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southern africa



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Front Cover:
 Combatant carries a hand-held ground-to-air missile. PAIGC has shot down over 30 Portuguese planes with these heat-guided missiles since March 1973. Photos by Robert van Lierop.

OUR COLLECTIVE

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feature

"THOSE WHO MEND THE SKY..."

visit to Guinea-Bissau

robert van lierop

*As a man standing upright on Con Son
I can bring mountains crashing down in pieces.
With my hammer I shatter heap after heap,
All my strength producing hundreds more stones,
Day in, day out I make light of my exhausted body,
In rain or shine my heart never fails.
In temporary setback, those who mend the sky
Do not let minor things get them down!*
Phan Chu Trinh*

I glanced at my watch and saw that it was almost 1730 hours. The date was November 14, 1973. I was hiding, with a group of combatants of the PAIGC, in a mangrove swamp of the River Farim in the Northern Front of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Two hours earlier we had entered another swamp after taking off our shoes and socks, tying them around our necks and rolling our pants above our knees. We then waded through the mosquito and snail infested waters lifting our feet smartly from the muddy bottom. I had carefully cradled my cameras, as if they were newborn babies, to keep the water from splashing onto the delicate mechanisms.

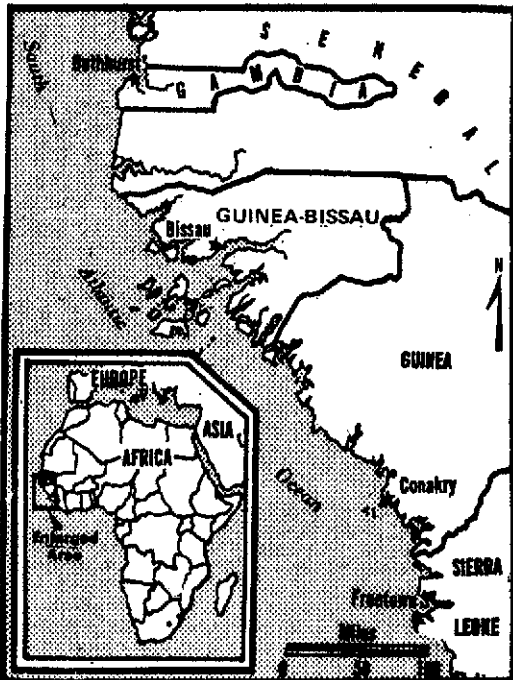
After coming out of that swamp I had continued to walk barefooted across an expansive savanna. It was one of the new open spots I had seen during my visit to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau and its lush beauty had taken my breath away. It was perfectly flat and full of rich green grass. Most of the time we had been marching through very thick bush and swamps—so I permitted my mind to wander as I felt the cool fresh grass beneath my feet.

Suddenly, the quiet had been punctuated by the distant sound of an aircraft. Our column, which stretched out as far as the eye could see, was in a vulnerable position. There was very little cover and most of the people in the column were burdened with an assortment of supplies and equipment which they were transporting on their heads, shoulders, and backs.

Without a word everyone moved toward the sparse cover—the small clumps of bush that were available. Fortunately the column had been properly spaced and we were not bunched together. In addition, passing clouds seemed to obstruct the view of the aircraft which passed in the distance. Thus, the shoulder held anti-aircraft rockets which have taken such a heavy toll of Portuguese aircraft in recent months, remained silent and we resumed the march.

We had then approached the river and waded into the mangrove swamp. The water was above our knees in some spots and full of dead tree limbs which jutted above and beneath the surface. In some spots we had to climb through the tree limbs like flies climbing through a series of spider webs. One limb broke, almost spilling man and equipment into the murky water. However, quick reflexes, balance, strength and most importantly teamwork came into action and other hands reached out to catch the equipment while still other hands guided the comrade on to the next limb in the "web."

Here we waited to cross the river in a small dugout canoe. Everyone remained still and quiet so as not to reveal our presence to Portuguese air and naval patrols. A sudden movement in the water, loud talking or even a cough could have revealed our presence and brought an enemy bombardment.





Luis Cabral addresses a mass meeting of over 1,000 people at Birbam, Northern Front.

Our day had begun like the previous nine days in the liberated areas of this small but important West African country which has been fighting to free itself since 1963. We rose at 0600 and had a breakfast of coffee or hot sweet milk. I interviewed Luis Cabral (President of the Council of State) and Chico Mendes (Principal Commissioner of the Council of State Commissioners).

Portuguese propagandists have been working overtime in a futile effort to convince the world that the proclamation of the new republic was a mere "paper declaration." However, over seventy nations representing more than half the world's people have already recognized the new republic and Portugal's days in Guinea-Bissau are definitely numbered.

Luis Cabral and Chico Mendes exemplify the quiet confidence of their people. We discussed a wide variety of subjects including the murder of Amilcar Cabral, Portugal's role as a transit point for U.S. arms shipments to Israel, the international campaign to gain recognition for the new government of Guinea-Bissau, and boycotts and other support activities carried on by groups in the western countries.

I had seen for myself the extent of the popular support for the revolution. There had been numerous mass meetings, some of them attended by more than 1,000 people (a very significant number under the conditions of the war) and at these meetings there was always a free and easy dialogue between the people and their elected leaders.

Thus, it was clear that these men were not merely reciting by rote a few memorized slogans of "international solidarity." For them and their people, the things which we discussed had real meaning based upon the concrete realities of their everyday existence. They attached great

significance to every manifestation of support which emanated from the people of the countries which are backing Portugal's colonial wars. I was particularly moved by their awareness of our own activities here in the United States and some of the problems faced in this political setting.

"Unity, Struggle, Progress" is the motto of the new government. In the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau these words are a constant reminder of all that has been achieved and that remains to be achieved. In a country where illiteracy, disease, and poverty were once constants, there are now schools, hospitals, and People's Shops as living proof of the abilities of the people.

More than 15,000 children sit in roofless classrooms camouflaged by trees paying close attention as more than 300 teachers outline their lessons. And the number of schools, students and teachers is growing every day. Adult education classes are also expanding and it is quite common to see young and old working on a math problem, a reading assignment or a science lesson.

Before the revolution there were only four doctors in the entire country and few Africans were ever treated. There are now ten times as many doctors working with the PAIGC in administering to the health needs of the people. Each section (group of villages) has its own health station or clinic and each region has its own hospital. The hospitals and clinics, like the schools, are built of branches and leaves and are well camouflaged. At the Mores Hospital we witnessed an operation performed on a middle aged man. He knew that were it not for the revolution in his country he probably would have died without ever seeing a doctor.

The People's Shops which were first established in 1964, play a major role in the economic life of the

Robert van I. L...



left to right: Chico Mendes, Chief Commissioner, Luis Cabral, President and Lucio Soares, commander of the Northern Front and member of the Council of States.

Robert van Lierop

country. The people bring their agricultural products such as rice, peanuts, palm nuts, corn, etcetera to the shops and exchange them for processed goods brought into the country by the PAIGC. Goods such as radios, bicycles, cloth, soap, sugar, and lamps are thus made available to the local population. The peso has been established as the official monetary unit (one dollar = 25 pesos). However, no coins or currency have been minted yet as the "money" is used as a unit of account with paper chits being issued as a record.

The importance of the People's Shops is that they insure fair prices to the people by eliminating the parasitic middleman. In addition they erode Portugal's system of economic domination by providing the people of the country an alternative.

In every dimension the revolution in Guinea-Bissau is advancing. In 1973 more than thirty Portuguese airplanes were shot down with improved anti-aircraft weapons and throughout the country the morale and fighting ability of the PAIGC combatants is exceptionally high. Even the Local Armed Forces (FAL) are now using the latest in sophisticated weaponry thereby multiplying the military problems of Portugal. Wherever we marched I saw members of FAL guarding the countryside in such strength that I became convinced that Portugal can never again occupy these areas.

My interview with Luis and Chico reminded me of all that we had seen and experienced together for the past ten days and all that they had seen and experienced together for more than ten years. When we broke camp after lunch (beef, rice, and french fried potatoes) it was time to say goodbye to people who had become close comrades. With watery eyes I embraced Luis, João, Samba, Lucio, Manuel, Adelino, Chico, Francisca, Udick, and many others. As we marched out of the camp I thought of the days and nights that we shared the sun and the stars of Guinea-Bissau and of how their love of the country had also infected me.

Shortly after 1730 hours the canoe came to pick us up. Tony (a Cape Verdian student) and I eased into the canoe with two combatants. The boat sat low in the water and swayed from side to side as equipment was piled in. The boatman skillfully maneuvered amongst the dead trees as we stopped at different points to pick up and load more heavy equipment.

We then glided through the last of the mangrove swamp and out into the open expanse of the river. From the canoe I could see combatants on both sides of the river scanning the sky for any sign of approaching aircraft while others guarded against the sudden appearance of a Portuguese patrol boat. Within some seven or eight minutes we were deep into the mangrove swamp on the

other side of the river.

The equipment was unloaded and we then climbed through the tangled maze of trees and tree limbs of this swamp until we could finally walk through the muddy water. It was shortly after 1800 hours when we reached the edge of the swamp and dry land. In the darkness we dried our feet, put on our socks and shoes and marched out at a brisk pace.

There was no moon this night to guide us. We marched more by instinct than anything else. The bush was very thick and very rough. We marched in silence except for occasional warnings from the person in front and then to the person behind of obstructions in our path. There were tree stumps and rocks that could not be seen until we were almost right on top of them. There were holes in the ground and mounds of earth. As we marched through the bush we encountered low hanging tree limbs and thorn bushes hidden from us by the darkness. From time to time someone would be hit in the arms, in the face or on the head by a limb or by thorns. Yet nothing slowed the pace of the march except two brief stops for water. In almost total darkness the guerrillas navigated the bush and its many twists and turns as if they were walking down a fully lit city street.

It was almost midnight when we neared the Senegalese border. Suddenly the moon peeked out from behind the clouds and I walked slowly through the bush alone with my thoughts.

It seems to me that the places where men have loved or suffered keep about them always some faint aroma of something that has not wholly died. It is as though they had acquired a spiritual significance which mysteriously affects those who pass.

W. Somerset Maugham

New York, Robert Van Lierop, January, 1974



above:
Wading through a mangrove swamp in the Farim River.



left:
Medical officer treats patient at the Health Center in Birbam attached to the Morss Hospital. It is one of 6 attached to the hospital.

*Phan Chu Trinh, imprisoned in 1908 by the French for his anti-colonialist activities, and for attempting to liberate the Vietnamese from the feudalism of the Mandarin system and prepare the way for a new nationalism. While in prison he refused to talk with the French prison director, unless he was invited to sit down.

Robert van Lierop works with African Information Service, a group of Afro-Americans and Africans based in New York. After visiting FRELIMO liberated territory of Mozambique, he produced with a number of colleagues the film "A Luta Continua."

south africa

AMERICANS AT ADDIS DIALOGUE

"We must try to isolate South Africa. A Government like that of South Africa does not deserve economic, political and cultural relationships or ties of any kind with the civilized nations of the world." Julian Bond, speaking in Maseru, Lesotho, after attending the Addis meeting, expressed a position far from that espoused by Chief Buthelezi. Nevertheless, Bond refused to condemn Buthelezi, saying he was a man walking a tightrope for whom he had respect.

Julian Bond, now a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, was accompanied by John Lewis, executive director of the U.S. Voter Education Project. The two men have worked together since the early sixties when they met during the Civil Rights Movement and were active in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. They came to Africa to see what could be done to influence U.S. policy towards the whole of Africa. Concerning South Africa, they advocate the withdrawal of American business and support guerrilla movements operating against white southern Africa. They pledged to return to the U.S. and raise financial and political support for the liberation movements. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 22, 1973).

SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION: HARASSMENT CONTINUES

After almost two years of work, the Schlebusch Commission is nearing the end of its investigations of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Christian Institute (CI), and the Institute of Race Relations (IRR). According to the Johannesburg *Star* of Dec. 8, final reports on NUSAS and the IRR have been handed to the Government, and the report on the CI is near completion.

As the commission finishes its work, trials are being held to determine what punishment should be given to those who refused to testify before the Commission. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute, refused to testify because the hearings were being held in secret and the commissioners were prejudiced to begin with against the organizations under investigation. Perhaps because of his international stature (see *Southern Africa*, Jan. 1974) he received a light fine. Ilona Kleinschmidt who refused to testify was fined \$70 or 25 days in jail. She decided to go to jail, but her fine was paid for her by an unidentified person, robbing her of the attempt to draw attention to the situation by her time in prison.

Those to be tried in January include James Moulder, Dot Cleminshaw, Horst Kleinschmidt, Roelf Meyer, Danie van Zyl, and Brian Brown. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Nov. 15, 1973; *Star*, Dec. 1, 8, 1973; *Newsdigest*, Christian Institute, Nov. 16, 1973).

DR. MANAS BUTHELEZI BANNED

Those who receive light fines are the fortunate ones. The Director of the Natal Region of the CI, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, has just received a five year banning order. Dr. Buthelezi may not attend any social or political gathering for the duration of his banning. Dr. Naude, the CI director, sees the action against Buthelezi as an indication that similar action will be taken against other CI staff.

Dr. Buthelezi is a cousin of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the Kwazulu reserve, and belongs to one of the most distinguished families of the Zulu people. The reasons for his banning were not given. According to Dr. Naude it came because Buthelezi is "the most eminent exponent of Black theology which emphasizes the need for Black initiative and of a Black Christian response to White selfishness and White domination . . . The banning is part of a continuing attempt by the Government to eliminate all significant Black leadership of organizations working for radical but peaceful change. This is creating an increasing belief amongst the Black community that there is no other option left but that of violence." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1973).

It is ironic that Dr. Buthelezi's banning should come at the same time that his cousin, Chief Buthelezi was on a trip to East Africa to argue the need for peaceful change coming from within South Africa to a gathering of African and Black American leaders. (see below). (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1973).

BUTHELEZI ATTENDS AMERICAN-AFRICAN DIALOGUE

The American-African Dialogue held in December in Addis Ababa offered Chief Gatsha Buthelezi a platform for his position on how to bring about change in South Africa. Buthelezi argued that the situation in South Africa is unique in Africa; its white population is truly indigenous at this point in history, and is not a settler population that can be removed. Change must come from within, and the ultimate objective for South Africa should be a federation of non-racial states. Buthelezi rejected violence saying, "I cannot lead my people with guns to where they will be decimated." He added, "We in South Africa are not free agents, as Blacks. The policies have been imposed on Blacks by force." Only unity among Blacks and efforts to create a federation made sense in the context in which he had to work. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1973).

Buthelezi was attacked as a neo-colonialist at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. He claimed that the meeting had been organized by a wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, and objected that the views of this group were not shared by Black African leaders. An Asian refugee from South Africa, Gora Ebrahim, questioned Buthelezi's political honesty, and this irritated the chief, who said he had found the rest of the meeting stimulating.

Buthelezi met a number of African leaders including Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere, and Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress. He visited Zambia and was very impressed saying Zambia was an example of the full realization of the hopes of African people. He has been invited and wants to return to Tanzania to study rural development there. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 22, 1973).

FOSTER AND ASHE COMPETE IN SOUTH AFRICA ... BUT WHO WON?

When two top Black American athletes agree to display their respective skills in South Africa, the question of who actually stands to win something from such "historic" events is far from simple. It is easy enough to say that light-heavyweight champion Bob Foster successfully defended his title for the second time against white South African boxer Pierre Fourie. As Foster readily admitted, he came for a \$200,000 purse and he got it. While in South Africa, he was treated like a king and enjoyed every minute of it. If he was bothered by the fact that Black South Africans who greeted him with an excitement bordering on frenzy became more and more disenchanted as his lack of interest in them became apparent, Foster didn't show it. For his part, tennis star Arthur Ashe made it to the finals of the South African Open, but lost the singles championship to Jimmy Connors.

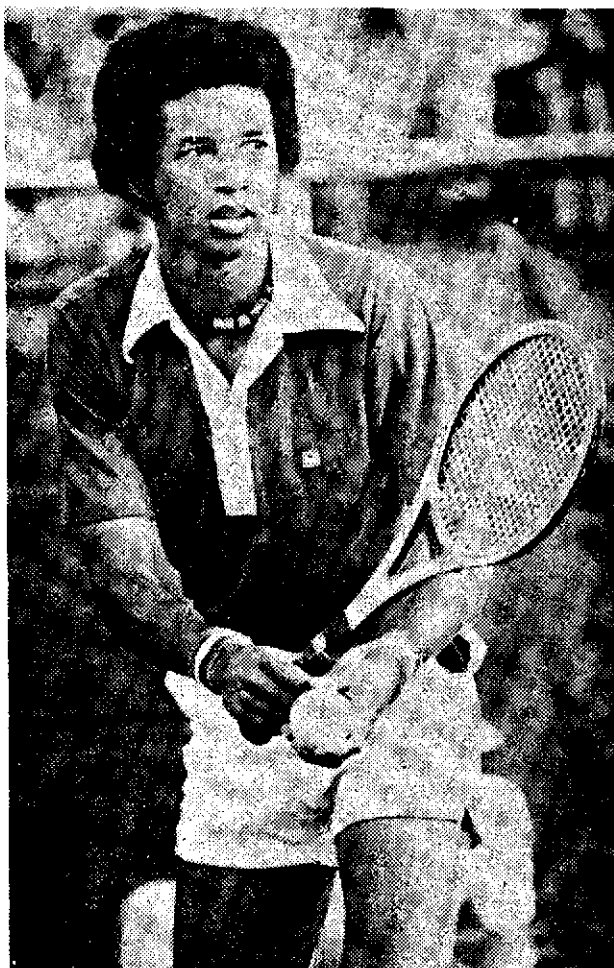
But there were other possible or potential victories and defeats. A kind of victory for Ashe might be extracted from the fact that his previous attempts to enter South Africa had failed while this one succeeded. On the other hand, the heretofore outspoken Ashe apparently paid a price for the chance to visit the country whose apartheid policies he had often labelled "inhuman" and "abhorrent." He agreed to be a good (i.e., close-mouthed) visitor in exchange for the visa, permission to hold a tennis clinic in the squalid Soweto township, and the freedom to meet with South Africans representing a relatively broad cross-section of the political spectrum. (*Sports Illustrated*, Dec. 1973)

At the same time, a number of newspapers have read a substantial victory for anti-apartheid forces into the South African Government's decision to allow Ashe in and to permit, indeed promote, the first black-white boxing match ever held on South African soil. Indeed, these events have triggered enthusiastic references to "break-throughs" and "detente" in South Africa's social war with the black race, and have even been interpreted as signalling the further "erosion of apartheid." (*N.Y. Times*, Nov. 13; *Washington Post*, Nov. 15, 1973). This is precisely the interpretation the South African Government hopes for in the international press. If an image of apparent change of heart and growing liberalism can be projected, the South African Government might achieve its aim: An end to the Nation's pariah status in the international sports world.

For the achievement of such an important victory, the South African Government has taken a number of calculated risks, with the Ashe-Foster "dual ploy" being "one of the single most vital political decisions in the realm of sports ever made by a government." (*Sports Illustrated*, Dec. 1973) Should South Africa achieve a better image in international sports, the Foster fight and the Ashe visit will most certainly have paid off politically as they paid off financially at the gate.

Apparently, they are also likely to pay off for Minister of Mines, Immigration, Sports and Recreation, Piet Koornhof, whose careful and very successful engineering of the presence of Foster and Ashe has probably solidified his position as the man likely to succeed Prime Minister Vorster.

So far, the picture of South Africa's future in international sport is still emerging. The Davis Cup committee has already voted to allow South Africa to participate in the 1974 competition, even though the Argentina Government has said that their team will not



Arthur Ashe in South Africa

play against South Africa even on neutral ground. In addition, a breakthrough in international sport was achieved in November, 1973 when a South African delegation of two Whites and one Black was accepted by the International Federation of Body Builders. On the other hand, New Zealand has stood firm on its decision not to host the Federation Cup (Women's World Tennis Championships) because of South African participation. (*Times*, London, Nov. 2, 1973; *Sunday Post*, Kenya, Nov. 18, 1973)

SOUTH AFRICA ABROAD: THE IRON FIST AND THE KID GLOVE

South Africa's techniques of silencing critics and winning friends abroad are diverse, ranging from direct harrassment to relatively subtle propaganda and purposely deceptive methods of data-gathering. On the one hand, South Africa's Bureau of State Security (BOSS) plagues South African exiles with threatening phone calls and outright raids on homes and offices and keeps extensive dossiers on political opponents of apartheid who live and work abroad. The recent and widely publicized harrassment in England of a South African-born Coloured woman married to white South African photographer Stanley Winer (now jailed inside South Africa) is a case in point. (*Guardian*, London, Nov. 1973; *Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Nov. 19, 1973)



Piet Koornhof,
Minister of Immigration

At the same time, the South African Government, and more especially its Secretary of Information Eschel Rhoodie, is now pursuing a "soft-sell" approach to the selling of apartheid in the hope of winning friends abroad. This "soft-sell" approach is reflected in recent ads in the British, Australian and American press financed variously by the Trust Bank, the "mysterious" Club of Ten, and by the South African Government itself. (*Guardian*, U.K., Nov. 4, 1973) In addition, Rhoodie has commissioned an international survey, supposedly designed to gauge attitudes on five "typical" countries (U.S., China, India, Uganda, and South Africa), but the purpose of which is in fact to gauge attitudes on South Africa alone. The survey, in the form of a questionnaire, is being conducted in Holland, Australia, Portugal and New Zealand, and is being coordinated by the Manville International Corporation of New York, a Madison Avenue Research Organization. According to the *Guardian* (Nov. 11, 1973), "the South Africans have been trying hard to avoid publicity for the venture, hoping that from the findings will spring a new and seductive image of their country."

To attract white skilled labor to South Africa, a more direct approach is used. Piet Koornhof, the Immigration Minister, has announced an increase in its financial aid to white immigrants (from 150 to 200 rands per person [R1.00 = \$1.40]). In addition, the South African Government will now pay 80% of the special immigrant fares available from Europe. Increased immigration will make it less necessary to change job reservation laws which keep Blacks from gaining access to "white" positions. At present, immigration to South Africa runs about 30,000 per year. (*Times*, London, Nov. 23, 1973)

BULUGHA DECLARATION ADOPTED BY MULTI-RACIAL GROUP

In early November, the first summit meeting of Bantustan chiefs was held to discuss unity (see *Southern Africa*, Jan. 1974). Shortly after this historic meeting, a multi-racial conference was held at Bulugha to discuss the future of South Africa and the possibilities of federation as a solution to the political problems facing the Republic. It was an unusual meeting for South Africa, with members of all racial groups present and staying in the same hotel. Prominent participants included Chief Matanzima of the Transkei, Chief Buthelezi of Kwazulu, Tom Swartz, chairman of the Coloured Representative Council, M. Naidoo, chairman of the South African Indian Congress, Helen Suzman, Progressive Party M.P., and Professor Van Niekerk.

The climax of the conference was the issuing of the

Bulugha Declaration with the following points:

Affirmation of the need for urgent change in South Africa.

Declaration of the right of each citizen, irrespective of race, color, or creed to a full life with dignity, opportunity and justice under the rule of law.

Agreement that a federal form of government embodying autonomous states free of racial exclusiveness is the most likely to create the conditions under which these rights will be achieved.

Agreement that because of the fears of group domination, the rights of each individual be protected by a bill of rights entrenched in a federal constitution.

The Bantustan leaders meeting and the Bulugha conference are indications of the strength of opposition to the ruling Nationalist party and the rejection of apartheid by a growing number of leaders of all racial groups in South Africa. What is notably absent in the Bulugha Declaration is the means to bring about the desired change. Further, a number of critics fear that federalism will simply become a new way to perpetuate white rule over the majority black population. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Nov. 19, 1973)

HARSH URBAN CONDITIONS THWART FAMILY PLANNING

A study of two family planning clinics in Johannesburg has led sociologist Dr. Beryl Unterhalter to conclude that the socio-economic conditions endured by urban Blacks in South Africa, far more than racial or "tribal" facts, militate against effective large scale birth control programs among urban African women. According to Dr. Unterhalter, urban African women are virtually forced to give birth frequently to compensate for the following:

- 1) A high infant mortality rate (95 child deaths per 1000 live Black births, against 22 for Whites)
- 2) The frequency of violent deaths among Black adolescents and young adults in the townships
- 3) Low wages, high living costs and meagre old age pensions which in effect necessitate having many children to ensure support in old age. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 24, 1973)

ECONOMICS

AFRICAN FARMWORKERS FEUDAL-STYLE SLAVES

African farmworkers in South Africa are living in a condition of feudal slavery, and their role in the agricultural economy is growing. This is the conclusion of a report published by the International Defense and Aid Fund in London.

More than two million Africans work on farms in South Africa. The report shows that their proportion of total farm laborers in the country is growing, and presently stands at 90 per cent. Many of the workers earn no more than a few dollars a month for seven fourteen-hour days a week.

Two laws lay down the basic regulations concerning farm laborers: The Masters and Servants Act of 1856 and the Native Contract Act of 1932. Between them they bestow a near life or death power on employers. There are no minimum wages, benefits, or contracts binding on the employer. Workers, however, are bound to stay on their jobs, and have no right to vacations, sick leave, or medical care except for work-related injuries. Desertion is a criminal offense, and workers are obligated to obey all "lawful commands" of the farmers for whom they work.

The farmer is within his legal rights if he punishes disobedience by fines or beatings.

Stories abound of workers who are seriously injured by physical abuse from their employers, and of exorbitant fines for minimal offenses. The effect of a large fine is to put the farm worker into debt to the farmer for the rest of his or her life. Children sometimes incur such debts at an early age, and remain in bondage through their adult life.

An example of the pitfalls for an African worker occurred last year when a man was fined by his employer for refusing to work one day. He was hauled before a judge who questioned him on the reason for his absence. The man explained that he owned only one pair of pants and one shirt, and as he worked seven days a week, he had to miss a day when he washed them and they failed to dry overnight. The judge upheld the employer, and cautioned the African worker against again disobeying a lawful command. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, December, 1973; January, 1974).

Masters and Serfs is available for the International Defense and Aid Fund, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138 and 104 Newgate Street, London, EC1.

SOUTH AFRICAN COAL TO ENERGY-HUNGRY U.S.

The first coal export deal between South Africa and the United States has been concluded by an Alabama electric power company. The agreement with the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association is worth \$47 million, and will provide for 2 million tons of South African coal to be shipped to the United States over the next three years.

Mr. Alan Tew, managing director of the Coal Owners' Association, is quoted in the Johannesburg *Star* as saying that he believes the deal will mark the establishment of South African coal in America. The contract was not simply a result of the energy crisis, said Tew, but was also due to the pollution level, quality, and cost of the Transvaal coal. Tew hopes the American purchase will prove that South Africa is a reasonable supplier, and will boost South African sales on the international market. (*Star*, Johannesburg, December 22, 1973)

ITT IN SOUTH AFRICA ANALYZED

A 100-page report by the Special Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS) gives the ITT Corporation high marks for its treatment of workers in South Africa. But the Johannesburg-based group nevertheless concludes that it would be unrealistic to expect the company to help bring about major social change in South Africa.

The study of ITT's South African subsidiary—Standard Telephone and Cables—was commissioned by the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S. In late 1972 the denomination began an inquiry into ITT's South African operations which prompted the company to fly its South African manager to New York to consult with church executives. ITT later issued a report to stockholders containing the company's presentation at that meeting. But the church officials wanted to know more, and therefore asked SPRO-CAS for the study.

Signed by SPRO-CAS director Peter Randall and a staff member, Horst Kleinschmidt, the report says that by South African standards, ITT treats its black employees well. But it criticizes the impression given by the company that "productivity and profits are more important than people." It also said there was paternalism towards black

workers, a necessary conforming to apartheid structures, and a lack of collective bargaining machinery. The writers also faulted the company for refusing to allow a survey of workers.

Under conditions operating in South Africa, the report concludes, there is no hope that a company which depends on government favor for existence to be a force for social change to any significant degree. (*Star*, Johannesburg, December 22, 1973)

NEW BANK FORMED TO CHANNEL SOUTH AFRICAN FUNDS TO AFRICA

At least 20 giant multi-national companies have agreed to participate in a new "development bank" for equatorial and southern Africa. Edesa Corporation (Economic Development for Equatorial and Southern Africa) was initiated by Dr. Anton Rupert, South African financier and tobacco magnate. He controls the Rothmans Group, the world's second largest tobacco manufacturer with interests in tobacco companies throughout the world. Recently, Rothman's became the largest shareholder in a major U.S. cigarette firm, Liggett and Myers. (see *Southern Africa*, January, 1973)

Rupert has described Edesa as a development bank whose major aim is mobilization of capital as well as management and technical skills for developing countries of the region. But, others see it as "an international institution primarily designed to expand South African capital investments throughout the continent." (*X-Ray*, London, December 1973).

To make this venture acceptable in Africa, Rupert has thoroughly "internationalized" it. The company is registered in Luxembourg with its main office situated in Zurich, Switzerland. Dr. Karl Schiller, West Germany's well-known former Minister of Economic Affairs, is chairman. Mbabane, Swaziland will be Edesa's African headquarters.

Most importantly, Rupert has interested many giant corporations in participating. The list, which reads like the World's Top Companies, include Ford, General Motors and IBM of the U.S., Barclays Banks of U.K., Luxembourg Credit Bank, Robert Bosch, Daimler-Benz, and Dresdner Bank of W. Germany, Anglo American and Robert Construction of South Africa, and Marubeni Corporation of Japan. (*Star*, Dec. 22, 1973, and *X-Ray*)



Dr. Karl Schiller



Dr. Anton Rupert

STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

republic of guinea-bissau

SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE CONTINUES

At a rally in Washington, D.C. more than 250 people gathered to call for the U.S. recognition of Guinea-Bissau. The rally was sponsored by the African Liberation Support Committee and more than thirty organizations were represented. On 5 October General Gowan of Nigeria spoke at the United Nations and called for support of Guinea-B and asked the United States and the United Kingdom to refrain from casting vetoes when Guinea-B applies for U.N. admission. The 64th General Convention of the Episcopal Church has passed a resolution calling for U.S. recognition. The MPLA of Angola has hailed the declaration of independence as a "victory over international imperialism."

Representative Charles Diggs and Congressman Louis Stokes, head of the Congressional Black Caucus have called on U.S. recognition of the new nation as "fundamental to our own constitutional system." He has also called for total U.S. withdrawal from the Azores base in Portugal.

Guinea-Bissau is now the 42nd member of the Organization of African Unity and is represented on the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). At the most recent count, the new republic has been recognized by seventy-seven nations.

Speculation continues that Portugal will again be asking for new military aid from the U.S. This aid is basically 'rent' for the Azores base which figured so importantly in the U.S. support of Israel during the October fighting in the Middle East. Israel has not recognized Guinea-B. Some suggest that Portugal may be satisfied with the U.S. military aid and may not ask the U.S. to cast an embarrassing veto against Guinea at the next General Assembly of the U.N. The U.S. is also worried about losing any more African support and may decide to abstain rather than give a 'no' vote. In a recent interview, PAIGC Secretary General, Aristides Pereira, has said that the actual application to the U.N. "would be made when conditions were right" and that "it is essential that an overwhelming majority of U.N. member states recognize us before hand."

In response to the links between the U.S., Portugal, Israel, and the NATO powers, the Afro-Arab bloc is showing greater solidarity. Now almost all African nations have broken relations with Israel and have established relations with Guinea-Bissau. The Arab nations have cut back Portugal's supply of crude oil. Ninety percent of Portugal's 6.5 million tons of oil consumed annually comes from the Middle East.

The governments of Sweden and Holland are still both considering the recognition of Guinea-Bissau. Two Dutch M.P.'s spent two weeks in Guinea-Bissau and have been active in the move for recognition. The Swedish government says they will increase their humanitarian aid to the PAIGC.

Canada continues to be "watching developments," and even West Germany has called on Portugal to end their colonial rule in Africa. Both Canada and West Germany support Portugal through the NATO military alliance. (*Muhammed Speaks*, 2 Nov.; *New York Times*, 20 Nov., 26 Nov., 7 Dec.; *Washington Post*, 2 Dec.; *Daily News*, Tanzania, 25 Oct.; *Times of Zambia*, 17 Oct.; *Sunday Times*, Zambia, 21 Oct.; *Zambia Daily Mail*, 10 Oct.; AFP 25 Oct.; *N.R.C. Handelsblad*, Holland, 6 Oct., 8 Oct.)

GUINEA-CONAKRY AIDS PAIGC

Guinea-Conakry has long been a supporter of the PAIGC and was one of the 64 nations sponsoring the U.N. resolution 107 in condemnation of Portugal's "illegal occupation" of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Conakry's U.N. Ambassador Jeanne-Martin Cisse recently read out a list of further terrorist actions by the Portuguese occupation forces at the U.N. Guinea-Conakry also provides base areas for Soviet surveillance of NATO powers' shipping and maneuvers in the Atlantic. This surveillance is part of Guinea-Conakry's defense following an abortive Portuguese invasion of Conakry and attacks on PAIGC offices and personnel in November 1970. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, 31 Nov., 1973; *New York Times*, 6 Dec., 1973).

ECONOMIC LURE FOR CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Beyond the airport expansion on Sal Island and proposed development of port facilities on other islands in the archipelago, Portugal has now allotted two and a half million dollars for a new deep-water harbor at Praia, the capital city on Sao Tiago island. Such facilities will increase the importance of the islands for shipping. Their military significance to the NATO powers and South Africa will also increase. (*Noticias*, Mozambique, 9 Oct., 1973)

ON THE MILITARY FRONT

PAIGC gunners shot down a Fiat G-91, while it and three others were bombing Balana in the South Front with napalm and white phosphorus incendiary bombs on 30 October. This was the 29th plane downed since 23 March 1973.

Even *Newsweek* has acknowledged that the pace of the war is "picking up" and that the PAIGC guerrillas have "free run over much of Guinea-Bissau." *Newsweek* reporter Malcolm MacPherson suggested that the PAIGC's possession of SAM-7 anti-aircraft weapons has given them a big edge in the war. For being part of the United States establishment media the report was quite optimistic.

In the first half of the month of October the PAIGC has claimed to have killed 60 Portuguese occupation troops. Lisbon has claimed that they killed 16 PAIGC armed militants during this same period. Throughout

October the Portuguese Air Force has intensified air attacks on the Republic of Guinea-Bissau especially in the frontier regions and the following sectors: Balana, Cubare, Tombali, Nhara, Sara, Mores and Boe. General Bettencourt's policy has become nothing but terrorism and genocide against the civilian population. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, 6 Nov.; *Times of Zambia*, 14 Oct.; *Zambia Daily Mail*, 25 Oct.; *Journal de Geneve*, Switzerland, 1 Nov.; *Newsweek*, 10 Dec. 1973)

mozambique

VITAL RAILWAY ATTACKED IN MOZAMBIQUE

The major Rhodesian route to the sea—the railroad from Umtali in eastern Rhodesia to Beira on the coast in Mozambique—was temporarily out of service on New Year's eve. A combination freight and passenger train on the line was derailed when it detonated a landmine laid by Mozambican guerrillas.

The landmine blew a four-foot hole under the tracks but no passengers were injured. The repair train sent to assist met machine-gun fire from the bush along the track and a Portuguese officer was killed.

The attackers were soldiers of FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front, which has been fighting Portuguese control in Mozambique for the past ten years.

The railway from Beira to Umtali is the furthest south that armed incidents have occurred. For months, however, newspapers in neighboring Rhodesia and South Africa have reported guerrilla actions in the area and have expressed fears that the railroad—as well as the road that parallels it—would be attacked next.

The railway and road are crucial for white-ruled Rhodesia as they are the shortest route to the sea, important for trade, and convenient for the thousands of Rhodesians who like to take vacations on the coast each year.

Officially neither the Portuguese nor the Rhodesian governments have commented on the situation but the Rhodesian railroad confirmed the report of the Beira line derailment.

The Portuguese news agency, Lusitania, noted two other derailments in Mozambique the same night—New Year's eve. One was in the northwest in Tete Province. It may also have been caused by guerrillas. Trains in that area have been attacked repeatedly as part of the guerrilla effort to slow down the construction of a huge hydro-electric Cabora Bassa dam project.

The third derailment was much further south, on another line between Rhodesia and the sea. Guerrillas are not yet known to have begun armed action in that area, though clandestine organizing exists in the region, and even there the Portuguese have arrested hundreds of Africans for collaborating with FRELIMO. (*Africa News*, January 7, 1974)

BUILDING A HEALTHY MOZAMBIQUE

Early in 1973 FRELIMO Health Services held an intensive conference for evaluation and planning. The health cadres tackled problems of improving technical services, training of more health workers at all levels, increasing the efficiency of health structures in all FRELIMO zones in Mozambique.

Specific recommendations included:

(a) that a geopolitical, economic and human study of the



Health Center in Free Mozambique

regions be undertaken;

(b) that health statistics of the regions be compiled

(c) that vaccination campaigns be stepped up

(d) that education campaigns be intensified to achieve all-round improvement in hygiene—personal, family and at village level;

(e) that campaigns be organized to explain the need to isolate people with infectious or contagious diseases so as to control and cure the diseases more effectively. Such patients should be isolated at the place where they happen to be.

The conference noted and expressed appreciation for foreign donations of medicines and medical equipment, noting that they were dependent on them as such material is not yet produced in Mozambique (*Guerrilheiro*, London, Oct-Dec, 1973)

"OUR STRENGTH IS OUR PEOPLE"

To celebrate the 9th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle, September 25, 1973, FRELIMO published a special edition of *Mozambique Revolution*, which was devoted to a message from their President, Samora Machel. Among the aspects of the struggle covered in his message, Machel spoke of the growth of unity among the Mozambican people and of some of the contradictions which weaken the Portuguese:

"Unity is being tempered in our struggle: the collective struggle to produce for the benefit of the people; the collective struggle for learning which is defeating ignorance, freeing intelligence and initiative, serving the people; the collective struggle against the colonial-imperialist war machinery which is freeing land and men; and the collective struggle against erroneous ideas of the past which subjugate us and prevent us from building our future ourselves.

"... Analysis shows that the contradiction between us and the enemy is sharpening and becoming deeper, while the colonial-fascist ranks are being undermined by contradictions, rivalries and internal struggles.

"The *aldeamentos* or concentration camps, which are the enemy's latest invention copied from what was done in Vietnam, are increasingly becoming points of departure

for extending our struggle, new focal points sustaining the people's war. The people who have been driven off their lands and subjected to vexations and brutality by the colonialist troops are gaining more direct and vivid experience of the exploitative and criminal nature of colonialism. Their hatred of oppression feeds on the daily acts of the colonial-fascist regime.

"The waves of repression in the industrial and rural zones, which are affecting all sectors, working class and white collar workers, secondary school pupils, university students and religious figures, are creating favorable conditions for transforming clandestine work into higher forms of struggle."

President Machel goes on to speak of the ideological offensive as key to drawing a clear line between the FRELIMO people and the enemy. He says:

"The enemy may use the same uniform and equipment as us, may speak in the same terms, use the same language, be from the same ethnic group and have the same color, but one thing they can never do is to behave as we do and live by our line of serving the people. It is in this that they [enemy agents] expose themselves."

In conclusion he urges that the forging of the political line of the ideological offensive be at the most local of levels—based on exchange and analysis of experiences—involving the whole people.

FRELIMO REPORTS YEAR'S MILITARY ACTIVITY

FRELIMO is active militarily in four of the nine provinces of Mozambique. According to the annual survey prepared in September by FRELIMO, the greatest activity in the past year has been in Cabo Delgado and in Tete. In Cabo Delgado they concentrated on dislodging the Portuguese from their remaining posts. In Tete their aim was to isolate the enemy in their posts and fortifications. In Manica e Sofala the struggle was steadily expanded but is still in early stages. In Niassa, the population is sparse so that though FRELIMO feels the Portuguese are isolated, activity is at a lower level. The statistical summaries are as follows:

CABO DELGADO:	66 posts attacked 640 enemy soldiers killed 70 vehicles destroyed 22 aircraft destroyed
TETE:	50 posts attacked 1403 enemy soldiers killed 127 vehicles destroyed 26 aircraft destroyed 6 trains destroyed 3 bridges destroyed 11 warboats sunk
NIASSA:	6 posts attacked 200 enemy soldiers killed 22 vehicles destroyed 1 train destroyed 3 bridges destroyed
MANICA E SOFALA:	17 posts attacked 450 enemy soldiers killed 110 vehicles destroyed 5 aircraft destroyed

Radio South Africa continues to confirm a high level of FRELIMO activity though always from the Portuguese

point of view—claiming many civilians to be killed or "enslaved" by the "terrorists"—usually at sites of *aldeamentos* where FRELIMO speaks of liberating the people from the concentration camps (RSA, Dec. 1, 8, 15)

400 POLITICAL PRISONERS FREED

In early December, Mozambique Governor-General Pimentel dos Santos freed a reported third (over 400) of the political prisoners in Mozambique. Most of them were reputed to have been involved with FRELIMO. However Radio South Africa says they have rethought their positions and can now be reintegrated into society—and indeed have in most cases already been given jobs. (*New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1973; *BBC & RSA* radio news Dec. 8, 1973)

SPANISH PRIESTS RELEASED

Two Spanish priests of the Burgos Order who had been in prison without trial in Mozambique for 23 months were released and arrived in Madrid November 25, 1973. The release came at a time when the Portuguese were renegotiating their Concordat with the Vatican including clauses permitting Catholic missionary work in Portuguese-controlled areas of Africa. The Portuguese also knew that bringing the two men to trial would re-open world charges of massacres in Mozambique—since the trial would focus on massacres in the Mukumbura area in 1971—earlier than the Wiriyaumu events which caused the uproar earlier this year.

Soon after their arrival in Spain, the two priests told of extensive torture of black prisoners in the Mozambican prison and reiterated what they knew of the 1971 massacres. *Le Monde* (Paris, November 28), *The Times* (Nov. 27), and the *Star* (Johannesburg, December 1, 1973) give the most coverage of their comments.

Further testimony to similar events came from another Burgos father, Father Sangalo (*Sunday Times*, London, Dec. 9, 1973) and from a former 2nd Sergeant in the Portuguese Air Force who is now in exile. The Sergeant speaks of activity at the very beginning of the struggle—in 1964. (*Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden, October 20, 1973—English trans. in *Facts & Reports*, Vol. 3, No. 26, Dec. 22, 1973)

angola

MILITARY ACTIVITY

Various reports from Zaire sources on military activity inside Angola note that in November the FNLA destroyed 20 armored cars, downed 3 or 5 helicopters (impossible to tell if reports refer to the same incidents), captured an arms dump, destroyed some Portuguese plantations, and killed between 164 and 288 Portuguese soldiers (again depending whether reports cover the same or different incidents). (*Times of Zambia*, Nov. 30; *Voice of America* Radio Dec. 7; *Radio Accra*, Nov. 17). In the first two weeks of December another 32 Portuguese soldiers were reported killed. (*Washington Post*, Dec. 15, 1973). The FNLA losses during the period were reported to be 9 killed and 9 wounded (*VOA*, Dec. 7, 1973)

Other reports of activity in Angola issued by the Portuguese, MPLA and UNITA are less detailed. MPLA reported Makondo barracks overrun and destroyed on November 11 (*Daily News*, Tanz., Nov. 24) and a Portuguese military helicopter crashed while searching out

guerrillas on November 20 and two Portuguese soldiers died (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 28).

The Portuguese maintain that in November in Angola they killed 40 enemy and captured 31, as well as taking much equipment. They admit to losing 10 dead and 50 wounded. (*BBC*, radio Dec. 18, 1973)

MPLA MILITANTS JAILED IN ZAIRE

As of November, 40 MPLA militants who were arrested in Zaire last July have not been released, according to *Afrique-Asie* (France, Nov. 11, 1973). This seems quite contrary to the terms of the accord which Zaire fostered last December (1972) between the MPLA and the FNLA.

In another article, the same magazine (Dec. 24, 1973) reports on an alleged plot against Angola—a cooperative effort of Zaire's president Mobutu, the United States, Portugal, and Holden Roberto of the FNLA. *Afrique-Asie* finds the agreement between MPLA and FNLA to have been pressured by Mobutu as a way to raise the prestige of Roberto. It is suggested that Angolan and Zaire forces might combine for a war of liberation invasion of Angola—somewhat on the Egyptian model—to bring Portugal to the peace table and install Roberto as leader of an "independent" Angola, which would be open to neo-colonization.

According to the magazine, the accord between the two movements has been inoperative. Delegations of the two movements have often met, though on one occasion, the delegates sent by MPLA were arrested in Zaire. But despite meetings, a basic disagreement on combat strategy exists. Reportedly, in May 1973, at a meeting in Kinshasa, the FNLA rejected once again the theses basic to the MPLA, namely that "Armed struggle is the principal form for the liberation struggle in Angola."

NETO PUTS ANGOLAN STRUGGLE IN CONTEXT OF ALL HUMANITY

Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, recently spoke of some of MPLA's principles of operations:

"It is necessary that the real control of the country, whether from the political, economic, or social point of view, be in the hands of people who are devoted to the struggle, and not in the fists of bureaucrats . . .

"Much less could we allow foreigners to continue to exploit our peoples . . . We have to fight for complete independence . . . political, economic and social, and for our peoples to really be the masters of their own destiny . . .

"In the present phase, it is necessary that the struggle be completely under the orientation of an independent party with well-defined ideas; that its militants be disciplined and absorb fully the doctrine of their party.

"It is necessary that the leaders themselves be honest, modest and active, and that they do not spare their efforts for the good orientation and organization of their people. It is necessary that they always be at the side of their people, with them in their suffering and their daily sacrifice . . .

"We are not making a racial war. Our objective is not to fight against the white man solely because he is white. It is that we fight those who support the colonial regimes . . . all those who in any manner show their desire not to cooperate with the colonial regime must not be despised or treated as enemies. They constitute a force that operates in our favor, in the same way as on the international plane . . .

"Our struggle is not an isolated struggle in the world. It



Dr. Agostinho Neto, President, MPLA

is part of a global struggle by humanity to bring an end to the exploitation of man by man, and it is within this framework that we must view our struggle—outside the narrow limits of racial prejudice." (*Guerrilheiro*, London, Oct.-Dec., 1973)

WASHINGTON POST REPORTER WITH UNITA

In June of 1973, Leon Dash, a staff reporter for the *Washington Post*, spent 10 weeks inside Angola with UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. He describes his trip, his impressions, the party congress he attended, visits to a UNITA school, a UNITA hospital, the Benguela Railroad, talks with a variety of leaders, including their past histories and what brought them to the struggle—all in a series of four lengthy front-page articles featured in the *Washington Post*, on December 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1973.

He says, "The UNITA guerrillas run their own hospitals, schools, military training camps and collective farms in the forests and administer, apparently effectively, what appears to be a substantial area in eastern Angola." He saw the guerrillas as "operating freely within their own territory, but unable or unwilling because of outright military weakness, or political and diplomatic weakness, to strike at the transportation network that is vital to Portuguese shipments from the country."

He gives a lot of facts but writes very carefully, including such statements as, "it was difficult to assess whether the UNITA guerrillas' views of their successes was revolutionary rhetoric or generally accurate statement of fact. Whatever the truth of the guerrilla's words, they

seem to remain steadfast in their determination to drive the Portuguese out."

Dash was in Moxico and Bie provinces. He tried to get some specific data on the extent of the struggle under UNITA leadership but says, "Savimbi (the UNITA President) declined to make any claims about how many men he has under arms or how many peasants live with his guerrillas." Nonetheless, Dash says "I counted about 600 guerrillas and 5,000 peasants in the 800 miles I covered through the two Angolan districts . . . Savimbi said he also had guerrillas operating in four other districts, Cuando-Cubango, Huila . . . Huambo . . . , and Luanda. All of UNITA's weapons, Savimbi claimed, have been captured in fights with the other two guerrilla groups or with the Angolan army, half of which is made of African troops."

Savimbi described to Dash the method of politicization and feelings about the key position of the peasant, who once convinced would remain strong and loyal. Dash notes that although he had been told in advance that UNITA was a tribal group with all Ovimbundu leadership, he did not find this to be true. The president, Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, is Ovimbundu, but Dash claims he is the only Ovimbundu in the 10-member executive political bureau—the #2 person being Secretary General Miguel N'Zau Puna who is Weye and from Cabinda. He says, "the eradication of tribalism seemed to be working because all the peasant villages and guerrilla camps were mixed, including members of the Chokwe, Lunda, Ganguela and Luimbi tribes."

JOURNALIST EXPRESSES DISAGREEMENT WITH WASHINGTON POST REPORTS

In a letter addressed to the *Washington Post*, a copy of which was sent to the Southern Africa Magazine, Arslan Humbaraci, former Director of the Zambian Information Bureau for Western Europe and a close observer of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa over the last decade, expressed disagreement with the basic implications of the Dash series.

Commenting on Dash's statement that in all 800 miles of his trip he did not meet one MPLA guerrilla he says: "... he forgets he did not encounter either a single wild-boar in the swamps—which will not be taken as evidence that the beast does not exist. The facts are that MPLA (*Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola*)—which has since long had the official recognition of the OAU, of Specialised UN Agencies, of the Soviets and Eastern European countries, China and North Korea, the Christian Democratic Party of Italy and Socialist and Communist Parties of practically the whole non-communist world, of several Scandinavian countries and of the Pope who officially received its founder and leader Dr. Agostinho Neto—is universally recognised as the Angolan Liberation Movement . . .

The Portuguese General Staff, which should know better than all, considers in fact that the MPLA as *the* enemy. This fact is underlined in two known secret official Portuguese documents which were published in Holland's respectable "De Groene Amsterdammer", of 11 July 1973;

The first one discloses that of "2,518 actions" by guerrillas in Angola "in 1970, 59%" were ascribed "to the largest liberation movement . . . , the MPLA, 37% to the FNLA (operating from Zaire) and only 4% to UNITA."

The second document is a "Situation Map" of the "2nd Bureau" (Military Intelligence) of the "QC/CCFAA,

Luanda" (GHQ/Command Company Armed Forces, Luanda) listing various clashes occurred during "February 1971". It once more ascribes the crushing majority of clashes occurred with Portuguese troops to MPLA, also showing that practically all "fire actions" were with MPLA—other actions being laying of mines, of various types, and what Portuguese describe as "actions against populations". The map also shows that the MPLA which penetrated Angola from Western Zambia, from five points, has pushed far enough into the heart of Angola to have covered further than half the distance to the West Coast of Angola (the Atlantic Ocean). The MPLA was also still very active in the Dembos mountains North of Luanda, the capital, although it was prevented from reaching this region via the easier routes through Zaire."

Having commented on several other aspects of the Dash series Mr. Humbaraci concludes:

"In summary, it seems that Portuguese themselves consider that the major Liberation Movement in Angola is the MPLA and that UNITA and FNLA are small splinter groups. It would seem that for the *Washington Post* to provide a balanced account of the war in Angola that an in-depth survey of the work of the MPLA should also be published."

portugal

A LUTA CONTINUA

Armed groups now operating inside Portugal seem to be faring well, despite the fact that the political police dealt them a severe blow by arresting several members of one of those groups.

According to Lisbon sources, a large number of urban guerrillas of the Liga de Uniao e Accao Revolucionaria (LUAR) were arrested by agents of the infamous PIDE-DGS (the secret police) in Lisbon while waiting instructions from Palma Inacio, their leader. Already in August six commandos were apprehended as they tried to cross the Spanish border into Portugal. Under pressure elements of this group revealed plans for larger actions, enabling the police to close in on several other members.

Meanwhile, Caetano was quoted as saying that "the future is seriously threatened by the spread of socialist and anarchist ideas" and that he would "have to put a brake on the process of liberalization." (*Times*, London, Nov. 24, 1973; *Portuguese Times*, Newark, Dec. 6, 1973; *African World*, N.C., Nov. 30, 1973)

NEW FACES, OLD POLICIES

As predicted, Caetano's government reshuffle offered no major surprises, and if any change can be expected it will be towards a more reactionary policy.

Most names on the new ministerial list have a record of faithful service to the regime in military or colonial activity. Silva Cunha, Moreira Baptista, Veiga Simao, Rui Patricio, Rebelo de Sousa, Pereira Crespo are all there, as if to remind you of the "good old days" of the New State of Salazar, when Caetano was teaching law, and the world was still for the most part oblivious of the colonial wars.

Former governors Spinola of Guinea-Bissau, and Kaulza de Arriaga of Mozambique were not listed, although many expected their names to appear as compensation for inconveniences suffered while serving in the colonies. Most likely, Caetano, paternalistic as ever, found this to be appropriate punishment for those two

favorite "children" for a poor job. (*Times*, London, Nov. 8, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 11, 1973)

ISOLATION INCREASES IN PORTUGAL

Portugal's role in supplying the missing link in the U.S. airlift of war materiel to Israel is likely to further isolate the country and add to its unpopularity as the last major colonial power.

The Arab countries announced a total boycott against Portuguese economy, including a ban on oil exports that accounted for over 90% of Portugal's oil needs. At least two thirds came from Saudi Arabia and Iraq alone.

There has been speculation that Lisbon's policies may jeopardize the desperately needed support Brazil has shown them at the U.N. in the past. In September Brazil participated in the conference of non-aligned countries in Algiers, and is trying to improve commercial relations with the African bloc. It imports as much as 50% of its oil from the Arabs. Confronted with a choice between its interests in the Afro-Arab world and the deteriorating Portuguese economy, Brazil would certainly opt for the former.

In a visible move to promote commercial activity where diplomacy has failed, Lisbon will be sending 43 trade missions abroad in 1974. Cities to be visited include Los Angeles, Jan. 20; Vancouver, May 19; New York, June 2; Montreal, Sept. 15; Chicago, Sept. 22; and Houston, Nov. 3. (*Africa News*, Nov. 12, 1973; *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1973; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Oct. 5, 1973; *Portuguese Times*, Newark, Nov. 29, 1973)

DISCOVERIES IN REVERSE

After the occupation of Goa by Indian troops in 1961, a popular joke among opposers of the Salazar regime referred to the discovery of the maritime way to Lisbon by the Indians, an evident allusion to the fifteenth century travels of Vasco da Gama, a frequent subject for the government reactionary propoganda.

Reports from Kinshasa and Lisbon indicate that the Portuguese colonialists are making progress in this trip in reverse. President Mobutu of Zaire has ordered Portuguese residents out of the country, particularly from the zones bordering with Angola. (*Africa News*, Dec. 10, 1973; *Portuguese Times*, Dec. 13, 1973)

"SLANDER" AGAINST PIDE

In a new wave of political repression, at least nine catholics were arrested in Lisbon under the accusation of



Prime Minister Marcello Caetano

"subversive" activities. In Coimbra, a university town 120 miles north of Lisbon, ten persons are being tried on charges of belonging to a national committee devoted to helping political prisoners. They are being accused of making statements considered slanderous to the "prestige and credibility" of the PIDE-DGS, and of advocating independence for the colonies.

The "amnesty" reportedly granted by Caetano after the October "elections" did not apply to the many still jailed in Portugal. Under this "amnesty" two Spanish priests were freed after spending two years of imprisonment in Mozambique. Their release is seen as an attempt at stifling international protest over repression in Portugal and reports of more massacres in the colonies. The Portuguese authorities managed to avoid a four-day watch by foreign correspondents when they smuggled the two priests through Lisbon airport and put them on a plane bound for Madrid. (*Portuguese Times*, Newark, Nov. 29, 1973; *Financial Times*, London, Nov. 20, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 1, 1973) ■

U.S. & southern africa

WEAK AMENDMENT ON U.S. AID TO PORTUGAL

The Tunney-Young amendment to the foreign aid bill was passed by Congress in a barely recognizable, watered-down form. The amendment was originally intended to make into law a U.S. policy which embargoed arms to Portugal for use in its African colonial wars. Conference committee members weakened the bill after lobbying by the Portuguese embassy to extract U.S. support in exchange for the permission it granted the U.S. to use the Azores base to refuel planes loaded with military supplies bound for Israel.

The conferees made a number of changes in the provision rendering it almost useless in curbing future aid to Portugal. The Senate struck a potentially significant section that called for the presidential report to include goods such as aircraft and herbicides which require validated export licenses. The conferees also eliminated Congress' policy statement in opposition to U.S. involvement in Portugal's colonial wars, and even replaced the word "Portugal" with "any non-African country." Further the conferees robbed the legislation of any punitive force by striking the section suspending assistance found by the President to be used in African wars until Portugal takes corrective action. As it stands now, the foreign aid bill requires the President to report "as soon as practicable" on the use by "any non-African country in support of its military activities in its African territories" of economic, military and agricultural assistance from the United States.

It is likely that this successful pressure by Portugal is only the beginning of the new influence that Portugal will have over the U.S. because of its co-operation with the U.S. in its support of Israel. It has been widely reported that Portugal quickly extracted a promise from the U.S. to support the Portuguese position on Guinea-Bissau at the United Nations. Portugal will also be able to bargain for increased U.S. aid in the negotiations which have already started over the terms for continued U.S. use of the Azores base. It is possible that the Portuguese expended energy to weaken the Tunney-Young amendment so it would not prove an obstacle to a push for increased military aid as part of the Azores pact. The Portuguese are reported to be especially eager to obtain arms to deal with the Soviet-made SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles, which the PAIGC has used in Guinea-Bissau to shoot down at least 29 Portuguese Air Force planes in the last year. (see feature article, *Southern Africa*, January 1974) (*Washington Post*, Nov. 14, 1973; *Guardian*, London, Nov. 15, 1973)

SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA RE-INSTATED BY SENATE

On December 18th, the Senate revoked the so-called "Byrd Amendment" by a vote of 54 to 37, and ended the

importation of "strategic and critical materials" from Rhodesia in violation of United Nations sanctions. The final vote on the bill followed a vote of 63 to 27 to end a filibuster against the bill by Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia.

In the weeks following favorable recommendation of the bill by the Foreign Relations Committee, Byrd had quietly convinced Democratic leaders Mike Mansfield and Robert Byrd not to schedule Senate action by threatening to drag out the debate indefinitely. The leadership gave in to Byrd, allowing him to carry on what amounted to a silent filibuster. However, by November 20th, Senators McGee and Humphrey had put enough pressure on the leadership to succeed in getting it scheduled for consideration, forcing Byrd to filibuster in the open. Then Byrd and his corporate backers in the stainless steel industry had to persuade at least one-third of the Senate to block a vote by refusing to close debate.

In the first vote to cut off debate on December 11th, the Senate failed by a vote of 59 to 35 to invoke closure by the necessary two-thirds. The support for closure was strong enough, however, to warrant a second try on the 13th, which lost by only 1½ votes. Finally, on the 18th, skillful pressure by Gale McGee, who was helping Senator Humphrey manage the bill, lobbying from the White House and the State Department, and last-minute telegrams from constituents in key states yielded a 63 to 26 successful cloture vote.

Following the defeat of the filibuster, in a last symbolic effort to weaken the bill, Byrd offered an amendment to strike from the preamble of the bill the words "to restore the United States to its position as a law-abiding member of the international community." Because the change had no substantive effect, supporters of the bill (S.1868) went along with Byrd on the amendment by a 91 to 0 vote, and then voted in favor of S.1868.

This strong victory represents a substantial gain from the 50-to-36 margin by which the first Senate attempt to end U.S. violation of sanctions was defeated in May, 1973. This marks the first time either house of Congress has shown support for majority rule in southern Africa. Seven Senators switched their position to support sanctions: Mathias (Md.), Weicker (Conn.), Roth (Del.), Pearson (Kans.), Schweiker (Pa.), Long (La.), and Bentsen (Tex.). Also, four freshman Senators whose predecessors had supported Byrd voted for S.1868: Johnston (La.), Clark (Iowa), Haskell (Colo.), and Abourezk (S.D.). On the other side, Byrd's gains were small. No Senators switched to oppose sanctions, and only two Senators whose predecessors had supported sanctions voted with Byrd: Huddleston (Ky.), and Bartlett (Okla.).

Pressure from constituents urging key Senators to support sanctions was important in several states. Perhaps

the biggest success was winning the vote of Schweiker of Pennsylvania, who was under intense pressure from the stainless steel industry to oppose sanctions. But strong efforts by constituents, combined with lobbying by labor unions and by several Senators all paid off. Pressure from church and civil rights groups proved important in Kansas and Delaware. In Louisiana, Black voters' interest in the issue had an impact on Johnston and Long, showing that members of Congress from the South can no longer afford to ignore these constituents if they want to be re-elected. Although Senators Cook and Huddleston of Kentucky did not vote for the bill, they did vote for closure, and even that break from the South's support of white minority rule would probably not have happened a few years ago.

The strong Senate vote may encourage Representative Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to schedule Committee action soon on the identical House bill. So far he has shown little inclination to do so, in spite of a unanimous favorable recommendation of the bill (H.R. 8005) by the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. A majority of the Committee is in favor of the bill. But several key Committee members are still unconvinced or are opposed to it: Zablocki (Wis.), Hays (Ohio), Fountain (N.C.), Yatron (Pa.) and Derwinski (Ill.). With strong pressure on the House leadership from citizens, sympathetic members of Congress and the Administration, it is anticipated that the House will act on the sanctions legislation within the next three months.

People who want to help urge members of the House to support the bill can contact the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002; (202) 546-7961.

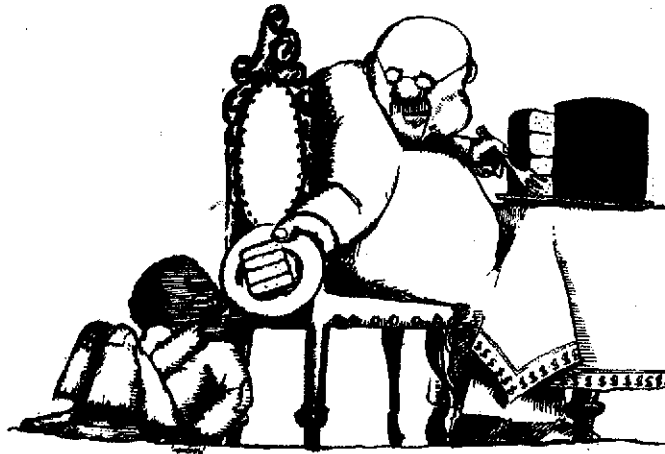
CONGRESS EXTENDS DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITIES TO O.A.U.

The House and Senate by lop-sided margins have voted to give the President authority to extend to the O.A.U. the same privileges and immunities enjoyed by international organizations in which the United States participates under treaty or as authorized by Congress. Since the bill was first introduced at the instance of the State Department, the President is expected to act favorably. The 340-39 vote in the House probably shows that the African support of the Arabs in the Middle East war has not alienated substantial numbers of Congressmen. Wolff and Gilman, from Jewish districts in New York, normally liberals, joined Southerners and deeply conservative rightists in voting against this relatively inconsequential bill. But they were alone.

EASUM TO REPLACE NEWSOM FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

The President has sent to the Senate for confirmation the nomination of Donald Easum to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. The present incumbent, David D. Newsom, has been confirmed as the new U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia. He leaves for the Far East in mid-January, after spending more than four years heading the Africa Bureau.

Easum is presently the Ambassador to Upper Volta, where he has been a strong advocate of U.S. assistance to the drought-stricken nations of that region. He served as political officer in Dakar in 1962-65 and as Deputy Chief of Mission in Niger before his present assignment. Journalist Bruce Oudes, who served with Easum in Dakar, calls him a "superb choice." Oudes predicts that Easum



will want to avoid, if possible, a veto on the Guinea-Bissau question in the United Nations. He will be interested in the "realities of Africa," i.e., the oil interests, the longer-term prospects for trade and investment and the relationship of southern African issues to the questions of the Middle East. Easum holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin.

AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL CONFIRMED

On December 18th, the Senate passed routinely the confirmation of Stuart Nash Scott as Ambassador to Portugal (see *Southern Africa*, January 1974). Foreign Relations Committee hearings proceeded without serious questioning of Scott's credentials or any questioning at all directed at his views or attitudes toward the colonial wars in Africa. His answer on the question of whether the Azores agreement should be submitted to the Senate for confirmation as a treaty echoed the State Department's insistence on maximum "flexibility" on such matters. Scott told Senator Fulbright that he would try to provide the Committee with a copy of the Azores agreement before it becomes final.

Ambassador Scott filed with the Committee a statement as to any possible conflicts of interest, a statement only available to the Committee. Scott is a prominent New York lawyer. He has represented the interests of the Rockefeller family as a partner in "Governor Dewey's firm," Dewey, Ballentine, Bushby, Palmer and Wood. A 1971 New York Times biographical sketch quoted friends as saying that Scott has an incisive mind but is surprisingly undiplomatic in personal relationships.

NORTH AMERICAN AID TO PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

The Pentagon has admitted that the U.S. military has been training Portuguese pilots for a number of years in "techniques in flying combat support missions." The training has taken place in the U.S. and in West Germany and the numbers of pilots trained has recently been increased. Washington has also admitted sales of helicopters and light planes for use in Portugal's African colonies.

Canada has also admitted that some aircraft components manufactured in Canada have found their way to Africa although they were originally given to Italy then to Turkey, West Germany and finally to Portugal. In effect, Canada's Foreign Minister, Mitchell Sharp has shown the intricate linkage between all NATO countries. (*Observer*, London, 12 August 1973; *AFP*, 17 Sept., 1973).

"TEA PARTY" DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST GULF OIL

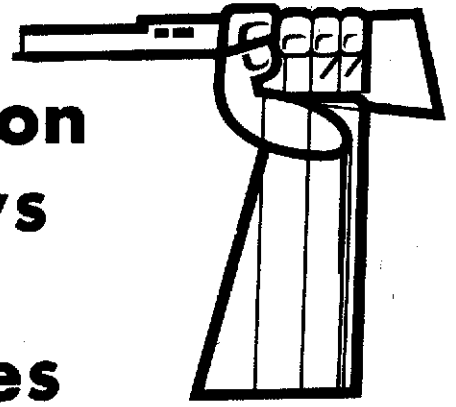
Responding to a call by the Gulf Boycott Coalition (Box 123, DV Station, Dayton, Ohio 45401) a number of anti-Gulf actions were held on December 16 and 17, the 200th anniversary of the anti-colonialist Boston Tea Party. In New York City a small group picketed in the bitter cold and snow in front of Gulf headquarters and leafletted passersby (See *Southern Africa*, January 1974). In Boston, where a massive People's Bicentennial organization sponsored a large rally, Gulf was included among the targets for the day.

In other anti-Gulf actions, the Coalition held a symbolic funeral service at an Ohio Gulf station when it closed down because it failed to sell the required 20,000 gallons of gas a week. The service included the burial of "Gulf" in a wooden coffin draped with a Portuguese flag, the destruction of a Statue of Liberty by a Gulf figure, and the release of Gulf Boycott balloons. (GBC Press Release, November 10, 1973)

BANK VICTORIES BRING PUBLICITY

Although there has been some localized news coverage on efforts to end U.S. involvement in the Euro-American Banking Corporation loans to South Africa, a National Council of Churches press release of December 6 resulted in national coverage including the *Wall Street Journal*, and wire stories by Religious News Service and National Catholic News Service. The N.C.C. release summarized the pullout from the loan by four local banks in Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago and North Carolina. The *Wall Street Journal* (December 7, 1973) confirmed the termination of the loan or future loans by Merchants National Bank (Indianapolis), City National of Detroit and Central

action news and notes



National of Chicago. Each bank of course has its own rationalization for ending the loan. *Religious News Service* (December 5, 1973) reports that the President of Merchants Bank said that he had reacted to "sound judgement... in consultation with those who minister to the needs of the world... They [United Christian Missionary Society who brought the issue together with others to the attention of the bank] know more about these things than we do..." The bank announced it would withdraw from the EABC loan some two days before a planned demonstration. For more information write Indiana Southern Africa Committee, 3955 North College, Indianapolis, Indiana 46205. (See *Southern Africa*, January, 1974)

Boston Tea Party; demonstration in the Harbor



NEW COMMITTEE PUBLICIZES BOYCOTT OF PORTUGUESE PRODUCTS

The Committee for a Free South Africa has produced very handsome and important material on Portugal's African wars including a poster/fact sheet, a button portraying Lancers and Mateus wine bottles calling upon people to "Boycott Products of Portugal" and auto stickers with the same message. For information write: Committee for a Free South Africa, Inc., 120-36 Farmers Blvd., St. Albans, New York 11412 or contact Bro. Omowale Clay, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

POLITICAL ACTIONS

SUPPORT FOR REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

The New York City African Liberation Support Committee held a celebration on December 22, a "Salute to Guinea-Bissau." The evening's entertainment comprised speeches by Gil Fernandes, PAIGC representative, William Booth of the American Committee on Africa, Gene Locke, Chairman of the ALSC National and the New York City chairman, Kasisi Jitu Weusi, as well as performances of music and dancing. One of the highlights was a skit prepared on the Nativity theme with the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

In Iowa City, Iowa the Southern Africa Support Committee, Black Law Student Association, Black Student Union, Episcopal Center and International Association sponsored an African dinner on November 18 to celebrate the new Republic. The program, which was attended by more than 300 people (\$250 was raised for Guinea-Bissau), also included a film about Guinea-Bissau and an address by Sharfudine Khan, representative of FRELIMO in the United States. (*The Daily Iowan*, November 17, 1973; *Iowa City Press Citizen*, November 20, 1973). The Southern Africa Support Committee has initiated other local actions in Iowa City including film showings, lobbying on Congressional items related to Africa, Gulf Boycott activities, and organizing local classes on southern Africa. For information contact: Southern Africa Support Committee, Box 1206 Center East, Iowa City, Iowa, 52240.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO TRY NEW YORK TIMES

The New York State Supreme Court ruled on November 20 that hearings should proceed before the New York City Commission on Human Rights on a complaint brought in October 1972 by the American Committee on Africa, African Heritage Studies Association, One Hundred Black Men (a business organization) and Judge William Booth, chairman of ACOA, against the *New York Times*. The complaint alleges that the newspaper, in publishing advertisements for jobs in South Africa, has violated laws against racial discrimination. The *New York Times* has been vigorously fighting the case since its inception, and after the City Human Rights Commission found probable cause for violation, the *Times* took the case to the courts for action to block the commission's public hearings. Justice Samuel J. Silverman of the New York State Supreme Court dismissed the *Times* petition saying: "The answers are not clear to me. . . I think that further exploration at a hearing may be enlightening both on the issue of jurisdiction (of the Commission) and on the substantive question of whether the use of the phrase 'South Africa' does indirectly, at least express an intent to discriminate on the basis of race



Sharfudine Khan, FRELIMO representative addressing Iowans at Guinea-Bissau celebration.

or color." He replied to the newspaper's arguments that the case involved U.S. foreign affairs:

"If . . . this proceeding is essentially part of an attack on South Africa and its system of apartheid, then it would seem that the matter is indeed one relating to the regulation of foreign affairs of the United States, and thus beyond the jurisdiction of the state or any of its subdivisions.

"On the other hand, the advertisement does appear in a New York newspaper . . . and no doubt residents reading the advertisement against the background of general information in this country about South Africa's racial policies, will believe that it makes a very substantial difference whether an applicant for employment is white or black." (*New York Law Journal*, Nov. 10, 1973)

The *Times* was opposed in court by lawyers from the New York City Commission and those representing the complainants from the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the Center for Constitutional Rights. The Hearings will take place in New York on January 14, 1974. (American Committee on Africa, Press Release, November 26, 1973)

COMPLIMENTARY ADS AGAINST APARTHEID

The January issue of the Black magazine, *Encore*, ran an advertisement prepared and compiled by the American Committee on Africa comprising a pledge by a number of prominent entertainers and cultural figures to "refuse any encouragement of, or indeed, any professional association with the present Republic of South Africa."

BLACK ACTIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Franklin Alexander, leader of the National Anti-Imperialist Conference of Afro-Americans in Solidarity with African Liberation, held in Chicago in late 1973, has called for Americans to become more involved in issues of Southern African liberation, for example by showing concern for political prisoners in South Africa. He spoke at the Moscow World Peace Conference in October. A continuous committee which emerged from the conference (see *Southern Africa*, January, 1974) will meet to plan actions particularly related to strategies and actions on Israel and the ending of so many African states' links with that nation. (*Daily World*, Nov. 14, Dec. 1, 1973)

Various African Liberation Support Committees met in

late November at a Southern Regional Conference in Nashville and reviewed local actions such as demonstrations against the pro-Rhodesian Byrd Amendment (which have taken place in Austin, Houston [Texas], Durham, Greensboro [N. Carolina], Nashville, Tenn., and New Orleans, La.) and the Atlanta chapter's protest to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's (SCLC) acceptance of a \$50,000 gift from Gulf Oil. (See attached letter to SCLC) Each local ALSC chapter plans to collect 2,500 names on the Support for Guinea-Bissau petitions. (*African World*, Greensboro, Dec., 1973)

RHODESIAN CHROME GOES "HOME"

"We've also heard that a bad flu virus called the Rhodesian flu is due to hit the port Dec. 9. Anybody with Rhodesian flu who comes within a mile radius of any Rhodesian goods goes beserk and can't work for at least 24 hours." (*The Dockworker*, Baltimore, Dec. 1, 1973)

Continuous pickets, protests and political activism has resulted in an outstanding victory for anti-Rhodesian chrome forces in December. On December 14, after at least half a shipment of Rhodesian electrolytic nickel cathodes failed to be unloaded in both Philadelphia and Baltimore ports, it was reported by the Farrell shipping lines, to be headed back aboard its *African Sun* to the "original consignee" in Africa. According to the *Baltimore Sun* some 50 per cent of the cargo (68,000 lbs) was left in the ship and covered over by other goods intended for African off-loading. (*Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 13, 1973) A full report of the action, written by Henry Lieberg of the American Committee on Africa, appeared in *The Guardian* New York, December 26. As Lieberg indicates this success, spearheaded by dockworkers themselves, portends stronger actions up and down the east coast of the U.S. with boycotts taking place not only in Baltimore (the second largest offloading center for Rhodesian goods) and Philadelphia, but also New York City, Boston, and Norfolk, Virginia.

An earlier Baltimore boycott action in December had been undermined by local union politics (see *Southern Africa*, January, 1974), but by December 12 a number of groups came together to leaflet workers en route to the docks where the *African Sun* had landed. Earlier the ship had been boycotted in Philadelphia, and after two hours there was success in Baltimore! The protest involved groups which included: American Friends Service Committee, United Farm Workers, October League, Revolutionary Union, the B-1 Bomber Collective, Black Revolutionary Workers Organization, African Liberation Support Committee, Attica Brigade, Youth against War and Fascism, Center for United Labor Action, Peace and Justice Center, and in particular Kenneth Webster, a black representative to the Maryland State Assembly, workers from the South Baltimore General Hospital, a longshoreman from Wilmington, Delaware, and the Militant Action Dockers, a new and important group spearheading the boycott. Some difficulties occurred because the nickel cathodes were disguised and because gang carriers threatened workers when they refused to unload the cargo. But finally, black co-President of ILA Local 333, Hershey Richardson arrived and reinstated the workers to full pay and went along with the boycott. Although some of the cargo was off-loaded the boycott was eventually complete and resulted in the Rhodesian nickel returning

home again.

The Militant Action Dockworkers were key to the protest, and before the *African Sun* docked had distributed a newsletter (*The Dockworker*) from which the following statements are excerpted:

"Since March of this year 14 ships have come into Baltimore and unloaded goods from Rhodesia or Zimbabwe which is its correct African name. Many of us have justly refused to touch these cargoes. We feel that we might as well send guns and ammunition to the racist white minority government of Rhodesia if we're going to help them sell their goods in the U.S.

"Now Rhodesia may seem far away, and imperialism may seem like a nasty word but as long as we all work for a boss, and that boss gets rich off *our labor* we're all in the same boat whether we're black and work in a Rhodesian mine or unload cargo in the port of Baltimore. We're all getting shafted by the same big international companies. Now these big corporations are organized internationally so we must be organized internationally too.

"We as dockworkers are in an especially *good* position to fight imperialism. We can refuse to let our labor power be used to make these companies masters of the world—and us the slaves. So behind S. Rhodesia is Watergate, the fuel shortage, the wage freeze, and more big wars.

"Baltimore is now the second main port of entry for Rhodesian imports (New Orleans is the main port). We longshoremen of 333 are on the front line of the fight. It's not enough that we individually refuse to unload these scab ore ships, we must make sure that *no one* unloads them. For this reason we believe the quickest way to convince the stevedoring companies, the ILA and the U.S. government we really mean business is to shut down the port of Baltimore the next time one of these damn ships comes in."

The Militant Action Workers are also concerned with issues of safety conditions, illegalities in the Local union's bylaws, and national/local politics involved in some unwillingness of the hierarchy to support the Rhodesian boycott. For more info on the M.A.W. write: P.O. Box 4387, Baltimore, Md. 21223. The group is trying to collect funds to continue their work.

Plans were underway to boycott two chrome/ferrochrome ships due December 18 and 20th in Baltimore. On December 16, the *African Neptune* was met by 20 pickets protesting import of Rhodesian asbestos. Groups involved in Philadelphia are: American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia Episcopal Diocese, Unitarian Church, United Church of Christ, Revolutionary Union, the Brethren, Congress of African People, Common Sense, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, Resistance, Free Press, Life Center and members from ACOA and Southern Africa Committee-South. Asbestos said to be aboard the *Neptune* was never located and the ship also carrying 250 barrels of ferrochrome was boycotted in Baltimore on December 22. It left the port and apparently went further down the coast.

Another ship, the *Yellowstone* (of the Rio Grande Marine Transport Company) was successfully boycotted

in Baltimore the day before. It was carrying bulk chrome ore and was reportedly heading for Annapolis, Maryland with its cargo. Absolutely none of the 2,500 black and white Baltimore dockworkers could be encouraged or harassed into underloading the ship. (*Guardian*, New York, Jan. 2, 1974) The continuing militancy of workers and their allies in Philadelphia and Baltimore portends well for former boycott actions in the future.

LIBERATION SUPPORT ACTION

The Liberation Support Movement Information Center (Box 94338, Richmond, B.C., Canada) has recently shipped \$4,000 worth of medicines (antibiotics, vitamins and pain killers) and bandages to MPLA's Medical Assistance Services (SAM) in Angola. The group also ordered subscriptions to important medical journals for SAM, and has in the past printed materials for the service.

For information on how to send material goods (clothes, medicines) etc. to African liberation movements such as MPLA and FRELIMO (information on shipping, air freight, packaging), write to LSM Information Center. (*LSM News Release*, #4, Dec. 11, 1973)

WINE BOYCOTT PLANNED IN MADISON

In the December issue of *SOUTHERN AFRICA*, an Ithaca (New York) boycott of a new Portuguese wine, *Allegria*, was reported. It now appears that the marketability of wine is also being tested in Madison, Wisconsin where the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA) also plans to work with others in beginning a boycott effort. Wine amounts to some 6 per cent of Portugal's exports. (*MACSA News*, November, 1973).

Internation House in Philadelphia plans to honor Portugal at its annual ball next year. Protest this choice by writing to David Murphy, President, I. House, 3701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. For more information/write: Lloyd Di'nagi', 3635 N. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19140.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SCLC LEADERS

"The Atlanta African Liberation Support Committee has taken the categorical position that the National SCLC, under the leadership of the Rev. David Abernathy, and its Board of Directors, should not have taken the \$50,000 gift from the Gulf Oil Company.

The Freedom Fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have identified Gulf Oil and the racist Portuguese government, which is directly responsible for the killings and maiming of countless African men, women and children, as their enemies. Their enemies are our enemies. Gulf Oil pays the Portuguese Government \$30 million per year. Without this financial support the Portuguese could not wage its criminal war. This money has been stolen by the exploitation and maiming of African workers and the rape of African land. This blood money that you have accepted is an unprincipled action and puts you in league with thieves of African resources and the killers of African babies.

How can you, the leadership of SCLC, an organization with a history of just struggles against wrong, reconcile this unrighteous act? You are wrong; and it is our duty to our people to say so. We feel also that we must condemn



Dave Bragin

any others among us who would attempt to undermine our unity in this way.

The Founder and President of SCLC, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "that if a man has not found anything to die for, then he is not fit to live." This holds true for organizations that profess to have the interest of oppressed people at heart. The civil rights period of our movement is over that is why we support the revolutionary struggles of the armed liberation groups in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies. Their struggles live because it has the support of the people.

You have admitted that your organization does not have the financial support of Black people, so do not allow it, by taking this blood money, to become a stumbling block in the way of our people's progress.

We realize that most human rights organizations are in a financial crisis, at this point in history. We do not attempt to deny you financial survival. We know you need money. But should the principles of freedom from oppression be bartered for \$50,000? Our people have initiated a national boycott effort, aimed at the Gulf Oil Corporation and your organization has said that you support this effort. We are asking for your total support, by severing all relations with the Gulf Corporation.

We are all appeals to your conscience, something you have often done, to give this \$50,000 back to the Freedom Fighters, since it is from them that it has come. Knowing that you are honorable men of conscience, we feel that this will be done, since it is just. Do you think that our great leader, teacher, and the founder of your organization, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would be pleased, knowing the organization that has led our people through the trying days of the civil rights movement, has degenerated to the point of accepting money stained with the blood of Angolan babies?"

THE ATLANTA ALSA
(*African World*, December 1974)

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

INTERNATIONAL LABOR GROUPS

Holland's three main trade unions—the Socialist, the Catholic, and the Protestant—have told some 100 Dutch firms that their investments in South Africa were supporting apartheid and colonialism. The unions made the accusations in a letter to the firms, which included Royal Dutch Shell, Philips, Akzo Salt and Chemical Factories, Heinekens Breweries, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, and a number of banks. (*Daily News, Tanzania, Sept. 18, 1973*)

The *Canadian Labour Congress* is urging a boycott of coffee from Angola in support of the independence struggle of that Portuguese colony. (*Canadian Tribune, Oct. 24, 1973*) Mr. Donald MacDonald, president of the 1.8-million-member congress, said in a statement that Canadians should stop drinking coffee imported by three companies from Angola representing about 13% of Canada's coffee. The three companies using Angolan coffee in instant brands are General Foods (in Maxim, Maxwell House, Brim, Sanka, and Yuban), Nestles (in Tasters Choice), Nescafe and Standard brands (in Chase and Sanborn). (*Daily News, Tanzania, Oct. 18, 1973*). As a result of the month-long campaign led by the Angola Comite in Holland, a major Dutch supermarket chain, "Albert Heijn," has again decided to end its purchase of coffee from Angola. (*Handelsblad, Holland, Oct. 13, 1973*)

Harold Wilson told Britain's Labour Party conference in Blackpool in early October that Britain's moral future and her real interests were bound up with the support of the "freedom movements" in southern Africa. (*Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 6, 1973*) Though the conference hurried through the resolutions relating to southern Africa, it did commit a future Labour government to diminish economic links with South Africa, to toughen sanctions on Rhodesia "until majority rule based on universal suffrage is achieved" and to give "financial and diplomatic support to the liberation movements against all the White minority regimes." (*Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 13, 1973*)

Harold Wilson, Labour Party leader



SPORTS SCENE

The New Zealand Lawn Tournament Association (NZLTA) will be meeting with New Zealand's Prime Minister soon to discuss the approaching Federation Cup tournament to be held in New Zealand in December 1974. (The Federation Cup tournament is the women's equivalent of the Davis Cup). NZLTA is seeking South Africa's expulsion from that tournament, while South Africa is promoting a lot of public relations information indicating that the South African Lawn Tennis Union (whites only) will be selecting its team for the tournament "on merit." (*The Paper, New Zealand, Oct. 1973*)

Recently both the *Auckland* and *Canterbury Surf Lifesaving* associations have strongly criticized their national body, the New Zealand Surf Lifesaving Association, for picking competitors to go to South Africa in January and disguising this by calling them "administrators." Although the New Zealand government contributes a substantial amount of money to New Zealand Surf Lifesaving through the Water Safety Council, much of the money is raised by surf lifesavers up and down the country—by the same people who voted against sending a competitive team to South Africa. (*The Paper, New Zealand, October 1973*)

The New Zealand Women's Hockey Association changed its mind while on an international tourney, and announced from Amsterdam that it would travel to South Africa. Despite protests from scores of other New Zealand sports associations, the women reversed their earlier promise not to go to South Africa. (*The Paper, New Zealand, October 1973*)

Argentina has taken official action "not authorising any Argentine sportsman to play against South African sportsmen under any circumstances either here or in South Africa or in any other country," said Gomez Lopez of the Argentine Welfare Ministry's Sports Bureau. "We cannot stop a private citizen from going to South Africa and taking part in a game of tennis there, but all sports federations have been advised of our ban on federated sport activities with South Africa or Rhodesia." (*Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973*)

Canada has boycotted the squash championships in South Africa. (*The Paper, New Zealand, September 1973*)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

A resolution to expel South Africa and Portugal from the International Conference of Marine Pollution meeting in London failed. The resolution, moved by Tanzania and Ghana, was defeated by 26 votes to 20. (*Guardian, London, Oct. 24, 1973*)

"Action Portugal—Southern Africa," a political organization in Switzerland confirmed in a public statement in September that two participants in their demonstration against Portuguese presence in Lausanne are still in jail. In a public statement the Marxist Liga demanded immediate release of the two prisoners. (*Neue Zurcher Zeitung, Switzerland, Sept. 26, 1973*)

A delegation representing 28 French organizations handed a letter to the South African Ambassador to France, A.B. Burger, protesting the "inhuman regime" of his country. (*Washington Post, Oct. 12, 1973*)

The *All Africa Students Union* and the *World Federation of Democratic Youth* issued a joint communique in November condemning repression in Angola and Mozambique and aggression against the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and demanded immediate withdrawal of Portuguese mercenaries on African soil.

They further condemned cruel actions mounted against youths and students of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe who are fighting for independence. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 5, 1973)

The *British Council of Churches* adopted a report submitted by its department of international affairs, which, if implemented, could cut down on the number of emigrants to South Africa and Zimbabwe. The council also adopted a motion which called for the establishment of a "common instrument" through which churches and affiliated societies with problems "regarding the responsible stewardship of financial interests relating to Southern Africa" can acquire and share information. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 27, 1973)

The Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Portugal's African Colonies (TCLPAC) has decided to make Gulf Oil of Canada the focus of a major attack during the coming year. The Gulf Annual Meeting in April will be a major factor in the campaign. Anyone who can buy a (\$35) Gulf share which will act as a ticket of admission is urged to write TCLPAC at 121 Avenue Rd. in Toronto. TCLPAC members are also doing fund-raising for a truck for FRELIMO, and have reached 1/3 of the amount required. (*TCLPAC Newsletter*)

A campaign led by the Boycott Outspan Action group in *Holland* has gotten a major Dutch supermarket combination, Combi B.V., to stop selling outspan (South African) oranges. (*Letter*, Nov. 24, 1973) Holland's National Blanket Action campaign has secured 51,000 blankets for the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. This campaign was organized by the Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Society. (*Letter*, Nov. 24, 1973)

The Irish Government has decided to boycott the World Ploughing Championships due to be held in Dublin last October because of Rhodesia's participation in the event. The Irish Anti-apartheid Movement and the Irish trade unions sought a ban of Rhodesia, without success. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973)

Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam has re-asserted to Parliament his readiness to implement trade sanctions against South Africa. (*The Washington Post*, Sept. 28, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 6, 1973)

The New Zealand Government has prevented a world-wide market research group from conducting an opinion survey in New Zealand because one survey "customer" is South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973)

Australia has taken another step to isolate South Africa by serving notice that from September 1974, South Africa would not form part of the consortium which elected an executive director to the boards of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Australia expressed the wish to reconstruct the group and when the elections took place in 1974 for executive directors, South Africa would have to make alternate arrangements for its representation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973)

The European Working Group (a project of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation) is sponsoring a "Namibia Caravan" this fall, which will travel from Scandinavia through West Europe to London with an international team aboard. It will have a three-point role: (1) To "call on" the relevant government offices in each country to ascertain what they are doing to implement the U.N. Security Council Resolution which accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice that South Africa should withdraw from Namibia; (2) to "call



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on" the offices of those companies involved in the economic exploitation of Namibia and discuss with them the implications of their presence in the territory; and (3) to link up with support groups and interested bodies in each country. The purpose of the caravan is to focus on international responsibility for the injustice being perpetrated on the people of Namibia, to challenge those responsible in West Europe for this continuing injustice, and to act as a consciousness-raising group en route. For further information, contact Peter D. Jones, 311 High Street West, Glossop, Derbyshire, UK or the European Work Group, D-3321 Gross Heere, Nr 60, West Germany.

Jamaican Premier Michael Manley, at a recent conference in Algiers, indicated his willingness "to offer to the Organization of African Unity . . . that whenever it feels that volunteers from other countries can be trained to assist successfully in the overthrow of the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and the colonial regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, we will undertake to recruit volunteers and send them across the ocean to Africa." Manley began his speech before more than 50 heads of state and government by saying Jamaica and Guyana had agreed that it "be regarded as a presentation on behalf of the two states." (*The Afro-American*, Washington, D.C., Sept. 11-15, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Sept. 10, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 29, 1973)

books

Larry W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia, White Power in an African State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. \$9.50

As its subtitle indicates, this short (155 pgs. text) book focuses on the step by step entrenchment of white minority rule in Rhodesia. It is Bowman's central thesis that the evolution of white rule has never been seriously threatened by either the British government or the Africans since the massive Ndebele and Shona revolts of 1896-97 were put down by the first settlers and their indispensable South African and British allies. Britain, Bowman argues persuasively, sold out on African political rights with the granting of Responsible Government in 1923, accepted white control, and has shown "limited ability and interest in effecting political change in Rhodesia" ever since. Moreover, it was the failure of African nationalists active in the 1950's and early '60's to understand this fact, and their corresponding failure to appreciate the reality of a settler controlled political system, that led them to mistakenly equate their struggle with those being waged at the same time in other British colonies. As subsequent harsh legislation designed to throttle African political expression was to show, whites in Rhodesia were calling the tune and no meaningful assistance from Britain was to be expected.

Concentrating on the period from the beginning of Federation in 1953 to the Pearce Commission's rejection of settlement terms in May, 1972, Bowman documents clearly (and with a refreshing absence of academic jargon) his contention that neither multi-racialism nor African nationalism had a serious chance of success in Rhodesia. They could not succeed because whites in Rhodesia, as in South Africa, were (and are) both politically powerful and committed to retaining power. White political competition has therefore invariably been played out *within* the framework of shared resistance to African nationalism, and has "centered on the selection of political strategies that would best sustain white rule." Compared with similarities in white attitudes toward Africans then, differences between whites pale to insignificance.

Post U.D.I. economic sanctions, observed Bowman, were initiated by Britain to force the rebel government into a negotiated settlement, rather than to radically alter the white political power structure. Their ineffectiveness has been due to: 1) the support which Rhodesia has received from South Africa and the Portuguese in Mozambique, 2) the strength of the Rhodesian economy and ability of whites to diversify, 3) the piecemeal and gradual manner in which sanctions were applied, 4) the ability of the rebel government to secure the continued support of Rhodesian whites through granting guarantees and subsidies, and 5) the fact that the 1968 U.N. resolution calling for compulsory mandatory sanctions has been unenforceable.

What are Rhodesia's prospects? Bowman points out that the whites still exhibit a high degree of racial confidence. On the other hand, the recent upsurge of guerrilla activity within the country indicates that an

increasing number of Africans now realize that political change will only come through their own efforts and through what may well become protracted physical conflict. In view of the intensification and spread of guerrilla attacks in the last few months (see the Zimbabwe section of *Southern Africa*, Nov., Dec., Jan.), it may be that Bowman has overemphasized the "weak and disorganized" state of the rebel government's enemies and underestimated both new efforts to end fragmentation within the nationalist movement and the effects of the ongoing struggle for liberation, particularly in Mozambique, on the tactical and structural development of that movement.

Still, Bowman's book is important and particularly welcome given the paucity of good material on the subject. His examination of the development and workings of the Rhodesian Front Party is very useful and his analysis of Britain's nominal role as a colonial power, cuts through to the heart of British impotence and lack of will vis a vis the racism of their "kith and kin" in Rhodesia.

A. K. H. Weinrich (Sister Mary Aquina O.P.), *Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia*. Totawa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973 (London: Manchester University Press). L3.60.

Leonard Kapungu, *The United Nations and Economic Sanctions in Rhodesia*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973. \$12.50.

These two books, on quite different specific themes, nevertheless have a number of points in common. Both deal with factors important to understand in analyzing the ongoing struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Both are fairly narrowly defined academic studies, priced too high for accessibility to large numbers of people. But both are also well thought out and well-written. Libraries should be encouraged to buy them, and people interested in Southern Africa to borrow them and read them.

Weinrich's book derives, as did her earlier *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia* (University of South Carolina Press, 1971), from detailed research carried out in Rhodesia, where the author has been a lecturer in the department of Sociology and Social Anthropology. District commissioners (25% of the total number of 52), agricultural experts, missionaries, and farmers were all interviewed, as part of the rural white elite. Africans who were doctors, hospital administrators, extension officers, school inspectors and school managers, as well as teachers and small businessmen, were also interviewed. The result is a detailed profile of the background and views of both, set within a context of a white-dominated society. Among the interesting results is the observation that extension officers were somewhat more open than district commissioners to African advancement, working for example, with African colleagues (unlike the district commissioners); another is the point that while African teachers maintained close relationships with the local communities, and served as important leaders of public

opinion, African school inspectors almost completely isolated themselves from African society, trying in vain to be accepted by the whites. The study contains many more such detailed results, which, while not put in an explicitly political context, have obvious implications for understanding the political struggle for majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Kapungu's account is a detailed study of the application and implementation of sanctions against the Rhodesian regime, a study originally prepared as a thesis for the London School of Economics. Mr. Kapungu, from Zimbabwe, is now teaching at the University of Maryland. Among the major points he emphasizes, in addition to the failure to consistently enforce the sanctions, is the fact that sanctions remained essentially British sanctions, not directed at attaining majority rule in Rhodesia, but only a return to the *status quo* before UDI. "Britain, from the very beginning, determined the policy of economic

sanctions against Rhodesia, sponsored it in the Security Council, largely determined the sanctions to be designated, and influenced to a great deal the formulation process of the sanctions resolutions" (p. 137). As a result, Kapungu notes, "Rhodesia has provided essential lessons to the United Nations of how ineffectual sanctions could be if they are not applied in earnest and with the determination to make them effective" (p. 139). Nevertheless, he believes, the sanctions, if continued, can help curtail the ability of the Rhodesian regime to finance its military operations, while continued economic stagnation and African unemployment may contribute to increased support for the guerrillas. Whether sanctions are continued, of course, depends on continued British failure to reach a settlement with Smith, and on the reversal of the huge breach in the sanctions wall made by the United States' importation of chrome and other metals in open violation of the UN sanctions. ●

WE THE PEOPLE

We recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea Bissau.

In this historic moment, we join with the people of Guinea Bissau in celebrating this latest triumph over Portuguese colonialism and its allies.

Guided by the determined leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), this great expression of the right of self-determination attests to the strength and will of a vigilant people.

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The Government lags far behind,

It backs Portugal. It aids Portuguese colonial wars in Africa both unilaterally and via NATO. It refuses to recognize the new Republic of Guinea Bissau. This former Portuguese colony in West Africa proclaimed its new government on September 24, 1973.

68 nations have already recognized Guinea Bissau. More are expected. But the Government lags far behind.

The Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea Bissau, sponsored by 77 citizens, has launched a campaign. We affirm the Message of Support and Solidarity to the People and Party of the Republic of Guinea Bissau. We urge you to do the same.



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