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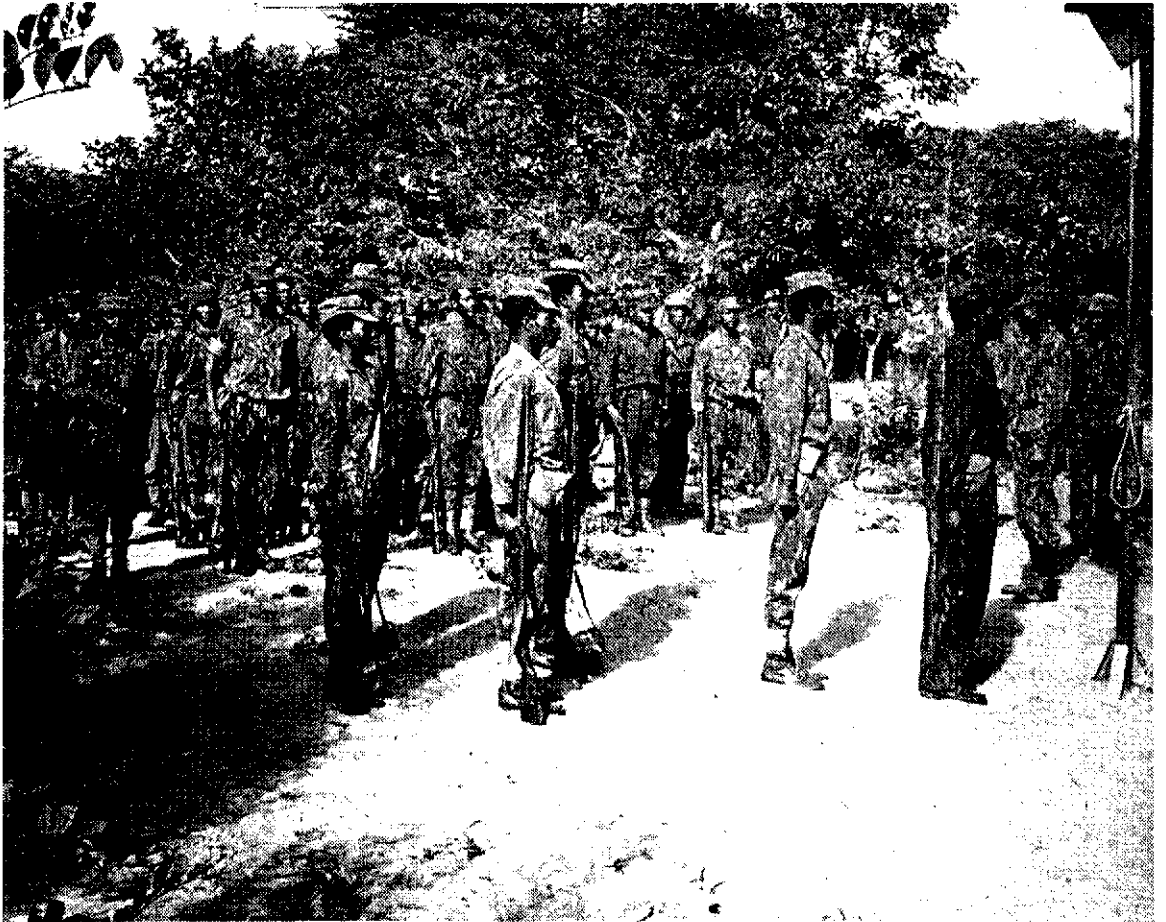
southern africa



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contents

VOL. VII No. 3

MARCH 1974

1. Feature: Struggle in Namibia: Report from SWAPO representative	4
2. South Africa	7
Strike in Durban's textile mills	
"Honorary Whites" further justify status	
Kennecott back after 130-year absence	
Ford recruits whites	
Ford opens new plant, Chrysler lays off 375	
Parliamentary election	
Buthelezi signs pact with United Party leader	
Birds of a feather flock together	
SAPA defends limited use of term "guerrilla"	
Port St. Johns: black or white?	
Censorship: Hear no . . . see no . . . speak no . . . write no . . .	
New Year messages	
Banning, house arrests	
After effects of student unrest	
3. Struggle Against Portugal	14
MOZAMBIQUE	
Priests and massacres	
Priest and G.I. oppose Portugal	
Conscription extended to immigrants?	
Frelimo strikes hard	
Manica e Sofala front intensifies	
Secret police counters in Tete	
Portuguese to develop ports	
International support	
Dam the nationalists?	
The "guerrilla highway"	
ANGOLA:	
New MPLA victories	
Swedish and Danish aid	
Zaire expels Portuguese	
Texaco in Angola	
MPLA visits Britain	
PORTUGAL:	
Rightist coup foiled?	
Opening to the "east"?	
Kissinger meets Caetano	
Torture	
Oil shares nationalized	
REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU	
Inside Guinea-Bissau	
Cabral on the move	
Scientist and mutineers on Cape Verde	
Recognition continues	
4. Zimbabwe	20
African soldiers refuse to fire	
Strategic villages	
Liberation movements report activity	
Military activity	
Two guerrillas hanged	
Chief barred from funeral	
Ndlovu remains in detention	
Smith's eight year	
White economy	

Immigration decreases	
Sanctions breaking continues	
ANC/Smith talks	
Students urge expulsion from Commonwealth	
Zambians seize Rhodesian	
5. Namibia	23
New wave of arrests and repression	
6. U.S. and Southern Africa	24
S.A. minister visits U.S.: new friends won?	
Corporate opposition to sanctions mounts	
House defeats U.S. allocation to World Bank	
7. Action News and Notes	25
City Commission holds hearing on New York Times ads	
POLITICAL ACTIONS:	
Cabral assassination commemorated—New Republic hailed	
N.Y. State ads in South Africa	
More condemnation of SCLC Gulf grant	
Dockworkers boycott continues	
ALSC meets—oil resolution passed	
LIBERATION SUPPORT	
Clothing for Zimbabwe	
Sambizanga: Film commemoration for MPLA	
Support for petition on Guinea-Bissau	
CORPORATE ACTIONS:	
AMAX case dismissed	
Church groups launch expanded corporate attacks	
8. Resources	30
9. Book Reviews	31

We apologize for the lateness of the February issue caused by the Christmas season and slow postal delivery.

Front Cover:
SWAPO combatants in Namibia
[photo: SWAPO]

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feature

Struggle in NAMIBIA SWAPO representative reports.

Readers of *Southern Africa* are of course familiar with the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) the liberation movement fighting to oust the South African regime from their country, Namibia. In June last year, Ben Gurirab, the representative of SWAPO to the United Nations and United States, went back to Namibia with his counterpart in London, Peter Katsivivi, but this time through the 'back door', and met with his fellow-people in Caprivi. The following is a transcription of part of a meeting he held soon after his return to the States with friends in New York, including the Southern Africa Committee, in which he spoke warmly about his trip and what he had seen.

By way of introduction and to put his words into historical perspective, we quote from a booklet on Namibia by two SWAPO militants, Akuenje and Hamutenya.*

INTRODUCTION: THE NAMIBIAN RESISTANCE

The African resistance to colonial rule in Namibia dates back to the early days of colonialism. The Namibian people put up one of the most heroic resistances to colonialism in the world. The 1903-1907 general rebellion against German colonialism in the southern and central parts of Namibia is one of the most well-documented anti-colonial wars in history.

It was followed by a chain of local resistance which were suppressed by the South African troops after World War I. Subsequent to World War II, the resistance took on the form of protest and petitioning politics. However, this resistance found its national expression in the emergence of the national liberation movement during the latter half of the 1950's. The formation of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in 1959 gave a concrete manifestation to the evolving national consciousness of the Namibian people. SWAPO was launched by Namibian workers who resided in urban areas of South Africa and Namibia. Its initial preoccupation was the plight of

migrant workers recruited from the rural areas of northern Namibia. But it also forged operational alliance with all the anti-colonial groupings in Namibia. Soon after its formation, SWAPO played a leading role in organizing the Windhoek uprising of December 1959. This insurrection involved at first staging labor walkouts, mass boycotts of public transportations, and beer halls. In response to this uprising, South African police used armored cars and sten-guns to intimidate the people, and as a result twelve Africans were killed and more than fifty were wounded. As a counter-measure to this repressive violence (murderous repression), the unarmed African residents of Windhoek set fire to government buildings, police vehicles, broke open jails and released African political prisoners. In attacking these institutions, the Namibian people were openly expressing their hatred of South Africa's racist colonial rule which these institutions epitomized. Specifically, the Africans were resisting the arbitrary residential reshuffle imposed on them in accordance with the apartheid requirements.

As Ruth First has remarked in her book *South West Africa*, the Windhoek shootings were a prelude to the Sharpsville massacre in South Africa itself five months later. The Windhoek confrontation initially brought the incipient Namibian national liberation movement in a head-on-collision with the South African repressive state apparatus. The South African regime followed up the Windhoek shootings with a campaign of wholesale arrests, detentions, banishment and exiling of SWAPO leaders and cadres.

By December 1963, the regime banned SWAPO from holding any public meetings thereby making it almost impossible for the movement to communicate with the Namibian masses. However, by this time, SWAPO had acquired a sufficiently broad following in Namibia. It had managed to establish branches in most of Namibia's industrial, mining and rural areas, and was thus able to weather the initial storms of suppression.

Faced with such a repressive offensive, SWAPO was obliged to go underground. By 1963, it began to establish a clandestine organizational infrastructure. This marked the birth of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) which was started with a program of training and establishing guerrilla cells in the rural areas of the Caprivi Strip/Okavango areas in the east, Ovambo in the north, and the Okaoko in the northwestern part of Namibia. This preparation went on quietly for three years prior to the first armed encounter between South African troops and SWAPO guerrilla units.

By the middle of 1966, South African troops and security forces detected the underground activities of SWAPO guerrilla cadres and on the 26th August of that year, these troops attacked one of our major guerrilla bases at Ongulumbashe. During a dawn to dusk but sharp engagement, a small unit of our fighters numbering less than 30 determined patriots, put up a horrendous resistance. By the following morning, the base was encircled by enemy ground and air troops. As a consequence, most of the fighters were captured after having inflicted some casualties on the enemy forces. Others broke through the encirclement and escaped. Most of those captured are now imprisoned on South Africa's infamous Robben Island.

* Onesmus Akuenje and Hidipo Hamutenya, *NAMIBIA: Some light on the struggle for national liberation*. Available through the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Price 35¢



Militants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia planning strategy.

In response to the South African offensive, local armed units of PLAN received command to attack administrative centers, police stations and military posts in the Caprivi Strip/Okavango, Ovambo and Okaoko areas of Namibia. Thus on the 2nd of September, 1966, South Africa's administrative center at Oshikango on the Angolan/Namibian border was attacked and most of it went up in flames. There was also an attack on police stations at Runtu, the administrative center of Okavango area. Alarmed by the spread of guerrilla activity John B. Vorster, then South African Minister of Police, requested Prime Minister Verwoerd to summon Parliament to an emergency session where he broke the stunning news that there is a serious problem of guerrilla insurrection in Namibia.

The beginning of the year 1967 was marked by a considerable measure of military deployment in Namibia by South Africa. This included extensive use of helicopters for air patrol. And a number of military bases were established at Ohopoho in the Okaoko region, at Ruacana falls near the Kunene River Scheme, at Ondangwa in the Ovambo area, at Bwambwata in the vicinity of Okavango River. All these were in addition to the old airforce and army bases near Windhoek, Gobabis, Keetmanshoop, Grootfontein, Walvis Bay and at Singalamwe near Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi Strip where jet fighters could simultaneously land and take off.

Simultaneously, South African police and security forces launched a mop-up campaign against the entire SWAPO infrastructure across Namibia. By 1968, over 400 SWAPO cadres and functionaries in the urban areas of southern and central Namibia, in the Ovambo and in the Okavango/Caprivi areas were rounded up. Most of them were shipped to a chain of detention and torture chambers in Pretoria. A number of them were sent to Robben Island. A concerted effort was also made to infiltrate the guerrilla movement with a view to liquidating it before it acquired popular support and experience. Indeed, the years 1967 and 1968 were difficult years for the infant PLAN. It was not until the

latter half of 1969 that units of PLAN began taking the initiative in the form of ambush, mining, and surprise attacks. From 1969 to the present the SWAPO guerrilla exploits in the Caprivi/Okavango areas have been impressive. That is, in spite of South African troops' extensive air, ground and water patrols, the freedom fighters have proved their capacity for elusiveness and meticulous planning for lightning assaults on the enemy's military and police posts in the abovementioned areas. Because of the systematic mining of strategic roads in the Okavango/Caprivi areas by the guerrillas during the last three years, the South African armed forces were forced into a state of immobility and came to rely heavily on the use of helicopters in the attempt to stop the guerrilla activity in Namibia.

Owing to the casualties which SWAPO guerrillas have been inflicting upon the South African troops through ambushes and mining the South African government brought six African, Indian and Coloured contingents into Namibia to be used as frontline men against SWAPO freedom fighters. This marked South Africa's "Africanization" of the counter-insurgent operation in Namibia. However, more than twenty of these misguided souls have already met their death on the battlefield of Namibia. One of the six contingents was completely routed through an ambush on the Easter holidays this year. As the SWAPO Communique No. 2 (1973) issued in Lusaka, Zambia, on 23rd of April put it: On Friday 20th of April 1973 at about 1810 hours, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)—SWAPO's military arm, strategically and successfully ambushed an enemy platoon consisting of 39 troops; 37 of the 39 were shot and killed on the spot—only two enemy soldiers were wounded and escaped.

Coming from Kamenga enemy military camp and heading in the direction of Singalamwe towards the south-eastern part in order to conduct punitive operations against SWAPO freedom fighters based in the area, the enemy was out-routed approximately 10 to 11 km from Kamenga military camp. The enemy's contingent was

composed of South African blacks and whites—all mercenaries brought to the Caprivi region of Namibia—one of our operational zones, to combat our SWAPO freedom fighters in the said area.

Along with the wiping out of that contingent went the capturing of considerable variety of enemy arms and ammunition by SWAPO guerrillas, some of which have been made available to the OAU Liberation Committee for inspection. They included: NATO weapons, Belgian made FAL 308 and light machine guns of the same origin, British made LMG's "Bren", ammunition, a Radio transmitter (Serial No. 3537, Model TR 28-A2), First Aid bags containing Anti-snake bite serum, Aromatic Chalk with Opium, bandages, syringes, military uniforms and many other material.

Armed resistance is the scaffolding of the Namibian struggle. SWAPO's nucleus of armed combatants have learned invaluable lessons through concrete experience during the last six years. The movement is committed to the program of protracted armed struggle which must reach all the corners of our country through concerted effort of mobilization and political education.

REPORT FROM BEN GURIRAB

I arrived in Lusaka at the beginning of May (1973) and was impressed by the development that had taken place in Zambia since the days it was Northern Rhodesia. I felt the sense of nationhood, of nation building. President Kaunda is trying to integrate different elements in the face of great difficulties, not the least of which are daily threats from Smith and Vorster.

While in Lusaka I was taken to the SWAPO farm. Between two and three hundred Namibians live here, having fled the country to escape from increasing bombardment of villages—including poisoning of wells, and intimidation. On the farm live people of all ages, from one month to old men and women. They face the problems which emanate from being removed from their traditional culture. Nonetheless they understand that the movement is sowing seeds for a better society and that it is a slow, difficult process. The farm provides a nucleus for the future of Namibia, and a place where Namibians can live together, and share their experiences in a new community. Through my visit to the farm, I began to appreciate the extent to which SWAPO has grown over the past ten years. It is more than a political movement now, encompassing the armed struggle, as well as molding the new society of the future.

Most significant was our visit inside Namibia. I was proud that I was able to get back into Namibia and that SWAPO could facilitate this. I spent a week in the North East area, in the Caprivi region, with the express purpose of meeting freedom fighters; to learn from them, by living with them, how they perceive the struggle.

The highlight of the trip was a meeting with comrades who had travelled from different areas of Namibia. You must understand that a police state pervades, and the geography itself is a difficult barrier. And yet our men made their way from North West Namibia to attend, not only on a given day, but on a given time, a meeting with me and Peter Katsivivi. The meeting lasted 7 hours. We each addressed the freedom fighters, then they asked questions, and they addressed us. While listening to Peter addressing our people, I looked across at my country men, seeing before me men of all ages, some much older, some

in their 50's, some young men. Daily they were proving with their lives their commitment to the struggle. It was a source of great inspiration, and I was struck by the spirit of these men. It was a tense time for them as they had recently killed 37 South African police and soldiers who were taking an offensive against our people. I was also impressed by the awareness these men showed of the outside world. They asked questions about support from outside for our struggle and about other struggles being waged for example by the Blacks in the United States, in Latin America, in North Vietnam.

On the way back to Zambia we passed through Angola, and swam in the Gwango River. We could hear helicopters and spotter planes, but there was no confrontation.

I was very impressed by the extent to which the freedom fighters have established rapport with people in the villages. This is important, as villagers can provide sustenance and protection for you. Our men have made that contact.

The journey from Lusaka, to Namibia (East Caprivi) was a long one and took many days. The closer to the border with South Africa one gets, the more difficult it is as South Africa's presence is felt. Zambian villages have suffered in the process.

Revolutions cannot be exported. Each struggle must be looked at individually. Certainly many things are comparable, but so many elements prevent the generalization of the struggle in Southern Africa or the world. For example the proximity of the enemy to the battle field is an important element. In Namibia the struggle is not based on having liberated areas which holds true for the Portuguese colonies.

The areas which we control are primarily in the North East and North West of Namibia. The whole structure we develop is based on the fact that we operate under a police state, which has a large military base. Our efforts are fought against by the State, assisted by their apartheid laws which among other things dictate the areas in which people can live. Although I have the highest respect for the struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, what holds true for their situation does not necessarily hold true for us.*

* Akuenje and Hamutenya make this point well. We quote in full (p. 18, *ibid*):

Gurirab & Katjavivi addressing SWAPO combatants.



The struggle which SWAPO is spearheading in Namibia is a component part of the overall struggle against colonialism and white supremacy in Southern Africa. We share the daily agony with the people of Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The fighting movements in these countries are our dearest and closest comrades.

Some liberation movements in these countries, especially in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have been very successful in establishing liberated territories which are a source of inspiration to their people and, indeed, to the Namibian people as well. Such territories have given them the opportunity to demonstrate to their people and to the world the social content of their struggle. They have been able to set up schools, clinics and new administrative centers based on collective participation. In these liberated areas new modes of production, predicated on the morality of classless society and anti-elitism, are being forged. These liberated territories have also some appeal to those international groups which wish to finance "humanitarian" projects in liberated territories but who do not want to support armed struggle itself which had made such liberated territories possible.

It needs to be stated that Namibia's specific conditions tend to preclude the possibility of establishing liberated territories because of a number of factors. Namibia is a semi-desert country with most of its terrain open, and a sparse population. It has relatively higher percentage of white settlers and a highly developed system of communications. This means considerable mobility on the part of South African troops which can be swiftly mobilized to decimate any liberated territory in the country. This does not mean, of course, that the struggle cannot be waged in the country. In Algeria, for instance, a bitter struggle went on for years but there were no liberated territories because the semi-desert nature and the enormous mobility of the French forces obliged the Algerian people to adapt strategic plans which were in conformity with such objective conditions. Similarly, the liberation movements in settler colonies of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, must adopt strategies that are proper to their conditions. This means a capacity for mobility and generalized underground resistance in the villages, factories, schools, farms and in the social centers.

It means making the entire country a zone of insecurity vis-a-vis the enemy.

Does this imply then that where there are no liberated territories there is no room for humanitarian activities? The answer is no. The struggle which is going on in non-liberated areas of Namibia has brought sufferings to very many people. There are for instance thousands of refugees from the guerrillas' operational zones of Caprivi Strip and Okavango. Most of them have fled to Botswana and Zambia. They present us with humanitarian problems of feeding them, housing them and caring for their health and education. Furthermore, there are many families in our operational zones who have lost all their able-bodied members. We owe humanitarian responsibility to them. We need to support them constantly. There are those who have been captured and detained. They need our support through all the possible channels.

Question: Why has Vorster not banned SWAPO?

Answer: Again, one must realize that we are operating in a

police state. Although de facto SWAPO is not banned, Vorster has been able to hinder many of our activities in practice through emergency regulations, making it illegal to hold meetings without permits, limiting mobility, trying to establish separate 'nations'. However the situation for Vorster, is out of hand, and he is trying to avoid total confrontation. For example the strike devastated the economic life of Namibia, and this coupled with political upheaval will render things chaotic for him. But he is careful about what he does in the international context, and so uses other ways of restricting SWAPO than straight banning.

Question: Is there any involvement of women in the military?

Answer: Not at this stage. However they play a significant part in the political process, and some have been arrested. It is certainly SWAPO's goal for women to participate fully. We have come a long way and overcome a lot, but are naturally still confronted with many problems. The determination and commitment is there. We want Namibia to be free as one entity. ■



**south
africa**

STRIKE IN DURBAN'S TEXTILE MILLS

Ten thousand African Textile workers went on strike during January in Durban. Their action resulted in a small pay increase and a call for international sanctions against South Africa.

The walk-out followed several days of talks focussed on workers' discontent with the industry's new wage structure. Recently, the South African Government ordered cotton mill owners to increase the pay of new workers. The strikers demanded similar increases for employees with seniority.

The government order was aimed at avoiding widespread strikes by African workers. Only a year ago 50,000 persons were involved in widespread industrial unrest in Durban, the country's second largest city.

This time, though, police quickly employed strong action to break-up the strike and prevent its spreading. On the first day of the walk-out, 250 persons were arrested and charged with illegal picketing and harassing other workers.

Following the arrests, a settlement was reached with owners of five of the eleven struck mills. The agreement was negotiated by a Minister of Kwazulu, one of the Bantustans. It reportedly involved token raises for long-term employees and a government promise not to press serious charges against those strikers who were arrested.



A policeman arrests a striking textile worker in Durban, South Africa during protest march.

In South Africa, African workers cannot join registered trade unions, and have no right to bargain collectively or strike. Denial of these rights has brought criticism of South Africa from many labor groups.

At the outbreak of the strike, the International Confederations of Free Trade Unions, the I.C.F.T.U., cabled a protest to the United Nations. The I.C.F.T.U., which is the world's largest association of non-communist unions, called for international sanctions against South Africa until it grants full trade union rights to black workers.

The role played by Kwazulu councillor Dladla was criticized by the large, moderate labor body, TUCSA (Trade Union Council for South Africa). TUCSA is opposed to the involvement by Bantustan governments in labor disputes. In a similar vein, the Johannesburg *Star* expressed concern that when the Bantustans are given their proposed political independence, "African labor disputes will be international incidents, with the African governments in a powerful position to cripple industry by withholding labour." (January 23, 1974)

Thus said the *Star* in a statement which also parallels TUCSA's position, the government must not give recognition to African trade unions—"which, if controlled from inside the Bantustans, will also be in a position to cripple industry." What "liberal" newspapers like the *Star* as well as TUCSA and many South African capitalists advocate is bringing African workers who are employed in "white" South Africa into the existing multiracial

(because they include coloureds and Indians) trade unions, where white leadership can maintain some control.

The now-exiled South African Council of Trade Unions (SACTU) and all supporters of full trade union rights for black South Africans reject both the Dladla and TUCSA approaches. Dladla's intervention, widely credited by the press with forestalling another general Durban strike, allowed employers to avoid meaningful direct negotiations with the strikers. And, TUCSA and its supporters want to minimize the political consequences of an organized and militant African work force by placing them in white-dominated, moderate unions. (*Africa News* Jan. 28, 1974; and *Star* Jan. 26)

"HONORARY WHITES" FURTHER JUSTIFY STATUS

The Japanese steel industry has recently concluded two huge iron ore contracts with South African firms. The arrangement will contribute to the already-escalating growth in trade between the Asian economic giant and the white apartheid regime. It is this increasing trade which has earned the Japanese the status of "honorary whites"—despite a ban on investment in South Africa by Tokyo.

In January, Arnhold Wilhelmi (an associate of the large South African firm, Consolidated African Mines) reached an agreement with Japanese steel interests to supply them with about 8.6 million tons of iron ore over a 10 year period beginning on 1977, plus 400,000 tons in the three years before 1977. The contract is reported to be worth about \$150 million. (*Star* Johannesburg, Jan. 26, 1974)

The government-controlled South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (IsCOR) is also said to have "reached almost 99 percent agreement" with the Japanese to supply iron ore from the new Sishen-Saldanha project (see *Southern Africa* January 1974). By early-February the deal had not been finalized because of uncertainties created by the oil shortage. Japan's steel industry uses oil for about 80 percent of its fuel needs and future availability of supplies are still uncertain. In addition, the industry wants to assess the impact of a possible recession on the purchases of processed steel before committing itself to large long-term contracts for supply of iron ore. The deal with Wilhelmi is much smaller than the South African firm had hoped for; press reports indicate that the firm was working towards an arrangement to supply 75 million tons over a 15-year period. (*Star*, Jan 12, 1974 and *Financial Mail* Johannesburg, Nov. 2, 1973)

KENNECOTT BACK AFTER 13-YEAR ABSENCE

A Canadian subsidiary of Kennecott Copper Corporation, one of the largest U.S. non-ferrous metal manufacturers, has purchased a major interest in a titanium deposit at Richard's Bay, Zululand. The mining interest was purchased from King Resources Company of Denver, which went bankrupt in 1971. The sale to Quebec Iron & Titanium Co. was approved on January 11 by Judge Fred Winner, whose Denver Federal district court is overseeing dissolution of King's investments. Purchase price was just over \$4 million. (*Wall Street Journal*, January 14, 1974; and *Star*, Jan. 19, 1974.)

This purchase brings Kennecott back into business in South Africa for the first time in 13 years. On January 13,

1961, Kennecott sold its investments in two South African gold mines to a syndicate of South African mining companies. The syndicate which bought Virginia Orange Free State Gold Mining Company and the Merriespruit (Orange Free State) Gold Mining Company was headed by U.S. millionaire Charles Engelhard, then chairman of Rand Mines Ltd., a South African mining house which took a major stake in the two mines. (Kennecott Copper Corp., "Letter to Stockholders," Jan. 13, 1961)

In a letter to shareholders on the date of the sale, Kennecott admitted that it was selling the properties at a "substantial loss" but said the sale "is in the best interests of Kennecott." Kennecott president C.R. Cox explained that the company would turn the loss into financial advantage by using the capital loss to offset capital gains enjoyed by Kennecott for the next five years. Since capital gains are subject to substantial taxation under federal income tax laws, the maneuver illustrates one of the many devices available to U.S. corporations to avoid payment of taxes.

The transaction gives the Kennecott subsidiary the 49 percent stake which King Resources owned in the titanium deposit at Richards Bay. The other 51 per cent is held by the South African government-controlled Industrial Development Corporation. Two years ago, according to documents filed in Denver federal court, the property had an estimated value of \$350,000. Since then, the documents say that ilmenite and rutile, which are used to produce paint pigment, as well as other heavy minerals, have been discovered on the property.

King Resources owned a number of other investments in South Africa. King was reported to hold 99 percent of the shares in a titanium mine at Morgan Bay, 35 miles north of East London. (*Star*, May 7, 1969) A South African newspaper once described the property as "one of the biggest deposits in the world of rare titanium, used as pigments, for electric welding and foundry work." (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, May 17, 1970)

King also holds an interest in an Orange River diamond deposit, as well as several other mining ventures in other parts of the country. It is not known when these will be sold nor whether Kennecott or other U.S. firms have expressed interest in purchasing any of them.

FORD RECRUITS WHITES TO WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Ford has a better idea—move to South Africa. That's what the company has been telling British workers. And even before the latest economic crisis, the Britishers have responded enthusiastically.

Ford, the second largest automobile maker in the world, has for a number of years recruited English workers to take employment in the company's South African plants. There is a shortage of skilled whites to do the job, and South Africa's racial laws prevent black workers from filling the vacancies.

Several months ago, Ford needed 70 technicians for a new South African assembly plant. With the help of the South African embassy in London, the company advertised for Britons—whites only of course.

More than two thousand people responded to the ads, and over a thousand applied for the 70 jobs.

British trade unions have taken a firm stand against their members moving to South Africa. They argue that recruitment of workers in Britain enables South Africa to maintain its racially-determined job structures. British

workers going to South Africa, the trade unionists point out, hurt black South Africans by taking jobs that should be theirs.

Ford, however, was pleased with the response. Although three-fourths of the company's 4,000 employees in South Africa are black, Ford abides by racial laws which reserve the best jobs for whites—even if they must be brought into the country from somewhere else. (*Africa News* Thursday, January 24, 1974)

FORD OPENS NEW PLANT, CHRYSLER LAYS OFF 375 AS SA AUTO INDUSTRY SLUMPS

Ford South Africa's new \$13 million plant at Struandale, Port Elizabeth, was in production only a few weeks before a major slump hit the country's auto industry. It was primarily to find white skilled workers for this factory that Ford conducted its recruitment drive in Britain (see above). Currently, all Ford workers, including the new recruits at Struandale, have suffered a reduction in earnings because of the production cuts instituted by Ford South Africa. The company, a subsidiary of the second largest U.S. car maker, employs about 4000 workers—about 75 percent are African or Coloured. The Struandale plant opened with 472 African workers and 139 whites. (*South African Digest*, Pretoria, Dec. 14, 1973; *Star*, Jan. 12, 1974)

Workers at Chrysler plants in South Africa have been harder hit by the slump. The Johannesburg *Star* reports that 375 assembly workers—about 15 percent of the labor force—were laid off in early January. "This has become necessary," a company official told the *Star* (Jan. 12, 1974), "because of the current instability in the new car market caused by uncertainty about petrol restrictions and the possibility of rationing."

Although 1973 was a record year for auto sales in South Africa, the drop in sales during the latter part of the year was dramatic. In December (normally one of the best months for the industry), sales were down 31 percent from November and 20 percent lower than sales in December 92. Annual figures for 1973 show that car sales reached about 230,000 new vehicles—25 percent more than 1972 and a record for the industry. (*Star*, Jan. 12, 1974)

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION LIKELY

Although Prime Minister Vorster did not have to hold an election until mid-1975, reports indicate that he will call for one for late April or early May. As Parliament opened on February 1, there was the expectation that an official announcement would be made during early debate.* The Nationalist, United and Progressive Parties are all in the process of naming candidates and promoting voter registration. Parliamentary constituency boundaries have recently been studied and 26 out of 171 have been changed. It is expected that the delimitation will reinforce the Nationalist party, probably allowing it to retain its two-thirds majority at the next election.

Only whites can vote in South Africa, and there are 2,141,354 voters on the rolls. These voters elect officials who determine policy for a population of more than 21 million.

John Vorster has been prime minister for nine years, since the assassination of Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd in Sept., 1966. It is reported that Vorster does not intend to

continue as the head of the government after the life of the next Parliament. He wants to hold an election now before problems like the fuel crisis, inflation, and Namibia (South West Africa) get any worse. After the election he is expected to make final changes in his cabinet and have the first real "Vorster Cabinet." His aims are, according to political correspondent John D'Oliveira, to push for the "full consequences of the policy of separate development." This includes limited economic improvements for the South African Black and the elimination of potential points of crisis by removing petty forms of discrimination. He will campaign openly on issues of security and the need for stability, but he is prepared to carry out the policy of separate development to its logical conclusions, as long as the white power base is in no way threatened. Thus, Blacks may enjoy minor improvements in their daily lives, but it will still be the 2 million who are making political decisions for the 21 million. (Johannesburg *Star* Johannesburg, Dec. 29, 1973; Jan. 12, 19, 26, 1974).

(*It was announced at the beginning of February that elections will be held on April 24th, 1974—Eds.)

BUTHELEZI SIGNS PACT WITH UNITED PARTY LEADER SCHWARZ

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu and Harry Schwartz, head of the United Party in the Transvaal, have signed a five-point plan for racial peace in South Africa. The plan is significant because Buthelezi is a leader among the Bantustan heads in South Africa, and Schwarz represents a powerful faction within the United Party. The plan sets out principles for cooperation between Blacks and Whites, emphasizing peaceful change, equal opportunity for all, consultation between the races, a federal form of government and a bill of rights.

At the time the declaration was released, Buthelezi stated that "the time is ripe in South Africa for the establishment of a permanent consultative interracial body." (*Washington Post*, Jan. 10, 1974)

Other Black leaders have come forward to endorse the plan. Mr. Phatudi of the Lebowa Bantustan praised the document for its affirmation of non-violent change. Chief Mangope, head of the Tswana, and Professor Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu stated that it represents their view of how change can come. (*Star*, Jan. 19, 1974)

The declaration has been criticized by a number of White politicians. Within the United Party there is strong feeling that Schwarz claimed too much authority for himself, in spite of the fact that he says he informed party chief, Sir de Villiers Graaff, before the meeting took place. Others applaud his move as a creative attempt to move the United Party to a more realistic position, offering Blacks a fuller voice in the future of the country and thus offering a real alternative to the Nationalists. The Nationalist paper *Die Transvaler* dismissed the declaration as "political megalomania", saying that it was evidence of Schwarz's personal ambition and of chaos in the power structure of the United Party.

Criticism also came from Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party who said the declaration was "a Schwarz gimmick with which Chief Buthelezi had unwittingly become associated." (*Star* Jan. 12, 1974).

Although the declaration is getting a great deal of publicity within and without South Africa, it is difficult

to assess its importance. It does not represent the position of the United Party, as Chief Buthelezi was careful to point out. He signed the pact with Schwarz, and the federal policy called for is not that of the United Party which Buthelezi rejects because it retains a white parliament with overall sovereignty. (*Guardian*, London, Jan. 8, 1974).



Harry Schwarz

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER

Although it stretches credibility to the breaking point, the *South African Digest* reports the following evaluation of South Africa by Mr. Kai-uwe von Hassel, Vice President of the German Federal Parliament: the aim of the South African Government is to do everything in its power to promote the welfare of the Black and Coloured peoples. In no part of Africa are the Blacks better cared for than in South Africa. (Jan. 4, 1974). Von Hassel made the statement after a two week tour of the country.

In April, South Africa will be visited by President Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay. Although he denies the charge, he has been described as the longest surviving dictator in Latin America. Stroessner's visit is part of South Africa's efforts to improve relations with Latin-American states. South Africa is seeking to gain allies in the United Nations to counter the growing coalition of non-aligned states which are attacking South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 12, 1974).

SAPA DEFENDS LIMITED USE OF TERM 'GUERRILLA'

Accused by the Minister of the Interior of "sympathy for 'terrorists'" the South African Press Association's management committee has defended use of the word 'guerrilla' in Sapa's news service reporting as the word most free of political bias. At the same time, however, Mr. D.P. de Villiers, chairman of Sapa, acknowledged that rightly or wrongly, South Africans tended to find the word appropriate "only in circumstances where a recognized state of war existed." He therefore admitted that use of the word in relation to "acts of terrorism in Southern and Central Africa where no recognized state of war exists might... create an impression of attempting to lend unmerited respectability to the acts in question." He further asserted that Sapa would refrain from using the

word 'guerrilla' as its own description (as opposed to quotation) in this context. Instead Sapa, when not directly quoting, would use "terrorist, insurgent, rebel, infiltrators, revolutionary, as appropriate to the circumstances." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

PORT ST. JOHNS: BLACK OR WHITE?

Port St. Johns is a quiet resort town with a few hundred whites, many of whom are retired. It exists on the tourist industry. Its harbor has been closed for 32 years. Suddenly it is the center of controversy because the Department of Bantu Administration is recommending that it become part of the Transkei Bantustan. Whites in the town are united against this move saying that "The Government cannot possibly repudiate all the promises made in the past that Port St. Johns will remain as it is." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 12, 1974). Many see the Department's recommendation as a way for the Government to test public opinion on the question of "separate development", whether they feel the Bantustan policy is getting out of hand. It is true that former Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd promised that Port St. Johns would never be proclaimed a Black area. From the point of view of the Black Transkei government, the whites could be citizens of a "multi-racial state" and would not be forced to move out. Some critics fear that turning Port St. Johns over to the Transkei is to put a port in Black hands, a port that could be open to "enemy ships." This fear seems unjustified as even if the port were opened it could be nothing more than a small fishing harbor. (*Guardian*, London, Dec. 13, 1973; *Star* Johannesburg, Dec. 22, 1973, Jan. 12, 26, 1974).

Perhaps the real fear lies in the precedent that may be set. If Port St. Johns becomes part of the Transkei, the way will be open for the Zulu's to demand that Richards Bay be made part of the Bantustan. Chief Buthelezi has already made this demand. Unlike Port St. Johns, Richards Bay could be developed into a major port and industrial center. (Johannesburg *Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 21, 1973).



CENSORSHIP: HEAR NO... SEE NO... SPEAK NO... WRITE NO...

In what sort of net would one expect to find Athol Fugard's play "Sizwe Banzi is Dead," Barbara Rogers' booklet "South Africa: The Bantu Homelands," two books in Gujarati, the film version of "Godspell," a 1974 calendar, the "Kama Sutra of Vatsyanana," Colin Winter's book "For George and Mary," and the September 1973 issue of "Camera" magazine? The answer is South Africa's censorship net, cast in the case of Fugard's play by the police (five hours before the first performance to a Coloured audience) and in the others, by the powerful South African Publications Control Board (PCB). While the diverse works mentioned above comprise only a mere handful of those labeled "undesirable" by the PCB last year, they do suggest the extent of the censors' "protective" power over what South Africans read, see, hear and consequently think about.

But what constitutes "undesirable" and why aren't South Africans allowed to exercise judgement for themselves? Leaving aside the second part of the question for a moment, we can consider a few examples to illustrate the meaning of "undesirable" in the South African context. Fugard's play, which not incidentally involves two African and one white actor, was stopped "under laws forbidding one race group performing for another." (*Guardian*, London, August 22, 1973). The film "Godspell" got a special axe from Deputy Minister of the Interior, J.T. Kruger, who felt that it would "give offense to the religious convictions or feelings of many Christians in the Republic." According to the Publications And Entertainments Act, "No film which may give such offense to any section of the population could be approved." (*Cape Argus*, Nov. 10, 1973) Anything which is considered pornographic by the PCB is censored, and the association of sex with pornography is virtually automatic.

Less is generally said of works such as Barbara Rogers' After all, the censors can hardly acknowledge that Rogers' book is undesirable because it undermines Government myths about the "Bantu Homelands," however clearly this may be the case. Similarly, any publications or films which challenge the tenets of apartheid in all but the most innocuous fashion tend to fall, with few exceptions, into the censors' net and are kept from the public.

Further light is shed on what constitutes "undesirable" fare for South Africans when one turns to television—a medium totally denied the public until this year. The South African Broadcasting Corporation chairman P.J. Meyer, has declared that "permissive and provocative views of 'agitators' and 'bored individuals' will not be permitted" on T.V. programs, and that "the service will not be degraded to a platform for immature 'reformers' who do not know what they are talking about, or where they are going." "The hallmark of all SABC programs," stated Dr. Meyer, "is that they do not shock or upset, but give truth in context." While "truth in context" obviously means "truth" that accords with apartheid policies, Dr. Meyers assures that television in South Africa will be "harnessed to work for better race relations." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 24, 1973)

Not surprisingly, South Africa's censors apply different criteria for the white and black public. The PCB "prohibit films for Blacks and Coloureds when they show too much primitive violence, too much sadism and too much

bloodshed." (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 10, 1973) If the logic of that seems clear given the oppression of the black population in South Africa, equally clear is the logic behind censorship of descriptions, written or visual, of "intimate" interracial contact. In fact, until pictures of visiting Malawi President Banda's state banquet appeared in the press last year, the idea of blacks and whites eating together was considered too "intimate" for public consumption! (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 10, 1973)

To be found in possession of censored and therefore prohibited publications or films is a crime punishable by imprisonment and fines. Moreover, as a recent police raid on offices of South Africa's home-movie industry which netted over 550 films in Pretoria and Johannesburg proved, what one sees in the privacy of one's home is not one's own business. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 1, 1973)

The extent to which South Africa feels it must protect its people, white and black, from being "upset" by what is read, seen or heard, is a telling measure of the fear which permeates that society. Isolated and insulated from thought-provoking ideas, white South Africans as a whole tend to be apathetic about censorship, though an exception must be made of anti-porn groups, who often and actively call for even stricter censorship of "moral" material and insist that South Africa faces a "moral crisis" and "terrible danger", as a result of permissiveness and pornography. For example, in October last year, Mr. Francis Grim, author of "Peril in South Africa" warned at a rally in Pretoria organized by a group called Action Moral Standards, that South Africa was not hated overseas because of its racial policies, but because of its recognition of the Bible. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 20, 1973) Interest was also generated last year when reports appeared in the South African press describing the PCB as a "mess," and when a critic revealed that three of the five PCB film censors couldn't "differentiate between characters" or "follow the story," one being deaf and the others simply not aware of "what is going on." (*Star*, Johannesburg Sept. 29, 1973) But, for the most part, "the man in the street believes that censorship merely deprives him of a freedom enjoyed by citizens of other countries." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

More acutely aware of the stifling effects of censorship are South Africa's writers and filmmakers. As Prof. Ernst van Heerden, a leading Afrikaans poet observed three years ago, "For the cautious and over-sensitive writer the very knowledge of censorship can mean simply this: embryonic murder of thought." (Ibid.) There is perhaps some hope in the fact that the Commission of Inquiry into the Publications and Entertainments Amendment Bill found it necessary, after a half year of hearings, to submit both majority and minority reports concerning censorship to the State President (Pretoria) in December last year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 22, 1973). But as yet, there appears to be no real likelihood of an end to "thought-murder" in South Africa.



HOW THEY REALLY THINK...

"... It was unfortunate that the White pioneers originally learned to know the Bantu as uncontained brutes for whom murder was a pastime. The actions of the primitive Bantu did in fact create this impression.

"... What is important is that once the friction had dissipated, the Bantu was able to prove that he was amenable to peace and quiet. These are the attributes of civilization which were firmly established in South Africa by Western influence. Thus the Blacks for the first time showed proof of their willingness to live in peace with others. The civilising process had started.

"... With calm restored, it was in the service of White farmers that the Bantu underwent a further civilising process. The initially clumsy native, who for generations had known only work-free ways of living, soon proved that he could adapt to the demands made on him by Western ways.

"... Particularly as nannies are they [the women] unsurpassed. We have learned to know them as people who look after employer's children with dedicated loyalty and motherly care. Here were the first signs of the development of the Bantu, and we doff our hats to the farmers and their families who unwittingly fulfilled their calling."

Dr. H.J. van Zyl, Secretary for Bantu Education, from a lecture he delivered, reported in *BANTU*, publication of the South African Government, July 1973.

NEW YEAR MESSAGES: RESOLUTIONS OR RETRENCHMENT?

For South Africa, 1973 was a year of inflation, Black worker unrest, the Schibusch Commission, Government bannings, Government attacks on the press, some relaxation of apartheid in sport, increasing problems in international relations, and growing guerrilla activity in neighboring Zimbabwe and Mozambique. How prominent white and coloured politicians chose to interpret the past year and project into 1974 in New Year messages depended, of course, on their views of South African society.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party, insisted that "farreaching and irreversible changes were coming to be accepted by South Africans in their human relationships and way of life." He called on South Africans to rise to the challenge and find "the right ways to use (South Africa's) great human and natural resources...."

Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, official Opposition in the Coloured Representative Council,

hoped for "change" in 1974, including the repeal of "hurtful" laws; while Tom Swartz, executive chairman of the Coloured Representative Council called on the Government to mobilize goodwill on the side of Blacks in the country by convening a round table conference of Black leaders to discuss the question of applying the UN Charter of Human Rights to South Africa.

Progressive Party leader Colin Eglin suggested three main goals for 1974: 1) raising the standard of living for all South Africans, 2) greater equality of life and opportunity, and 3) the elimination of both "petty apartheid" and the "attitude of mind which sees others as inferior."

Theo Gerdener, leader of the recently formed Democratic Party, was most specific when he pointed out that while 1973 had been a year of "marginal adaptation," 1974 would "generate, crystallise and determine the nature and quality of our future to a far greater extent than any past year." Gerdener cited five basic reasons for this: First, the up-coming elections would determine policy. Second, the Government would be forced to choose between recent "marginal adaptations" in race relations and "fundamental changes." Third, white political parties would have to "keep their options open" in order to "play a part in the developing world of race relations." Fourth, to a far greater extent than ever before, Black leadership in the "homelands" and urban areas would be claiming acknowledgement. And finally, South Africa would be forced into much greater military, diplomatic and economic activity in Southern Africa than before. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

Prime Minister Vorster's New Year radio message, composed of five speeches to various race groups, contained no surprises. Those listening to Radio Bantu were told of progress in the "homelands," and good rains which would bring steady prices for cattle and agricultural products in 1974. Coloureds listening to Radio Highveld and the Afrikaans network were promised a commission to look into their development; while Indians, who got their message on the English service, were told that 1973 had brought them great opportunities which all but non-cooperators had benefited from.

In messages to white Afrikaans and English speakers, the Prime Minister expressed confidence in the future. Giving a brief resume of the events which had most shaken the world in 1973, he placed responsibility for them "squarely on the shoulders of the communists . . . the United Nations . . . and organisations like the World Council of Churches. . . ." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

Similarly concerned with the outside world, Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Muller used his New Year message to denounce the vilification of South Africa overseas and to call for South African unity "to beat foreign enmity." Apart from the usual comparisons drawn between tolerant and peace-loving South Africa and the hateful enemies (especially at the U.N.) trying to destroy it, Muller warned of two new developments which would require watching: ". . . the attempt to mobilise world-wide trade union action against South Africa and the introduction of an international convention purporting to declare apartheid to be a punishable international crime." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 29, 1973)

STUDENTS

BANNING HOUSE ARREST AND ALL THAT

The South African government continues its policy of repression against militant black organizations as well as white opponents of apartheid. BCP (Black Community Project), Black Allied Workers' Union and Black Workers' Project have now joined SASO and Black Peoples' Convention on the list of Black organizations whose leaders have been recently banned or put under house arrest. Among these three new entrants to the list, the hardest hit is the BCP, whose director Bennie Khoapa, has not only been banned but also put under house arrest. Also, some more leaders of SASO and BPC (Black Peoples' Convention) have been banned. Among them are Ben Langa, general secretary, and Jeff Bewa, literary director, of SASO and Chris Mokoditso, vice president and Supho Buthelezi, general secretary of BPC. Over and above, passports were withdrawn from prominent black leaders including Sonny Leon, leader of opposition Labour party in the Government created Coloured Representative Council.

The Government is also keeping a watch on South African Black Scholars' Association (SABSA, a junior SASO). Five members of SABSA have been interrogated by the police. Parents of two schoolboy members of SABSA have been told that their sons would "head for Robben Island" if they were not careful.

Since the first banning of SASO and NUSAS leaders, this repressive policy of the government had been facing strong criticism from many quarters, some of them not totally unsympathetic to the government. Faced with this situation, a high government official tried a little face saving by saying that the request for the banning of SASO leaders came from the "Bantu Homeland" leaders. This claim on behalf of the government has, however, been refuted by many homeland leaders, some of whom including Buthelezi of Kwazulu have condemned the banings.

As a result of the continuous banning orders, six SASO leaders, in order to avoid being banned, fled from the country a few weeks ago and are believed to have gone to Botswana. Latest report shows that they might have gone underground in that country also. Another banned person, who disappeared from the country a few weeks ago is now believed to be in West Germany. Also, a banned former president of SASO, Jerome Modisane, has been found guilty of failing to report to the police and wrongfully attending a social gathering, and has been sentenced for four months. (*Daily Dispatch*, South Africa, Sept. 12, 1973; *Daily News* Tanzania, Nov. 11, 1973; *Star*, Oct. 27, 1973; *Observer*, London, Oct. 21, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Oct. 11, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973; *Dissent*, Cape Town, Oct.-Nov., 1973)

AFTER EFFECTS OF STUDENT UNREST

Methodist Church of South Africa has called for a judicial commission of inquiry into "continued disturbances at African Universities". The Principal of the University of Fort Hare has called for Black control of Black Universities "as soon as possible". These are some of the after effects of the last wave of student unrest in black colleges. The government has also been forced to take a more compromising attitude and have decided to

appoint a Coloured rector at the University of Western Cape. The Rand Afrikaans University has decided to accept a limited number of black students. The response by black and white opponents of apartheid to these changes in the policy have, however, been mixed. Where

as many have welcomed it and have asked for more liberalization, still many are viewing it as an attempt to continue white domination in a more sophisticated way. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 27, Oct. 13, Oct. 20, Dec. 22, 1973; *Dissent*, Cape Town, October-November 1973)



A member of the University of the Western Cape addressing striking students when they closed down the college last year.

STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

mozambique

PRIESTS AND MASSACRES

In the flurry of publicity last year following widespread coverage of the massacres in Mozambique a number of leading Catholics have pressed for further inquiry. The Portuguese authorities have finally admitted to certain "retaliatory acts" by an "isolated force" operating "against orders".

Interest in the Portuguese atrocities was maintained when 2 Spanish priests of the Burgos order of Catholics were released from 2 years in prison in Mozambique for publicizing the brutality and killings in May 1971. They have been released in a general amnesty and they flew directly to Spain where they described tortures used to force confessions from political prisoners.

One result of the controversy was the dismissal of Col. Armindo Videiro as governor and military commander of Tete province, the scene of many of the massacres. He was held responsible for the acts of his men. He served at that

post for slightly more than one year (see *Southern Africa*, November 1973) Videiro has been replaced by Superintendent Gomes do Amaral who will handle only civil administration. The military blamed the civil authorities for failing to "resettle" villagers quickly enough to prevent Frelimo infiltration.

As a predominantly Catholic people, the Portuguese have been distressed by the active role of Catholic priests in exposing the atrocities. In initiating a propaganda counter-attack the Archbishop of Lourenco Marques, Mgr. Custodio Alvim Pereira has doubted the "claims" of a massacre which he says were much "exaggerated". Mgr. Pereira returned from Lisbon following talks with Dr. Silva Cunha, Minister of Overseas Territories. The Archbishop stated that "politics is independent of the church" and that Christians and priests should not attack Portugal in its fight against "communism".

The Bishop of Tete had an audience with the Pope in Rome after the massacre disclosures were made. The Bishop briefed Mozambique Governor General Pimental dos Santos upon his return. (*Africa News*, Dec. 3; *Anti-Apartheid News*, Nov.; Lourenco Marques radio, 0500 gmt, 11 Oct.; *Diario de Noticias*, Oct. 28; *Times*, London, Dec. 14; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Oct. 1974)

PRIEST AND G.I. OPPOSE PORTUGAL

In the trial of Larry Johnson (see *Southern Africa*, October 1974) Father Cesare Bertulli, former superior of the Catholic mission of White Fathers in Mozambique appeared as a character witness in the defense of Pfc Johnson's court martial for mutiny. Johnson sought to resign from the army because of U.S. support for Portugal in Africa.

The trial and sentences have now been completed and Private Johnson should soon receive his General Discharge from the U.S. Army in Kaiserlautern, West Germany. Some expected a more severe sentence in view of the charge of mutiny. The testimony of Father Bertulli gave much detail about the manner of the massacres including names, dates, and numbers of people involved in Portugal's pattern of collective retribution. Father Bertulli's report and various support group actions are credited with the resultant light sentence. Source: (Larry Johnson Support Committee, 69 Heidelberg, Marstallstr 11a).

CONSCRIPTION EXTENDED TO IMMIGRANTS?

In the 25 October issue of the Government Gazette published in Lourenco Marques the legislative act implementing military conscription has been extended to all "overseas provinces". At the same time, another 16 families (85 persons) were to arrive in Mozambique at the end of October as settlers in the northern provinces. Thus, the new conscription order may make the latest settlers eligible for military draft. (Lourenco Marques radio, 0500 and 1030 gmt, Oct. 25; Lisbon radio, 1900 gmt, Oct. 24, 1973)

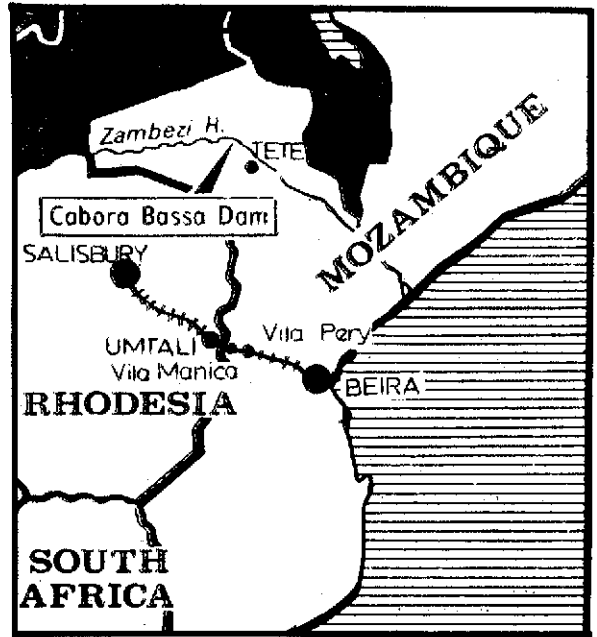
FRELIMO STRIKES HARD AT COLONIALISM

In an October announcement from Frelimo headquarters in Dar es Salaam, it was stated that more than 200 Portuguese soldiers were killed in military operations between July and September 1973. Two trains were destroyed and twenty railroad cars were derailed. Frelimo attacks for this period included the destruction of 16 enemy vehicles and 11 of their buildings. These attacks were concentrated on the following enemy camps and posts: Caundra, Chale, Changwe, Chazia, Chithiri, Kalanje, Nsungu, Sachilire, and Zangaia. At Kawili, Chivubu, Maugo, Mafigoas, and Namele twenty additional soldiers were put out of action.

On 20 September Frelimo militants attacked the post of Quiterajo where they captured weapons, documents, radio sets and uniforms. In mid October the coastal village of Palma was shelled by heavy artillery during a night attack 20 kms south of the Tanzania border. On 14 October the northeastern village of Chai was attacked. At both Palma and Chai the enemy took major casualties.

In January 1974 it has been reported that two more trains were attacked on the vital Umtali-Beira rail line. The first hit Frelimo mines; the second was ambushed.

(*Zambia Daily Mail*, Oct. 12; *Daily News* (Tanzania), Oct. 19, Nov. 9; *Sunday News* (Tanzania), Oct. 21, *Daily World* (NYC), Nov. 30, 1973; *Portuguese Times* (Newark), Jan. 10, 1974)



The Beira-Salisbury, railroad link, the target of many Frelimo attacks.

MANICA E SOFALA FRONT INTENSIFIES

Careful political preparation led to great successes in the new Manica e Sofala Front. Many people were anxious to have their sons and daughters join the fighting with Frelimo forces. In July and August five Portuguese aircraft were brought down and on 10 and 30 September (in Manje and Mandie) two additional planes were brought down by Frelimo anti-aircraft fire.

A notable incident occurred when an entire unit of 17 African soldiers deserted the colonial army to join Frelimo. The soldiers freed the people in the concentration camp they had controlled and brought 17 weapons and ammunition.

Other attacks in Manica e Sofala took place at Sussoto, Nhassala, Senga-Senga and in the Chemba region. These attacks resulted in many enemy dead, five captured, 13 guns and 2,500 rounds of ammunition seized and ten people liberated from a concentration camp. (*Daily News* (Tanzania), Nov. 21, 1973)

SECRET POLICE COUNTERS IN TETE

A counterblow was struck against Frelimo penetration in Tete province. Mozambique Governor General, Pimental dos Santos, reported that the DGS (Portuguese secret police) raided a Frelimo base in Tete and claimed that they killed five Frelimo men. The Portuguese stated that they "smashed" a Frelimo "assassination group". (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973)

PORTUGUESE TO DEVELOP PORTS

Following the closure of the Rhodesia-Zambia frontier the Mozambican port of Nacala has seen a 20% increase in freight. In the month of August 1973 a new freight record was set, due to the flow of freight to Malawi and Zambia. The Portuguese believe that, despite the Tanzam railway, the superior port facilities of Nacala will continue to attract freight. The Portuguese have regular meetings with Zambian officials regarding freight transfer and Malawi has set up a consulate at Nacala.

The large Lisbon firm of Lisnave is looking to Sweden for development capital of the ports of Nacala and Lourenco Marques. Although two Swedish firms have major interest in Lisnave they believe that the Swedish government may seek to prohibit any aid to Portugal's African colonies. Lisnave has plans for a ship repair yard, dock facilities and a match factory. Portugal's dependence on foreign capital is an index of its near-colony status to the finance capitals of Europe. (*Marches Trop* (France), Oct. 19; Oct. 26, 1973)

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR FRELIMO

The struggle for the liberation of Mozambique gained important support in recent months, both politically and materially. Early in November, a six-man team from the Tanzanian government visited the liberated areas of Mozambique at the invitation of Frelimo. During a rally organized in Cabo Delgado province Chediël Mgonja, leader of the delegation conveyed revolutionary greetings to the people of Mozambique and pledged support from President Nyerere and the Tanzanian people.

In Lourenco Marques the Portuguese command reported "success" in a military operation timed to coincide with the arrival of the Tanzanian delegation. Strangely enough, the Portuguese claimed the operation to have taken place a week after the visit and in the Niassa district far to the west of Cabo Delgado.

In Dar es Salaam a group of British doctors organized blood donations to collect plasma for the Mozambican civilians and the Frelimo soldiers. Blood collected once a week at the Muhimbili Hospital and at the University of Dar es Salaam was being sent to the Americo Boavida Hospital in Mtwara. Frelimo's medical services had already received a substantial boost when 100,000 units of cholera vaccines were donated by Egypt for use in the liberated areas.

A shuffle in the Swedish government, following the recent elections, brought Gertrud Sigurdson to the newly created Ministry of Foreign Aid. She favors closer relations with liberation movements in southern Africa and appointed a special task force to study legislation for the control of investments abroad. This move will likely impede Swedish corporations from investing in the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia, and South Africa. (*Daily News* (Tanz.) Oct. 10, Oct. 29, Nov. 14, Nov. 23, 1973; *Sunday News* (Tanz.) Nov. 11, 1973; *Afrique-Asie*, Jan. 7, 1974)

DAM THE NATIONALISTS?

Frequent accidents and intense guerrilla activity in the Cabora Bassa dam area have not deterred the colonial administration from carrying out its attempts to develop the economy of Mozambique. This effort is made to stem

growing nationalist feelings among Africans and gain support from countries with large investments in the colony.

At least six African workers were killed and eight injured while working at the dam site. Another giant project is in progress in the Limpopo valley with the building of the Massingir dam on the Elephant River. The plan is to be completed over a period of six years and includes the construction of the Mapai dam also in the Limpopo basin. According to Portuguese estimates the development scheme will increase the annual productivity of the Massingir area six-fold. (*Star Weekly*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 17, 1973)

THE 'GUERRILLA HIGHWAY'

The Mozambique colonial administration has decided to build a major highway as part of a road construction plan to be completed by 1979. Until as late as 1965 Mozambique had only 815 miles of paved roads, thus making communications largely dependent upon coastal shipping between population centers. Economic, as well as strategic reasons triggered a wave of road construction all over the colony in recent years. When completed the new highway network will comprise some 6,000 miles of tarmac roads and will have involved amounts of foreign investment comparable in size to the Cabora Bassa dam. The new highway will link Antonio Enese on the north-eastern coast to the shores of Lake Malawi stretching about 612 miles. Portugal is trying to lure multi-national conglomerates to help finance the road construction scheme. For the "guerrilla highway" as the trans-northern route is known, bids were accepted from firms from Brazil, Italy, France, West Germany, Britain, the U.S. and South Africa, besides six Portuguese contractors. Incidentally the lowest submission of 1,298 million escudos came from a Portuguese company and was awarded the contract in July 1972. Slow but steady deterioration of security conditions in the colony did not encourage low bids from the foreign companies fearful of the high risks involved. (*Africa Development*, U.K., Nov. 1973; *Star Weekly*, Johannesburg, Nov. 3, 1973)



Chediël Mgonja, Mtwara Regional Commissioner (left) joins in a vigorous Frelimo salute during his visit to Mozambique. Next to him is Frelimo President, Samora Machel.

angola

ANGOLA—NEW VICTORIES FOR MPLA

The Dar Es Salaam office of MPLA announced three recent victories in the eastern front of the liberation war in Angola. In the Jimbi area anti-personnel mines killed 15 Portuguese soldiers on Oct. 23, 1973. The MPLA communique reported that again on November 4 Portuguese troops being heliported from Gago Coutinho hit a minefield on the left bank of the Lunguevungo river. On November 5 the Portuguese attacked an MPLA base but they were repulsed. MPLA inflicted 16 casualties, 6 dead and 10 wounded. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 16 '72, Nov. 17 '73; *Sunday News*, Tanzania, Oct. 10 '73).

The Portuguese claim to have killed 56 guerrillas and captured 8 in Angola during the month of September (*Times of Zambia*, Oct. 15 '73).

SWEDISH AND DANISH AID

The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) is donating \$607,000 towards establishing a school for refugee children from Angola. The school will be located at Polisie in Congo-Brazzaville and will be run by MPLA. The Swedish grant will be used for equipment, teaching staff, and general expenses over a three year period. The buildings for the school complex are to be financed by the Danish International Development Authority (DANIDA) and the Danish section of the World University Service (*West Africa* (Nigeria), Nov. 5 '73).

ZAIRE EXPELS PORTUGUESE

In a Dec. 4 '73 speech Pres. Mobutu of Zaire urged the expulsion of Portuguese residing in the country who are alleged to be aiding the colonial power from areas near the Angolan border. At Matadi, the main Zaire port, Portuguese residents (mainly merchants) were given 2 hours to pack and leave. As many set out for Kinshasa seeking refuge with friends in the nation's capital, they

were stopped by roadblocks and asked to return to Matadi. They refused and a series of clashes broke out between the Zaire army and the Portuguese. Troop reinforcements finally forced the Portuguese to return to Matadi.

Following the outbreak, there were reports that British trading companies feared loss of goods supplied to the Portuguese shops but not paid for. Within a few days the British banks, heavily committed by loans to Portuguese trading companies, were complaining that their interests were being damaged by the sudden expulsion of the Portuguese.

Mobutu, advised of the attitude of the British financiers, returned from Central African Republic and declared that the Portuguese were not to be harassed and that they had 90 days to make arrangements to sell out to Zaire citizens (*Guardian*, London, Dec. 12 '73).

TEXACO IS IN ANGOLA TOO

Texaco is the 4th largest oil producer in Angola, after Gulf, Petrofina (Belgium), Total (France), (*Guerrilheiro*, No. 18, London Oct-Dec '73).

MPLA VISITS BRITAIN

Mingas Saïdy, a representative of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, visited Britain from Nov. 1-9 last year. He spoke at a number of universities including London School of Economics, Brighton and Birmingham University (*Anti-Apartheid News* London, Nov. 1 '73).

portugal

RIGHTIST COUP FOILED?

Although it is hard to believe that Caetano is not far enough to the right, persistent rumors from Lisbon suggest that a right-wing military coup was nipped in the bud. Diplomatic circles have been trying to uncover the truth.

General Kaulza de Arriaga, former military head of Mozambique, was reputed to have been the coup leader. In an interview at the beginning of January Arriaga supported the Prime Minister and helped abort the coup plans. Nevertheless it is widely known that sectors in the military are opposed to Caetano granting of "autonomy" to the colonies. (See *Southern Africa* November 1973)

It is alleged that the plot failed when conspirators sought to include the respected General Antonio Spínola, former military governor of Guinea-Bissau. Spínola reported the conspiracy to General Costa Gomes who already harbored animosity toward Arriaga.

The story hints that Spínola's refusal to participate put him and Costa Gomes on the assassination list of the plotters.

What the facts are is hard to determine. What is clear is that high military and government levels are showing greater frustration with their lack of victories in the

colonies. Civil and military forces blame each other. Young officers are also unhappy about pay and certain living conditions and any plotters may have sought to include them as well.

Coup or not, the Lisbon regime is facing serious internal conflicts. (*Financial Times* London, Jan. 3, 1974)

OPENING TO THE EAST?

Portugal has been trying to establish trade links and informal relations with Eastern European countries. These attempts may have met some encouragement, as the Soviet "journalist" Victor Louis has recently visited Lisbon.

Six companies were selected to study the possibilities of exporting such diverse products as tomato concentrates, cement, and textiles to Poland. The Fund for Export Promotion (F.F.E.) announced that a trade mission was sent to Poland and that the two countries would exchange trade representatives. The F.F.E. is reportedly also preparing a similar "onslaught" on the Hungarian, Czech, and Rumanian markets. Portuguese officials were surprised at these commercial successes, since they are aware of Portugal's unpopularity.

For the second time in 1973, Victor Louis visited Lisbon last December where he applied for a visa to visit Angola and Mozambique. A visa and special travel arrangements were promptly given by the Portuguese authorities.

Questioned by reporters about the purpose of the visit, Moscow's "roving ambassador" dismissed the questions by replying that he was a poor journalist in need of some rest. However few doubts remained that he was in Lisbon on a fact-finding mission for the Soviet government. (*Expresso*, Lisbon, Oct. 27, 1973; *Guardian*, London, Dec. 12, 1973)

KISSINGER MEETS CAETANO

In December of last year Kissinger paid a visit to Lisbon where he held talks with Caetano and foreign minister, Rui Patricio. During his visit Kissinger referred to Portugal as a "good and reliable friend of the United States" and predicted that his visit would bring the two countries even closer together. Speaking to a gathering which included Patricio and other government members Kissinger said: "On this trip through the Middle East, I was reminded of the fact that Portugal stood by its allies during the recent difficulties, and the United States is extremely grateful for that. When visiting this country, which is known for its navigators who explored the world with an act of both physical and moral courage, I would like to say that as far as the United States is concerned, our journey together is not finished."

The joint U.S.-Portugal communique issued after Kissinger's visit referred to talks taking place "in a markedly friendly atmosphere" and reported that "There was a large area of agreement with respect to the problems of concern to the two countries." (*Dept. of State Bulletin*, Jan. 14, 1974)



Kissinger (left) seen with Caetano on his recent visit to Portugal.

TORTURE BY DGS

Torture is not new to the agents of the Portuguese political police (PIDE-DGS), but it may be being used more extensively than ever before.

Palma Inacio and the militants of LUAR, Liga de Uniao e Accao Revolucionario (see *Southern Africa*, February, 1974) arrested with him in Lisbon have undergone severe interrogation and been tortured repeatedly. It was reported in Paris that the resistance leader has been in a coma in the hospital-prison of Caxias following police brutalities. More than 30 others were arrested in Lisbon under the accusation of aiding Palma's commandos. It seems that PIDE-DGS found a convincing excuse to clamp down on left-wing and catholic dissenters. Only a few of the detainees have been allowed to see their families and lawyers.

At the same time the police seem to be taking revenge on Palma Inacio, who on several occasions put their efficiency to a severe test by escaping from tightly controlled political prisons. (*Guardian* London, Jan. 7, 1974; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 4, 1974)

OIL SHARES NATIONALIZED

The Gulbenkian Foundation, one of Portugal's main financial supports for cultural activities and political propaganda, may have been deprived of its main source of funds.

"Iraq announced last month it would nationalize the shares held by Portugal in the Basrah petroleum company, due to Lisbon's hostile attitude toward the Arab countries and its genocidal policies toward the African people fighting for liberation in the three Portuguese colonies" (*Guardian*, New York, Jan. 16, 1974)

The Foundation held most of these shares in Iraq. Funds thus received were used to promote culture at home, and buy books for libraries in Portuguese emigration centers abroad

republic of guinea-bissau

INSIDE GUINEA-BISSAU

The war continues. In the South Front and in the Boe area the Portuguese bombing persists. The PAIGC regular armed forces (FARP) have made important attacks in the Cubucare sector. In an ambush on the Guinjere road 31 enemy soldiers were killed and 14 vehicles destroyed. During the last week of December PAIGC forces killed 74 colonial troops and forced Portuguese withdrawal from a number of fortified posts in the south. Attacks were also made near the port of Cafine and on the coastal road system.

A European journalist, Joehen Raffelberg, traveled with the Portuguese in the Boe area. He was asked to wear a bullet-proof vest and was provided with a heavy military escort. When Raffelberg wanted to look on the ground a landing zone was secured in advance by Portuguese commandos. His stay on the ground was limited to ten minutes even though an armed helicopter hovered above.

Despite the constant decline in security for the enemy troops, official Portuguese sources say that the PAIGC

claims of liberated zones are "nonsense" and "lies". Dr. Silva Cunha (recently transferred from the 'Overseas' Ministry to the Ministry of National Defense) has gone as far as to say "there are no liberated zones in Guinea-Bissau". This statement was made at the appointment of General Bettencourt Rodrigues who replaced General Spinela as Governor General of Guinea-Bissau after his "retirement". Rodrigues is a staunch anti-Communist and is a confidant of Prime Minister Caetano.

In the liberated zones the PAIGC is expanding its economic and social infrastructure. The PAIGC has now moved away from its barter economy and is beginning to replace the Portuguese escudo with the "peso" (100 pesos equal \$4.20 U.S.). Postage stamps will soon be issued in four denominations, 1, 2½, 5 and 10 peso stamps. The first set of stamps commemorates the declaration of state and notes the role of PAIGC's founder and nationalist of Amilcar Cabral who was assassinated on 20 January 1973. *AFP*, Nov. 26; *Heures* (Switz.), Nov. 16; *Washington Post* December 13; *PAIGC Radio* October 11; *Guardian* New York, Jan. 23 1974.



Portuguese forces in Africa.

CABRAL ON THE MOVE

At the end of October Luis Cabral, President of the State Council of Guinea-Bissau arrived in Dakar, Senegal from the Casamance region in the south. In Dakar he was hosted at a three-day reception. Great crowds were on hand and several meetings with high Senegalese officials were held. The theme of the meetings was solidarity between the two African nations in the fight against Portuguese colonialism. Senegal has suffered raids across its southern borders as reprisal for its support to the

PAIGC. Both countries also proclaimed their solidarity with the Arabs in the Middle East.

Cabral insisted that the PAIGC is "ready to meet Portuguese government representatives at any moment to negotiate a solution for their departure from our country". He also reiterated that the PAIGC was not against NATO, but only against Portugal using NATO weapons. In the Dakar talks Cabral outlined the continuous progress in the liberated zones. There are now eight doctors inside the country and almost 16,000 students in PAIGC schools.

From 5 November to 15 November President Cabral went on a 300 km walking tour in the North Front with a small group of journalists (see feature article, *Southern Africa*, February 1974). On the first day of the trip there was a surprise attack on a Portuguese detachment planting mines on a road north of Bricama. On 9 November the Portuguese town at Farim was shelled by PAIGC artillery. On the 13th of November the Portuguese fired some shells into the liberated zones from the Farim River. Cabral's column visited Canjambari, Mores, and Macque.

On the 19th of the month President Cabral arrived in Moscow for a 10 day visit. He was received by Soviet President Podgorny and Cabral praised the continuous and generous Soviet military aid to the struggle. (*Guardian* London, Nov. 19; *Daily World* Nov. 21; *Daily News* (Tanz.), Nov. 20; *International Herald Tribune*, Nov. 23; *Le Soleil* (Dakar), Nov 2; *AFO*, Nov. 5 1973)

RECOGNITION CONTINUES

Rumania recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau shortly after the 24 September Declaration of State. Diplomatic relations between the two nations have now been established at the ambassadorial level.

Ireland is "considering" recognition said Irish Foreign Minister Dr. Garret Fitzgerald. Dr. Fitzgerald said the only barrier at present is that the Irish Republic lacks "full information". Dr. Fitzgerald criticized the "repressive" conditions in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau and he attacked racism as being "fundamentally anti-human".

In Auckland, New Zealand a 40-man Portuguese trade mission set up headquarters in the Intercontinental Hotel. Outside, 300 demonstrators protested the presence of the mission and managed to raise the PAIGC flag outside the hotel. In activities prior to, and during, the demonstration \$550 were raised for the PAIGC and 12,000 leaflets were distributed.

In neighboring Australia it is seen as possible that the new, progressive government may recognize Guinea-Bissau. Rumors are still circulating that Norway, a NATO member, may be on the verge of recognition.

In Africa, Swaziland has now recognized the new republic and has given the PAIGC \$1 million through the OAU. The OAU Defence Committee and Economic Commission are presently considering "practical ways" to aid the new government since it became the 42nd member of the international African organization.

At present Guinea-Bissau has gained membership of the FAO and the Economic Commission for Africa. At the United Nations it has joined the United Nations Development Program and UNESCO which has provided a number of U.N. scholarships. Some of these scholarships have been awarded to Cape Verdeans studying in the United States.

President Idi Amin of Uganda has become the first African head of state to visit Guinea-Bissau and has called for a united African effort to drive out the Portuguese.

Malawi remains the only African nation which has failed to make diplomatic recognition. (*Times of Zambia*, Nov. 16; *AFP* Nov. 26; *Journal de Geneve* (Switz.), Nov. 27; *Daily News* (Tanz.), Nov. 21, Nov. 22; *Anti-Apartheid News*, Nov.; *The People's Voice* (N. Zeal), Oct. 10; *West Africa* (Nig.), Nov. 5, 1973).

SCIENTISTS AND MUTINEERS ON CAPE VERDES

An international scientific program called G.A.T.E. (Global Atmospheric Tropical Experiment) has been initiated on the Cape Verde Island. G.A.T.E. is sponsored by 67 nations and by the Worldwide Organization of Meteorology and the International Council of Scientific Unions. The research intends to study tropical atmosphere and make weather forecasts.

The U.S. Coast Guard reported that sailors on the Portuguese merchant ship *Symi* had mutinied. The uprising lasted more than a day before it was put down. The master of the ship was going from Brazil to Europe. He stopped at the Cape Verde Islands to discharge the mutineers. Whether scientists or mutineers the Cape Verde Islands have an ideal strategic location.

Zimbabwe

AFRICAN SOLDIERS REFUSE TO FIRE

Reports from ZANLA (Army of the Zimbabwe African National Union) fighters present during a battle at Mt. Darwin on November 19, say Rhodesian African reinforcements refused to fire on ZANLA forces. Further reports say five to eight of these soldiers were court martialed and given up to 12 years imprisonment. ZANU reports that several members of security forces have defected to ZANU and are now fighting with ZANLA forces. (*Zimbabwe News*, Nov. 1973) December reports stated six NCO's in the previously 100% loyal Rhodesian African Rifles were charged with mutiny. (*Africa Confidential*, 18 Jan. 1974)

STRATEGIC VILLAGES

Three strategic hamlets of 1500-2000 people each have been set-up in the northeast. Any stranger seen outside these areas may be shot on sight by security forces. White farmers of the area have been urged to check the "loyalty" of their African employees. South African troops are increasing in Rhodesia, and defense expenditures have gone up \$2.5 mil. While youths who defy conscription are sentenced up to six months in jail. (*Africa Confidential*, 18 Jan. 1974)

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS REPORT ACTIVITY

ZANU reports killing 112 enemy soldiers of the Smith army, wounding several and capturing five others (*Daily News*, Tanzania, 23 Nov. 1973)

ZAPU leader Jason Moyo reported successful land-mining, ambushes and raids in the north, north west and center of Rhodesia. He said ZAPU is responsible for the closing of the Mana Pools Game Preserve, and had activity in the Urungwe, Victoria Falls, Enkai and Cholillocho areas. (*Star* Johannesburg, 8 Dec. 1973)



ZAPU guerrillas on sentry duty.

MILITARY ACTIVITY

Rhodesian authorities say "terrorists" have killed 43 civilians since last December. Security forces have lost 26 men in action (*Star*, Johannesburg, 24 Dec. 1973). Corporal Brown, age 22, died from injuries in a "shooting incident" at Bindura (*Star*, Johannesburg, 24 Nov. 1973). Rhodesian forces say they have killed more than 200 "terrorists" since December 1972. A truck was blown-up in a landmine explosion in the north east and the driver died. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 5 Jan. 1974) Three of five bush patrol soldiers in the north east were injured by mortar bombs fired by "terrorists" who were led to the soldiers by parachutes dropping Christmas packages to the Rhodesians (*Star*, Johannesburg, 5 Jan. 1974).

An African owned bus was hijacked by eight guerrillas who set it on fire and robbed the driver. The incident occurred in the Dande Tribal Trust Land. The driver said the men introduced themselves as freedom fighters, called "terrorists" by other people. The bus driver was told he had had ample warning not to bring the bus into the area. The passengers were guarded at Dande while the driver drove the bus and four freedom fighters to a place where the bus was burned. The driver was then told to report everything that had happened (*Star*, Johannesburg, 24 Nov. 1973)

Riflemen Sealy, 26, and Wright, 31 were killed in landmine explosions on the northern border. Two others were seriously injured (*Times*, London, 10 Nov. 1973)

TWO GUERRILLAS HANGED

Hatidududzi Naison Guvamatanga (38) and Rivers Peter Chimunondo were hanged in Salisbury for murder of two Rhodesian white men, one a farmer in the Wedza

area, on March 30th (*Guardian*, 15 Dec. 1973).

Lovemore Dube was sentenced to death in Rhodesia and Onias Garikayi and Mabonzo were sentenced to long prison sentences after being found guilty of committing acts of terrorism. (*Times*, London, 10 Nov. 1973)

The British Government has reiterated its view that the executions of freedom fighters are illegal. Lord Balmiel, a senior Foreign Office Minister said, "We understand that 11 Africans involved in the fighting in Rhodesia have been hanged by the Rhodesian authorities this year. Her Majesty's Government has made it clear that they regard all acts of the present authorities in Rhodesia as illegal, but neither they nor the previous Government have been in a position to control events inside Rhodesia." (*Star*, Johannesburg, 22 Dec. 1973)

CHIEF BARRED FROM FUNERAL

Chief Johannes Munhuwepazi Mangwende, restricted by the Smith regime to the Seki Tribal Trust Land for his

support of African nationalist movements, has been denied permission to return to his tribal home to attend the funeral of his son. (*Washington Post*, 30 Nov. 1973)

NDLOVU REMAINS IN DETENTION

Joel Ndlovu has so far spent 10 years in detention without trial or charge. The Review Tribunal reconsiders his detention every year and will not tell him the charges against him. Without allegations, he has no defense. In June he wrote a letter from the detention camp saying, "Here my dear life is hard more than the word means. I do not know whether political detainees are hardly treated as we are in Rhodesia. Of course, there is nothing of good that could come without hardship." He has 10 children (his own and those of a deceased brother) dependent on him for clothes, food, housing and schooling. But he cannot fulfill these responsibilities because of his detention (*Guardian*, London, 26 Dec. 1973)



SMITH'S EIGHTH YEAR

Rhodesia's eighth year of "independence" was saluted with optimism by Ian Smith. His three major points were 1) Security. Smith said the "terrorists" are losing. 2) Immigration. The unfavorable trend is abating. 3) Settlement. Rhodesian Front is maintaining contact with many different groups, but progress is slow. The government will stand firm on the 1971 terms. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 17 Nov. 1973) In a New Year's speech, Mr.

Smith said the country must prepare for increased aggressiveness by the "terrorists" in 1974. He also called for a nation wide effort to lure immigrants to Rhodesia (*Star*, Johannesburg, 5 Jan. 1974)

Rhodesian officials have said Britain is more concerned with her trading relations with black African states, especially Nigeria who has oil, than with Rhodesian trade. Nigeria has been seen as a "stumbling block" to a settlement (*Guardian*, London, 9 Nov. 1973)

WHITE ECONOMY

In Rhodesia the Arab embargo on oil has caused gas to be in short supply, and retail prices have risen by 15.6%. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 1 Dec. 1973 and *Times of Zambia*, 8 Nov. 1973) The Government's Industrial Development Corp. is seeking ways to produce oil from coal following the South African Sasol plan. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 22 Dec. 1973)

Barclay's Bank reports that the Rhodesian economy is moving firmly ahead. Manufacturing has shown a growth rate of 8.5% during the first six months of 1973. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 29 Dec., 1973). Heavy rains have brought good crops. Tobacco sales are healthy; shopkeepers reported a 15% boost in pre-Christmas sales. Department stores are well-stocked with imported and domestic goods (*Star*, Johannesburg, 12 Dec. 1973).

Air Rhodesia reports a marked decline in 1973 in passengers travelling between South Africa and Rhodesia. The airline, however, had a R\$600,000 profit for the year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, 22 Dec. 1973) The Portuguese airline TAP has slashed fares between Europe and Rhodesia. South Africa Airways did so earlier in the year (*Star*, Johannesburg, 8 Dec. 1973)

Rhodesia Railways chairman, W.N. Wells, reports a deficit of 10.9 million Rhodesian dollars. The accumulated deficit of the railway is now nearly R\$18 million. The closure of the Zambian-Rhodesian border and the heavy cost of infrastructure development are the two important causes of the deficit. The railway has increased freight fares by 5% and passenger fares by 10% (*Star*, Johannesburg, 5 Jan. 1974)

IMMIGRATION DECREASES

Immigration figures continue to decline and emigration figures rise. Some emigrants from Rhodesia say they are going "on holiday" and are not counted officially as leaving the country. Some young whites are leaving to avoid military service. (*Toward Freedom*, Jan. 1974) A massive campaign has been started to attract a million new white settlers. Rhodesia expects to benefit from the economic ills in Britain and Europe, although Van der Byl, the "Minister of Information" has said publicly that security has affected white attitudes. Many of the recent immigrants are poor Portuguese and Italians. One Salisbury white school has over 60% of the children unable to speak English (*Africa Confidential*, 18 Jan. 1974). The "Minister of Labour" said increased emigration is causing a shortage of skilled artisans in most trades. More than the 80% of the annual additions to the skilled labor force are European immigrants. (*Guardian*, London, 16 Nov. 1973)

SANCTIONS BREAKING CONTINUES

Armored Cars to Rhodesia

French Panhard Armored Cars, made under licence in South Africa have been sold to the Rhodesian army. Military sources in Rhodesia do not say how many have been sold to Rhodesia in contravention of U.N. sanctions, but they suggest the French company may not have known about the deal. (*London*, Dec. 5, 1973) The "Ministry of Defence" in Rhodesia has refused to

comment on the report. (*Guardian*, London, Dec. 6, 1973)

The "Beira Patrol"—a British frigate stationed off the Mozambique coast to intercept ships with goods bound for Rhodesia—is called a "farce" by the *London Sunday Express*. The paper comments that land routes are being used to reach Rhodesia. "One possible reason exists for maintaining this charade . . . to appease the governments of Black Africa." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1973)

Economist Publishes Rhodesian Ad

Rhodesia's Department of Promotion placed an ad in *The Economist* making a direct appeal for immigration. Alastair Bernet, editor of the paper, agreed to publish the ad. It is expressly forbidden under the law imposing sanctions, and the Foreign Office legal department is examining the case (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 29, 1973).

Zephyr

The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement has uncovered a sanction-breaking international organization known as "Zephyr" (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 23, 1973). The anti-apartheid movement discovered that Zephyr had made 11 illegal transactions in importing tobacco from Rhodesia. Other transactions involving Rhodesia were made through Mozambique. Zephyr may have moved from Holland to Switzerland and Lichtenstein in an effort to get away from the scrutiny of the anti-apartheid movement. Switzerland and Lichtenstein are not members of the U.N. (*Volkskeant*, Holland, Nov. 22, 1973).

U.N. Committee on Sanctions

High rewards are being paid by the U.N. enforcement agencies for information about sanctions breaking. The French and Japanese, however, continue to supply car parts for a government-owned assembly plant. Farm tractors and mining and engineering equipment are in bad repair. The African population (5½ mil) outnumbers the whites 22:1 and continues to grow. It is expected to nearly triple by the end of the century (*Toward Freedom*, Jan. 1974).

Der Spiegel reports that West German companies suspected of breaking Rhodesian sanctions are under investigation by the West German government (*Africa Digest*, Oct. 1973).

U.S. Flaunts Sanctions

No action has been taken against the New York *Journal of Commerce* for its supplement advocating investment and trade in Rhodesia. The journal carries ads for export-import services with Rhodesia. An export license has been granted for \$1/2 million of spare parts for three Boeings sold to Air Rhodesia. U.S. airlines, credit card companies, hotel chains and tour organizations have blatantly violated sanctions (*Newsbrief Rhodesia '73*, Nov. 1973).

ANC/SMITH TALKS

Ian Smith told his parliament today that he was continuing talks with the African National Council. Smith rejected the idea of a constitutional conference to break the deadlock. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1973) Mr Savory of the moderate Rhodesia Party had called on the government to sponsor such a conference.

The Rhodesia *Financial Gazette* has reported that

British Foreign Office officials have arrived in Salisbury to observe a new round of talks between Smith and Muzorewa. Other sources say there are no British officials in Rhodesia. The African National Council's distrust of the Smith government has been born out by the detention of 98 Black university students and by the refusal to hand back Muzorewa's passport (*Financial Times*, London, Nov. 9, 1973).

Under the present constitution, Africans have 16 seats in the lower house of assembly. They will be entitled to two more when their income tax payments total more than 24% of the total tax from all sectors. The figures show that African income tax during 1972-73 was less than 1% of the total, (*Times of Zambia*, 26 Oct. 1973)

STUDENTS URGE EXPULSION FROM COMMONWEALTH ASSOCIATION

Herbert Makoni, Eveready Changata and Peter Molife, three students from the University of Rhodesia, have been touring Britain to rally support for students who have been restricted in Rhodesia. The three are now students at Leeds, having fled Rhodesia through Botswana. They estimate nearly 130 students can no longer continue their education at the University of Rhodesia. The three students urge expulsion of the University from the Commonwealth Universities Association. The present difficulties at the University began in July, 1973, when

the black students sent a list of demands to University authorities. They asked that Blacks be employed on the academic and administrative staff and that the wages of African laborers on the campus be raised. They also demanded that the University principal deny allegations made in the Rhodesian parliament that African students were unable to comply with western standards of behavior and hygiene (*Guardian*, London, Nov. 19, 1973).

Thirteen students pleaded not guilty to charges of public violence, but were tried and sentenced to three to eight months imprisonment. One had his sentence suspended. The magistrate said he hoped the sentences would deter further disturbances at the University (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 24, 1973).

ZAMBIANS SEIZE RHODESIAN

D.I. Coles, a white employee of the Central Africa Power Corp., was seized by Zambian security forces when he was on the Kariba Dam inspecting boundary markers. Cole says he was beaten by his captors. He was taken to a hospital in Lusaka and was well-treated. He was later flown in a private aircraft back to Salisbury (*Guardian*, London, Dec. 28, 1973).

Gerald Hawksworth, a prisoner of ZANU for nine months has been released and has returned to Rhodesia (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 22, 1973).

namibia

NEW WAVE OF ARRESTS AND REPRESSION

The South African Government intensified its campaign of mass repression, arrests, trials and other acts of intimidation against the people of Namibia in December and January. On the 17th of January 1974, a large force of police with automatic weapons and tracker dogs arrested 127 members of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and its youth league at a road block 30 miles south of Windhoek. The men, women and school children arrested were travelling in a convoy on their way to a public meeting which had been called in Rehoboth. They were arrested on the trumped up charge of being without their identification books and failing to produce travel documents when asked to do so. Armed police took all those arrested to the Central Police Station in Windhoek, where police used their dogs to force the arrested people to the detention cells.

Among those arrested were leaders of the SWAPO youth league, including, it is reported, the Chairman, Mr. Ezriel Taapopi and the acting Secretary, Mr. Joseph Kasheha. The national Chairman of SWAPO, Mr. David Merero was held, but later released, on condition that he report to the Windhoek Magistrate's Court.

A number of trials of politically active Namibians were also reported to be going on in the Territory in January, and political observers in South Africa have interpreted the latest massive crackdown as a move to destroy the SWAPO youth league which is the most militant and active body in Namibia.

In a statement issued in New York condemning the January 17 arrests, the Council for Namibia said: "The repressive police operation did not end with the incarceration of the 127 Africans; a defamation campaign then began, in which the representatives of the illegal regime in Namibia alleged that the aim of the operation was not to persecute the SWAPO Youth League, but simply to punish them for not observing the pass laws. Such statements are belied by the fact of the situation in the Territory.

Ever since the South African forces placed themselves in the illegal occupation of the Territory, they have never ceased to indulge in acts of terror and intimidation. The South African regime is now using new methods of mass intimidation. Reports have appeared in the press that the police have been inducing employers in Windhoek firms.

During the month of January, the police were involved in continuous round-ups in the African quarters of Windhoek. Scores of Africans were arrested. Although the announced aim of these actions was to search for 'Blacks suspected of certain contravention', the true purpose of these operations was clear from the fact that SWAPO Youth League members were the main category being detained."

In an effort to conceal the extent of its repression in Namibia, the South African Chief of Police in Windhoek, Brigadier Wally Louw announced in mid-January that in future the police would furnish no information on SWAPO, any other political organisation, or any police action or investigation into such bodies. The Administrator, Mr. E.J. van der Walt is now the only person authorised to make any statements about these issues.

In the first week of February police, in a new swoop, detained at least 10 SWAPO leaders, including Chairman Merero, in a desperate attempt to crush the mounting

organization and resistance of the Namibian people. It is believed that people are being held under the South African Terrorism Act, but there has been a deliberate news blackout which has made it difficult for the outside

world to follow these latest events. (*The Star*, January 19, 1974, *Press Release (U.N.)* NAM/95, 7 Feb. 1974, *Africa News*, Feb. 14, 1974)

U.S. & southern africa

SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER VISITS U.S.: NEW FRIENDS WON?

Dr. Connie Mulder, South African Minister of the Interior, has just completed a "private," two-week visit to the United States to win new friends for South Africa and to promote his own political future as heir apparent to Prime Minister Vorster.

The visit is the brainchild of Mulder's Secretary of Information, Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, who advocates approaches to middle Americans rather than to converted rightwingers, by public officials who are articulate and personable.

Dr. Mulder talked to editorial writers Sulzberger and Hovey at the *New York Times* and to several *Los Angeles Times* editors in the first week of his visit. An evening spent with the Pasadena Foreign Relations Council was enlivened by the presence of a half-dozen moderate Blacks. Through a mutual friend, Mulder arranged a quiet get-together with the Black mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley.

Mulder did not neglect to visit possible successors to President Nixon. He saw Governor Reagan in California and then moved on to Washington for his final week and an interview with Vice President Jerry Ford. Ford's press secretary confirmed that Ford had met with Mulder for 25 minutes on January 22nd, and that they had talked about the energy crisis.

Meanwhile, State Department spokesmen were expressing discomfort and embarrassment because the South African had made an "end run" around Secretary Kissinger and depreciated any political gains touted by the South African press. "Dr. Kissinger doesn't like end runs," one State Department source said. However, State embarrassment or anger, if any, did not prevent Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, "Tony" Ross, from attending a dinner at the South African Embassy in Mulder's honor.

The South African information service pulled another coup by getting affable "Doc" Morgan, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to host a reception



Dr. C.P. Mulder, Minister of Information (left), meeting with Vice-President Gerald Ford.

at the International Club to which Charles Diggs, chairman of the Committee's subcommittee on Africa, was conspicuously uninvited. Mulder also briefed Democratic majority leader, Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill, a prominent moderate liberal. On the Senate side, Mulder cultivated the Republican leadership: Hugh Scott, minority leader, and Robert Griffin, minority whip, both liberals. He also saw conservative Senator John Tower.

Mulder's visit is the first move in the South African plan to cultivate new friends rather than to preach to the converted. North American information officers are to be doubled. Three officers will work out of Washington, San Francisco and Ottawa will have two instead of one and a new two person office will be opened in Los Angeles.

Meanwhile South African press stories written by Rhoodie's service are heralding the visit as "highly significant" and that it symbolizes the "refreshing new outlook in Foreign Policy which the present (Nixon) administration has adopted."

CORPORATE OPPOSITION TO SANCTIONS MOUNTS

The Tool and Stainless Steel Industry Committee is rumored to have spent some \$200,000 in its efforts to defeat the Rhodesian sanctions bill in the Senate. At the time, Senator Harry Byrd's corporate backers trusted that Byrd could maintain a filibuster and prevent the bill from reaching a vote.

Stung by the strong pro-sanctions victory in the Senate, the stainless steel lobbyists are building strength for the House fight by gathering corporate allies. Not only are more steel companies becoming involved—Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Crucible Stainless Steel Division of Colt Industries, ARMCO, Carpenter Technology, U.S. Steel—but they are also soliciting co-operation from corporate consumers of stainless steel. Ford Motor Company, for example, began lobbying against the sanctions bill just before the Senate vote. In a memorandum being distributed by a Washington Representative, Mr. Charles Day, Ford states its position as follows: "The Company buys stainless steel for use in catalytic converter tubes and containers, steel that uses ferrochrome in alloying . . . Renewed embargo on Rhodesian chromite would force the Company and its suppliers to turn to alternate sources of supply . . . nearly doubling the price per pound of chrome."

On the other hand, after the Arab oil boycott, many members of Congress are beginning to realize that the United States cannot afford to continue to disregard the economic power of the Third World. Many minerals and raw materials vital to today's U.S. industry are controlled by independent Africa. For example, Nigeria has now passed Venezuela as the second largest oil exporter to the United States.

As concern about a world mineral shortage increases, members of Congress may also give more credence to the argument that the stainless steel industry is necessarily going to have to utilize somewhat more expensive sources of chrome, higher technology to process lower quality ore, and greater amounts of recycled chromium. Thus the industry's insistence on uninterrupted access to Rhodesian chromium, regardless of the political consequences, may be short-sighted at least and counter-productive at worst. The issue may boil down to the question of whether a rise of about two percent in the price of stainless steel if sanctions are reimposed is the necessary cost of continued access to African minerals. Eddison Zvogbo, former African National Council Representative in the U.S. said in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Africa in February, 1973: "Is it good economic sense to invest in this regime—which is bound to crumble and fall—at the expense of all five and a half million Africans who will certainly rule Zimbabwe in the near future?"

HOUSE DEFEATS U. S. ALLOCATION TO WORLD BANK

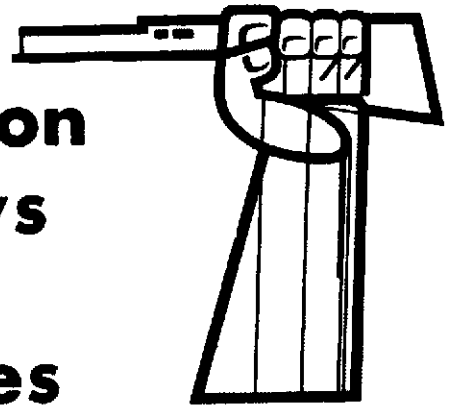
On January 23, the House soundly defeated an Administration-sponsored bill allocating \$1.5 billion to the World Bank's International Development Association. Much opposition to the bill came from traditionally conservative Representatives who said they could not expect their constituents to finance soft loans to developing countries while having to negotiate for loans on less favorable terms themselves. Wayne Hays also argued that the money would find its way in payments for

oil to the Arab nations which are "striking not only our Nation but also mangling the poor of the underdeveloped nations of the world."

Several House members supported the contribution to the IDA as a way to maintain U. S. industry's access to raw materials from the Third World. This case was put clearly by Representative Widnall of New Jersey: "In the past we have tended to think of this assistance in terms of developing markets. We have tended to overlook the importance of these underdeveloped countries as sources of raw materials for ourselves and the other developed nations of the world." As the importance of the resources of the Third World to the U. S. economy becomes more visible, some U. S. policy-makers may listen more closely to the insistence of independent Africa that the United States stop supporting minority rule in southern Africa. On the other hand, it is also possible that South Africa, with its vast mineral wealth, may be able to take equal advantage of the mood of a mineral crisis in the long run.

It is likely that the Senate will consider the IDA bill in about a month. Senate Foreign Relations Committee members who support the bill hope that the House defeat will have faded from Senator's consciousness by March and that the Arab oil boycott will be less stringent by then.

action news and notes



CITY COMMISSION HOLDS HEARING ON NEW YORK TIMES ADS FOR JOBS IN SOUTH AFRICA

On Monday, January 14, 1974, the New York City Commission on Human Rights held a hearing on a complaint brought against the *New York Times* for its continued publication of advertisements for employment in South Africa. The complainants, the American Committee on Africa, the African Heritage Studies Association, One Hundred Black Men, Inc., and Judge William H. Booth, have contended since the initiation of the complaint in October 1972 that these advertisements for professional positions in industry and academia were inevitably discriminatory because of the very nature of the legislative policies of apartheid in South Africa. The complainants have claimed that it is well known that the law in South Africa creates a system of deliberate discrimination in employment and in all other aspects of life based on race and color. Hence advertisements for

jobs in South Africa are in violation of the City's Commission of Human Rights laws covering equal opportunities for employment for all the citizens of New York City. Complainants have requested that the Commission direct the *Times* to cease further publication of such advertisements.

Counsel for the complainants, Douglas Wachholz of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law, and Peter Weiss of the Center for Constitutional Rights presented documents and testimony at the hearing which clearly underscored the obvious discriminatory nature of the ads appearing in the *Times*.

Joel Carlson and Andrew Lukele, former South African attorneys and witnesses with extensive experience and knowledge of the South African apartheid legislation, cited laws governing employment, housing, education and every phase of life which would render the situation for a black American applying for a position in South Africa not only intolerable but probably impossible. Witnesses testified that obstacles to successful application for such employment by blacks would begin with the legislation which restricts immigration status to those of pure white descent. Once in South Africa, regulations covering blacks extend virtually from the cradle to the grave, affecting all aspects of employment, in terms of travel, mobility, responsibility and advancement.

During the hearing, counsel for the *New York Times* objected to testimony based on personal experiences and to any descriptions of apartheid legislation as it is applied in practice. The Commission overruled these objections, supporting the complainants' contention that these testimonies underlined the pervasiveness of the apartheid laws in the life of blacks in South Africa whether native or foreign-born.

Testimony was also given by a number of prominent black New Yorkers, including Prof. Hugh Smyth, former Ambassador to Syria and Malta, Dr. John Henrik Clarke, Mr. Dick Clark of Dick Clark Associates, a minority hiring consulting firm, Prof. Tilden LeMelle.

These witnesses gave evidence regarding the immediate awareness among black Americans of the discriminatory policies of South Africa and hence, of the inapplicability to that community of such job openings as have been advertised in *The New York Times*. As some witnesses attested, knowledge of apartheid and the injustices inherent in South African employment came through reading publications such as the *Times* itself. Statements from black academics and a minority employment consultant stressed that neither they, nor any of their colleagues who represented the professional level at which the advertisements were directed would ever consider application for employment in South Africa.

New York City Lawyer Hope Stevens, Chairman of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, pointed out that no black professional would respond to a South African job advertisement because "there is a universal understanding in the black community, barring that small percentage who neither read nor care, that blacks need not apply." He regarded the advertisements as dangerous because black readers, knowing they were excluded from the positions advertised, could only regard the *Times* action in publishing such advertisements as provocative.

Priscilla Bassett, a white librarian married to a black micro-biologist, asked by Counsel "Would either you or your husband apply for any post advertised in *The New*

York Times for South Africa?" responded firmly, "Absolutely not. This would destroy our family relationship. We could not live with each other or with our three children."

Under cross-examination by the *New York Times* counsel, Mr. George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, responded to the question whether in his opinion it would be possible for a U.S. Corporation to place any advertisement in *The New York Times* for a job in South Africa that would not express discrimination. "In my opinion that would be an impossibility", he stated.

While it was recognized that there were other areas in the world where employment discrimination against certain groups existed, witnesses stressed that South Africa was the only country in which such discrimination was actually legislated.

Final Hearings

Counsel for the *New York Times* introduced evidence and both sides gave closing arguments as the hearings continued before the New York City Commission on Human Rights on January 31.

As evidence of the paper's concern with this case, the *Times* brought in top legal defense, namely Floyd Abrams, who successfully defended the paper in the Pentagon Papers case. The *Times* evidence consisted of various newspaper articles dealing with discrimination in a number of countries, as well as selections from writings and testimony of several of the co-complainants showing their background of opposition to apartheid.

Abrams made several arguments in summarizing the paper's justification for publishing the South African ads. He said that they represented a joining of commercial and political speech and are therefore protected by the First amendment. He said that the newspaper could not be expected to make judgements concerning conditions in foreign countries, this being a governmental concern. Finally he cited various examples of discriminatory situations in other countries (i.e. lack of women's rights in Upper Volta) and raised the specter of the advertising department having to screen out many kinds of ads or being subject to a myriad of complaints (The so-called "pull the plug" theory).

Peter Weiss presented the complainants closing statement by first reviewing the history of the complaint from the time that protests were sent to the newspaper about the advertising in 1969. He cited the experts' testimony concerning the discriminatory laws of apartheid, as well as witnesses' testimony that South Africa's apartheid system was well enough known by New Yorkers that an advertisement mentioning the country would be associated with a "whites only" limitation. He noted that employment advertising constituted commercial speech subject to anti-discriminatory regulation in a way that political speech does not.

He said that the complaint concerns the actions of the newspaper in New York City and does not constitute a foreign policy question. While other countries may have discriminatory policies, South Africa's self-proclaimed racial policies are well known to most Americans, he concluded, and advertisements for employment there are clearly aimed only for whites and should not be permitted under the City's codes protecting the people from such

forms of discrimination.

A ruling in the case will not be made by the Commission for several months. It appears that ultimately the issue will go to the courts for final determination, since neither side will rest with the Commissions' ruling.

POLITICAL ACTIONS

CABRAL ASSASSINATION COMMEMORATED— NEW REPUBLIC HAILED

Throughout the U.S., commemorations were held in memory of the January 20, 1973 Assassination of Comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde). A small demonstration occurred in New York City in the pelting rain in front of the Consulate of Portugal and the Casa de Portugal on Fifth Avenue which was arranged by the PAIGC-USA Committee. In Los Angeles, Radio station KPFA aired a 30 minute program on the Republic of Guinea-Bissau using speeches of Cabral and other PAIGC leaders, as well as music and commentary. (For more information see **RESOURCES ON GUINEA-BISSAU** below). On January 19 the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea sponsored a film program showing a new Swedish made film "Free People in Guinea-Bissau". On January 25, some 150 persons met at New York's Columbia University in a meeting sponsored by the Pan African Student Organization in the Americas to see the same film and to hear speeches by various organizational representatives, including two Cape Verdian PAIGC comrades, one of whom had spent 8 years working with the Party. The highlight of the evening was the recitation of a song poem or hymn entitled "Natividade: A Battle Hymn to the Republic of Independent Guine-Bissau", performed by five women dressed in traditional African dress who skillfully sang and read the poem. Written by Elombe Brath, the Hymn is an historical and political poem which closes with the joyous cry, "O Rejoice Afrikan World, The Republic of Guine-Bissau is Born!" The complete text of "Natividade" appears below. Other commemorations were held in Boston, Akron, Kansas City, and San Francisco.



Demonstration in New York outside the Portuguese Consulate. Left: Tony Gonsalves of the PAIGC-USA Committee.

NEW YORK STATE ADS IN SOUTH AFRICA

New York State Assemblyman Franz Leichter has publicly protested the placement of ads in South African papers by the New York State Department of Commerce. The advertisements call upon South Africans to buy New York State goods. Leichter wrote: "I just cannot understand how you could presume to spend public monies for advertisements in the press of a dictatorial government which practices discrimination as a national policy. I think the actions of your Department in doing this are an insult, not only to the Black citizens of this State, but to every resident." The Assemblyman has called for the discontinuation of the ads. (*New York Amsterdam News*, Dec. 29, 1973).

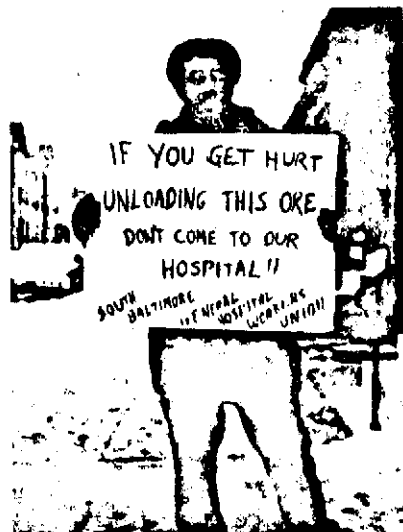
MORE CONDEMNATION OF SCLC ON GULF GRANT

Several speakers at the recent Pan Afrikan Reception sponsored by the recent Congress of Afrikan People at the plush New York Waldorf Astoria denounced the acceptance by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of a \$50,000 grant from Gulf Oil. (See *Southern Africa*, Dec., 1973, Jan. 1974) Attended by some 2,000 people, the reception heard speakers including Ambassador Nur Elmi of Somalia and A. Francisco of UNITA. (*Muhammed Speaks*, Dec. 21, 1973).

DOCKWORKERS BOYCOTT CONTINUES

A GI and workers paper, WILDCAT (P.O. Box 4387, Baltimore, Md. 21223) carried several stories recently about the work of the Militant Action Dockers in Baltimore in building a constituency among dockers to continue boycotting the Import of Rhodesian metals.

It appears that women hospital workers on strike in Baltimore were important in support for the boycott, as well as the severe disillusionment with International Longshoremen Association (ILA-union) leadership. One worker said, "None of these leaders wants to take the weight (in the boycott). They want to be leaders but they don't want to lead." (*Wildcat*, Vol II, No. 1, 1974). A huge rally is planned in Baltimore for Feb. 18 on these issues.



ALSC MEETS—OIL RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The Executive Committee of the African Liberation Support Committee met on January 4 in Nashville, Tennessee and passed various resolutions on "Oil and the Crisis of Imperialism". The statement called for support to the Palestinian struggle, opposed oil monopolies and urged their nationalization, and encouraged oil producing countries' boycotts of all imperialist nations. The meeting

outlined how the entire oil system should alter, how Blacks should support the struggle in Angola and Mozambique and continue to challenge Gulf Oil, and oppose U.S. monopoly control of oil in Canada and the Caribbean. (ALSC Press Release, Jan. 5, 1974. For more information write: ALSC, P.O. Box 14093, Houston, Texas 77021).

LIBERATION SUPPORT

CLOTHING FOR ZIMBABWE

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) has supplied 11 tons of clothing to refugees from Zimbabwe by collecting clothes in places such as St. Louis, Norfolk (Va.), and South Bend (Indiana). IFCO has

established a Material Assistance Support System (MASS) and set out on campaigns which include educational leaflets. The clothing was raised primarily in the Black community. (IFCO NEWS, Nov-Dec, 1973)



Women of New Calvary Baptist Church, Norfolk, Virginia boxing clothing for victims of Rhodesian regime with IFCO staffer Carrie Hunter, second from right.

ZAMBIZANGA: FILM COMMEMORATION FOR MPLA

On Feb. 3 and Feb 4 a new film on Angola, *Sambizanga*, was shown in New York at the Church Center for the U.N. in commemoration of the beginning of armed struggle by MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). The film was shown publicly for only one week at a downtown arts theater in New York, and then withdrawn much to the displeasure of a number of people. The distributor, New Yorker Films (43 w. 61st St, New York, N.Y. 10023) said that the film was not well attended. They plan to distribute it to universities, and interested persons should write to New Yorker Films directly. The film portrays the story of the days immediately before Feb. 4, 1961 when the Movement was faced with tremendous Portuguese repression against its cadres. In particular, a construction worker is arrested by the Secret Police, and the story reveals both his wife's search for his location and the workings of the MPLA underground within Luanda and other cities to discover his whereabouts. Beautifully filmed in Congo Brazzaville with the aid of MPLA, *Sambizanga* is striking in its

portrait of Portuguese repression, the early days of struggle, the complex nature of Angolan society and the warmth and community life of the African people. Monies raised at the film showings went to MPLA. The event was sponsored by three New York groups, African Information Service, Committee for a Free Mozambique and the Southern Africa Committee.

SUPPORT FOR PETITION CAMPAIGN ON GUINEA-BISSAU

More than 3,400 people have signed the Petition reaffirming the "Message of Support and Solidarity to the People and Party of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau." To date the following organizations have endorsed the Petition: the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, the United Church Board for World Ministries, the African Studies Association, the Black Caucus of the House of Representatives, the (Episcopal)

Dioces of Philadelphia, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Cuba Resource Center, and Friends Peace Committee.

The following organizations have assisted this recognition campaign by distributing the Petition to their constituencies: Black Economic Development Conference, Southern Africa Committee, Committee for a Free Mozambique, Gulf Boycott Coalition, Africa Information Service, Resistance (Philadelphia), Black Student Psychological Association, N.Y. Conference (Methodist) Task Force on South Africa, New World Resource Center, Third World Peace Education Program, (Methodist) Bishops' Call for Peace, Medical Aid for Indochina, Southern Africa Study Group, PAIGC-USA Committee, Mass. Conference Task Force on Southern Africa, Black Press Clipping Service, Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, Youth Against War and Fascism, Southern Africa Committee-South, Southern Africa Ecumenical Project, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldiers Organization, United Ministries in Higher Education (S.E.), and the Amilcar Cabral Study Group.

The latest mailing from the Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was sent to more than 6,000 people, and included a background brochure on Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde; a Resource List; the Petition and Support List. The covering letter is signed by Mia Adjali, Methodist Office for the United Nations; Paul Booth, Citizens Action Committee; William H. Booth, American Committee on Africa; Angela Davis, National Alliance Against Repression; Sue Thrashe, Institute for Southern Studies; and the following Members of the U.S. Congress: Shirley Chisolm, Ronald V. Dellums, Charles C. Diggs, Louis Stokes and Andrew J. Young.

The following letter was received from the inmates of a New York prison:

Dear Comrades,

We the brother of Afro-American Dialogue, wish to convey our solidarity towards the brothers and sisters in Guinea Bissau. Our words are pebble upon the ocean due to our confinement but, still we send this petition with the undersigned names to express our sincere solidarity.

We express also the hope that the free people in the outside world will see to it that a just solution to the conflict facing our brothers and sisters in the Republic of Guinea Bissau will be achieved. We also hope that in adding our voice in protest against Portuguese Colonialism, it will help to urge the Department of State to recognize the independence of the people of Guinea Bissau. We also plead for the complete withdrawal of all Portuguese troops occupying Guinean Soil. We feel it necessary to stress that the territorial integrity of the newly formed nation of Guinea Bissau should, and must be respected.

All of the above that is said, lies squarely upon the shoulders of the people on the outside world. "No effort towards self determination should be obstructed."

Power to the people of Guinea,

CORPORATE ACTIONS

AMAX CASE DISMISSED

The suit brought by the family shareholders against American Metal Climax Corporation charging "Malfeasance" against the company payment of taxes to South Africa from its huge Namibian operations at Tsumeb, were set back when San Francisco Federal Judge dismissed the case. He said that a State court lacks jurisdiction over both foreign countries and the practices of U.S. companies in foreign lands. The case is being appealed. (See *Southern Africa*, Nov., 1973) ; (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974).

CHURCH GROUPS LAUNCH EXPANDED CORPORATE ATTACKS

A coalition of ten national religious organizations has announced that they are filing 22 stockholder resolutions with an equal number of major American corporations investing in white-ruled Africa.

Represented in the Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa are boards of eight Protestant denominations, a Roman Catholic priests' order and the National Council of Churches.

The denominations include the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Churches, the United Church of Christ, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the Reformed Church in America.

Also participating are the Unitarian-Universalist Association and, for the first time joining the coalition, the Roman Catholic Atonement Friars.

The ten organizations in the project represent stock portfolios valued at approximately \$100 million. The value of the stock held in the 22 companies by the churches which filed these resolutions is over \$17 million.

Speaking for the coalition at a press conference in New York on Jan. 8, Dr. Sterling Cary, the first Black president of the National Council of Churches, said that six of the churches, representing approximately \$7.3 million worth of stock in the company, are requesting Exxon to withdraw from exploration activities off-shore Guinea-Bissau, on Africa's west coast.

Guinea-Bissau is Africa's newest independent state, recognized so far by 71 nations around the world (not including the U.S.). Exxon continues to hold a concession for oil exploration there with Portugal.

Dr. Cary likened Guinea-Bissau's declaration of independence to that of the American nation in 1776.

Gulf Oil received a resolution requesting a full disclosure of the facts behind its "new Kuwait in Angola" reported last month.

Gulf has been the target of protest and boycott activities because of its massive tax payments to the Portuguese in Angola totalling \$61 million in 1972.

Three, and possibly four, oil companies involved in exploration offshore Namibia are being asked to cease those operations immediately.

Dr. Cary stated that Getty, Standard Oil of California, Phillips Petroleum and Continental Oil are all "flouting" official U.S. policy for Namibia discouraging investment in the disputed territory.

In 1973, participants in the Church Project filed resolutions with 11 companies asking that they issue

comprehensive reports to their shareholders on company operations in South Africa. Over half of the companies voluntarily agreed to the request and the resolutions were then withdrawn.

This year, two companies, IBM and General Electric, which rejected the church disclosure request last year are receiving new resolutions calling for the establishment of a broad-based committee by the board of directors to study the full implications of their South African investments. Nine other companies with investments in South Africa will receive a revised South African "disclosure" resolution for the first time. International Harvester has voluntarily agreed to the resolution. Dr. Cary noted the church coalition expects that "others will follow suit." He summarized, "American churches hold investments in these companies, investments which are vital to our continuing mission. But as investors, we feel we have a moral obligation to confront these companies about their involvement in southern Africa. We believe that American corporations are no less obligated than ourselves to confront the grave ethical questions inherent in conducting business in oppressive societies."

Father Michael Daniel, Superior General of the Atonement Friars, noted that the participation of his order in the coalition's activities represented but "the tip of the iceberg" for Roman Catholic involvement in the movement by churches for greater corporate social responsibility.

Dr. Cary noted progress in a campaign begun by the National Council and the Church Project to halt a series of loans by American and European banks to the South African government.

Also speaking at the conference was Mr. Mustafa Sam representing the 42 member organization of African Unity. On the Portuguese situation, he said, "Have you ever asked yourself from where such a poor country (Portugal) gets its resources to arm herself so that it could effectively suppress the people in her colonial territories? The answer is simple: Portugal gets assistance for continuing her colonial wars from the investments made by some companies who had the sole desire of making profit at the expense of other human beings. Portugal enticed them with cheap and forced labour in her territories. The royalties given to Portugal do not go to the welfare of the indigenous population but for the development of Portugal and for the purchase of arms which she needs in her colonial wars. I do not think any of you here would like to touch any profit made by a corporation which engages itself in the trade of human blood. For this is what the labour situation in these territories tantamount to."

Stories on the 1974 campaign appeared in the *New York Times*, *Johannesburg Star*, *Philadelphia Tribune* and *Catholic News*. (N.C.C. Press Release, Jan 8, 1974)

resources

REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

The following resources can be obtained by sending a check or money order (include 10% to cover postage) to:

Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
Second Floor
164 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

LITERATURE

The Sun of Our Freedom: The Independence of Guinea Bissau: A 36-page pamphlet of quotations, poems, official statements, and photos of the heroic struggle of the Guinean people. Produced by the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. Price: 50¢ (bulk rates for 10 or more)

The Revolution in Guinea: by Amilcar Cabral (Monthly Review Press) 175 pp. Price \$2.25

Return to the Source: A book of speeches and informal talks by Amilcar Cabral given when he visited the United States in the fall of 1972. Published by the African Information Service. 120 pp. Price: \$1.95

Actualities: PAIGC newsletter. Distributed by New World Resource Center. Price: 50¢ per copy

Portugal's War in Africa: an essay by Ruth First. Price: 50¢

The Revolution of Guinea: by Basil Davidson (Penguin). 169 pp. Price \$1.45

Our People are Our Mountains: speech by Amilcar Cabral. Price: 50¢

The Struggle for Guinea: Amilcar Cabral 18 pp. Price: 50¢

Profile of the PAIGC: World Council of Churches. 12 pp. Price: 50¢

Newsletter, bi-monthly to be published by the PAIGC-USA Committee. Send in your name if you wish to be added to the mailing list.

Arguments which analyze why there is no objection to diplomatic recognition of Guinea-Bissau according to international law. Written by leading Dutch lawyers and distributed by the Angola Comite (Amsterdam). Price: 25¢

POSTER

A beautiful silk-screen poster commemorating the independence of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of PAIGC—scenes of the struggle silhouetted against a rising sun and map of Africa, with quotation from PAIGC. Prices: \$1.25 (\$1.50 by mail), or \$1.10 in lots of 10 or more. All proceeds will go directly to PAIGC. Produced by the Women's Graphics Collective and distributed by the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

BUTTON

Multi-colored "Support the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau" large button. Produced by the African Liberation Support Committee. \$.50 each; 10-49, \$.40 each; 50-99, \$.35 each; 100 or more, \$.30 each.

BUMPER STICKER

Multi-colored bumper-sticker urging recognition of Guinea-Bissau and independence for Cape Verde. Produced and distributed by the PAIGC-USA Committee. Donation.

TAPES

30-minute tape on the history and current situation of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, told through interviews with PAIGC members, excerpts of speeches by Amilcar Cabral, and other timely material. Produced by Bob Manning in co-operation with KPFA (Pacifica) and distributed by "Rest of the News".

Cassette or reel-to-reel. \$15.00*

30-minute wide-ranging interview with Gil Fernandes, a member of the Supreme Council of the PAIGC, which details the current international status of Guinea-Bissau, plus a full explanation of the geography, history and political process of the struggle. Produced by the Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and distributed by "Rest of the News".

Cassette or reel-to-reel. \$15.00.*

15-minute tape featuring excerpted portions of the interview with Gil Fernandes (see above) plus music from Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, courtesy of the Vencereiros Brigade. Distributed by "Rest of the News".

Cassette or reel-to-reel. \$6.00.*

*Note: If you can't afford the list price, the tapes are available, upon request, for lesser amounts.

Resources: AFRICA TODAY: New rates and new features. *Africa Today*, a quarterly publication, has raised its sub rates to \$6.00/students; \$8.00/ individuals and \$12.00 for institutions. It has also expanded its coverage to include a number of regular features such as "Recent Articles on Africa" listing those articles which appear in non-African oriented publications. For info write: AT, c/o Center for International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

books

D. Hobart Houghton & Jenifer Dagut, *Source Material on the South African Economy: 1860-1970*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1972-1973. 3 volumes: v. 1, \$14; v. 2, \$11.75; v. 3, no price given.

Ian Mackler, *Pattern for Profit in Southern Africa*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books (D.C. Heath and Company), 1972. \$8.50

Mackler's book promises in its title much more than is actually delivered. Instead of an overall analysis of American corporate involvement in Southern Africa, it consists of a sixty page essay, the first twenty pages of which are devoted to a summary of the U.S. position on the South West Africa case in the late 1940s. This is related to U.S. business involvement in South Africa with a very general and superficial survey of involvement in Namibia, failing even to deal in detail with the crucial Tsumeb mine. In his conclusion Mackler notes that "the object of this study was to demonstrate that the United States government support of South Africa's position in the United Nations' South West Africa Debate stemmed in part from its deep concern for the American corporate interests in the Republic of South Africa". Unfortunately this short book does little to convince the reader of this undoubtedly correct statement, apart from reiterating the well-known general fact of U.S. corporate involvement.

While Mackler's book is weak on detailed fact, the same cannot be said of Houghton and Dagut's three-volume collection of *Source Material*. With the exception of brief introductions to the sections contained in it, the book consists entirely of selections from original documents, government publications, articles and statements by South African economists and industrialists. Thus much interesting material can be found in it, throwing light on the economic history of South Africa, and on the views taken and issues being debated by white

South Africa. It will not, however, shed much systematic light on the workings of the economy, or exactly how the exploitation of black labor works, and what consequences that has for the workers and their families. It will not shed much light, either, on the impact of foreign investment, or the current debate about disengagement or reform. It will not do so because the perspective within which those issues are raised is not the perspective of the sources which are included. Nor is it the perspective of the editors, although they might well agree with the call for "African advancement", in their concluding selection, taken from Harry Oppenheimer's 1971 statement as Chairman of Anglo-American Corporation. This set of three volumes, then, is like an unworked mine, much valuable material, which may give leads to more, but in need of processing before the value can be extracted.

Peter Dreyer, *The Future of Treason*. N.Y.: Ballantine Books, 1973. \$1.50.

John Parker, *Rhodesia: Little White Island*. London: Pitman Publishing Co., 1972. \$6.95.

These two short books (each less than 175 pages), each an autobiographical sketch set in the context of white southern Africa, provide no strikingly new insight or analysis. But they do help fill in for the reader the picture of South Africa and Rhodesia, through the incidental personal detail and reflections of two liberal whites. Dreyer's life as a dissident is told with skill; we are given vignettes of his life in South Africa, and then in Greece and the United States. Leaving South Africa by choice, he was later expelled from Greece; an author, his overt political involvement (in the South African Liberal Party and related groups) was limited to a phase of a few years. Parker provides us with much more detailed comments on politics, which he observed in his capacity as a reporter in

Rhodesia, having settled there in 1955. An ordinary white settler, he came to oppose the Smith regime and the system of white domination. Eventually he was deported after a conflict over freedom of the press.

In spite of the limitations of insight congruent with the background of each author, each has enough skill in writing to convey to the reader some of the feel of everyday life on the liberal fringe of white southern African society.

Allan Carpenter and Lynn Ragin, *Enchantment of Africa: Zambia*; Allan Carpenter and Tom Balow, *Enchantment of Africa: Botswana*. Chicago, Childrens Press, 1973. Price each \$4.50 to schools & libraries; \$6 to individuals. Sterling Publishing Co., Visual Geography Series, *South Africa in Pictures, Tanzania in Pictures, Kenya in Pictures, 1971-1972*. \$1.50 each.

Both Childrens Press and Sterling Publishing Co. are publishing series of individual books on African countries, which will eventually include almost every country on the continent. Judging by these samples, the Enchantment of Africa series can be generally recommended. It would be a good addition to school libraries. They contain basic facts, some sensitivity to the political issues of these countries and their relationship to Southern Africa, some interesting writing, and nicely done photographs and maps. The Sterling Publishing Co. series cannot be so recommended. The material, both photographs and contents, appears to be primarily taken from the information services of the countries involved, and written up in bland, uninteresting style. In the cases of Tanzania and Kenya the result, if not good, is not strikingly bad (although the authors have inserted in each book the old myth that the Bantu people are a mixture of Negro and Hamitic peoples). But in the case of South Africa the result is blatant South African propaganda. Masquerading as objective 'geography', it becomes that much more dangerous. Watch out also for one of the next books to be produced in this series, *Rhodesia in Pictures*. If the slant is at all comparable to

that in the book on South Africa, this will be one good reason for schools not to subscribe, and to try to counter its impact if already there.

BOOKS RECEIVED (Listing in this space does not preclude later review.)

1. Imamu Amiri Baraka, *Afrikan Revolution*. NewArk: Jihad Productions, 1973. \$0.75.
2. James Barber, *South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1945-1970*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973. \$14.50.
3. Charles R. Beitz Theodore Herman, eds. *Peace and War*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1973. \$11.95 cloth; \$4.95 paper.
4. Amílcar Cabral, *Cabral on Nkrumah*. NewArk: Jihad Productions, 1973. \$1.25.
5. Allan Carpenter and Tom Balow, *Enchantment of Africa: Botswana*. Chicago: Childrens Press, 1973. \$4.50 to schools & libraries; \$6 to individuals.
6. Allan Carpenter and Lynn Ragin, *Enchantment of Africa: Zambia*. Chicago: Childrens Press, 1973. \$4.50 to schools & libraries; \$6 to individuals.
7. Peter Dreyer, *The Future of Treason*. NY: Ballantine Books, 1973. \$1.50.
8. Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christabel Gurney, *The South African Connection*. NY: Barnes & Noble, 1973 (U.S. edition).
9. D. Hobart Houghton and Jenifer Dagut, *Source Material on the South African Economy: 1860-1970*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1972-1973. 3 volumes: v. 1, \$14; v. 2, \$11.75; v. 3, no price given.
10. Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter, eds., *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. v. 1: *Protest and Hope, 1882-1934*, by Sheridan Johns; v. 2: *Hope and Challenge, 1935-1952* by Thomas Karis; v. 3 not yet published. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972-1973.
11. Asmarom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*. NY: Free Press, 1973.
12. Charles Miller, *The Lunatic Express*. NY: Ballantine Books, 1973. \$1.95.
13. Waldemar A. Nielsen, *The Big Foundations*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1972. \$4.95 paper.
14. *Who's Who in Africa*. London: African Development Publications, 1973. £9.00.

natividade:

A Battle Hymn To The Republic of Independent GUINE-BISSAU



joy to the Afrikan World
The Republic of Guine-Bissau
is born!

Born in a capitalist-created manger
when western europe un-developed Afrika,
Virgin Mother of the first World,
raped by avaricious greed
of foreign imperialist merchants!

Afrika, Cradle of Civilization,
Black Madonna of the original
Mankind!

O Guine-Bissau
Your Nativity is truly an immaculate conception
cleansed in blood,
purified by fire, and
Born of the *Unity* of the People
of the Guine-Cape Verde Nation!

Born of the protracted *Struggle*
of liberation from portuguese colonialism—
and NATO, imperialism's protector!

Born of the social *Progress*
initiated by the democratic principles
of the Afrikan Party for Independence
of Guine-Bissau and Cape Verde!

There shall be *no more* "portuguese" Guinea!
O joy to the Afrikan World
The Republic of Guine-Bissau
is born!

Portugal—Go home! Quit Afrika *now!*
From Lusitanian times through Portus Cale
our histories have prove incompatible . . .

On the 27th of April of the year 711
our northern predecessors crossed
into the Iberian Peninsula
bringing you Moorish Civilization:
Culture—music, architecture, a newer
religious revelation, and a richer complexion
which you now credit to one/seventh
of our most precious blood—now
seemingly shared in vain.

Thus in 1492—the same year that
Cristobal Colon "discovered" the Old World
was *not* flat and a New World
for exploitation—we left you
much richer than we first found you
nearly eight hundred years before.

But lo! Can portugal say the same
for her five hundred years in Guine-Bissau?
Cape Verde? Angola? Mozambique?
Sao Tome? or Principe?

Like a slimey serpent *Lisboa*
tried to strangle and poison
Afrika's valiant liberation movement
although Osagyefo warned them:
"No part of Afrika
is an extention of europe!"

Português—go home to europe
and send no more impoverished adventurers
to *Rios da Guine do Cabo Verde!*

The loathsome mariner Nuno Tristao
came to Guine in 1446 claiming
false credentials of "Christianity
and Civilization."

But the Papal Bull of Borgia Pope
Alexander VI blessed portugal
with a colonial empire in Afrika
while damning Afrika with enslavement
and syphillisation by europe's faithful
children of the Church!

By 1765 you founded Bissau—
a more fortified slave center than the
hellish one at Cacheu,
misnaming Our People "*los negros!*"
and forcing us into a racially designated class;
our slave trade union membership
taught us the A-B-C's
of the early working class movement
in the Americas, Brazil, Cuba
and other places that laid the foundation
of monopoly capitalism.

Thus the pious hypocrites of portugal
can never teach us the dignity
of labor!

O portugal, return to europe
without further shame in Angola
and Mozambique!

Soon you shall no longer be able
to divide and conquer the Afrikan People
like your victorian british *madame* whose
five century alliance gives cosmetic condonation
to your brutish crimes.

For although the Church divided Guinea
into separate vicariates, and colonialism
saw fit to title Guinea "portuguese",
"french", "spanish"
and even "*new!*"—or *Guiana?*
Nkrumah said: *Afrika Must Unite!*"

And the Afrikan Revolution
will justly demand
One Guinea! African Guinea!
A sovereign State
within an *United States of Afrika!*

O portugal, poor-ass portugal . . .
Did you not realize that when
you ravished the Guinean People
whom you enslaved
in unsettled Cape Verde
that their progeny
would one day in the future
demand the fruits of their labor?

Independent Guine-Bissau
is the first fruit
of the harvest
of successful armed struggle!

O portugal,
leave while you still can!

O america!
Capitalism's pontifical pilot!
You helped the imperialist bogey
early in the game
when a century ago
President U.S. Grant
drunkenly awarded
Bolama island to portugal
settling an european debate while
creating a future Afrikan dispute.

And although eight years later
we smote our perennial enemies at Bolar,
soon after *Lisboa* claimed
all! Guine-Bissau after
first ripping off Cape Verde.

The racists/imperialist sanctioned
further division of the earthly kingdoms
at Bismarck's pre-nazi conference in 1884;
america gave her sanctimonious blessing.

From 1890 through 1910
the multitudes of Guine-Bissau
rose up in righteous indignation
until capitao Teixeira Pinto's diabolical
new weapons pacified the area.

The satanic Salazar
invoked his Colonial Act of 1933
merely rekindling the spark of revolt:
We are proud to be Black,
not assimilados!
We will resist forced labor
in Cape Verde, Luanda or Lourenco Marquest!

Hark! The Struggle Continues . . .
Colonized Afrika versus the
so-called "free world!"
National Liberation—from foreign imperialism!
Black cultural expression—
against white racist oppression!

Years of our blood, our sweat, our tears
shed under the barbaric system
of contract labor—Enough!

While studying in *Lisboa*
We learned that fascism

was the culture of portugal,
discovering our common histories
we vowed
to abolish the wicked sin of colonialism—
and chase the missionaries
of monopoly capital
out of the temple of Afrika!

And so—on the 19th of September—in 1956
six comrades convened in supreme *faith*
With a noble *purpose*
created an instrument of liberation—
The Afrikan Party for the Independence
of Guine and Cape Verde!

One disciple was Amilcar Cabral
who had studied the development of land,
not the practice of war!

But three years later, on August 3rd,
when peaceful demonstrating dockworkers
of *Pidjiquiti*
were senselessly gunned down at Bissau,
Cabral knew soon he would be forced to beat
his plowshares into implements of war . . .
reversing the Biblical dialectic!

One silent night—February of '61,
Comrades in faraway Angola
attacked *with arms*
the Luanda prisons
which held their compatriots
in bondage!

Awakened from his dream
in Guine-Bissau
Cabral grasped
the political contradiction
of revolutionary resistance . . .

But as Garvey had earlier found
when his Back-to-Afrika movement tried
to *redeem* Afrika for the Afrikans,
our greatest enemy is *disorganization!*

So the Secretary-General of the PAIGC
set out to re-organize the People,
teaching them
collective work and responsibility
until they truly understood . . .
Until they *truly* understood!

From that time on portugal fought
a losing battle against
the forces of Afrikan history!
January 1963:
The PAIGC answered Lisboa's five centuries
of death and destruction
with a fusillade of fiery freedom!

Hail the *new Gospel*
of Revolutionary Armed Struggle
heralding a new day
in so-called "portuguese" Guinea!

Down with portugues fascism and racism!
Down with colonialism and imperialism!
Return democracy to the People!

O what a holy night!

In vanguard Guinea, Conakry,
Comrade Seku Ture
and the PDG secured
a revolutionary rearguard base
as the PAIGC reaped startling victories
on guerrilla battlefield front lines.

Social salvation kept
pace in forest
and lush zones of
national liberation when
the PAIGC developed
co-operative economics
as a fundamental way of life—
to be internationalized!

Gather all the tribes:
Balante, Fula, Manjaco,
Malinke, Papel,
Brame and all the others—
including mesticos!
All shall help build
a Guine-Cape Verde Nation!

O Brother Amilcar Cabral
made mountains
out of the Peoples
surrounding the Boe hills!

Thus failing to abort
emerging Guine-Bissau,
and blundering
on that notorious November 22nd,
the diabolic Caetano's ruling classmates
offered the temptation of treason
to a stray sheep . . .

January 20th, 1973—
fateful day of infamy!
Fifth column *judases*
slew the saintlike Cabral,
betraying—but not stopping—
the African Revolution!

The ghouls and vampires
of imperialist racism
consume the bodies,
blood and soul of Our People!

O what supreme sacrilege!

Adeste fidelis,
joyful and triumphant
The People of Guine-Bissau
are free!

O blessed infant Nation
Your parentage is a holy union
for you were respectably Fathered
By the *self-determination*
of the PAIGC
and Mothered by
the historical tradition
of everlasting Afrikan culture.

Your Sister-state Guinean Republic
acted as a revolutionary midwife
spearheading the deliverance of
the most precious of gifts—
Comradship and Brotherhood!

Comrade Amilcar Cabral
Spiritual Father
of the Newborn Nation
warned: "Claim no easy victories,
tell no lies to the People."

Thus on the 24th of September 1973
The People's National Assembly
officially proclaimed the
sovereignty of
The State of Guine-Bissau!

O Come All Ye Faithful,
Joyful and Triumphant,
The Spritual Resurrection
of Cabral is at hand,
Black Star of our *creativity*,
The People of Guine-Bissau are free!

O Jerama, Comrade Cabral,
Asante Sana, PAIGC!
We beseech You
to continue the Struggle
from Bissau to Cape Verde!

O Rejoice Afrikan World
The Republic of Guine-Bissau
is born!

—Elombe Brath

say no to chrome

The U.S. Senate has voted no

On December 19, 1973, the Senate voted 54-37 to restore a U.S. boycott of chrome from Rhodesia

Now it is up to the House

The House of Representatives will be voting early in 1974 on this measure. 180 Congressmen support the chrome boycott. 40 more votes are needed.

Call, write, wire, your Congressman to vote yes on House Bill No. 8005

Rhodesia is ruled by a 5% white minority which denies to the 95% African majority all civil, political and human rights parallel to apartheid in South Africa, its close ally.

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March 1974

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