. He said that acceleration of South Africa's homeland policy was part of a desperate attempt to break the growing unity and strength of the Namibian people. He condemned continued and increasing Western involvement, political and economic, in Namibia, citing as a recent example the opening in October of a new French consulate in Windhoek.

ZIMBABWE

LIBERATION STRUGGLE

ZANLA STRIKES

The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), which is the military wing of ZANU, reports the following strikes in August-September:

Aug. 19: Chakoma, near Mt. Darwin: Rhodesia spotter plane shot down; two enemies killed. Shakoma area ambush killed 32 enemy soldiers.

Aug. 22: Mauswa, near Mt. Darwin: two spotter planes shot down.

Aug. 27: Mt. Darwin area, one spotter plane shot down; 20 enemy forces killed.

Aug. 30: Centenary area: ZANLA shelled white farm used as military post; seven enemy forces killed. Car hit landmine; Mrs. Ward killed; Mr. Ward injured.

Sept. 16: Mt. Darwin area: 13 enemy troops killed in ambush.

Sept. 19: Mt. Darwin area: two enemy camps destroyed by ZANLA bazookas and mortars. Unknown number killed.

Sept. 21: Mt. Darwin: enemy post on farm of Ralph Edwards destroyed; five enemy forces killed.

Sept. 23: Shamva area: ZANLA attacked settler homes of Madziwa Nickel Copper Mine (subsidiary of Anglo American); Considerable damage.

Sept. 30: ZANLA ambushed enemy forces; killed Neil Thompson and unknown number of others. (Chimurenga (War) Communique No. 5, ZANU, Dar Es Salaam, October 19, 1973)

In addition, the ZANU office in Dar es Salaam issued a communique saying they shot down four spotter planes and a French alouette helicopter, killing 77 troops and injuring hundreds in August and September. ZANU claimed Smith had mercenaries from South Africa, Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Holland, the U.S.A. and Japan. (*Sunday News*, Tanzania, Oct. 21, 1973)

ZPRA STRIKES

The Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA), the military wing of ZAPU reports the following:

Sept. 27: Binga District: South African army camp destroyed by rockets. 40 believed dead.

Sept. 28: Binga: three supply trucks and one troop carrier destroyed by land mines; eight South African soldiers killed.

Oct. 13: Wankie District: Rhodesian ammunition truck destroyed by land mine; two Rhodesian soldiers killed.

Oct. 14: Wankie: Rhodesian command Landrover destroyed by land mine; Rhodesian and South African officers killed. (*The Zimbabwe Review*, Lusaka, Nov. 3, 1973)

ZANU SUPREME COUNCIL

Herbert Chitepo was retained as chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union at the recent annual conference. Muku Mudai is executive secretary; Henry Hamadziripi is secretary of finance; Josiah Tongorara secretary of defence; Noel Mukono secretary of external affairs; John Mataure chief political commissar; R.A. Gumbo will be in charge of publicity and information; K. Kangai is secretary for labor, social services, and welfare. These latter two have just returned from Canada and the U.S.A. respectively and are new to the supreme council.

ZANU asked the OAU to redouble its support for the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and to pursue a revolutionary political line for complete economic, political, and social liberation of the continent from the shackles of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. It condemned Britain, U.S.A., France, West Germany, and

Namibia contd.



Sean MacBride

DIALOGUE ENDS

Sean MacBride, currently Chairman of Amnesty International, has been appointed as the first permanent Commissioner for Namibia. This action, taken with the support of the African bloc at the U.N., the final ending of the Waldheim dialogue with South Africa over Namibia and the passage of a General Assembly resolution further strengthening and clarifying the authority of the Council for Namibia as the de jure interim government of Namibia auger more determined U.N. efforts to end illegal South African rule. One observer recently commented, "The liberation of Namibia will not be brought about by more denunciations of South Africa, nor by unrealistic demands for military confrontation, but by slow, hard, un spectacular work which will erode the political, economic and moral standing of the Republic, so that the people of Namibia can win their own freedom. The United Nations must turn its attention to devising ways of making the South African occupation increasingly difficult, unpleasant, unprofitable and unpopular, and the occupier uncertain, divided and discontented."

Japan for continued financial support and military assistance to fascist and racist regimes in Southern Africa and in Guinea/Bissau. (*Daily Mail*, Zambia, Sept. 19, 1973)

ZANU's HAMADZIRIPI INTERVIEWED

Africa interviewed Matuku Hamadziripi, ZANU national treasurer. He outlined the struggle for freedom in Zimbabwe, "The majority of our people are in the rural areas. Our people want more land which has been annexed by the white farmers. The Smith government gets its supporters from white farmers. Naturally, they must be hit first so that they can transmit the message to Ian Smith. If we can drive them out of farms and force them to cluster together in urban areas, then the dawn of freedom will not be far away. We want to see and effect an equitable redistribution of land for our people. But it won't be long before the sound of a gun is heard in Manica Road, Salisbury, or in Kinsway. . . . No conference can ever make Ian Smith relinquish power. The British Government failed to make him see sense. ANC can never make him change his mind. The only thing that will make Ian Smith understand is the muzzle of a gun he has been using to kill our people. The day it will be pointed towards him, is the day he will change. No settlement short of majority rule will be accepted by ZANU. If our brothers in Algeria did it successfully, why shouldn't we?" (*Africa*, London, October, 1973)

RHODESIAN MILITARY ACTION

FIGHTING IN MOZAMBIQUE

A Rhodesian Light Infantry NCO reports that 400 men of the R.L.I. have joined their Special Air Service carrying out sweeping forays into Mozambique against "terrorists." He said he was pessimistic about the Portuguese holding Mozambique and that if it were lost, Rhodesia would be in a strategic nightmare. Rhodesian activity inside Mozambique, he said, could be as much for building-up Portuguese will to fight as for the actual routing of "terrorists." (*Sunday Post*, Kenya, Sept. 16, 1973)

RHODESIA ON DEFENSIVE AGAINST GUERRILLAS

Commander of the Rhodesian Army, Lieutenant General G.P. Walls announced a new permanent security force established in Inyanga. This is in the northeast where heavy guerrilla incursions have been made. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 27, 1973)

Two army vehicles were blown-up by landmines in a Tribal Trust area in the northeast; two African security forces were killed. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973) A bus driver handed over \$US42 to guerrillas when they stopped the bus in the same area. It was allowed to continue on. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973)

Rhodesian "Minister of Defence" denied recruiting of mercenaries in Australia although reports from Sydney said Australian veterans of the Vietnam War were being offered \$US378 a month to form a skilled fighters squad for an anticipated guerrilla offensive at Christmas. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973)

FROLIZI MEN HANGED

Amon Magiya Sibanda, Richard Errol Robinson, and Christopher Gumborotaya were hanged on October 19th by the Rhodesian regime. FROLIZI called for all "patriots to close ranks and wage a relentless war of liberation." (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 23, 1973). James

Chikerema, chairman of FROLIZI called on President Idi Amin of Uganda to hang two Rhodesian spies he said he had caught in retaliation for the murder of the three FROLIZI combatants. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973)

INTERVIEW WITH WHITE FARMER

Kenya's *Sunday Post* presented these comments from an interview with a white Rhodesian farmer, "In the country, the events of the past few months have brought to the white community a stronger sense of loneliness in their struggle than ever since UDI. 'Does the West really want to see White Africa go under?' 'Don't you feel this is your battle as much as ours?' 'Even if you won't help, at least end Sanctions and stop hindering us.' 'Don't people in England realise that the Chinese want to colonise Africa? Every terrorist who's been captured has Chinese trained (sic). They give them better weapons than we've got—it's just damn lucky they don't know how to use them properly. . . . Have you read Desmond Morris's *Naked Ape*? I wish more people in England had. They might talk less rubbish about the rights of Africans.'" (*The Sunday Post*, Kenya, Sept. 23, 1973)

SOUTH AFRICAN/RHODESIAN ARMIES COOPERATE

Commander of the Rhodesian Air Force, M.J. McLaren said South African and Rhodesian armed services have considerable interchange of ideas on tactics and techniques. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 11, 1973)

RHODESIAN POLITICS

RHODESIA PARTY PLAN

The Rhodesia Party plan for settlement favors a common voters role with qualified franchise and two councils outside the political arena. A constitutional council, consisting of Europeans, Africans and Asians, would test legislation against a Bill of Rights to prevent discrimination and safeguard liberties. A council of state would act as an appeal board in case of disagreement between the constitutional council and the government. The nub of the system is the racial composition of the council of state. Mr. Savory, head of the Rhodesia Party, said no racial definitions had been suggested. (*Times*, London, Oct. 4, 1973)

ANC DIALOGUE?

Edson Sithole, publicity secretary for the African National Council denied any rift in the ANC from pressure from the Mataheleland branch to cut off talks with Smith. Muzorewa said the ANC would continue to seek constitutional talks. (*Times*, London, Oct. 9, 1973) Gordon Chavanduka sociology lecturer at the university was elected Secretary General of the ANC and E. Gabella, a medical doctor, was elected vice president at a recent ANC executive meeting. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 15, 1973)

CENTRE PARTY SEEKS CONSOLIDATION OF OPPOSITION

The multi-racial Centre Party, led by Pat Bashford, called on the ANC to set a deadline for the start of talks with Smith. If Smith refused, ANC could make a clean break and begin talks in earnest with the opposition. Bashford and others are eager to see a consolidation of the opposition, including the Rhodesia Party, the Centre Party, and the ANC. (*Guardian*, London, Oct. 27, 1973)

STUDENTS LOSE APPEAL

Rhodesia's appeal court has dismissed the appeal by 108 African students against prison terms ranging from six to nine months for their part in the campus riots in August. After serving two months in prison, 98 of the students were released, but were given restriction orders preventing them from coming within 15 miles of the capital and, therefore, the university. (*Guardian*, London, Nov. 2, 1973)

AFRICANS OPPOSE GUERRILLAS

Some leading African businessmen, members of political organizations, and trade unionists, along with the Council of Chiefs have come out against the guerrilla movements and claim an organization of some 3,000 members around Rhodesia. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973)

Henry Chihota, president of the Rhodesia Settlement Forum, has claimed to have over one-half million signatures of people favoring settlement on the basis of the 1971 proposals. (*Times*, London, Oct. 26, 1973)

Chief Gambo says his people support Chihota's group and not the ANC, whose meetings he has banned in his territory west of Bulawayo. He said he denounces the preaching of ANC because it will never bring any benefits. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973)

ECONOMICS

BOEING JETS

The Boeing Aircraft Company's role in the deal of shipping three Boeing 720's to Rhodesia in flagrant opposition to sanctions is demonstrated by the fact that a number of air personnel from Rhodesia have attended the Boeing instruction courses in Denver, Colorado. Shortly after the sale of the aircraft to Rhodesia, a Boeing training course was set-up in Johannesburg and was attended by Rhodesian air personnel. (*Newsbrief Rhodesia '73*, Africa Bureau, London, Sept. 1973)

GAS PRICES UP

Rhodesia's fight against inflation received a blow last month when gas prices went up 15.6%. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 11, 1973)

INTERNATIONAL

SANCTIONS RENEWED BY BRITAIN

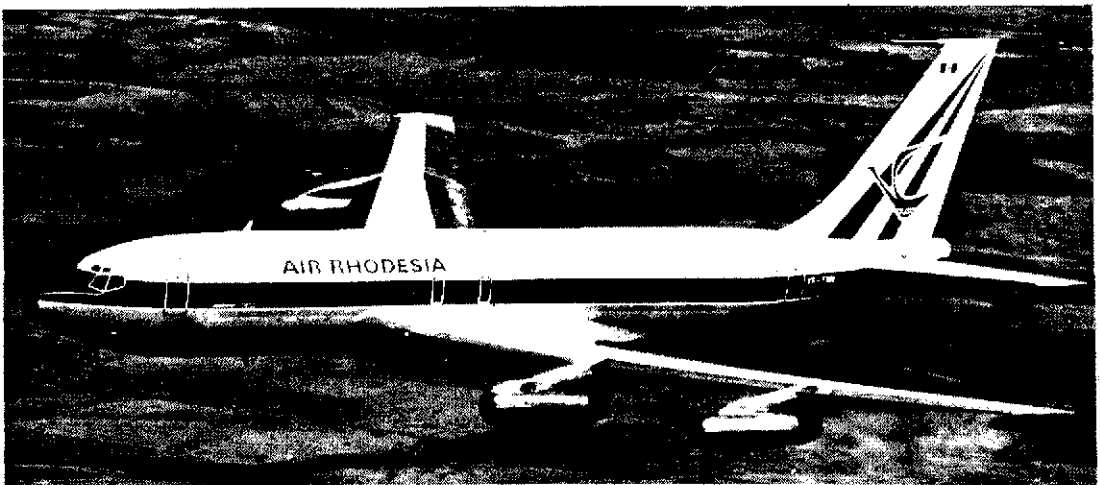
The House of Lords and the House of Commons renewed British sanctions against Rhodesia. The vote in the Commons was 133 to 26 out of a possible total of 630; the rest not voting. This may be interpreted as apathy toward the Rhodesian question. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 11, 1973) Sir Alec Douglas Home, Foreign Secretary, supported the renewal saying not to do so would endorse the status quo, which Britain does not accept. (*Guardian*, London, Oct. 12, 1973)

FROLIZI BANNED IN TANZANIA

In early July the Tanzanian Government banned the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) as a legitimate liberation movement with offices in Dar Es Salaam. This action was taken following the resignations of Embassy Dube, Elliot Masengo, Nathan Shamuyarira (FROLIZI Financial Secretary), Stanley Parerewa (FROLIZI welfare officer), and other former ZAPU and ZANU members of FROLIZI. These men resigned in protest to what they felt to be the anarchical political leadership of James Chikerema, chairman, who refused to relinquish his position to make way for a democratically elected leader. They saw no future for the organization as a viable liberation movement. FROLIZI had been formed in 1971 as an attempt to bring ZAPU and ZANU together. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, July 5, 1973)

ZANU SEEKS TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

On October 9th, the British High Commission in Lusaka announced the stoppage of renewals or new issues of British passports to liberation movement officials. ZANU had anticipated this and has requested other African countries to make passports or travelling documents available to Zimbabweans. Several nations have said they would help. The British move is clear indication of support for the white settler government of Rhodesia, the ZANU statement said. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 23, 1973) After Smith declared independence illegally in 1965, the British Government pledged to offer travel documents to all people opposing the Smith regime. This was rescinded by action of the Home Office. (*Sunday News*, Tanzania, Oct. 14, 1973) ■



One of the three 720's sold to the Rhodesia regime

republic of guinea-bissau

PROGRESS TOWARDS RECOGNITION

Since the declaration of the State of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973 seventy-four nations have recognized the new Republic. The main NATO countries continue to be reluctant to give recognition but Denmark and Holland are showing some signs of wavering support. The Portuguese are worried about the fast spread of acceptance.

Although pressure is growing for full U.N. recognition the apparent strategy of the African nations may be to table such a move at present to avoid a certain veto in the Security Council. Moreover the usual procedure is to apply for membership two weeks before the opening of a General Assembly. Thus it is more likely that the membership question will arise in the next General Assembly rather than the current one. By this time the PAIGC will certainly have greater strength and international recognition. Rumors are circulating that the U.S. may not use its veto if there is massive approval by the majority of U.S. nations.

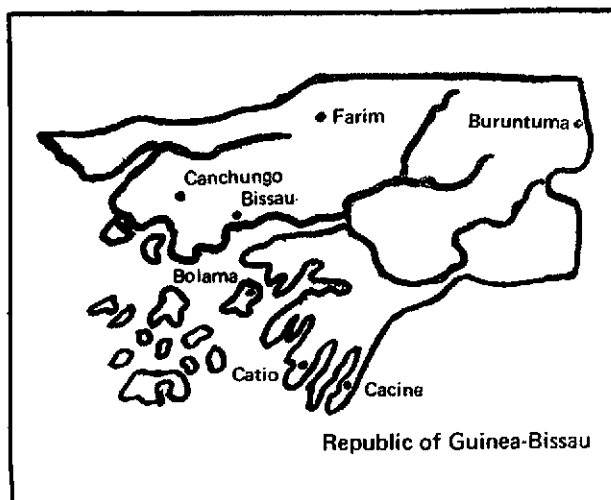
One of the most significant actions has taken place at the United Nations with the passage of an important resolution. The resolution "strongly condemned the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic."

The resolution (Agenda Item 107) was sponsored by fifty-seven nations and was subject to a vote at the U.N. General Assembly. The resolution passed by a very wide margin of 93 'for,' 30 'Abstain' and 7 'No.' The nations which voted 'No' were : Brazil, Greece, Portugal, South Africa and Spain—all bastions of fascism, and by the United Kingdom and the United States. It was considered note-worthy that many members of NATO abstained on the resolution rather than simply voting 'No.' A dozen Western hemisphere nations voted 'Yes' on the resolution.

While this resolution should not be confused as U.N. recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau it is widely acknowledged that it becomes a step closer to reality. Also of significance is that the first U.N. Committee for a Conference on the Law of the Sea has invited Guinea-Bissau to participate. Representatives of Uganda, Kenya, Egypt, Algeria, Cameroon, Lesotho, Mali, Senegal and the Soviet Union all support the inclusion of Guinea-Bissau. The Portuguese representative naturally challenged the inclusion but his statement was countered by a point of order by the spokesman for Mauritius.

Within Africa the Republic of Guinea Bissau has become the 42nd member of the Organization of African Unity. Now all African nations except Malawi and Swaziland have recognized Guinea-B. Tanzania has given a grant of £50,000 to PAIGC as a significant token of their support (£1=\$2.50).

It is ironic that Guinea-Bissau is not a U.N. member but has more international recognition than Israel which is a member. (*Daily Nation*, Kenya, 29 September; *Daily News*, Tanzania, 5, 6, 11, 13 October; *Economist*, U.K., 6 October; *Guardian*, London, 31 Oct.; *Jeune Afrique*, Paris, Oct.; *Africa News*, Durham, N.C., 22 October; U.N. Documents A/9196; A/9196/Add.1; A/L 702.).



STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

PAIGC MILITARY ADVANCES

The regular armed forces and the militia of the PAIGC continued their pressure on the Portuguese occupying forces.

On 22 September sappers destroyed the bridge on the road from Cufar to Mato-Faroba on the South Front. A week later, also on the South Front, on 30 September the post at Tchunque was attacked and three enemy artillery pieces and a telecommunications center were destroyed. On the same day a mining operation took place on Bolama Island just off the coast. The PAIGC claimed 65 Portuguese troops were killed during the month of September.

The month of October opened with a second mining operation on the Farim-Binta road in the central North Front. The first operation on 16 September destroyed 2 vehicles and killed a dozen troops. The second operation on 1 October eliminated another 12 enemy soldiers and 3 additional vehicles. Actions continued in the North Front with attacks on Farim City on 3 October and in the Oio region in which the Portuguese lost their 27th aircraft for the year.

In the western part of the North Front, near Canchungo (formerly T. Pinto) the enemy attacked with

helicopters but lost thirty killed and four soldiers were captured including a Lieutenant during a three-day action. Meanwhile the fortified centers at Cacine and Cameconde in the South Front were attacked on 3 October. A week later Catio, a town in the South Front also came under PAIGC guns. Action in the South was somewhat reduced during the rainy season.

In the East Front, Buruntuma was attacked heavily on 5 October. This base guards the Eastern frontier of Guinea-Bissau. Twelve houses and ten shelters were destroyed along with two heavy cannons. A helicopter that flew in to evacuate the dead and wounded was shot down. The following week Candjadudo was attacked.

When the dry season offensive resumes it is expected that a major effort will be made to close the waterway system to Portuguese patrol and support vessels. The effective anti-aircraft units will be strengthened and rumors persist about the new nation acquiring military aircraft for its own air force. Military officials in Bissau are said to be nervous about this possibility and are developing their own anti-aircraft defense system. (*Hsinhua*, 20 October; *AFP*, 12 October 1973)

angola

MPLA VICTORY IN CABINDA

After five days of attacks by the MPLA, Portuguese forces evacuated the military post at Mikonje, in the Cabinda district of Angola, in mid-October. Air reinforcements from the Portuguese capital of Luanda were called to assist the evacuation. A large stock of arms and ammunition left at the post were captured by the guerrillas. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 31, and *Guardian*, London, Oct. 30, 1973).

This MPLA victory was the culmination of a concerted drive on the area by MPLA forces. An earlier series of attacks in the same area was reported in an MPLA Communiqué of October 15:

"On the 8th October 1973, MPLA fighting forces in the Second Politico-Military Region (district of Cabinda) carried out a large scale operation in which combined actions were effected in three areas of a single defense section.

These combined actions, which lasted 3 hours 40 minutes, included an attack on MICONJE barracks by artillery forces using cannons, mortars, rocket-launchers, and light automatic weapons. Following this attack, MPLA commandos charged, and engaged in fighting right along the barbed wire fence surrounding the barracks. Equipment and various buildings of MICONJE barracks were destroyed and the Portuguese armed forces suffered heavy losses.

At the same time, MPLA forces occupied access roads to MICONJE barracks from SANGA-PLANICIE and from BELIZE (the general headquarters in the area).

A mine-field was prepared by a supporting ambush group, while a group of MPLA fighters destroyed the SINGUISA bridge. A column of enemy relief troops coming from SANGA-PLANICIE fell into the prepared ambush. Three (3) Unimog vehicles were destroyed and the enemy suffered fifty (50) losses including dead and wounded

A considerable amount of military equipment was recovered by MPLA fighters during these combined actions. Six (6) MPLA fighters were slightly wounded by

schrapnel."

The same communique noted various smaller actions at about the same time in the eastern part of Angola.

PORTUGUESE MILITARY REPORT

The Portuguese claim to have killed 56 guerrillas and captured eight in Angola during September. (*Times of Zambia*, October 15, 1973).

MPLA HAS NO U.S. REPRESENTATIVE

Because two Angolans who have spoken in the United States to various groups have been introduced as representatives of the MPLA, the Party has issued a special communique which states that as of July 27, 1973, "the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola formally declares that so far, no one has been commissioned to represent our organization in the United States of America." (MPLA, Brazzaville, July 27, 1973)

AFRICAN BISHOP IN ANGOLA

The Vatican has appointed Eduardo Andre Muaca, Bishop of Malanje in Angola. Bishop Muaca is the second African to be bishop in Portuguese controlled territories. The first was a bishop in Madeira in the 16th century.

Bishop Muaca, who is 49, was born in the Cabinda enclave of Angola. (*Times*, London, October 5, 1973).

MPLA WOMAN MILITANT DRIVES HEAVY TRUCKS

Maria Simao Paim drives a tractor trailer for the MPLA on the tough often unpaved route from Dar-es-Salaam on Africa's east coast to the eastern border of Angola—2000 miles away.

MPLA is the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola which is leading the struggle against continued Portuguese colonial rule in Angola. It receives aid shipments and imports through the distant port of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania.

Maria Paim is a woman militant who has been with the MPLA since 1962. In a recent interview published in the Tanzania *Sunday News*, (October 7, 1973) she speaks of service in three different parts of Angola, including participation in an attack on a major Portuguese barracks, as well as support work in production, food preparation and camp maintenance. She is self-conscious about her role as a woman and is a long time member of the Organization of Angolan Women (O.M.A.).

Maria Paim says she participates in all the tasks of the struggle as one "who feels the domination of colonialism as well as men's domination over women." And that her participation—whether truck driving or in armed struggle or in agricultural production—contributes both to "Angola's independence and to Angolan women freeing themselves from their complexes of the past."

Maria Paim has a ten-year-old daughter and a husband who is a medical assistant inside combat areas of Angola. She, herself, is a licensed long-haul truck driver now—because that is what is needed and she was chosen for the task by her party, the MPLA.

UNITA HOLDS THIRD CONGRESS

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) held its third Congress inside Angola August 13 through 19, 1973. The Congress, which was attended by 221 Angolans and eight foreign observers, elected the Political Bureau and Central Committee and

re-elected Jonas Savimbi as President of UNITA.

The Congress stressed unity of Angolans against the enemy, reaffirming its readiness to join the MPLA and FNLA in a common struggle. One resolution called for intensification of the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and against racist and minority regimes in Southern Africa. Others dealt with agricultural production and the campaign against illiteracy in liberated areas controlled by UNITA. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 15; *Peoples Canada Daily News*, Oct. 12-13, 1973).

mozambique

FRELIMO DOWNS ANOTHER PLANE

On September 10, FRELIMO shot down a 6th plane in Manica e Sofala Province of Mozambique. Five planes were downed earlier in the same province in July and August. The most recent incident was in the Manje region, near Chitongo. Metal salvaged from the planes will be re-used by local FRELIMO metal workers.

A number of other minings and ambushes were also reported by FRELIMO throughout Mozambique in August and September. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 1, 1973).

FRELIMO TRUCKS CONFISCATED IN BEIRA

In late October, Portuguese authorities in Mozambique noticed two large trucks, temporarily set out on the dock from a Norwegian freighter while other cargo was being unloaded. The trucks were confiscated when it was discovered they were consigned to FRELIMO through a shipping company in Dar-es-Salaam, the ship's next stop. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 1; *BBC* Nov. 4, 1973).

FRELIMO TRADING NETWORK EXPANDS

Iain Christie, a staff writer with the Tanzania *Daily News*, spent two weeks in October inside Cabo Delgado Province of Mozambique with FRELIMO. He was impressed by the extent of the trade he witnessed.

During his very first night of walking he observed hundreds of walkers headed toward Tanzania—carrying produce across the Rovuma River border to FRELIMO trading posts.

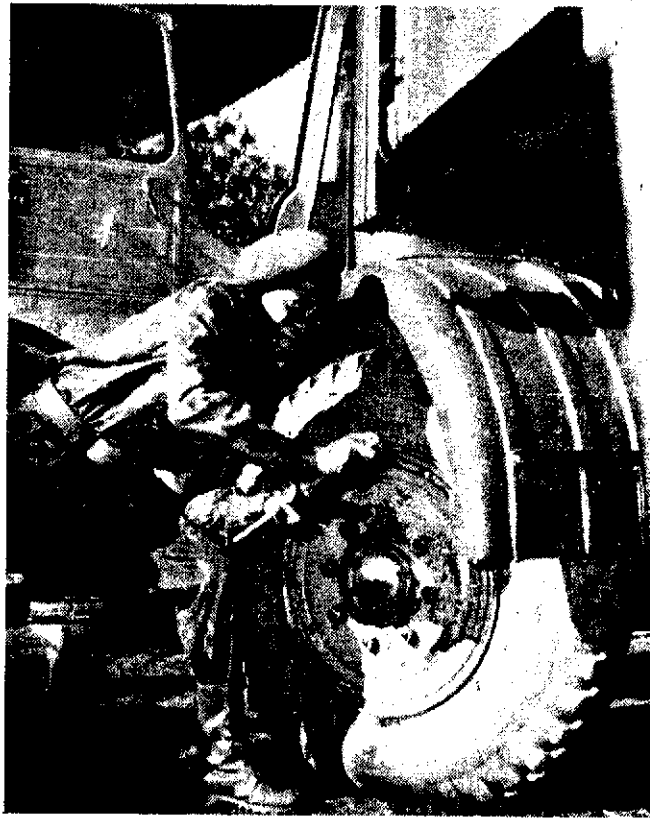
Later he visited a trading post, learnt that 400 to 1000 people a day bring their products for exchange. FRELIMO prices are fixed so that a peasant knows when he leaves home for the long trek how much he can expect in return.

Christie reports:

"The method of exchange is simple but efficient and no money changes hands. The seller presents his produce at a counter where it is weighed and he is given a chit with the value in Tanzanian shillings marked on it. The next stage is to present the chit at another shop at the centre where available goods are displayed for sale.

The shop stocks items like plates, axes, envelopes, clothes, shoes, fishing nets, soap, salt, ballpoint pens, sugar, and nails. For 50 shillings worth of nuts a peasant might go home with a pair of shoes, a shirt and some soap. FRELIMO pays 90 cents a kilo for cashew nuts, 1 shilling twenty cents a kilo for sesame, and one shilling ten cents a kilo for groundnuts. The average load per person is around 38 kilos.

FRELIMO sells the crops to the Tanzania Government and uses the money to buy more goods for the trading centre."



Maria Paim changes the wheel of the truck she drives for MPLA

By now sesame seed and cashew nut exports are both near 160 tons a year, peanuts (groundnuts) 40 tons, a smaller amounts of castor seeds and beeswax and craft work such as carvings. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 6, 1973).

PORTUGUESE SETTLERS ARRIVE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Nine Portuguese families arrived in Mozambique in October to settle in northern border areas as a deterrent to FRELIMO. More than 200 other families are expected by the end of 1973.

Each farmer is given "250 hectares—150 hectares for cattle breeding and 100 hectares for crops. An area of 40 hectares is prepared ready for planting when he arrives.

"He is also supplied with farming equipment and seed for tobacco, mealies, oats and lucerne.

"Unmarried men get 60 Rand (1 Rand equals about \$1.40) a month. Married men will get 90 Rand and 8 Rand for each child. Farmers who bring their parents receive 8 Rand for each of them." (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Oct. 9, 1973).

PRIEST SAYS STRATEGIC VILLAGES ARE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Father Luis Afonso da Costa, a Portuguese Catholic missionary expelled from Mozambique in 1972 submitted written testimony to the UN Commission on Human Rights this year. (It has been reproduced, as are other documents on Torture and Massacre in Mozambique, in a special Supplement to the September 1973 issues of the



One of Mozambique's "aldeamentos" . . .

magazine Objective: Justice, published by the United Nations). Father da Costa detailed massacres in the area of his mission in 1971 and 1972 in the Tete province of Mozambique. He also gave information on strategic villages (aldeamentos) which the Portuguese constructed for the African populations. He says:

"The first thing to do is to call them by their proper name: concentration camps. They are surrounded by barbed wire; the people inside need written permission from the guards to go to their places of work, etc. People are forced to move into strategic villages to protect them from an enemy who is not an enemy . . . No compensation whatever has been provided for the destruction of these people's belongings. They are forced to move from one strategic village to another according to the dictates of the military situation. People are forced to move into these concentration camps where it is easier to control the inhabitants. This is the main purpose of the so-called strategic villages—aldeamentos . . .

The people were not consulted in any way as to the selection and structure of strategic villages. The authorities even went so far as to refuse to hear those who had the courage to speak, such as the delegation from the village of Mancomba led by Mr. Vasco which went to the administrative post at Marara to ask Administrator Nunes V. Santana not to force them to move yet again. They had been terrorized into moving to that strategic village, and now the order came for them to move elsewhere, to the village of Andiceni, where conditions for survival were even more precarious (drinking water very far way, etc.) No attention is paid to the living condition of the population. The only thing taken into account is military strategy, and when this is circumvented by the military skill...of FRELIMO, the population is moved without the least scruple. That is what happened to the 420 heads of families who were concentrated in the strategic village of Mfidzi (Ferraó Coelho).

The same with the strategic village of Bandala, where there were more than 60 families that had been moved,

and at the villages of Matsatsa, Matema, Mancomba, Chirodzi, etc. And how many people, because they refused to obey or because they protested, were arrested, forced to work, tortured, and even killed. That is what happened to, among others, a group of old people from the administrative district of Vila Gamito—A missionary told me that, in one tribe in the Angonia area, some 200 people who had left the strategic village at night to return to their original homes had been found dead on the following day; the Portuguese army had razed, destroyed the houses and killed the inhabitants.

The only way for anyone who refuses to be put in the 'goat pen' (*corral de cabras*—that is what the Africans call the strategic villages) to retain his liberty is to flee. Once he moves into a strategic village, which is really a concentration camp, he has not the slightest possibility of freedom; entry and exit are at fixed times, passes must be produced, barbed wire is installed, etc. . . .

If a mine explodes near a strategic village, or if the liberation movement stages an ambush of Portuguese troops, it is the population which suffers the reprisals—women, children, old men, youths are arrested, tortured, exiled, and in many cases killed. That is what happened at the strategic village in the Chipera zone. According to military statements, a mine exploded inside the strategic village, blowing up a military vehicle. The population was assembled and shot, and the whole village was razed . . ."

Michael Westmacott, who writes as a friend of the Portuguese, also was revealing about the nature and number of strategic hamlets in Mozambique in an older article in the South African *Financial Mail* (March 9, 1973). He indicated that at that time there were the following number of strategic villages:

Niassa Province	119 villages containing 177,000 persons
Cabo Delgado Province	254 villages containing 267,000 persons
Tete Province	99 villages containing 84,000 persons

Since that time villages have also been constructed in

Manica e Sofala Province.

Although Westmacott's article is focussed on the attempt by the Portuguese to win hearts and minds and he generally likes what they do, he says of the strategic villages:

"Unfortunately, villages were hurriedly and often shoddily constructed. Industries were not created and the army merely provided water and roughly flattened the surrounding bush to reestablish a bare subsistence crop area. Subsequently a quasi-military body of civilian administrators took over, gradually developing each village or group of villages."

He felt that the village building plan had recovered a lot of territory from FRELIMO but said it was indeed done "by virtue of what boiled down to a scorched earth policy."

He cites one particular village which he visited where he was shown and told of numerous schools, wells, first aid posts etc "under construction." In passing, he noted that in the villages, "all the chiefs live in comfortable European standard houses," a good tactic since the Portuguese hope the same chiefs will help control the people of the village and keep them on the Portuguese side.

portugal

PORTUGAL LINKS U.S. AND ISRAEL

Portugal played an essential role in the United States military aid to Israel at the start of the Middle East war.

According to local reports, cargo planes participating in the airlift of war materiel to Israel were using the Lajes Air Field on Terceira Island in the Azores. An undisclosed number of C-5A's and C-141 were making short stops for fuel and taking off for an "unrevealed destination." It was presumed that this destination was to be Israel. (see "Mid-East war, Israel and Southern Africa" in December issue of *Southern Africa*, p. 9).

The United States resorted to the Azores midway station after its attempts to make use of facilities in Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Spain, among other countries, were rebuffed.

Portugal who depends on Arab countries for 75% of its oil, overcame fears of having supplies cut off after promises by the Nixon administration to try to avoid passage of an anti-Portuguese amendment to the current foreign aid bill. Portugal's role in linking the U.S. and Israel was played down at Portugal's request. Lisbon feared even more unfavorable action from Arab and African countries at the United Nations, where it is continually being criticized. (*Correio da Horta*, Azores, Oct. 15, 1973; *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 20, 1973).

INTERNAL REPRESSION MOUNTS

Any form of political activity inside Portugal has become even more difficult in recent months. Confronted with renewed international criticism for their handling of their colonies and with other severe setbacks, embattled Portuguese government officials have tightened domestic controls.

Three women writers are being tried for allegedly producing and publishing pornographic literature. Although the "*New Portuguese Letters*" were seized soon after their publication, the book seems to be no more than a low-key feminist manifesto of high literary quality. It is due to be published in several foreign countries,

including the U.S. Its literary success and the exposure of the archaic social order existing in Portugal infuriated the authorities.

In August, with the cooperation of the Spanish Guardia Civil, Portuguese police arrested members of Liga Unitaria de Aceao Revolucionaria (L.U.A.R.), who were trying to cross into Portugal. Portuguese authorities are wary of the increasing guerrilla activity inside the country. In recent months some seven actions were carried out and were claimed by several different groups. One of the most recent ones took place in Agueda, northern Portugal, where a factory producing war material was set on fire by the Algiers-based Revolutionary Brigades.

Frustrated in their attempts to identify the participants in these actions, the police arrest, torture, and send to trial any suspect they can apprehend. More often than not, evidence produced is not convincing and charges are dropped.

The economic situation has deteriorated since Caetano took over in 1968. Money sent in by ever increasing numbers of emigrants and the use of child labor, offer but little comfort and inadequate solutions to the serious problems of the country. (*N.Y. Times*, Oct. 26, 1973; *Novos Rumos*, Newark, Nov. 15, 1973; *Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Oct. 27, 1973; *Portuguese Times*, Newark, Nov. 15, 1973).

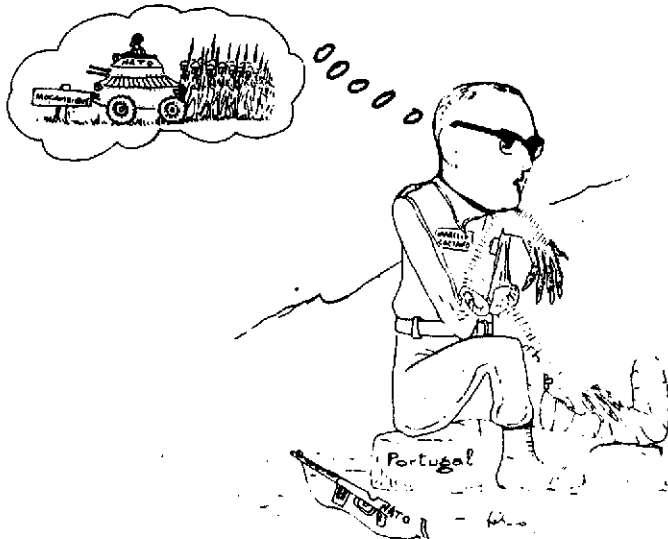
OPPOSITION WELCOMES GUINEA-BISSAU

Members of the opposition outside Portugal rejoiced at the declaration in September of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Dr. Mario Soares, exiled leader of the Portuguese Socialist Action (A.S.P.), added his message to those sent by groups in Canada, France, Belgium, Holland, and South America, pledging solidarity to the P.A.I.G.C., a "natural ally of the Portuguese democrats." (*Novos Rumos*, Newark, Oct. 15, 1973).

CAETANO SHUFFLES CABINET

The Portuguese Prime Minister announced the appointment of seven new ministers. No changes in policy are expected, though there are fears that more Cabinet posts are being taken over by conservative elements. Rebelo de Sousa, a former leader of the paramilitary, green-shirted "Portuguese Youth," will occupy the ministry of "overseas affairs." (*Portuguese Times*, Newark, Nov. 15, 1973).



U.S. & southern africa

NIXON APPOINTS NEW AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL

President Nixon has appointed Stuart Nash Scott of New York City as Ambassador to Portugal. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to hold confirmation hearings the first week of December.

A graduate of Yale and Harvard Law School, magna cum laude, Scott has spent most of his life as a specialist in corporate finance law. He is a senior partner in the "Republican" law firm of Dewey, Ballentine, Bushby, Palmer and Wood, 140 Broadway, New York. He has recently served as President of the New York State Bar Association and as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

A personal friendship with Nelson Rockefeller and a reputation for apolitical competence earned him his first political appointment in 1971 when Rockefeller appointed him to the Chairmanship of the Temporary State Commission to Make a Study of Governmental Operations of the City of New York. He is familiar with military purchasing law through his serving with the Bureau of Aeronautics of the Navy in World War I and as General

Counsel of the Surplus War Property Administration in its closing phases.

Scott is known to have been a director of an American sugar company in Cuba in the pre-Castro days but his corporate clientele is still unexplored territory for Washingtonians. While there is a possibility of establishing a link between Scott's clients and business opportunities in Portugal which prompted this appointment, the simplest explanation may be that Henry Kissinger asked the man whom he once advised on foreign policy, Nelson Rockefeller, to recommend a man with a well-deserved reputation for apolitical intelligence and Establishment integrity.

SUGAR QUOTA SYSTEM MAY END

The *Wall Street Journal* of November 5 reported that the Department of Agriculture may recommend that all sugar quotas be eliminated and that domestic cane and sugar producers be freed of planting restrictions. During the last twelve years the U.S. has assigned quotas to sugar producing nations and fixed quota prices at levels high enough to protect domestic growers. This change would certainly be welcomed by consumer groups, since U.S. consumers have had to pay as much as an additional \$500 million in some years because of the higher quota price.

In 1971 Congressman Diggs and Senator Kennedy offered an amendment to the Sugar Act to revoke the quota assigned to South Africa, on the basis that members of the white minority in South Africa were receiving an illegitimately high percentage of the profits derived from sugar exports. The amendment was closely defeated in the Senate and defeated more substantially in the House, in the first record vote in Congress involving U.S. policy toward southern Africa.

If Congress agrees with Agriculture's proposed recommendation, it will end one of the more open ways in which the U.S. has assisted the South African economy.

GOOD'S BOOK SUPPORTS SANCTIONS

Robert C. Good, former U.S. Ambassador to Zambia supports sanctions against Rhodesia and suggests in his book, *UDI—The International Politics of the Rhodesian Rebellion* that the growing assertions of the Africans may lead to violent change as non-racial options are not open. He says the long term trend is for the Western powers to align themselves with the white regimes and for communist governments to support African liberation, which is "exactly what the white regimes and the communists are promoting—the identification of the West with the White power structure of the area." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 27, 1973)



FLASH—INDIANAPOLIS BANK PLANS PULL OUT FROM EABC LOAN

The Merchants National Bank and Trust Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, a \$1 million participant in the European-American Banking Corporation (EABC) loans to South Africa's Finance Ministry, (see *Southern Africa*, June-July, 1973) has announced that it will "make arrangements to pull out when the 'roll-over' date comes up in December."

In Indianapolis concentrated pressure was exerted on the Bank by local community and religious groups, and the bank acquiesced to the demand to get out of the loan just before a large demonstration and rally was to be held on November 30. Groups involved in the campaign have included the Indianapolis Southern Africa Committee, AME Church, Disciples of Christ, Hoosiers for Peace, Indiana Council of Churches, and others. Although several other banks in Chicago and Detroit have generally indicated that future South African loans will not be granted, the Merchants Bank victory for immediate withdrawal is a clear precedent for the ability of local organizing and the sensitivity of Southern African issues in this country.

It has been reported that the City National Bank of Detroit (\$5 million) is no longer involved in an outstanding loan to South Africa, and that it has made a policy decision not to invest there in the future for "social reasons." (Corporate Information Center, National Council of Churches, Nov. 9, 1973).

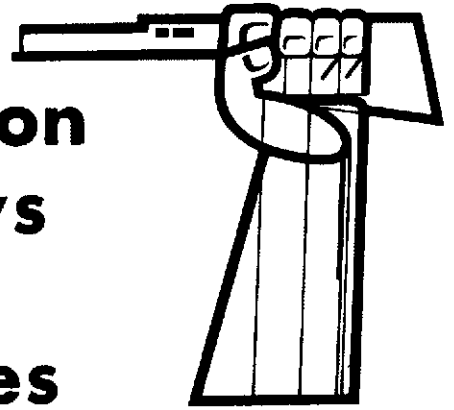
"We have adopted a policy of no further involvement in credit to the Republic of South Africa and have refused further participation. In addition, arrangements have been made to dispose of the credit at the roll-over date early in December."

**—George Tanselle, president,
Merchants National Bank
Indiana**

The Wells Fargo Bank (\$2 million to the Finance Ministry) of California has admitted participation in the EABC loan, and is receiving protests from members of the academic community and NAACP. The Maryland National Bank \$2 million to the Ministry of Finance) claimed that NAACP leader Roy Wilkins supported the bank loans, but a denial was issued in a letter from Mr. Wilkins and presented to the bank. Finally, the Episcopal Bishop in the area is trying to set up meetings with the First National Bank of Louisville (Kentucky) to discuss its \$2 million EABC participation. (CIC, Nov. 9 and Nov. 27, 1973).

In sum, the 1973 "Bank Campaign" is moving steadily forward through the response of local activists throughout the country. In the future, smaller bank involvement in loans to *apartheid* South Africa may be curtailed by public action, or more care will be used in disguising their

action news and notes



participation, such as in the new EABC loan prospect for the South African Iron and Steel Corporation. (See *Southern Africa*, June-July; Dec. 1973)

CALIFORNIA WOMAN SELLS GULF STOCK AFTER CABINDA TRIP

Gulf Oil Corporation has long wooed various institutions and individuals through offering trips to their installations in Angola. Elizabeth Jackman, a California stockholder and a Quaker, became interested in the evolving protest over Gulf's role in Angola and after attending a stockholder's meeting and corresponding with the management, Gulf offered her a chance to go to Africa. Ms. Jackman accepted the offer insisting that her trip be self-financed and that she be able to create her own itinerary. Thus during this past summer Ms. Jackman paid an 8 day visit to Africa, where she saw Gulf Cabinda operations (including an off-shore rig of a Gulf contractor), travelled to coffee plantations in Northern Angola, witnessing Portuguese "strategic hamlets," and to Luanda and Nova Lisboa. She also observed Gulf activities in Nigeria. In an open letter to Gulf management upon her return, Libby Jackman expressed her concern for Gulf's support for Portugal. She wrote: "Your annual payments totalling some \$70,000,000 have increased Portugal's determination to continue its domination." She urged Gulf "to re-examine in depth the extent to which its investment contributes to support Portuguese control and the status quo," condemning Gulf for "its seemingly blind support of the Portuguese, to the exclusion of some recognition of the forces for liberation at work which are bound to affect Gulf's future in Angola."

After visiting a Gulf-contracted off-shore rig, she reported that there were "separate dining rooms for

"We later backed out because it wasn't worth the heat it would attract."

**—spokesperson, Wachovia Bank
North Carolina**

'natives' while "blacks hold the lower-level jobs." She called the expatriate technicians "rednecks" . . . hardly the best ambassadors for racial equality," and also criticized Gulf's existing and planned accommodations for white personnel, including an elaborate clubhouse and golf course, and the visible use of huge American cars while the "natives" are bussed to work from neighboring towns.

In her letter to Gulf Chairman B.R. Dorsey, she mentioned a conversation held with the Gulf public relations person, William Cox, who accompanied her on her trip, who had stated to her that "Gulf has had opportunities to withdraw from Angola, but had not done so from the fear that its motives might be interpreted as yielding to political pressures." (Gulf later denied this interpretation of the Gulf spokesman). (Corporation Information Center, N.C.C., reprint *Gulf Boycott Coalition*, October, 1973).

It was later reported in a column by Jack Anderson (*New York Post*, October 20, 1973) that Libby Jackman had decided to sell her Gulf stock because of the company's totally unresponsive attitude. Anderson wrote that Gulf has decided to adopt some of Ms. Jackman's recommendations such as to aid more blacks in technical schools, to buy from African businesses, and to end the use of large American cars. The Gulf response obviously fails to deal with Ms. Jackman's fundamental concern for the Gulf-Portuguese alliance.

CHROME SHIP UNLOADED BY UNION/ MANAGEMENT DEFIANCE OF WORKERS

The *S.S. Mormaclake* carrying 4 million pounds of ferrochrome from Rhodesia was unloaded at two Baltimore docks on November 10 and 11 through the efforts of the co-president of the Local 333 and the International Longshoremen's Association, a Mr. Willie Schonowski who used several of his own "goons" and worked with management personnel as well. Schonowski has been convicted of receiving shipping company kickbacks and is free on bond. As in the cases of other shipments of Rhodesian chrome, picket lines had been organized by members of the African Liberation Support Committee, United Farm Workers, Revolutionary Union, Attica Brigade, American Friends Service Committee, and others, and a number of local longshoremen respected the lines and refused to unload the chrome. A successful boycott had occurred in September (see *Southern Africa*, December, 1973). The most recent actions reflect the internal politics of the local union where the courts forced the merger of black and white groups, with the election for president to occur in mid-December. White candidate Schonowski will oppose a Black candidate. Although the latter gave verbal support for the boycott of Rhodesian chrome he did not aid those who opposed the maneuvers which occurred on Nov. 10. Within the union it appears that rank and file members (all but two supported the boycott and picket lines on the second day of unloading) are restless with union leaders, and now angry with the illegal actions taken by Schonowski when he used union scabs, incomplete crews and management, to unload the ship. Representatives said they would respect the picket lines in the future. President of the International Union, Thomas Gleason, has reprimanded Schonowski, but it appears unlikely he will do anymore to give real support to the continuing Baltimore boycott of Rhodesian chrome. More ships are due in December. (*Baltimore Sun*, November 12; report to *The Guardian*, New York,

December, 1973).

The Division of Justice and Peace of the U.S. Catholic Conference (1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005) is distributing a pamphlet on its testimony supporting the end to sanctions breaking of Rhodesian goods.

LONGSHOREMEN'S BOYCOTT SPREADS TO PHILADELPHIA

Black and White Philadelphia longshoremen staged a successful 24 hours boycott of the U.S. flagship, African Sun after learning that it planned to unload 500 tons of Rhodesian asbestos. It was the first such boycott in Philadelphia, and completely paralyzed the vessel, costing the owners (Farrell Lines) more than \$1,700 for the non-use of the pier alone. The boycott began November 30th when the longshoremen respected a picket line made up of representatives of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, American Friends Service Committee, Black United Liberation Front, Revolutionary Union, People's Fund, Black Economic Development Conference, Life Center and The Free Press. The pickets maintained a 24 hour vigil comprising more than 60 people parading in front of the Packer Avenue Terminal where the ship lay idle.

Longer boycotts and larger demonstrations are being organized in Philadelphia since it was learned that all Rhodesian asbestos is shipped to that port. The African Sun was unloaded by union scabs and unidentified individuals on December 1st. Richard Askew, President of Local 1291 of the International Longshoremen's Association in Philadelphia, supported the boycott and later denounced the scabs.

GULF OIL DEMONSTRATIONS INCREASE

200 members of the Association of Black Collegians (ABC) at Princeton University demonstrated against a Gulf Oil recruiter and denounced the university administration for allowing his presence on campus. Pickets were marching all day and a rally was held at noon. The previous day the Third World Center sponsored a meeting on U.S. business in southern Africa, showing the Southern Africa Committee slide show, "Partners in Apartheid." The ABC has called on the university to condemn Gulf and American policy, and to divest itself of stocks in companies involved in the "exploitation of African peoples." Several professors supported the students' demonstration. (*The Daily Princetonian*, Nov. 14, 15, 1973) Action against the university's involvement in South Africa has continued sporadically at Princeton since the mid-1960's.

In New York City members of the African Liberation Support Committee have followed up earlier protest on the chrome issue, to initiate a series of pickets at local Gulf stations in Harlem. Beginning in mid-November the group picketed and leafleted an entire Saturday; the leaflet read, "When they pump Gulf oil, they're symbolically spilling black blood in Afrika. Remember: Colonialism is a Product of Portugal." The Gulf station owner promised to communicate with Gulf headquarters on the issue. For more information, contact the New York City-Wide Afrikan Liberation Support Committee, P.O. Box 239, Lefferts Station, Brooklyn, New York 11225. The ALSC groups in many cities have initiated action projects extending the efforts of the Committee beyond the annual African Liberation Day.

WEEK OF SOLIDARITY AGAINST PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

Various New York groups sponsored conferences, demonstrations and celebrations during the week of November 19-24, the anniversary of the 1970 abortive Portuguese invasion of the Republic of Guinea in West Africa. The African Youth Movement for Liberation and Unity (Box 1038, New York, N.Y. 10023) held a conference at International House and with others an uptown rally, and there were several demonstrations at the Casa de Portugal in mid-town. Some of the activities were attended by Mme. Jeanne Cisse, Guinean Ambassador to the United Nations. Others involved were Pan African Students, Eritrean and Ethiopian student groups, African Information Service, Third World Peoples Coalition, Third World Women's Alliance and others.

SUPPORT FOR THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

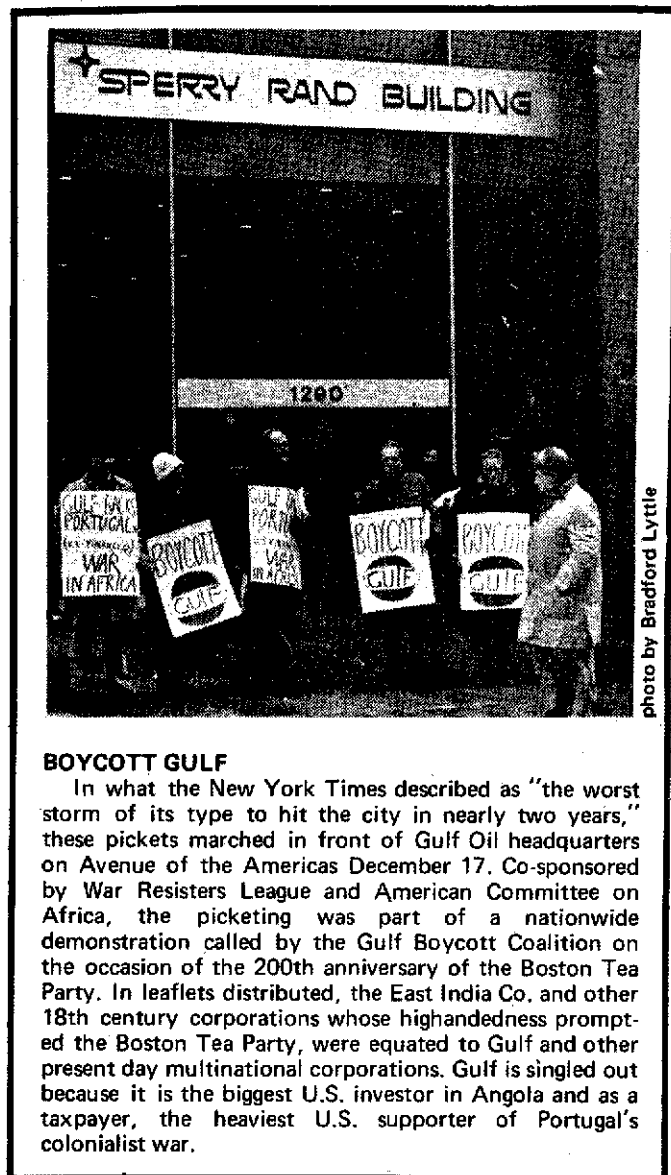
A number of church groups including the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, the United Church Board for World Ministries, and the Episcopal Diocese of Philadelphia have issued statements in support of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau and/or a call for U.S. government recognition. Joining these religious bodies have been the Black Caucus of Congress, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the African Studies Association, and a number of smaller organizations which have supported the petition campaign of the Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (164 Madison Ave., NY, NY 10016). At Howard University a solidarity meeting was held, and in Iowa City, Iowa 300 people gathered in a celebration dinner. 100 Black political prisoners have signed the petition, along with such groups as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. (news from the committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, November, 1973).

CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND LIBERATION

846 persons from a number of different groups (see *Southern Africa*, Aug.-Sept. 1973) met in Chicago over the weekend of October 19 to plan strategies relating to building Afro-American consciousness and action on U.S. involvement in southern Africa. An "All Peoples' Rally" was held and among people attending the meetings were Chief F.O. Olufoladi of Nigerian Consulate, representatives of ZANU, ZAPU, SWAPO, Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the ANC of South Africa and Ms. Angela Davis who recently returned from a trip to African countries including Guinea, Tanzania, Senegal and the Peoples Republic of the Congo.

Resolutions passed at the conference, entitled the "National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solderarity with African Liberation," were:

1. Collection of five million signatures demanding the ouster of South Africa from the United Nations.
2. Support of the boycott of Gulf Oil and its products.
3. Repeal of the Byrd amendment and the Azores agreement. The Byrd amendment enables the U.S. to buy chrome from Rhodesia and the Azores agreement provides for U.S. loans to Portugal.
4. Cut off all U.S. trade to South Africa and Rhodesia.
5. Implement UN resolution 8074 with regard to compensation for the retardation of development in colonized countries.



BOYCOTT GULF

In what the New York Times described as "the worst storm of its type to hit the city in nearly two years," these pickets marched in front of Gulf Oil headquarters on Avenue of the Americas December 17. Co-sponsored by War Resisters League and American Committee on Africa, the picketing was part of a nationwide demonstration called by the Gulf Boycott Coalition on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party. In leaflets distributed, the East India Co. and other 18th century corporations whose highhandedness prompted the Boston Tea Party, were equated to Gulf and other present day multinational corporations. Gulf is singled out because it is the biggest U.S. investor in Angola and as a taxpayer, the heaviest U.S. supporter of Portugal's colonialist war.

6. Support the Soviet-proposed 10% arms reduction with the resulting monetary savings to be used for the aid of developing nations.
7. The U.S. must cease shipment of arms to Israel and remove any and all troops from the Middle East.
8. Israel must observe the borders established prior to the 1967 war.
9. Establishment of May 15 as the International Day of Solidarity with the Arab Peoples.
10. No tax-free concessions or government contracts to any U.S. corporations with investments in South Africa.
11. Law suits to be initiated against cities using public funds to support Israel.
12. Legal action be taken against corporations violating UN sanctions by investing in South Africa.
13. Massive education in the community regarding the U.S. role in financing oppression of African peoples.



Oliver Tambo, President, African National Congress

14. Ending programs intended to recruit Black workers from this country to southern Africa.

15. Pressure be applied to ensure that the U.S. government recognize the recently declared independence of Guinea-Bissau.

(*Daily World*, October 23, 25, *World Magazine*, Nov. 10, 1973).

INTERNATIONAL

ACTION IN AUSTRALIA

The last year has seen a great increase in activity in Australia directed against the regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese Colonies. Some of the main activists are those who took part in the massive demonstrations against the Springbok rugby team which visited Australia in July 1971. Others have been involved in overseas aid and 'development' organisations. Many of them are active within the left wing of the Labour Party and since this party came to government in December 1972 the opportunities for successful action have greatly increased.

Soon after the elections the Tanzanian foreign minister visited Australia to congratulate the Australian people on the change of government, he also facilitated the visits to Australia of Edison Zvogbo of the A.N.C. and Herbert Chitepo of ZANU-ZAPU joint military command. The main changes of policy brought in by the new government were to ban 'racially selected' sporting teams coming to or through (e.g. on their way to New Zealand) Australia. The Prime Minister announced his intention to close the Rhodesia Information Centre. Australia rejoined the U.N. committee of 24 on decolonization as an active member, and almost totally reversed its voting patterns in the U.N.

There are still many contradictions in Australian policy, especially regarding trade. One of the problems for

the active groups is lack of consistent information, contacts with the liberation movements and information on the effects of investment.

Recently a conference was held in Australia initiated by World University Service of Australia which brought together a number of people and groups to consider the question of aid to the liberation movements and other strategies for action on southern Africa. It was opened by Herpert Chitepo who also received wide coverage in the Australian media. There now exists quite a network of people potentially active in support of the liberation movements. One issue they have been particularly drawing attention to is Australian investment in Portuguese Timor and the visit of the Portuguese Trade Mission to Australia during the past September.

EUROPEAN SUPPORT TO PAIGC

The Southern Africa Committee (KSA) of Vienna has sent several hundred pounds of medical drugs to SWAPO and the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. An educational program is also planned. Sweden has given the PAIGC \$3.75 million which represents about one third of its total support to African liberation movements. A demonstration of 600 people in Stockholm called for recognition of Guinea-B and called for an end to the Swedish link with Portugal. A Deputy in the Dutch Parliament has called upon Holland's Foreign Ministry to request immediate recognition. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Sept., *Facts and Reports* 3(20), item 1320; *Dagens Nyheter*, (Sweden), 30 September; *AFP* 27 September 1973).

"A NEW FACE FOR APARTHEID," by Jennifer Davis, reprint from *Southern Africa*, on South African Government tactics using Bantustan spokesmen and others to portray new image. Order from the Africa Fund, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. 10 cents each.

GULF AND MELLONS EXAMINED. 52 page report on history of Gulf Corporation, Mellon family. \$3.50. Gulf Boycott Coalition, Box 123, DV Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

"Baron Robber Dorsey"—Wanted Poster on Gulf Chairman, 100 copies of 8½ x 11 mimeoed poster, order from Gulf Boycott Coalition, Box 123, DV Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

PEOPLES WAR IN AFRICA, An Introduction to Our Comrades Fighting in Angola, Mozambique and Guine, produced by the Bay Area LSM. 25 pp. general background on Portuguese colonialism, liberation fights by MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC, and ideology of support. Order 35 cents, Bay Area LSM, P.O. Box 756, Oakland, Cal. 94701.

books...

Joel Carlson *No Neutral Ground*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973. \$8.95. 382 pages.

If you know someone who, impressed by what Joel Carlson calls "the facade of democracy" in South Africa, thinks that "it really can't be as bad as all that" over there, try to get them to read this book. Carlson, without rhetoric and simply by telling case by case his experiences as a lawyer in South Africa, tears away that facade and exposes the reality. He shows how the law in South Africa, and the whole legal system, far from protecting the people from injustice, helps to wrap them tighter and tighter in bondage. Carlson's law practice in South Africa, from 1955 to 1971, when he left the country and became an exile, included in addition to ordinary legal work persistent hassling with the authorities over the daily crises which the pass laws impose on the African people, and several dramatic cases which made it possible to expose to public view the activities of the prison system and the Security Police.

There is no space to recount all such trials here. Among the most important were that of Innocent Langa, one of many supplied by the prisons to the farmers of South Africa. With the publicity from this and other cases, the public was alerted to the conditions existing on these farms. But in 1959 an amended Prisons Act officially classified such farms as prisons, and reporting information on prison conditions without the permission of the prison commissioner, was made a criminal offense. Another significant trial was that of 37 Namibians, tried in South Africa for "terrorism" on the basis of a law establishing the offense, which was made retroactive to 1962. The defense did not save these men from prison, but, combined with international pressure, saved them from receiving the maximum penalty of death.

In other cases Carlson succeeded in exposing the torture used by Security Police on detainees, including James Lenkoe, who was killed in prison, after having been tortured by electric shock. Carlson's defense team was able to prove that Lenkoe had been tortured, with expert

testimony on his burns. In two trials of the same defendants, including Winnie Mandela, torture was also exposed. A first case was dismissed, and the defendants rearrested before they could leave the court. Finally, at the end of their second trial, the government was forced to acquit them. Nevertheless, they were shortly thereafter served with banning orders, a form of house arrest.

Out of these detailed descriptions of cases in court, one begins to understand that not only the state prosecution team, but also the judge, are the enemies of the defense team, and that what latitude is given to the defense can at any point be withdrawn, at the whim of the state. That latitude provided scope, perhaps, for some alleviation of distress in some cases, for some exposure of the system of white supremacy, but all in all, Carlson concludes, he too has been a part of the "facade of democracy." That he took it seriously, and tried to do what was possible within that context, should make his testimony all that more convincing to sceptics who may want to deny the depth of oppression in South Africa.

So now Carlson is in exile in the United States. Here he will find many such sceptics, willing to accept that changes should be made in South Africa, but unwilling to accept the need for an overthrow of that system, clutching instead at straws of hope which might portray a willingness of those in power to permit reform. Here too he will also find a facade of democracy, and, if he looks, also political prisoners, and a legal system with odds stacked against blacks, the poor, and those political dissidents who do not benefit from nationwide publicity and expensive legal defenses. Carlson will find plenty of opportunity not only for exposing the South African system of oppression to the United States public, but also for drawing to their attention the ominous similarities.

Readers should not seek from this book a comprehensive analysis of the system of white supremacy in South Africa, nor of the political strategy necessary for bringing it down. The focus is carefully drawn, and the author stops short of exploring many of the wider implications of his experience. Hopefully such a low-key, descriptive approach will convince many who are not convinced by argument, for in Carlson's book the facts are left to speak for themselves.

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