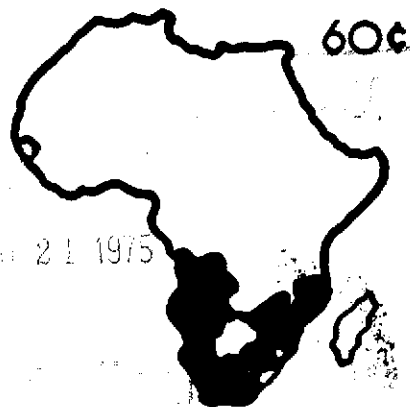


southern africa



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FRONT COVER: Namibian township scene. (Art work: R. Washington)

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**AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY—
MAY 24, 1975**

The New York City African Liberation Support Committee announces its 1975 mobilization for African Liberation Day.

— On Saturday, May 24, 1975, millions of Afro-Americans will march in major cities across the country in support of African Liberation Day.

In New York City, a massive march and demonstration are being planned for that day. Point of assembly, time and place will be announced.

The first African Liberation Day was held on May 26, 1972. Its purpose was to demonstrate the support of Afro-Americans for our African brothers and sisters struggling in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. Since that time, over 100,000 people have marched on that day and over \$100,000 has been contributed and sent to the liberation movements as a concrete manifestation of our support.

The march and demonstration this year will have a three-fold character.

1. It is a celebration of the victories achieved in the past year by the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. They have freed their country from the economic and political control of the Portuguese and are in the process of constructing societies where hunger, disease, illiteracy and malnutrition will be eliminated. Their victory, however, by no means implies that their struggle has ended. They must now fight against the enemy from within, which all too often, comes in the form of the United States CIA. Nathaniel Davis, who was with the U.S. Embassy in Chile just before the Chilean coup, has just recently been appointed as Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs.

We demand: CIA OUT OF AFRICA

2. It is an expression of our solidarity with those people in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for whom the struggle continues. Millions of African people in those countries are forced to live under barbarous and inhuman conditions by an omnipotent and repressive police-military apparatus controlled by a minority of white people. The South African government and the multi-national corporations that is its foundation systematically and brutally murder millions of Africans each year with police repression, slave labor and the denial of the necessary food, clothing and shelter needed to stay alive.

We demand: EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

3. It is an expression of our determination to demand and struggle for a decent standard of living for all oppressed people throughout the United States. Black and Puerto Rican people are over represented in the welfare and unemployment figures. We are bearing the weight of this economic crisis, as we did during the last depression.

We demand: A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING AND JOBS FOR ALL PEOPLE

**Support African Liberation Day
May 25, 1975
Give to the African Liberation Fund!**

Interview with Sean MacBride, Commissioner for Namibia



U.N./Chen

Sean MacBride, addressing the Council for Namibia

Sean MacBride, distinguished international lawyer, former Foreign Minister Eire (Southern Ireland), Director of the International Commission of Jurists, and Secretary-General of Amnesty International, was appointed to the post of Commissioner for Namibia in January 1974. In this capacity he acts as the Executive Officer of the Council for Namibia of the United Nations. The Council was established by the General Assembly in 1967 after it had revoked South Africa's mandate over the territory. It is the body responsible for the administration of Namibia until the achievement of independence. In November 1974, Sean MacBride was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The following interview was done by Richard Knight, a member of the Southern Africa Committee on March 13 this year.

Southern Africa: What is the role of the United Nations in Namibia?

MacBride: Basically, there are two functions that the United Nations really has. In the first place it has to secure the liberation of Namibia from South Africa's illegal occupation. And secondly, in the interim period, it should prepare Namibians to run the administration of Namibia. These are two rather separate roles.

Southern Africa: In this process how do you relate to SWAPO and how do you work together?

MacBride: SWAPO has been declared the authentic representative of the people of Namibia by the Organization of African Unity and also by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I regard SWAPO as the organisation I should consult in

regard to the wishes of the people of Namibia. The Council on the other hand is not representative of the people of Namibia—there are no Namibians on it. It is the body appointed by the United Nations to help the liberation of Namibia. There is a clear distinction.

Southern Africa: Accusations have been made against the United Nations that it is not really supporting Namibia but rather passing resolutions that cannot be enforced. What can the Council actually do in support of Namibia?

MacBride: You are correct in saying that there have been a great many resolutions passed and this, I must say, is one of the things I have been anxious to avoid perpetuating. I have concentrated on trying to get concrete proposals adopted by the Council and the General Assembly and I have succeeded in getting two major proposals adopted which I regard as having considerable importance. One is a proposal for the setting up of an Institute for research and for training which will be situated in Lusaka for the time being. I am sure that it will be transferred to Windhoek, [capital of Namibia] as soon as we can get into Windhoek. This may indeed ultimately provide the nucleus for a University of Namibia. The Institute has several tasks. It will in the first place, undertake research in depth on some 38 different problems that have been identified in regard to Namibia—problems about which we have inadequate information at the moment and on which data should be gathered together. Secondly, the Institute will, as a result of the research, produce memoranda, briefs and blue prints for the future government of free Namibia. I will give you an example to make myself clearer. Take the case of the future Ministry of Health. In order that the Minister of Health should be able to formulate policy when Namibia is free, he will need all the basic information concerning health problems in Namibia. The information we have at present, for instance, indicates that there is a terribly high infant mortality rate at 400 per thousand live births up to the age of three. This is a colossal figure for infant mortality. The Institute should research this, getting accurate statistics and identifying its causes, such as malnutrition inadequate medical and mid-wifery services. Having filled in this background the Institute will then be able to assess the number of additional hospitals which will be required; the number of additional doctors that will be needed; the number of additional nurses and semi-qualified nurses that will have to be trained. Once we have this information then we can go about getting Namibians trained—a third function of the Institute. Supposing the Institute should find that we need 250 nurses to provide necessary medical services in Namibia. We will get 250 Namibian women and arrange for their training as nurses. If it decided that we need 150 doctors we will set about finding the necessary number of qualified Namibians and try and have them trained as doctors.

Southern Africa: What role will SWAPO play in the Institute? Will they play a major role?

MacBride: Oh yes. SWAPO will play a major role; SWAPO will have two representatives on the board of the Institute and they will play a major role in it. They are the representatives of the people of Namibia and must therefore play the major role in it. It is for *them*, the people of Namibia, that it is being established.

Then there is the second proposal I referred to. The Council has adopted a decree, approved by the General

Assembly, for the purpose of safeguarding the natural resources of Namibia. This decree empowers me to pursue, follow, and stop any shipments of Namibian natural resources that have been illegally taken out from Namibia. By illegally we mean: taken out by reason of a license issued by the South African government which is in illegal authority there. As soon as this decree is functioning we will be able to pursue cargoes of mineral ore or of other natural produce from Namibia, and have them impounded in different parts of the world. These are two very major steps.

Southern Africa: How would you enforce this? Is there anything to stop South Africa—as it has done with Rhodesia—from passing the products off as South African? How could you prove in some court in the United States that the cargo was not South African but Namibian?

MacBride: Well, this is what we will have to do. This is the kind of proof we will have to get. It will entail quite a lot of work, but I feel confident that we can do it. It will be a question of identifying the goods as they leave the country and following them through.

Southern Africa: There has been a call for foreign industry to withdraw from Namibia. What is the present attitude of the United States and of United States business towards Namibia and towards SWAPO?

MacBride: In the first place, we have had considerable success in the past six weeks. Five US oil companies which were exploring there have now withdrawn, one after the other, I think as a result of the UN decree. In addition to that, a very big US company which was planning a big investment in Namibia, amounting to something like \$54 million has dropped the project completely. We received considerable assistance in this from the Non-Governmental Organizations of the UN and from the church bodies, in particular those which attended stockholders meetings and raised questions there. I attended some stockholders meetings myself. I have sent representatives to attend others and in that way we are bringing pressure to bear on the companies themselves to get them to realize that what they are doing is absolutely immoral. I have just got back from Canada today. I gave a number of lectures in Canada and had several interviews on radio and television in which I stressed that it is not only *illegal*, but *immoral* for a foreign company to go to Namibia to extract illegally the natural produce of the country, to take them out of the country and in effect, steal them from the people of Namibia. I also pointed out that not only is it a question of stealing from the people of Namibia, but it also involves the utilization of slave labor. What makes operations of foreign companies in Namibia particularly attractive and financially lucrative is the fact that labor can be obtained at a lower cost than anywhere else. The Africans are treated virtually like slaves. They have no alternatives and have to work for these companies. This is a completely immoral exploitation of the work of the African people.

Southern Africa: Has there been any particular reaction to the Council's decree from Tsumeb Corporation, whose giant copper mining operation represents the largest US (Amax and Newmont Mining) investment in Namibia.

MacBride: Yes, there has been some recognition of the new situation. This is well illustrated by a report which recently appeared in the *Windhoek Advertiser* [the main

daily newspaper] commenting on the effects of the Council's decree. It says: "A massive R38 million [\$53 million] project in which a South West African mining company would have played a major role has now been shelved. In Tsumeb today, the chief executive of Tsumeb Corporation Ltd., Mr. Rutledge, said that he could not comment on the matter, and he referred further enquiries to Mr. Gordon Brocker . . . It has had a shock effect on the copper industry as a whole, and also in South West Africa. Here it has led to the shelving of the Elb project of the Falconbridge company and now termination of Tsumeb's share in a massive industry which would have given work to hundreds of people." You see that the Decree has been having quite an impact, first of all in causing some companies to leave and in insuring that other companies do not go there.

Southern Africa: How has South Africa been reacting to these developments?

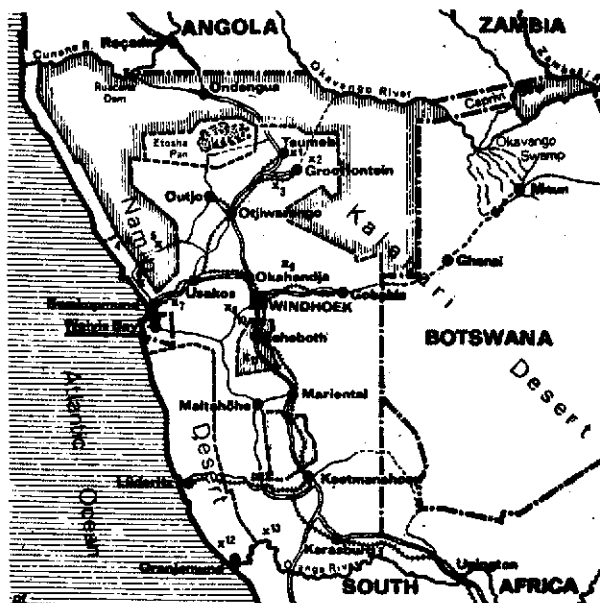
MacBride: So far, apart from the various discussions that Vorster has had on his African visits such as to the President of Liberia, there has been no reaction; there has been no communication from them to the United Nations. So far, I think that South Africa *has* to change its attitude. It's not a change of heart, but a change of attitude that is being brought about by the amazing changes that have taken place in southern Africa with the liberation of Angola and Mozambique. Suddenly the frontiers of free Africa have descended right down south and South Africa is now more-or-less surrounded on her land borders by African countries. Until recently the only frontier she had really with free Africa was the small piece of frontier on the Caprivi strip between Zambia and Namibia. Now she has more than 3,000 miles of frontier, right from the Atlantic across to the Indian Ocean. In my view, this is a frontier which she cannot possibly succeed in closing or sealing.

Southern Africa: Isn't Namibia very important to South Africa militarily? Won't they try to devise some plan to salvage this aspect of their control over Namibia?

MacBride: Oh, they undoubtedly will. There undoubtedly will be long discussions and negotiations even when South Africa agrees to liberate Namibia. I anticipate there will be long negotiations and discussions about Walvis Bay, because Walvis Bay has a slightly different international law status. It was originally a British port which they kept. Similarly, the Caprivi strip is in an anomalous position technically. So I anticipate really long, detailed discussions as to who should exercise jurisdiction over Walvis Bay and the Caprivi strip. I think we will establish that they belong to Namibia, but I anticipate that this will be challenged.

Southern Africa: What about the elections held late last year in Ovamboland?

MacBride: Well, it is quite clear to me from the reports that I received that there was wholesale intimidation used by the South Africans. Namibians were told that if they did not vote they would not be able to get employment; that if they did not vote they would not be able to stay in their houses, that their houses would be taken from them; that people who did not vote had no rights in the place and in some cases even, military trucks went and collected people and brought them to vote. An election which normally takes a day was extended for a week, to give South Africa the opportunity to use intimidation. We have a lot of documentation to support these allegations.



NAMIBIA

Southern Africa: What about the timing for the liberation of Namibia?

MacBride: When I first took office in February 1974 I spoke about five to ten years. I then reduced this to three to five years. I have more recently reduced it to one to three years, and I stand on that. One of the reasons for this is that there have been probably the most dramatic territorial changes in southern Africa recently that there have been throughout their history. South Africa was surrounded by some buffer states—like Angola, like Mozambique, like Rhodesia. And suddenly these have collapsed, and South Africa now has to man her own borders which extend for 3,000 miles. She cannot possibly defend these. South Africans are realistic enough to realize that they cannot defend these borders, and therefore they must come to terms with Africa. It is not merely a question of coming to terms with Namibia, but of coming to terms with Africa.

Southern Africa: Can you even speculate about what type of transition would take place?

MacBride: Under the UN's decision, our task would be to organize elections under UN supervision for a constituent assembly. And then presumably the constituent assembly would set up its own government and constitution. Naturally, I anticipate that SWAPO would play a large role.

Southern Africa: What do you think the main role of SWAPO is today inside the country?

MacBride: I think SWAPO has a very important role. It is the internationally recognized liberation movement in Namibia. It has been a very effective liberation movement. It is a difficult country to work in from a liberation point of view because naturally there is very little cover in it. Of course, now their position will be greatly strengthened because presumably they will be able to operate from bases right around the Angolan border and they will have supply lines coming from Angola.

South Africa



Rally in support of FRELIMO which was used as a pretext for widespread arrests

POLITICS

TRIAL OF SASO AND BPC LEADERS

Thirteen leaders of SASO (South African Students Organization) and BPC (Black People's Convention) have been put on trial under the "Terrorism Act." The accused face various charges arising from a demonstration last September celebrating the establishment of a black Government in Mozambique. It is believed that 33 more members of the above two organizations are also in police custody.

SASO is the major Black students organization in the country and has recently been banned on all black campuses throughout the country. The BPC is an organization committed to changing the state of Blacks in the country through the cultivation of "Black consciousness."

The last court session in Pretoria was a brief one, and further hearings have been postponed until April 23rd. The delay may prove to be a difficulty for the prosecution, when it attempts to subpoena witnesses. It is also learned that the state is putting friends of the detainees through intensive interrogations in an attempt to obtain incriminating testimony. As a result, many are fleeing the country in what one source describes as a "mass exodus." Like political activists before them, most are escaping across the long, desolate border that divides South Africa from black-ruled Botswana to the north. (*Africa News*, Durham, March 17; *Observer*, London, March 8, 1975)

BRAM FISCHER TEMPORARILY RELEASED

Abraham (Bram) Fischer, former leader of the banned South African Communist Party, who has been serving a life sentence since 1965 for his political activities, has been released from jail for one month by the South African authorities. Fischer is dying of incurable cancer of the hip, brain and spine. For many years Fischer, a courageous lawyer, was engaged not only in direct political activity but in constantly challenging the State's attempts to crush political opposition through mass trials. He was one of the leading Counsel in the Treason Trial and in the Rivonia Trial—the trial in which Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other leaders of the African National Congress were charged with sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. When the State sought to jail Fischer he went underground, continuing his political work for many months before he was caught.

As a man widely loved and respected, his recent illness brought many appeals for his release from in and outside South Africa to Minister of Justice, James Kruger. The South African regime has consistently refused to grant such requests and have only agreed to his release for one month. (*BBC News*, March 10, 1975; *Radio South Africa*, March 10, 1975)

DEVELOPMENTS ON THE REFORM PARTY

Mr. Harry Schwarz has accepted a temporary position

as leader of the new white Reform Party, a breakaway from the United Party. He will hold that position until the Party is able to hold a congress.

In the Reform Party's first public meeting, Mr. Schwarz mapped out the Party's objectives. Among the important points are that:

1. The Reform Party believes in equality of opportunity and must create the conditions in which equality of opportunity can be exercised.

2. The Reform Party stands for the removal of discrimination based on color. It must get together with the people of other races to evolve a way in which discrimination will be removed.

Schwarz added that the Reform Party would be available, when required, to act as a bridge between the races to ensure that dialogue continued.

The March first issue of the *Star*, reported that Harry Schwarz had called for a "Southern African Freedom Doctrine." He was speaking in a debate in Parliament on a private member's motion about the defense of Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean, aimed at "keeping the State of Southern Africa free from the pressures of international power politics." Schwarz emphasized the importance of individual Southern African countries adhering to this doctrine in order to prevent one or more of them becoming "a sphere of influence" of China or Russia. It is quite evident that Schwarz is worried about Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia developing ties with the socialist countries, and hence, possibly threatening the existence of South Africa.

Finally, there is a possibility that the Reform Party and the Progressive Party may merge to form a new opposition party. However, negotiations will be protracted. (*Star*, Dec. 15, 1974; Feb. 22, 1975; March 1, 1975; March 8, 1975)

ECONOMICS

30 DIE IN MINE VIOLENCE

The labor unrest that erupted into violence on the gold mines of the Transvaal and Orange Free State has now surfaced again in Natal. Over the first weekend in March, 30 men were killed at the Northfield Colliery coal mine in Glencoe, Natal.

Minister of Justice and Police, J.T. Kruger, said an inquiry was under way to determine the cause of the deaths, but it is being reported widely as a faction fight between Basutos and Xhosas.

Typically, the South African press tends to explain the trouble by calling it a "tribal clash." A representative report from the Durban *Daily News* of March 3, 1975, is quoted below as an example of the paternalistic reporting, and the unwillingness to search for the deeper reasons behind the tragic deaths.

"Unquestionably a factor in these periodic mine disturbances is the unnatural mode of life. Men who live in compounds instead of homes tend to be brittle under pressure. Wives and children add a fuller dimension to life. The mineworkers would be better behaved if they lived with their families. On the other hand, the creation of huge Black townships at mines could create social problems of their own.

"The best answer may finally come with increased mechanisation and the use of a smaller, stable labour force. . . ." (*Comment and Opinion*, South Africa, Vol. 2, No. 5, March 7, 1975) (For more detailed information on the mine labor situation see "Mineworkers and Lesotho," under NEIGHBORS.)

THE ECONOMY: GOVERNMENT OPTIMISM QUESTIONED

"The fact that South Africa today was financially and economically far better off than most other countries stemmed from the sound internal policies which the Government was following." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975) This opinion was expressed in Parliament by the Minister of Transport, S.L. Muller, and repeated in slightly more cautious tones by Minister of Finance; Senator Horwood.

According to Horwood, the most serious economic problem facing South Africa is inflation which is running at an annual rate of 15.2 percent. If this rate continues, prices will double in only five years. (The rate of inflation compares with price increases of 24 percent in Japan, 25 percent in Italy, 19 percent in Britain, 15 percent in France, and 14 percent in the United States.) (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975)

Horwood also is concerned about the effect on South Africa of economic conditions abroad. South Africa, obviously, would not be immune to a world-wide recession. The price of gold is of central importance to South Africa. Nevertheless, Horwood believes that South Africa can face the future with confidence.

Some of the confidence comes from developments in the political sphere. If Prime Minister Vorster is successful in his efforts at detente with the independent states of Africa, the South African economy will be favorably affected in several ways. Not only will there be increased trade with Africa, the ending of restrictions on South African planes overflying Black nations, etc. Detente would also influence the relations between South Africa and some of the industrialized nations who are at present reluctant to expand in South Africa if this expansion will hurt their trade with independent Africa.

Confidence in South Africa's economic future is also based on what is called an excellent growth rate of eight percent for 1974. South Africa is quick to compare this rate to those of the United States and most countries in



Bram Fischer

Europe which recorded negative growth rates, or positive rates of only one or two percent for 1974. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 22, March 1, 1975; *Daily News*, Durban, Feb. 6, 1975)

This government optimism about the future is called into question by a report written by Dr. Johan Cloete, head of the economic section of Barclays Bank. First, Cloete suggested that it was important to look at the growth rate over a period of years to get a realistic picture. The table below from the Feb. 15, Johannesburg *Star*, shows comparative growth rates in real gross national product for South Africa and for leading industrial countries over the five years 1968 to 1973:

Country	Average Annual Percent Increase in GNP, 1968-73
South Africa	5.0
United Kingdom	2.9
United States	3.4
West Germany	6.9
France	6.5
Italy	5.5
Japan	9.7
Australia	5.7

(Because of the impact of changes in the gold price, a general price deflator was used to adjust the value of South Africa's national product for inflation. For the other countries, their respective consumer price indices were used.)

South Africa's Economic Development Plan calls for an annual real growth rate of 6.4 percent. Thus even with a growth rate of eight percent in 1974, the actual growth rate is well below that target.

Cloete went on to say that increase in the GNP is not the best way to measure real economic progress. It is equally important to look at increases in the standard of living as indicated by growth in the national income per capita or real consumption per head of the population. Here the picture is even less optimistic.

The table below shows comparative growth rates in the national income and consumption per head of the population for South Africa and for the leading industrial countries over the same five years.

Average Annual Percentage Increases
1968 to 1973

Country	Real National Income a Head	Real Private Consumption Expenditure a Head
South Africa	1.7	2.8
United Kingdom	2.5	2.5
United States	2.4	2.4
West Germany	6.0	4.7
France	5.6	5.1
Italy	4.7	4.9
Japan	8.3	7.5
Australia	3.7	2.3

Cloete said that the main reason for the slow progress being made was the three percent annual increase in the population. Taking the South African population as a whole, "we very definitely still rank among the poorer or 'have not' countries of the world. . . . Furthermore . . . we do not appear to have made any progress in narrowing the gap that currently separates us from the rich industrialized

countries. On the contrary, this gap seems to be still widening."

This is significant because it is usually the high standard of living of South Africa's White population that sets the image for the whole country. In 1973, the proportion of the national income going to the Blacks of South Africa was about 30 percent, with 70 percent going to the Whites who make up less than 20 percent of the population. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 1975)

CRISIS AT SOUTH AFRICA'S PORTS

On a typical day in February, there were 46 ships anchored off the Durban port and 37 waiting for commercial berths. The delays that result are costing the economy of South Africa as much as \$560 million a year. The situation is now so bad that some companies are not attempting to develop export markets because it is too difficult to deliver on time. On the import side, goods and capital are being tied up for days, resulting in loss of trade and of interest on capital that has been tied up in the purchases abroad. The current crisis is being blamed on inadequate long range planning, a failure to expand the infrastructure, particularly in regard to shipping and transport. There does not seem to be an easy or quick solution. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 22, 1975)

US ASSISTS SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAM

Escom, the government owned energy corporation, is building a nuclear power station at Duinefontein that will be ready for operation in 1982. In 1974, an agreement was worked out between the United States and South Africa for South Africa to purchase enrichment services from the US Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

As explained in the *Financial Mail* of Nov. 29, 1974, "Nuclear reactors need a nuclear fuel core of enriched uranium. The AEC's laboratory at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, is one of the few facilities in the world for enriching uranium into the tiny pellets that go into the reactor core. . . . At least 30 other nations, including most of Western Europe, send processed uranium to Oak Ridge for enrichment. Earlier this year, the AEC signed a contract with Escom for enrichment services for up to 2000 MW. The contract also provides for reprocessing the burnt fuels. Each year one third of the core's pellets must be enriched. . . ."

The *Financial Mail* report went on to speculate about a possible permanent trade agreement between the US and South Africa. According to AEC estimates, the US will need at least 71,500 tons of uranium oxide to power its own expanding nuclear plants. The US needs a secure source of uranium and South Africa has it. (*Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, Nov. 29, 1974)

BETTER PAY DRAWS NEEDED LABOR TO MINES

Over the past several months, *Southern Africa* has reported on the critical shortage of Black laborers for South Africa's gold mines. The shortages have resulted from a number of conditions including strikes which have cut down on the number of Africans coming into South Africa from neighboring countries. (See "Mineworkers and Lesotho" in this issue for a summary.) At the end of 1974, the mines had only 73 percent of their required work force.

However, at least temporarily, the situation is improving from the point of view of the mine owners. According to the Chamber of Mines, the higher gold price

has enabled the mines to increase their pay, and this has resulted in stepped up recruitment. Wages have gone up 40 percent over the 1974 rate. Nevertheless, the starting cash wage for underground workers is still only \$2.25 a shift.

In January, 32,500 men were signed up by the mines. They came from South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland. In January of last year, 28,591 men were hired. An agreement with the Rhodesian Government has gone into effect, and the first of a hoped for 20,000 Rhodesians have arrived from Salisbury on one-year contracts. (It is interesting to note that the Rhodesian miners are coming to South Africa under the same conditions that Lesotho miners come. After three months, 60 percent of a miner's pay will be deducted as a compulsory saving and credited to his account in Rhodesia. It was protest against this type of agreement that figured in the recent strikes by Lesotho gold miners.)

South Africa's platinum mines are slowing down production, and the gold mines hope to take advantage of this by signing up workers who have contracts that will not be renewed. These workers will be especially desirable because they will come with mining experience.

There is still a need for more miners, but the situation looks better than the Chamber of Mines had feared. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 1975; *Daily News*, Durham, Jan. 30, 1975)

FOREIGN RELATIONS

SOUTH AFRICA AND "DETENTE"

Illusions, Strategies, Objectives

Black African governments continue to accept the South African regime's offer of dialogue in the false hope that they can somehow peacefully persuade the South African regime to abandon its apartheid system. Historical experience has shown any hope for peaceful change inside South Africa to be illusory. The Africans of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, attempted for many decades, until 1960, to utilize every possible peaceful method to change the system with no result. The response of the Apartheid regime to peaceful tactics is always banning, imprisonment, and torture.

In the last issue it was reported that Prime Minister Vorster visited Liberia in February; more information on this has become available. His delegation included Dr. H. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. D.G. Fourie, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; General H.J. van den Berghe, Head of the Bureau of State Security (B.O.S.S.—the South African secret police which suppresses Black resistance to apartheid) and Mr. Pik Botha, the Ambassador to the UN.

The "discussion" between Vorster and the Liberian President, Tolbert, was a propaganda exercise similar to that which the South African regime carries on in every world forum. Therefore it should be exposed for what it is—A Big Lie!

1. *Propaganda*: The White government justifies its monopoly of 87 percent of the land in South Africa by claiming that the land was originally "sparsely" settled. *Fact*: The Whites pushed the Africans into the current reserves through a continual series of wars of conquest begun in the 1600's and did not end until the late 1800's. All the best agricultural land was expropriated from the Africans through the use of force. When in the early 1900's Africans began buying back their land, the White



President Tolbert (right) shakes hands with R.F. Botha, UN Ambassador. Dr. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs is in the center

government prohibited the transfer of land from White to African ownership.

2. *Propaganda*: Africans in South Africa have the highest standard of living in Africa. *Fact*: White South Africans have a standard of living equal to that of the highest of the industrialized countries, and it is their standard of living which determines the cost of living for all South Africans. African wages equal 1/6 (in industries) to 1/20 (in mining) of White wages. The net result is that the African standard of living is equal to that of the poorest countries in the world. In the reserves—"Bantustans"—malnutrition and starvation is so common that the condition of the people approximates that of those currently suffering from famine. However, this condition is not caused by the lack of available food, but because the wages of migrant workers are so low that their families cannot afford to buy food.

3. *Propaganda*: South Africa provides separate, but equal facilities for all "ethnic" groups. *Fact*: The separation between Black and White exists because the Whites monopolize the social resources of the country, and the enforced separation between various "ethnic" groups among the Blacks is part of the classical colonial strategy of "divide and rule." While education is free and compulsory for all Whites through the end of secondary school, Africans must pay for tuition and books in order for their children to attend overcrowded schools. (Student-teacher ratio in African schools averages around 60 to 1.) 69 percent of African students are concentrated in the first four grades of schooling. Africans account for only around 7 percent of the university students, while Whites account for around 88 percent of the university students. All other social services in South Africa totally depends upon the ability to pay.

4. *Propaganda*: "Influx control" laws protect Africans from job competition. *Fact*: The purpose of "influx control" is to channel Africans as labor units into areas needed by the White economy, and to keep them as a docile labor force by the threat of being "endorsed out"

of the cities if found disturbing South Africa's labor situation. Only able bodied workers can remain in the urban areas; therefore the "economically superfluous"—non-labouring wives, children, and the elderly—are sent to starve in the "Bantustans."

—5. *Propaganda*: "Bantustan" heads are leaders of the Africans. *Fact*: The "Bantustan" was imposed upon the Africans over their opposition to the system, and the heads of the "Bantustans" serve the interests of the South African regime, not their own people. The actual national leaders of the Africans are imprisoned on Robben Island. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 22, Mar. 1, 1975)

Other African countries (besides Liberia, Zambia, Botswana, Central African Republic, and Tanzania) which seem inclined to respond to Vorster's "detente" initiative are the Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Gabon. However, this is not surprising since both Presidents Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Leopold Senghor of Senegal were the initiators of African contacts with the South African regime in 1970, and led the faction within the OAU which attempted to "moderate" the OAU stance in opposition to the South African regime. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 22, Mar. 8, 1975)

If these particular leaders of African governments believe that they can persuade the South African regime to eliminate Apartheid, an interview with Vorster reported in the *New York Times* (Feb. 12, 1975) exposes the fallaciousness of this illusion. Vorster stated that any elimination of "petty-apartheid" measures does "not [indicate] any abandonment of the policy of separate development [Apartheid]." Additional indications of Vorster's primary objective in the "detente" campaign comes from the *Star*, (Johannesburg, Feb. 22, 1975) which states that: "In the coming 90 days efforts would be aimed at conditioning African opposition to detente and, above all at winning an endorsement of state-to-state dialogue from the Organization of African Unity which holds its annual summit in June."

Trade with Black Africa is being used "as a powerful instrument in the service of detente. An important part of the [South African] Government's new trade strategy has been a closer look at key South African exports to the

West which could be more strategically used to advance the cause of Southern African detente. These include food, fertilizers, and other materials desperately needed for under-developed and famine-stricken states. . . . The Government would like to see South African exports of this vital material used in the service of detente." Trade missions from Black Africa justify their contact with the Apartheid regime by the "belief that their orders will offer increased prosperity for Black South Africans." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 1975) However any increase in South African trade will only benefit the Whites of South Africa and will aid in continuing the gross exploitation of Black South Africans.

African Reaction to "Detente" Policy

Fortunately Vorster's propaganda tactics have not deceived many African leaders knowledgeable about the mechanism of the Apartheid system in South Africa. Colonel K. Acheampong, the Ghanaian Head of State, states that the only solution to ending Apartheid in South Africa is war. The general Ghanaian population, at all levels, feels that "the detente efforts are a ruse to buy time for South Africa to take the heat off the Republic and allow Pretoria time to engineer contingency plans to cope with the possible threat of guerrilla operations on its borders." Support for the South African freedom fighters has increased among the Ghanaians since the Portuguese withdrawal from Africa. The Nigerian Government stated that it would not welcome a visit to its country by Prime Minister Vorster. At the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in February, at Addis Ababa, Mr. Kotsokoane, Foreign Minister of Lesotho, urged the re-affirmation of the OAU policy adopted in 1973 which was that African countries should not begin talks with the South African Government until it had agreed to meet with the Liberation movements. In an address to the same OAU meeting the representative of the African National Congress stated that "Vorster's Government was attempting to drive a wedge within the OAU which would weaken its support for the armed struggle against the White minority regime," and that "the regime of terror in South Africa had reached its weakest point." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 8, 1975; *Times*, London, Feb. 22, 1975) ■

Namibia

INSIDE NAMIBIA

United Front Strengthens Opposition

The Namibia National Convention (NNC) stated that if political victimization and intimidation did not stop Africans would be forced to go underground. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975) The NNC, Namibia's majority political grouping restructured late in February, said at a Windhoek press conference that it "would fight with new vigour for the liberation of Namibia as a whole."

Asserting that blacks were being fired from their jobs because of political activities, NNC spokesmen warned "Whites who are doing this must bear in mind that their actions . . . are perpetuating animosity. The frustration they are causing will eventually evolve into a chain

reaction for which only the whites will be responsible. They cannot kill the aspirations of Namibians by throwing them out of work."

NNC rejected the Owambo election, saying that people were forced to vote, and called for an international commission of inquiry into irregularities. The organization listed conditions for constitutional talks: release of political prisoners and the free return of exiles, both to participate in talks; stopping of all political oppression; and, abolition of all apartheid, both legal and customary.

NNC is composed of six organizations; the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), South West Africa National Union (SWANU), Damara Tribal Executive, Reheboth Volksparty, Namibia People's Demo-



U.N./Frankel

Damaraland—a semi-desert assigned to the Damara people by the South African government.

cratic Organization (NAPDO), and Democratic Co-operative Development Party (DEMKOP).

New Constitutional Maneuvers

Dirk Mudge, National Party leader in Namibia, was expected to make a statement in the Legislative Assembly on "proposed constitutional talks." (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, March 17, 1975) The Ovambo, Kavango and Caprivi bantustan Legislative Councils, the Coloured Council and the Nama chiefs "have accepted the invitation to talk on South West Africa's future political pattern." The Nama acceptance was in principle only; the council of the Rehoboth community refused to participate.

A feature article in the March 16, 1975, *Observer* of London says "Mr. Mudge's aim is to produce some sort of federal structure . . . he is firmly opposed to a unitary State, the SWAPO vision, leaving the whites as a 12 percent minority in a united Namibia."

The *Advertiser* (March 20, 1975) reports on the Legislative Council's preparing to discuss an inquiry on "discriminatory practices." "As the time approaches to discuss a future political constitution at a proposed national convention, it is felt that a climate should be created which will be more conducive to find accord."

SURVEY OF NAMIBIA

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has published a new report, entitled SOUTH WEST AFRICA SURVEY 1974. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 8, 1975) This first South African survey of the occupied territory since 1967 estimates Namibia's 1974 population to be 852,000, the 99,000 whites accounting for 11.6% of the total.

The Windhoek *Advertiser* of March 11, 1975, lists statistics from the Survey. Sales of Namibian minerals increased from \$97 million in 1967 to \$345 million in 1973. Two-thirds of the latter figure was accounted for by diamonds. Prospecting for mineral resources, especially diamonds and copper, continues at an accelerating rate, with aerial radio-metric and magnetometric surveys over widening areas scheduled for the next five years. More than \$835,000 has been spent by private companies in explorations in "Black areas."

Only a brief mention is made of the "massive Rossing Uranium project" where "a low-grade uranium ore body, situated about 60 kilometres east of Swakopmund, is being developed." Commercial fishing has become one of the territory's chief industries, with a \$73 million investment employing almost 7,000 people and 1972 sales of \$88 million.

Employment in Namibia rose 130 percent in the ten years from 1961/62 to 1971/72. Salaries and wages increased 233 percent in the same period. No break-down by race was given. The value of agricultural products more than doubled between 1955 and 1970, and climbed from \$96 million in 1970 to \$135 million in 1972.

EXPENDITURES—AND WORRY

The *Advertiser* contains news items on both government and private funds being spent in Namibia. The March 17, 1975, issue speaks of "an eventual expenditure of almost R40 million" (\$60 million) on improving the railway system in the territory. On March 14th there is a report on a \$9 million water development project connected to the Kunene River, which forms a boundary with Angola to the north. On March 7th, prominent attention, with photographs, is given to the Ruacana hydroelectric complex on the Kunene, expected to be completed late in 1976 or early in 1977. Costs could "rise as high as R225 million" (\$337 million). The March 19th Windhoek paper boasts of the ending financial year's total of \$30 million on water supply services for perennially drought-stricken Namibia.

Strains show through these announcements, and Windhoek's monotonous rounds of multi-racial cocktails parties. The March 7th *Advertiser* reports the sale of only eight out of 92 lots at a public auction of residential and industrial sites in expensive developments in and near Windhoek. The newspaper comments: "First reaction in the wake of stunned surprise is that South West Africa's political situation has nothing to do with the dismal failure."

Johannesburg's *Financial Mail* (January 31, 1975), in the course of a story about a decision by O'Okiep Copper and Tsumeb Mines not to build a large copper refinery in South Africa's Cape Province, says "Gordon Parker, general manager at O'Okiep, refused comment on the cancellation of plans but the fact that American Metal Climax (AMAX)—a major shareholder in O'Okiep and Tsumeb—has indicated its desire to be divested of its SWA projects may have some bearing on the decision." This reinforces two-year-old rumours that AMAX wants to pull out of Namibia, more so now that the threat of United Nations seizure of cargoes looms on the horizon after May 30—should South Africa's response to the Security Council not be satisfactory. AMAX and its US partner, Newmont Mining Corporation, will have to face questions on this issue at their annual shareholders' meetings on May 1 and May 2 respectively.

OUTSIDE NAMIBIA

The International Commission of Jurists accused the South African government of using threats to force electors to vote in January's elections in the Ovamboland bantustan. (*Washington Post*, March 14, 1975) The Geneva-based ICJ stated "the 66,000 turnout was only achieved by the government's use of threats and intimidation and the presence of police and troops."

"Mr. Sean MacBride, the United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia, is not impressed with the sincerity of Mr. Vorster's declared willingness to withdraw from the territory." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975)

The Commissioner, speaking at the Belgian UN Association meeting in Brussels, added: "It's all nonsense that Mr. Vorster wants Namibia off his back. He has deliberately held on to the territory in order to exploit it . . . and he will continue to do so." The 1974 Nobel Peace Prize laureate called on the South African Prime Minister to commence discussions with SWAPO. "The alternative . . . is to face a liberation war and a good deal of bloodshed."

The Commissioner, in an interview reported on in the same issue of the *Star*, commented on news reports of Vorster's visit to Liberia and his conversation with President Tolbert. MacBride dismissed with "utter contempt" Vorster's claim that no political prisoners were being held by South Africa. "We can provide him with lists . . . there are several hundred prisoners there. As the Liberian President quite correctly pointed out: What about the SWAPO chairman?" (a reference to David H. Meroro, whose trial for violations of South Africa's Suppression of Communism Act is expected soon in Windhoek).

The Commissioner referred to Vorster's statement at the meeting with President Tolbert that it would be economically disastrous if South Africa withdrew immediately from Namibia. "Mr. Vorster must be perfectly

aware that the United Nations will take all the necessary steps to see that the economic life of Namibia will continue and would be developed. Indeed, Namibia is one of the wealthiest countries in Africa, but unfortunately its resources are being exploited to the detriment of the Namibian people, in favour of foreign capital which is heavily invested and which uses Namibian labour nearly as slave labour." (Economics Professor W.H. Thomas of the University of Cape Town at a January, 1975, seminar on Namibia stated "there is little doubt that the area is far better off than most of the developing countries in Africa", adding "vested interests from foreign countries, from the Republic of South Africa and from the existing elite are indeed aware of such wealth, and have successfully exploited it so far.")

With further reference to the Tolbert-Vorster discussion, the UN Commissioner for Namibia said he was "rather shaken" because "while saying he was anxious to get rid of South West Africa, Mr. Vorster indulged in personal abuse of the SWAPO leadership.

"One doesn't call Mr. Sam Nujoma (*SWAPO President*), who is highly respected and known to most capitals in Europe, an adventurer." (Graham Hovey, of the *Times*' editorial board, writes in an interview with Vorster in an op-ed article in the March 25, 1975, edition of *The New York Times* that the South African Prime Minister "will disengage from Namibia if any solution can be hammered out for the territory that will give its different ethnic groups a measure of autonomy and avert an unconditional handover to SWAPO, which he detests.")

Commissioner MacBride, in his Brussels interview, said: "If it was possible to give advice . . . the first steps he [Vorster] should take should be to establish contacts with SWAPO and make proposals to the United Nations for the liberation of the territory. . . . Time is running out, and the alternative is indeed a ghastly one." ■

Zimbabwe

HERBERT CHITEPO ASSASSINATED

Herbert Chitepo, Vice President of ZANU, and a ZANU driver were killed when a bomb exploded in their car in Lusaka on March 17. Chitepo, one of the most aggressive leaders within ZANU, went to Lusaka to direct ZANU operations after ZANU President Ndabaningi Sithole was detained in Rhodesia in 1964. Prior to that, Chitepo had served as the Director of Public Prosecution in Tanzania.

Chitepo was 51 years old. He had attended schools in South Africa and Britain. While serving as a language specialist at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in the mid-fifties, he completed law studies and qualified for the bar. He was the first African attorney to set up law practice in Zimbabwe. Mr. Chitepo and his wife, Victoria, were active in ZAPU, but joined the Sithole-led ZANU when it was formed in 1963.

ZANU has placed full responsibility for the deaths on the Smith regime and its sympathizers. Guerrilla efforts are expected to accelerate in response to the breakdown of communications which was touched off by the arrest

of Rev. Sithole on March 4th and aggravated by these assassinations. Chitepo had been most hesitant to enter into the cease-fire agreement and negotiations with Smith. He saw a protracted guerrilla struggle as the only sure way for liberation in Zimbabwe. His loss will be felt for years to come and his contribution to the struggle will be remembered forever. He joins those countless other known martyrs in the fight for freedom, liberty and justice.

NDABANINGI SITHOLE ARRESTED

Herbert Chitepo's assassination occurred less than two weeks after ZANU President, Ndabaningi Sithole, was arrested by the Smith regime, on March 4. Charges against Sithole are that he was plotting to kill fellow African nationalist leaders. The obvious tactic of divide and rule was in the mind of the Smith government. Clearly, he intended to immobilize militant nationalists in hopes of moving toward negotiations with more moderate Africans. However, the African National Council stated immediately after Sithole's arrest that no negotiations would continue until Sithole was released. Joshua Nkomo, for-

mer leader of ZAPU who has been played up as one of Sithole's chief rivals, called the Rhodesian government charges against Sithole a fabrication, carried out in the belief that another faction would deal with Smith. "This is, of course, nonsense," Nkomo added. "We cannot continue to negotiate with a Government that continues to detain African nationalists." (*New York Times*, March 8, 1975)

At the beginning of March, the Rhodesian regime announced that Sithole would appear in secret before a special detention review tribunal. At the end of March, Sithole withdrew his case from the tribunal and said he preferred to return to prison. He made this statement after the Attorney General's office had identified the people he was allegedly plotting to kill. They are Abel Muzorewa, his deputy, Dr. Elliott Gabella and Joshua Nkomo. After the initial charges were made, he was also accused of having continued guerrilla warfare after a ceasefire had been announced last December 11th by



Ndaboningi Sithole

Smith. Sithole's lawyers told the Tribunal that he was withdrawing because the assassination charges against which he wanted to defend himself were being pushed into the background in order to review the allegations of ceasefire violations. The Tribunal said it would continue to hear the allegations against him without him or his lawyers present. As Sithole left the hearing to return to detention, Blacks packing the public gallery raised their fists in black power salutes. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., March 8, 1975; *New York Times*, March 26, 1975)

Robert Mugabe, a high ranking ZANU official, said he believed Sithole's arrest was intended to intimidate the Zimbabwean Union leadership in the ANC "into submission to Smith's politically dishonest constitutional contrivance, whose sole objective is the perpetuation of the white settler domination of the African people in a legitimized political and constitutional order." Mugabe said that Rev. Sithole and other leaders had been warned by Rhodesian authorities in recent months to keep silent and not make militant statements. He said they had been asked to "behave like the other leaders" in the black union who had "indicated their consent to the constitutional scheme based on provincialization and continued white domination." The militant faction within the ANC "judges that this action by the regime has finally shattered whatever there was left of the so-called detente and peaceful settlement exercise." (*New York Times*, March 15, 1975; *Guardian*, London, March 8, 1975; *Star*, Johannes-

burg, March 8, 1975; *Washington Post*, March 5, 1975)

The Zambian Government condemned the arrest of Sithole as an "unwarranted and deliberate act aimed at sabotaging the ANC efforts to forge unity." President Seretse Khama of Botswana condemned the arrest also. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 8, 1975)

SETTLEMENT NOTES

Minutes of meetings between Robert Mugabe and the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission have been circulating in Rhodesia. They give some idea of the pressure put on ZANU by Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere and Khama during the weeks preceding the unity agreement in Lusaka. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975)

The *Financial Times* reports that South Africa is preparing to mount economic sanctions against Rhodesia. A ten-page survey explained Vorster's plan to secure the future racial harmony of Southern Africa. Mozambique's independence was the catalyst for the scheme, placing Rhodesia's settlement in top priority. Mr. Smith's lack of cooperation is a hindrance to the scheme, hence the pressure for economic sanctions. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975)

Latest reports from Salisbury indicate that the white government is seeking to negotiate a policy of "provincialization"—white and black self-governing homelands. Dr. Edson Sithole, Publicity Secretary of the ANC said, "If the Government intends holding a constitutional conference with the ANC to discuss provincialization, then it should know that such an exercise would be a waste of time. The ANC certainly will not go to a conference to discuss Bantustans. We will attend only a conference that seeks to transfer power to the majority over the whole country and not some tribal trust lands." (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975)

GUERRILLA NEWS

Two more Rhodesian security force members were killed this week, one by a guerrilla ambush, one by a land mine. (*Washington Post*, March 9, 1975)

Three guerrillas were hanged in Salisbury prison for violations of the Law and Order Maintenance Act. Two more were sentenced to death and a third to 25 years in prison for aiding guerrillas. Sixteen Zimbabweans were given one and one-half to seven year terms for failing to report guerrilla movements. (*Africa News*, Durham, N.C., Feb. 28, 1975)



Joshua Nkomo

ANGOLA

CLASHES BETWEEN MOVEMENTS THREATEN TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

In last month's *Southern Africa*, it was reported that Daniel Chipenda and an estimated 3000 supporters had joined with the FNLA. Chipenda's ties with Mobutu of Zaire and with FNLA had been increasing, so the move came as no real surprise. More details are available now to give a clearer background to this major change in the internal Angolan political scene.

Only two weeks after the transitional government had been installed there was an attempt by Chipenda to smuggle arms and men into Luanda which was put down by MPLA militants and the Portuguese army. As many as 20 people were killed and 31 injured in a clash between the supporters of the two groups when MPLA encircled the Chipenda installations and fire was exchanged. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 15, 1975) Were Chipenda's group less powerful, the move could be interpreted as a last desperate effort of an isolated faction, but the group has shown itself as a power that cannot be ignored. Despite its military strength, the political isolation was very real. The Chipenda group had been rendered technically illegal by the agreements which ushered in the transitional government. None of the liberation movements recognized the legitimacy of the Chipenda faction.

The outbreak of fighting in Luanda could be seen as a consequence of a press conference in which Dr. Neto, President of MPLA, said that the interim government should take strong action against the Chipenda faction. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 1975) Holden Roberto, President of FNLA, who was interviewed in the Ivory Coast, where he was meeting with President Houphouët-Boigny, said he deplored the violence and that the MPLA split was no longer an internal problem for a liberation movement, but a national problem which must be settled through peaceful dialogue. (*Voice of America*, Feb. 17, 1975)

In Tanzania, the national party paper, "Uhuru," condemned the "divisive and reactionary" move by Chipenda, saying further that Chipenda is well-known for his earlier efforts to break down MPLA unity, even to the point of an attempted assassination of Agostinho Neto in 1973. (*Sunday News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 23, 1975)

After Chipenda's failure in Luanda, an MPLA spokesman suggested that he rejoin MPLA or join with another movement in order to work for Angolan independence. UNITA then offered to talk with Chipenda (Radio South Africa, Feb. 17, 1975), and FNLA appealed to the Chipenda faction on its radio program, "Angola Livre," to join with one of the movements to avoid civil war. (*O Seculo*, Lisbon, Feb. 22, 1975)

Once the Chipenda group joined with FNLA, FNLA's Bureau of Luanda issued a communique expressing its joy over the merger and warning that any attack on the group would be considered an attack on FNLA. MPLA declared the union unacceptable, saying that several troop commanders of the Chipenda faction had already been re-integrated within MPLA. (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Feb. 24, 1975)

NEW CLASHES BETWEEN MPLA AND FNLA

A series of clashes in early March between MPLA and FNLA put added strain on the interim government. Two people were killed and several wounded in two separate shooting incidents between the rival liberation forces. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 1, 1975) The two deaths occurred at Delatado (formerly named Salazar) about 150 miles from Luanda and at Nova Lisboa. FNLA, infuriated by these new incidents of violence, threatened to take a hard line militarily against the MPLA. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 8, 1975) Its army is purported to be larger than that of MPLA, and the 3000 new recruits brought in by Chipenda would no doubt welcome the opportunity to do further damage to MPLA.

On the political front differences between MPLA and FNLA emerged afresh after the installation of the Transitional Government when FNLA issued a sharp denunciation of the "Week of People's Power" inspired by the MPLA. At the rallies held during the week, FNLA charged that there was proselytizing specifically for MPLA and a campaign against the other liberation movements was waged. (*O Seculo*, Lisbon, Feb. 2, 1975) On the radio the general mudslinging continues in a war of slogans with MPLA accusing FNLA of being "tools of imperialism" and FNLA accusing MPLA of being "left-wing imperialists." Both UNITA and FNLA had charged the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal of strong pro-MPLA bias, and they apparently demanded and received the replacement of Admiral Rosa Coutinho (dubbed the "red" Admiral) as High Commissioner in Angola. (*Southern Africa*, April, 1975)

CABINDA AFTER THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

Late in February Agostinho Neto and the Secretary General of UNITA made separate tours of the enclave of Cabinda during which time both addressed rallies and held press conferences. Both MPLA and UNITA hailed the victories of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MLSTP (Sao Tome and Principe), and pointed to Cabinda's role in an independent Angola.

Neto addressed a Sunday afternoon rally at District Stadium in Cabinda with a crowd estimated to be 10,000 strong. In his speech Neto emphasized that the present geographical boundaries and the unity of the people must be defended. He alluded to the offensive against MPLA and said that our people "will fight against this new domination even if it takes another ten years of struggle." (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 18, 1975)

At the same time, a UNITA leader at a press conference accused the MPLA of carrying out "repression against the people of Cabinda." The speaker was heckled by MPLA supporters in the crowd, and later his car was reported to have been booby-trapped with a hand grenade which was discovered before any explosion. (BBC, Feb. 20, 1975) In another incident, a UNITA column was halted by MPLA forces during the visit of the UNITA leader, Puna. According to reports, MPLA demanded that Puna request permission to travel in MPLA liberated areas.



Leaders of the Transitional Government: (l. to r.) Lopo do Nascimento (MPLA), Johnny Eduardo (FNLA) and Jose N'Dele (UNITA)

Puna refused and guns were drawn on both sides, but finally the matter was discussed, and the column was allowed to move on. (*O Seculo*, Lisbon, Feb. 24, 1975)

A continuing source of potential trouble in Cabinda is the separatist organization, FLEC, headed by one-time oil executive in a French company, Luis Ranque Franque. FLEC was isolated in the transitional government talks and permitted no role and given no recognition as a liberation group. In the aftermath FLEC has demanded that Portugal recognize it as the only liberation movement in Cabinda. A press release issued in Kinshasa stated that Cabinda should be treated on an equal footing with the other Portuguese colonies. The communique further demanded a referendum on Cabindan independence to be sponsored by the OAU. (*O Seculo*, Lisbon, Feb. 24, 1975)

It has been frequently alleged that FLEC receives support from Gulf Oil of the US, and more recently there are reports that arms shipments are coming to Cabinda through Gabon and can be traced to France as a point of origin. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 1, 1975) Late last year when FLEC forces briefly occupied a Portuguese border post between Cabinda and Congo-Brazzaville, a French mercenary was captured.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT'S STAND TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA

The interim government is examining previous Angolan policy toward South Africa, which gave it preferred treatment in the mining sector. The new Natural Resources Minister, Mr. Chitunda, told a press conference that the former close association between Portugal and South Africa did not take into account "the real social and economic interests of the Angolan people." He concluded that in future considerations South Africa would have to compete with other nations for mining concessions in Angola. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Mar. 8, 1975)

GenMin (General Mining of South Africa) withdrew its considerable concessions from southern Angola even before this statement was made. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 22, 1975)

Meanwhile Jonas Savimbi of UNITA told a meeting in Nova Lisboa that his movement would be willing to help southern African guerrilla movements in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia. He added that "if the movements want our help they must return to their own countries and fight alongside their own people." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1975)

MOZAMBIQUE

MACHEL GOES TO ASIA

As announced in *Southern Africa* in April, FRELIMO President Samora Machel visited the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in February. Upon leaving Dar es Salaam, Machel spoke of FRELIMO's gratitude to the Tanzanian people whom he termed his "blood brothers," Tanzanian officials and the ambassadors to Tanzania from Cambodia, China and Korea saw him off at the airport. The trip was designed to "strengthen relations developed during the armed struggle." Machel arrived in Peking on February 20 and was greeted by an honor guard and China's Senior Vice-President Teng Hsiao-ping; later he visited Chou En-Lai who is currently in hospital. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb.

20, 21, 1975)

At a banquet in his honor held at the Great Hall of the People, Machel stated that the People's Republic of China had been in the vanguard of those supporting FRELIMO and that China's "government and people have always been and constituted now a great and reliable strategic rear area for our fight and an invincible base supporting the struggle of the oppressed peoples." Machel also expressed his support for the people of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Palestine, Korea, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, and Taiwan in their respective struggles against oppression. Machel noted that victory "is not an automatic process, it is a permanent struggle against the forces of the past and imperialism." The FRELIMO President



Joaquim Chissano, Prime Minister, being given a warm farewell in Dar es Salaam by FRELIMO youth

came to express his thanks to China and to study and learn from China's revolutionary experience. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 22, 1975)

RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano returned to Lourenco Marques from meetings in Dar es Salaam with FRELIMO's executive. Chissano again stressed that FRELIMO would be glad to have any foreigner remain in Mozambique, but would not hesitate to expel any who "sabotage the country's development plans." Some foreign-owned companies, such as the Lion Match company have not been nationalized, while another business has come under state control when its owner was arrested for "crimes against decolonization" including conspiracy to murder, and charges of smuggling drugs and currency. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 17, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975)

Chissano said that FRELIMO's policy is still in full support of the African liberation movements and that "true peace will not be known until racism and decolonization are defeated. The liberation of these territories must be accomplished by the people of those lands and FRELIMO is not planning to make war on anyone." At the same time Chissano proclaimed that Mozambicans will still be allowed to work in South African mines, but that the terms of the contracts will have to be changed to prevent "our workers from being sold like goods." It is also expected that more than half of the salaries will be paid in gold bullion to the Lourenco Marques government. Many cultural links, including sports, have been broken. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 21, 1975; *Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Jan. 31, 1975)

Meanwhile South African exports through Lourenco Marques via Komatipoort are expected to increase once

the capacity of the rail system and locomotives is improved. South Africa expects to be a participant in a Mozambican trade fair to be held in the capital city in the fall of this year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 22, March 1, 8, 1975)

Emigration of Portuguese settlers to South Africa is still high with more than twice the number of passports being granted in 1974 than 1973. Nevertheless it is expected that at least 120,000 people of European origin will be in Mozambique when independence arrives this year. (*Star*, Johannesburg, March 1, 1975; *AFP*, Paris, Jan. 28, 1975)

CABORA BASSA

In February Portuguese troops left their stations guarding Cabora Bassa, and a newly formed Public Security Police was developed from former FRELIMO soldiers. This changing of the guard brought questions about changing ownership. Apparently South Africa is to have a role in the project since some financing and obligations in power sales are being honored by FRELIMO. After initial talks in Lourenco Marques discussion continued in Portugal in March. The result was that Portugal will retain a 90 percent interest in the hydro-electric project until 1990; Mozambique will have a 10 percent interest until then. South Africa will be assured of cheap power until that date when complete nationalization will begin. This agreement will enable Portugal to regain some of its heavy investment in the project. Secret talks on technical and financial assistance were also concluded. (*To The Point*, Jan. 11, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, March 1, 8, 1975)

Meanwhile the water continues to rise behind the dam and numerous villages are being stranded. A team of five rescue planes and eighteen boats is patrolling 24 hours per

day to save people and wildlife on the 250 km. lake. Some areas in Tete Province are now short of water and special pumping systems have been installed. Elsewhere, in the south, along the Limpopo River there has been extensive flooding resulting in the loss of 80 percent of the crops and widespread disease. The Cabora Bassa project is designed to prevent such floods in the northwest. (*Post*, Washington, March, 8, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 1975; *Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 7, 1975; *Guardian*, London, Feb. 3, 1975)

FRELIMO RECEIVES AID

In campaigning for foreign aid, FRELIMO has received a UN Development Program grant of \$20 million and a UN FAO grant of \$3.5 million in emergency assistance. The UN World Food Program has also promised \$2.2 million in food relief for the central and northeastern areas which saw heavy fighting during the war years. Maize from Rhodesia has reached the port of Beira. It will help relieve the critical food shortage in that region. Some Soviet military supplies have also arrived in Beira but it is

reported that most are destined for the Zambian army and not for FRELIMO. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 22, March 1, 1975; *Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 13, 1975)

VISITORS TO MOZAMBIQUE

Many nations throughout the world have sent representatives to Mozambique to determine how they may help once the East African nation gains its full independence. Some of the most recent visitors include two members of the Portuguese Communist Party who met with FRELIMO officials in Tanzania on a mission to "strengthen existing relations and cooperation." The two were much impressed by FRELIMO's mobilization of the peasants and workers of Mozambique. Two members of the Cuban Communist Party expressed similar sentiments on a visit to Lourenco Marques. Representative Charles Diggs and a spokesman for Senator Edward Kennedy as well as other Americans have been seen lately in the Mozambican capital city. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Feb. 11, 1975; *Marches Tropicaux*, Paris, Feb. 7, 1975)

REPUBLIC of GUINEA BISSAU

RECONSTRUCTION IS THE THEME

Vasco Cabral, Minister of Economics and Finances, has indicated that the economy inherited from colonialism is in a shambles. Many of the colonial bureaucrats were corrupt and undisciplined. Consequently the PAIGC is conducting a major information and political education program as Guinea reconstructs its economy and nation. The transfer of funds has been restricted and prices have been fixed for certain basic goods. The lowest salaries have been raised and the higher salaries have had increases blocked. The banks have been nationalized and the state will have a major interest in Companhia Uniao Fabril (C.U.F.) and S.C.O.M., Portugal's two huge commercial monopolies. Luxury items will be taxed and a commission is to be set up to study an equitable program for the distribution of tax revenue. The national development plan will stress such areas as agriculture, health, education, and drainage systems as top priorities. Other work is expected on natural resource development, tourism, and hydro-electric potential. (*Afrique-Asie*, Paris, Feb. 10, 1975)

Since full independence in September last year Portugal has been one of its most generous supporters. Portugal has supplied four journalists, eighteen doctors, and sixty-two teachers. Doctors have also come from Cuba, Sweden, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. Italy has provided agronomists for the Boe Agricultural School. A daily and weekly publication will soon appear in Portuguese in Bissau. A monthly magazine will be published in Portuguese and French for overseas readers. Representatives of seven Portuguese publishing firms have concluded an agreement with Guinea Bissau for exchange of cultural materials and publication of books. The book, *Unity and Struggle*, recently published in France by Maspero will soon be printed in Portuguese as a result of the cultural pact. (*O Seculo*, Lisbon, Feb. 24, 1974; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Jan. 30, 1975)

ON THE FOREIGN FRONT

On February 19 Francisco Mendes, Chief Commissioner of the Council of State Commissioners arrived in Moscow for a week of talks on trade, economic and technical cooperation, cultural and scientific cooperation, an air service, and on the opening of a Soviet trade mission in Bissau. Commissioner Mendes was met at the airport by Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin. When the talks were concluded Mendes was bid farewell by the Portuguese ambassador to the USSR who was accompanied by a number of African ambassadors. The last high level visit to the Soviet Union by a Guinean leader was by President Luis Cabral in November 1973. Soviet technicians are soon expected in Guinea to begin their assistance program. A Russian ship recently unloaded 1,000 tons of sugar for food relief as a gift from the Soviet people. Of all non-African nations, the Soviet Union has been the most loyal supporter of Guinea-Bissau during the war years. (*AFP*, Paris, Feb. 25, 1975; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Feb. 4, 1975; *Le Monde*, Paris, Feb. 22, 1975; *Christian Science Monitor*, March 4, 1975; *Daily World*, New York, March 8, 1975)

In other foreign affairs Guinea-Bissau has signed an 11-part pact with Senegal regarding foreign policy, trade, security, and defense. Senegal has also purchased PAIGC facilities that were established in Senegal during the war. (*AFP*, Paris, Jan. 10, 1975) PAIGC Secretary General Aristides Pereira visited Algeria in mid-February. This was his first foreign trip since taking office. He thanked the Algerian government for its long-standing support. As a result of talks, air and sea links between the nations will be developed. It was also announced that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) may set up an office in Bissau. (*West Africa*, Lagos, Feb. 17, 1975)

Finance Minister Vasco Cabral visited Sweden in early 1975 during which a \$9.2 million agreement for aid was concluded. In addition to aid in the areas of industry,

health, agriculture, and communication, Sweden may also send wheat and preserved fish as part of a drought relief program for the Cape Verde Islands. French and West German delegations have arrived in Bissau for preliminary discussions to determine aid needs; both of these nations were allies of fascist Portugal. (AFP, Paris, Feb. 18, 1975; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Feb. 4, 1975)

INSIDE THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

On his return from Algeria, Aristides Pereira traveled to the Cape Verde archipelago where he received a resounding welcome. At Sal Island there were more than 7,000 people to welcome him (this is more than the normal population for this island), and when Pereira traveled to Mindalo at Sao Vicente he was greeted by at least 30,000 supporters who had come from all over the island and from neighboring Sao Antao. Pereira addressed the throngs on the subject of unity and he described the upcoming elections for a national constituent assembly in preparation for independence on July 5, 1975. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, Feb. 24, 1975)

The joy of the moment was refreshing but the misery of the drought is still taking a heavy toll with chronic food shortage and economic breakdown. Some construction projects have been halted for lack of funds and many teachers have not been paid all year. Foreign exporters are now demanding guarantees and will no longer

supply goods on credit. A program of water conservation and self-sufficiency in food production is being stressed. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has promised emergency food aid as well as financial support to improve the fishing industry which is now foreign owned. (AFP, Paris, Jan. 14, 1975)

A UN aid program has begun, but it is estimated that this support will only reach one third of the population and will last for only six months. (Lisbon Radio, 1900 gm, Jan. 30, 1975) Commodore Almeida d'Eca, head of the Portuguese half of the transitional government has gone to Lisbon to request additional aid to supplement the UN support. D'Eca has stated that \$40 million will be necessary for 1975 to avoid mass starvation; Portugal gave \$33 million in food aid for 1974. (*International Herald Tribune*, Paris, Feb. 20, 1975)

Several dozen of the sixty anti-PAIGC plotters have been freed from preventive detention. Those arrested had engaged in disruptive activities and had been detained for illegal possession of weapons. (AFP, Paris, Feb. 11, 1975)

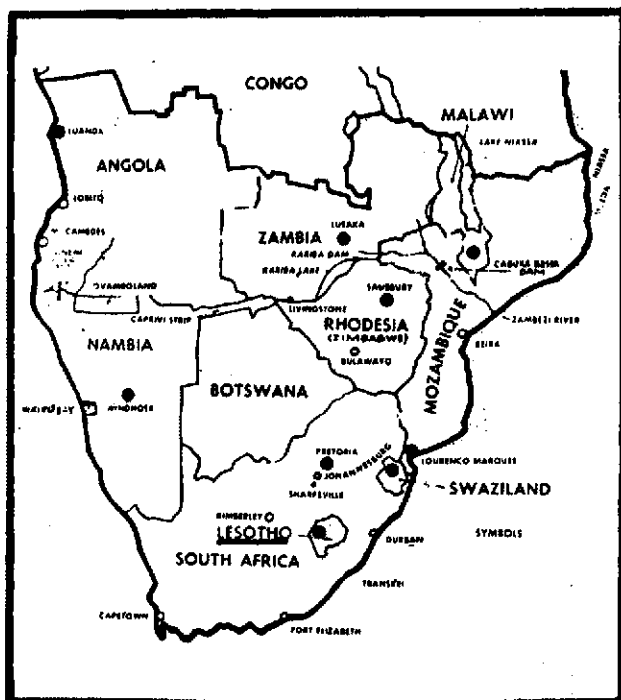
For those interested in contributing to the Cape Verdean relief you may get further information from the Guinea-Bissau Mission to the United Nations. A private organization Tchuba (Creole for rain) has also been set up to direct aid to the Islands. Tchuba is located at 1 Joy Street, Boston, Mass. 02108.

neighbors

MINEWORKERS AND LESOTHO

Since August 1974, the statistics of unrest at South African mines read as follows: 37,000 strikers, 4,750 men repatriated to their homes outside South Africa, 22 fatalities and 160 other casualties, and at least 16 disturbances. Most of those involved are from outside of South Africa. Malawian and Mozambican workers figured prominently in the 1974 incidents while Basotho laborers were most active in January 1975. The liberation of Mozambique, Lesotho's deferred payment plan and Malawi's refusal to continue sending workers (with resulting isolation for Malawians still in the mines) have all contributed, but some observers put the principal blame on the working and living conditions at the mines. Dr. Alex Boraine, Progressive member of Parliament for Pinelands and part-time labor consultant for Anglo-American, said: "The mining houses and the Chamber of Mines are irresponsible in the extreme if they are not doing everything in their power to discover the reasons and remedies for this unrest," and suggested that the emerging "strike capability" of black workers could easily cripple South African industry. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 18, 1975)

Some of the strike action has been focused around a particular issue, for example Basotho workers from the President Brand gold mine prevented the night shift from going underground. Other action has apparently been spontaneous and undirected, such as the destruction of recreational and welfare centers at Vaal Reefs by Basotho laborers. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 18, 1975)





U.N./Oebsck

Mineworker on the South African gold mines

The Lesotho Government and the Chamber of Mines have been trading accusations about the causes of the troubles. Prime Minister Jonathan has blamed working conditions and the Chamber's failure to pay interest to the workers on the deferred wages. The Chamber responds that all interest has gone into Lesotho welfare organizations and that the Government's accusation itself contributed to the unrest. Observers have noted that Lesotho left the major task of interpretation of deferred payment to the mine management. Arthur Grobbelaar, secretary-general of the Trade Union Congress of South Africa, affirmed that an embryonic Lesotho Mine Labour Workers' Union existed with 400 members, that the Union had expressed to him on November 23, 1974 its concern about the anticipated application of the deferred pay statute, as well as a deeper sense of being exploited by the whole system, and that neither the Chamber nor Anglo-American had made any effort to alleviate conditions or open communication after his intervention on behalf of the mines. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 18, 25, 1975)

The following is a brief summary of 16 "disturbances" between August 1974 and January 1975:

- Aug. 8: three killed and 16 hurt in "fight" at Rustenburg Platinum Mines;
- Aug. 31: three killed in "faction fight" at Western Holdings, Welkom;

- Sept. 29: two shot, five hurt when police opened fire on "rioting miners" at Western Platinum, Marikana (near Rustenburg);
- Oct. 13: one killed, 23 hurt in "riot" at East Rand Proprietary Mines (ERPM), 1,500 Malawians go on strike;
- Oct. 21: ca. 1,000 Mozambicans strike at ERPM after dispersal by police and dogs during "riot," 200 later sent home;
- Oct. 22: ca. 900 Malawians strike at Western Deep Levels, Carletonville, after stabbing of a Malawian led to a "riot," and later 1,400 Malawians get involved and 400 are repatriated;
- Oct. 22: two killed in riot at Hartebeesfontein, Stilfontein; next day, 3,500 prevented from working, after renewed "rioting" 2,000 others stop working and are joined by 750 more;
- Nov. 14: 1,600 Malawians stop work and demand to go home at West Rand Consolidated gold mine, number growing to 2,100 but petering out after a week;
- Nov. 20: after death of one during "tribal fight," Mozambican workers strike at Western Deep Levels, 100 of them repatriated;
- Nov. 20: 3,000 Malawians at ERPM express wish for repatriation; later 2,000 "change their mind" but almost all repatriated by end of 1974;
- Dec. 16: three killed, 78 hurt in "tribal clash" at Impala

Platinum's Bafokeng South, near Rustenburg; 4,000 strike until Dec. 28;

Dec. 22: Malawians "riot" at Crown Mines, Johannesburg, police use tear gas, 650 Malawians removed to await repatriation;

Dec. 29: three killed, 35 hurt in "tribal clash" at Prieska copper, 700 Tswanas strike and 400 make their way home;

Jan. 1: 5,000 paralyze underground operations at Free State Saaiplaas gold for two days to protest Lesotho deferred pay;

Jan. 3: 1,700 Basotho at Western Deep Levels strike one day, same reason;

Jan. 6: after "riots" attributed to deferred pay, 12,000 strike at Vaal Reefs, four killed over ten day period.

(*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 18, 1975)

Africa Report (Jan.-Feb. 1975) states that Anglo-American is paying off 4,000 Basuto workers who want to return to Lesotho and that 24,000 Basuto workers are on strike.

Correction: in the last report on opposition within Lesotho, read Edwin Leanya of the Marematlou Freedom Party (not Edmund Mainya of the Marimakloe Freedom Party), and Anthony Manyeli (not Anthony Vangheli).

ECONOMIC NEWS FROM BOTSWANA

The "Botzam" or "Freedom Road" extending 180 miles south from Botswana's Zambia border is scheduled for completion in early 1976. Financed by US aid and constituting the biggest single new construction project in the 1973-8 Plan, it will link up with the Gaberone-Nata road now being tarred. South Africa, concerned about the economic and political autonomy this might give Botswana, opposed the project of a bridge over the Zambesi on the grounds that Zambia and Botswana had no common border, but recently has backed down. With the closing of the Rhodesian-Zambian border, South Africa may now even be interested in the Botswana link to Zambia for its own trade. In spite of the prospects for enhanced commerce, it is necessary to point out that the real economic and population centers of Zambia and Botswana are at opposite ends of their respective territories. (*Africa*, March 1975)

While withdrawing from the Southern African monetary union to establish its own central bank with IMF assistance, Botswana has no intention of opting out of the Customs Union agreement with South Africa, which will provide the country with over \$42 million in 1974-5. The Botswana economy has been growing at a rate of about 15 percent annually, with a Gross Domestic Product of \$125 million for 1971-2. Per capita income, however, is only around \$70; only 53,000 citizens are in paid employment while about 630,000 (90 percent of the population) still live in rural isolation; 45,000 (including 30,000 in the mines) work in South Africa. (*Financial Mail*, Dec. 6, 1974)

Botswana is placing heavy demands on mining interests to avoid "waking up one morning and finding ourselves in the hands of big international interests." This has meant boosting Botswana's share of the anticipated profits of the Orapa mines (with De Beers) to probably over 75 percent.

In addition, public shares of a new maize milling entity, Sefalana sa Botswana, will be offered in the country. Sefalana will officially take over the operations of Bechmalt of South Africa, but the latter will retain 70 percent control of the new company. Increased capital costs at Selebi-Pikwe (copper-nickel) have slowed construction but full production is anticipated for mid-1975. The mines are run by Bamangwato Concessions Ltd., 85 percent owned by Botswana RST, in turn closely tied to Anglo-American and Amax. Botswana RST has shelved a plan to exploit soda ash and salt at Sua Pan but the Ministry of Mines has said that it will go ahead. Botswana will get a second slaughterhouse soon, to be located near Francistown, destined to be the largest town of the country. Barclays Bank opened three new agencies in Botswana in January 1975, bringing the total to 23. (*Financial Mail*, Dec. 6, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 4, 25, Feb. 1, 1975)

POLITICAL NEWS FROM BOTSWANA

The opposition Botswana National Front called for investigation into "staggering sums of money" (allegedly at least \$2.8 million) missing from government departments, including about \$1.4 million from the Meat Commission. The president's office rejected the charges as coming from disgruntled ex-officials dismissed for corruption. The opposition also claimed that a secret "Freemasons" group, restricted to white men, was operating in the country to protect expatriate civil servants and had great influence on the Government. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 1, 1975)

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC NEWS FROM SWAZILAND

Queen Mother Nukwase is dead but the fact is being kept quiet. According to Swazi law, the Queen Mother presides over the council which chooses the successor of the King. Should the King die before the selection of the new Queen Mother, great confusion could ensue among the numerous princes fathered by Sobhuza II. The royal constitutional commission has been sampling opinion in the country over the last 16 months and is beginning to formulate its proposals for the king. The new constitution is expected to provide for the following: a Lower House of about 26 members elected by secret ballot by adult Swazi citizens; a Senate of 16, half elected by the Lower House and half appointed by the King; King's right of veto; an independent judiciary, but without authority to hear constitutional cases; hereditary chiefs retained in a lower tier of government but included in Parliament only on a merit basis. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 25, Feb 1, 1975)

Swaziland has been negotiating with the South African Government for a rail link between the two countries, to pass either through Lothair to the Eastern Transvaal line or through Gollel to the Natal line. When feasibility studies are completed, negotiations on construction and financing will be held. Swaziland has signed an agreement with the European Economic Community for sugar sales over four years at a guaranteed price, providing security for the local sugar industry. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, March 1, 1975)

POSSIBLE ESPIONAGE IN ZAMBIA

The High Court in Ndola has ruled in favor of a South African, Clive Goby, that his detention by the Zambian Government was unlawful because authorities had not

published a notice of it within the required 30 days. Goby (27) was arrested in February 1974 along with another South African, Henning Cornelius Buitendag (30), as suspects in a South African spy ring. They were charged with photographing Copperbelt mining installations for the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), but the Government later withdrew the charges while detaining the men. Two Britons (Thomas Cain and David Alexander), an Austrian (Kurt Jesensek) and a German (Klaus Schwabe) were also arrested but have since been released. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 14, 1975)

ZAMBIAN ELECTRIC POWER

By the end of 1976, the Kariba north bank power station should be in operation, adding 600 Megawatts to the Kafue station's 450 and making Zambia self-sufficient in electric power, with enough surplus to supply the copper mining area of Shaba (ex-Katanga). Plagued by geological problems, the collapse of the first construction company, the closed border and inflation, the project will end up costing over \$112 million. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 8, 1975)

UNITED STATES and SOUTHERN AFRICA

SENATE CONFIRMS DAVIS AND BOWDLER

The Senate on March 11 routinely confirmed without debate or recorded vote the nomination of Nathaniel Davis to be the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and the nomination of William Bowdler to be Ambassador to South Africa.

Thus ended almost two months in which the Davis appointment had been subjected to unprecedented African and US criticism. Notwithstanding the unanimous opposition of the Organization of African Unity's Council of Ministers and the testimony of many public witnesses from Africa-oriented, church and community groups at the confirmation hearings, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on the previous day overwhelmingly recommended confirmation. Only the relatively junior liberal Senator from Iowa, Dick Clark, who is also the new chairman of the Africa Subcommittee, voted against the confirmation. A number of Senators who have expressed some sympathy in the past for Africa either failed to show up for the vote or voted for confirmation. Javits was understood to be alienated by OAU support for the Palestinians. Biden was held up in Delaware. Humphrey was in Minnesota. Senator Percy, at least, withheld his vote.

Clark explained his opposition to the Davis nomination in a statement on the Senate floor on the same day: "In my judgement the issue of the Davis nomination comes down to this: Mr. Davis, because of his association with US police in Chile, will have an extremely difficult time winning the trust and respect of the African leaders."

On the day of the vote, Senator Abourezk, alone among the handful opposing the Davis nomination, came close to saying that Davis was culpable for his role in the Chile coup: "Testimony at the Chile Conference held in the Senate office building in March, 1974 has shown that the American Embassy in Santiago, under the direction of Nathaniel Davis and Harry Schlaudeman, played a part in the success of the coup, and may have been indirectly responsible for the deaths of innocent individuals who unsuccessfully sought asylum in our Embassy."

In assessing the value of opposition to the Davis nomination, it should be borne in mind that the opponents never hoped to block confirmation. Rather, the objective

was to draw press and public attention to the issues through the forum of the confirmation hearings and to alert the African nations to implications which seemed ominous. In these respects, the storm that built up went far beyond the hopes of anti-apartheid forces. Kissinger has now conceded to columnist Carl Rowan, if not to the African Ambassadorial corps, that the Davis nomination may have been a public relations blunder. But he was not

Nathaniel Davis, new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs



about to back down; that would have ruined a diplomatic career.

The Secretary of State was thus back at the game of blaming his opponents for attacking the career of a person who loyally did what he was told to do, thus avoiding the policy questions which the appointment raised. In any case, Kissinger now has in the post of Africa Bureau chief one of his ten or twelve most trusted lieutenants. It has cost him, but not where he thinks it matters. (*Congressional Record*, March 10, 11; *Washington Post*, March 5, 12, 14; *Jeune Afrique*, Feb. 21, 1975)

SANCTIONS BILL TAKES FIRST STEP IN HOUSE

On March 18, the House Subcommittee on Internal Organizations reported favorably on the bill to strengthen United States compliance with sanctions against Rhodesia. The bill now goes to the full House International Relations Committee.

The Subcommittee accepted an amendment supported by the bill's sponsors which would require certification of imports of all steel mill products to insure that they contain no Rhodesian chromium. Under this provision, "any interested person" could request the Secretary of the Treasury to conduct an investigation with respect to the adequacy of the information provided in the certificate. If the Secretary finds that the certificate "does not adequately establish that the steel mill product . . . does not contain chromium in any form which is of Southern Rhodesian origin," the product will not be released from customs custody. (The Secretary may release shipments under bond while investigation is pending.)

The amendment gives the stainless steel industry a mechanism for challenging imports of Japanese stainless steel. Japan, the world's largest steel producer, has captured an increasing share of the US stainless steel market in recent months. Until the end of 1974, US steel

producers were protected by a voluntary import quota agreement with Japan, under which Japan was limited to a certain percentage of the total US market. Demand for stainless steel in both Japan and the United States is dropping with the recession in both countries, so competition among the big producers is becoming more intense. In March, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that "the Tool and Stainless Steel Industry Committee, a US trade group, recently ordered its Washington counsel to investigate what legal action might be taken to stem such imports." This Committee has also co-ordinated the industry's opposition to the Rhodesian sanctions bill.

The impetus for the amendment came from the Eastern Stainless Steel Company, which decided to support the sanctions bill if it included the certification amendment. The bill's sponsors were eager to secure their support, since it would split the industry's previous unanimous opposition to the sanctions bill. The United Steelworkers also supported the amendment.

Some advocates of sanctions feel that the amendment puts constructive pressure on Japan to comply with its obligations under the United Nations charter to enforce sanctions. Japan has already shown signs of tightening its sanctions enforcement, following pressure by the Organization of African Unity last year.

The sanctions bill will probably not reach a final vote in the House of Representatives before mid-May. (*Wall Street Journal*, March 10, 1975)

CONGRESSMEN GO TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Four members of Congress left the weekend of March 23 for South Africa and Rhodesia. Their trips appear to be part of a pattern of visits orchestrated by the South African Department of Information.

Nebraska Senator Carl Curtis, one of the most conservative Republicans in the Senate, is going for a three-week visit at the invitation of the South African Agricultural Union. Curtis claims that the trip is financed by private money. The South African Government appears to be involved, however, since Curtis' invitation was first extended by South African Ambassador Botha. Curtis will be accompanied by Sam Marler, press assistance to Senator Hansen of Wyoming.

At the same time, three members of the House left for a short stop in South Africa, en route to Rhodesia. They are Representatives John Dent of Pennsylvania, Richard Ichord of Missouri, and Harold Runnels of New Mexico—all headline opponents of the bill currently before the House to renew US compliance with sanctions against Rhodesia.

Dent has been the leading supporter of the sanctions-breaking Byrd Amendment in the House. Ichord and Runnels have supported Dent's efforts as members of the Armed Services Committee, which recently requested joint jurisdiction over the sanctions bill with the International Relations Committee, at the initiative of Mr. Ichord.

Dent claims that the group wants to meet with people "on all sides" of the negotiations about the future of Rhodesia. Their access to such African nationalist leaders as imprisoned ZANU President Ndabaningi Sithole may well be restricted, however.

Representative Dent was furious that information about their trip was made public at a hearing on the sanctions bill before the House Subcommittee on Interna-

CONRAD—THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, 1975



"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the country that gives me the best deal."

tional Organizations. His irritation probably stems from fear of adverse publicity since official US policy discourages members of Congress from traveling to Rhodesia.

The Dent visit is allegedly being paid for by South African businessman Werner Ackerman, a sponsor of the recently established Foreign Affairs Association of South Africa, which hosted the visit of six Republican Congressmen to South Africa in January. (see *Southern Africa*, March, 1975; *Johannesburg Star*, March 8, 1975)

CONGRESS GRANTS AID TO FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES

On March 24, Congress allocated \$25 million in aid to Portugal and its former colonies in Africa as part of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations bill. The bill earmarks \$5 million for the Cape Verde Islands, and \$5 million for Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

The aid package was supported mostly by members of Congress from Massachusetts, such as Senators Edward Brooke and Edward Kennedy and Congressman Silvio Conte who have a large number of Cape Verdean constituents. Their primary interest was aid to the Cape Verde Islands, where drought over the last several years makes emergency food aid and the development of improved water sources extremely urgent.

When the aid money appropriated in this bill was authorized last December, wording which required that at least half of the total aid go to the African territories was scrapped to give President Ford full discretion over the allocation of funds. Now, as the Portuguese Government moves toward the left, it is possible that the former colonies will get more than the \$10 million minimum. Conservative Senators are beginning to express strong reservations about the advisability of continued friendly relations with Portugal. As columnists Evans and Novak wrote on March 22, "... at some point in the future the aid may have to be withheld. Otherwise, the Communist-controlled regime might try to claim American support." On the other hand, hardening US-Portuguese relations could complicate aid to the former colonies as well, since negotiations regarding the territories are still officially carried out with the Portuguese Government.

Now that the aid is finally authorized and appropri-



Nash Basom

Education is to be one of FRELIMO's priorities: School in the liberated zones

ated, the Agency for International Development, in conjunction with the State Department, must decide now how to expend the funds. According to a State Department spokesperson, it is likely that Mozambique will get the largest portion of the \$5 million since Angola is wealthier and the PAIGC has indicated that it does not wish to receive any aid for Guinea-Bissau at this time. An AID team which was expected to go to Mozambique to discuss possible aid projects with FRELIMO in mid-February is still waiting for FRELIMO to set an acceptable date. They should be going soon, however, since the money must be obligated by June, the end of fiscal year 1975. (*Washington Post*, March 22, 1975; *Congressional Record*, March 13, 19, 20)

at the u.n.



UN OFFICIALS TO ATTEND OAU SPECIAL SESSION

United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and the Chairmen of the three UN bodies concerned with Southern Africa—the Special Committee of 24, the Council for Namibia, the Special Committee against Apartheid—have been invited to attend the ninth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to be held in Dar es Salaam from April 7 to 10. The session, which is to deal exclusively with Southern Africa and will also be attended by the liberation movements, was called at the request of Algeria following a growing controversy within the OAU over the policy of "detente" in Southern Africa and the recent

contacts between South Africa and a number of African countries.

AID REQUESTED FOR CAPE VERDE

A delegation from the Special Committee of 24 visited the Cape Verde islands from February 22 to March 5, at the invitation of the PAIGC and the Portuguese Government. The mission, consisting of representatives from Syria, Mali, Czechoslovakia, Trinidad and Tobago, visited four islands and had working sessions with the Transitional Government and the PAIGC in Cape Verde, and with Portuguese Government officials in Lisbon. In his



U.N./Raynor

The high rate of malnutrition and disease in South Africa amongst Africans has been exposed by a UN study

report to the Committee of 24, the Chairman of the mission stated that the mission had been able to verify that the PAIGC enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people of Cape Verde, who were determined "to accede to independence under the flag of the PAIGC." He pointed out, however, that in spite of its efforts, the transitional government was faced with tremendous problems inherited from the colonial regime. The Cape Verde economy was totally dependent from abroad for food-stuffs, most of the population was landless and desperately poor, jobs were extremely scarce, and housing, education and health care were badly inadequate.

In its report, the mission called for urgent aid to the Cape Verde islands, particularly in the form of food and health assistance, by member states of the United Nations, "particularly the developed and rich countries," the Portuguese Government and the United Nations development bodies. (The UN Development Program, the World Food Program and other UN bodies have already made assistance available to the Cape Verde for over \$4-million after a visit to the territory by a special mission of the Secretary-General early in 1975.)

Pedro Pires, speaking for the PAIGC before the Committee of 24, also said that colonialism had distorted the economy of the islands, diverting and directing it towards serving the interests of the Portuguese colonizers. He added that the situation had been exacerbated by seven years of drought and a high inflation rate, and warned

that the country would accede to independence (which is scheduled for July 5) under the most difficult conditions. (UN documents A/AC.109/PV.994 and 995)

EMERGENCY FOOD FOR MOZAMBIQUE

The World Food Program (which is operated jointly by the UN and the Food and Agriculture Organization) sent emergency food relief supplies to Mozambique in March, at the request of the transitional government of Mozambique, following heavy floods in the Limpopo Valley which made thousands homeless and destroyed crops and cattle in a wide area. The floods have aggravated the food situation in Mozambique. The World Food Program is already providing emergency rations worth \$2.2-million to 300,000 Mozambicans who are returning to their farms from areas where they had been interned by the Portuguese and from Southern Rhodesia and Malawi. (UN press release FAO/2565)

ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVITIES

The membership of the Special Committee against Apartheid was expanded in March, following a decision by the General Assembly at the last session. The new members of the Committee are the German Democratic Republic and Indonesia, and more are to be appointed from other regional groups. The Western countries have traditionally boycotted the Committee, although in terms of United Nations rule concerning geographic distribution, two seats are reserved for them. (UN document A/10065)

The Special Committee against Apartheid held a special meeting on March 21 to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre (called by the UN "International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination"). The meeting was attended by several UN dignitaries, including the Secretary-General, the current President of the Security Council, representatives of the Council for Namibia, the Committee of 24, the OAU, and others. The ANC and PAC representatives also attended in their capacity as observers, and seized the opportunity to condemn the policy of "dialogue" with South Africa in which some African countries have engaged recently. They pointed out that "detente" was only a maneuver by Vorster to achieve peace on South Africa's borders, and that they would continue to prepare for armed struggle inside the country.

As usual, several Governments made contributions and pledges to the various UN funds for Southern Africa on the occasion of March 21. The total this year was well over \$2-million, to be divided among the UN Trust Fund for South Africa, the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa, and the Fund for Namibia. (UN press release SG/C/410)

Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, Ambassador of Nigeria and Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, attended a Sharpeville commemoration rally in London on March 23. The rally, organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other organizations, took place on Trafalgar Square and was attended by over 4,000 people. In his statement, Ogbu declared that "neither the United Nations nor Africa can ever contemplate an accommodation with racist oppression in South Africa . . . or negotiate for the reform of apartheid." He called for the release of the leaders of the people held in South African jails and of all other political prisoners and detainees, reaffirming that it is the United Nations and OAU position that this is a pre-condition for any peaceful

solution in South Africa. (UN press release GA/AP/458)

The Unit on Apartheid recently issued a study prepared by the World Health Organization on the "Health Implications of Apartheid in South Africa." The study concluded that in spite of the paucity of official statistics, especially concerning the Africans in South Africa, there was "sufficient evidence of massive prevalence of preventable disease and premature deaths due mainly to nutritional deficiencies and infections. This burden of disease is most severe in Africans. . . ." The study added, "The discriminatory measures to which 'non-whites' are subjected cannot be other than harmful to mental health. Apartheid results in the segregation by law of all services for the delivery of health care according to racial group, those whose need is greatest having the least access to preventive and curative facilities . . . The prevailing situation stemming from the policy of apartheid presents an obstacle to the achievement of the highest level of health for all individuals." In conclusion, the Director-General of the Organization stated that he believed "that the health situation of the groups discriminated against by the policy of apartheid will not likely improve as long as that policy exists." After considering the report, the Executive Board of WHO adopted a resolution requesting the Director-General to continue to cooperate with the UN "to enhance concerted international action against the policy of apartheid." (Unit on Apartheid *Notes and Documents* No. 5/75; WHO document EB55.R58).

SEIZURE OF CARGO FROM NAMIBIA CONTEMPLATED

Sean MacBride, UN Commissioner for Namibia, stated in a recent interview with the *Star* correspondent in New York that he is seriously contemplating the seizure of cargoes from Namibia in the name of the UN, as provided for in a decree on the protection of Namibia's natural resources adopted by the Council last year. MacBride declared that he would wait until after the forthcoming

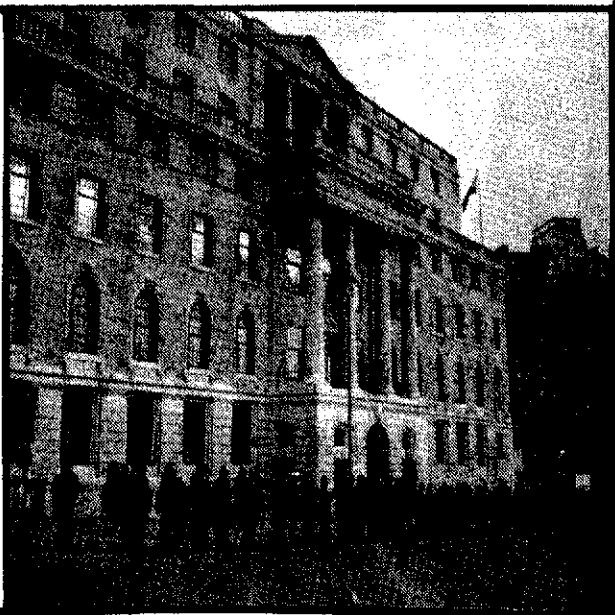
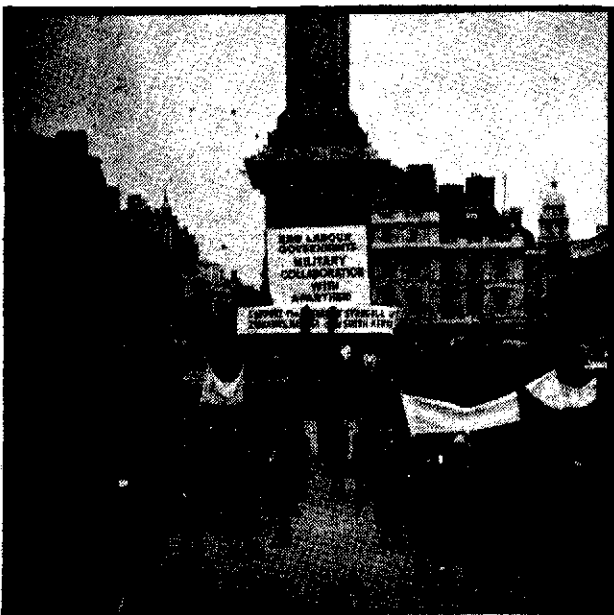
meeting of the Security Council to review South Africa's position on Namibia (scheduled for the end of May) but that "if there was no clear-cut acceptance by South Africa of the UN decisions," he would have "no alternative but to implement the provisions of the decree." MacBride disclosed that he was setting up an international surveillance system which would keep track of cargoes from Namibia and alert the governments and/or the courts of the country in which a vessel transporting the illegal cargo may happen to call. Seizure orders would be sought on the grounds that the cargo was stolen property, since the South African authorities had no legal authority to license the production or export of natural resources from the territory. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 15, 1975).

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (established by the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1967) has submitted its annual report on violations of human rights in Southern Africa to the Commission meeting in Geneva. The report covers a range of issues relating to treatment of prisoners, labor conditions and political, social and economic repression in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. In a section of the report, the Group has accused South Africa and the Western Deep Levels Mine administration of responsibility in the killing of eleven African mine-workers at Carletonville in 1973, and has requested that they pay damages to the relatives of the victims and to Lesotho.

The Commission has adopted a resolution condemning South Africa for its discriminatory and repressive policies and for its actions in Namibia, demanding the release of all political prisoners throughout Southern Africa and calling on UN bodies to take various measures to publicize violations of human rights in Southern Africa and to promote the goals of freedom and equality. (UN press release HR/1216; *Star*, Johannesburg, March 8, 1975). ■

The anti-apartheid rally in London on March 23 which was addressed by Ogebe Ogbu. Left: Part of the crowd of 4,000; right: Police guard—South Africa House



THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS...



Cliff dwellers gather outside their homes near Porto Novo.



A view of the southern slope of Santo Antao Island. Because of the severe drought no vegetation can be grown in this area of the Island.

U.N./Y. Nagata



Workers on Sal Island are seen collecting salt.

U.N./Y. Nagata



The Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Aristes Pereira is seen addressing an estimated crowd of 20,000 people from the balcony of the PAIGC headquarters in Praja, Sao Tiago Island.

U.N./Y. Nagata

action news and notes



UNITED STATES

POLITICAL/EDUCATIONAL ACTION

MADISON GROUP MEETS EASUM

Donald Easum, the former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, met with community people and others in Madison, Wisconsin, where Easum once attended school. He was strongly questioned by members of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa after he gave a rather bland speech on US relations with Africa. Easum, when under heavy fire, denied that Kissinger had initiated any major changes in US policy as shown in National Security Council documents. The Madison meeting was held in December. Easum was subsequently removed from his office in favor of Latin America "expert" Nathaniel Davis. (*MACSA News*, Dec. 1974, Jan.-Feb., 1975)

DIMBAZA FILM SHOWN IN WASHINGTON

The film, "Last Grave at Dimbaza," which documents the inhumane system of mass removals of Blacks, has been shown frequently in Washington, D.C., at universities, churches and art centers—much to the surprise of the South African Embassy there. The screenings have been

called a "well organized propaganda blitz" by the Johannesburg *Star*. The South African Information Service produced its own counter version of "Last Grave" when the film first appeared in London, but the Washington showings came as a total surprise to the South Africans. The film was produced by Morena Films, which also created "End of the Dialogue," a popular film which describes white and black lives under the apartheid system. (*Washington Post*, Feb. 12; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 22, 1975)

ECONOMIC ACTION

NEW ENGLAND GROUP LOOKING AT SOUTH AFRICAN COAL IMPORTS

The New England Power Company (NEPCO) has been importing coal from South Africa through a secondary firm and will soon complete the purchase of the contracted 220,000 tons ordered late in 1973. After that, NEPCO officials say the company will stop importing South African coal, but activists and legislators are considering research and action on the wider issues of South



Weenan resettlement camp in South Africa—part of the inhumane system of mass removals



African/US links. A bill has been submitted by a member of the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus calling for the banning of coal imports from South Africa. The coal has been coming into NEPCO's plant in Somerset, Mass. For more information on plans to research South African coal imports, and action ideas from other groups working on the issue in the South, etc., contact Alan Zaslavsky, 249 Western Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139

LIBERATION SUPPORT ACTION

FRIENDS OF ANGOLA RECRUITING FOR BLACK DOCTORS AND NURSES

The newly formed Friends of Angola (see *Southern Africa*, March, 1975) has undertaken, in consultation with UNITA, the recruitment of Black medical personnel for work in Angola "to help Angolan leaders in their attempt to reconstruct their society." The group hopes to find 10 doctors/nurses for whom UNITA will pay transportation fees. For more information contact the Friends of Angola, c/o 1648 Roxanna Road, NW, Washington, D.C. 20012.

SPORTS

MUHAMMAD ALI CHANGES MIND

It's quite possible that Muhammad Ali will not be

going to South Africa after all. Anti-apartheid forces such as the American Committee on Africa and Congressman Diggs' cable from Tanzania, as well as protest from various African Presidents, have made him have second thoughts about having a benefit fight to help raise money for TEACH, the *Star* newspaper's fund to help build schools for African children.

Ali believed that he could have raised R300,00 (\$450,000) in two days. The exhibition, to be held in two different stadiums, one in a black area and one in a white, was to have taken place soon after the March 24 fight with Chuck Wepner in Cleveland. The price for each ticket was R3,50 (\$5.00). Muhammad suggested that Africans be allowed to pay what they could afford. The TEACH fund (Teach Every African Child) has had 31 schools built, providing classroom accommodations for 20,000 children.

At the time of his decision, Ali had not realized that co-operating with such a program would put South Africa in a favorable light within the international arena. It would have added to Vorster's policy of superficial change in the apartheid structure. Also, free education—for everyone—is a human right, to be provided for by the government, and not a "cause" to be supported or sponsored by private agencies or programs. (*Africa News*, Durham, Feb. 13, 1975; Feb. 20, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 8, 1975; March 8, 1975). ■

resources

NEWSLETTER, Detroit Committee for the Liberation of Africa. Mimeographed newsletter with articles, interviews on theory, local and international issues. Latest issue had background piece on UNITA, Malcolm X, Black Women's Convention, etc. \$3/year. Write Detroit Committee for the Liberation of Africa, 15055 Steel, Detroit, Michigan 48227

SASPOST, the African-American Institute's publication aimed primarily at the Southern African community resident in the United States, has included several interesting articles of late. In the March 10 issue there were two reports by Zimbabweans who had recently returned to Rhodesia. They gave their impressions of the spirit and will of the people to attain total majority rule. SASPOST has also republished important primary source documents such as the January agreement between Portugal and the three Angolan Liberation movements (SASPOST, 2/7/75) and excerpts from Reports on the Arrests, Detentions and Trials of the Black organizations in South Africa. (SASPOST 3/10/75). The publication also contains on a regular basis book reviews, job openings for Southern Africans, news clips. SASPOST is free for all Southern Africans in the US. Others interested in receiving SASPOST should write to 833 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA: "Washington Notes on Africa" and "Africa Action." Two publications are available to help readers keep up with current developments on the Washington scene. The Washington Notes series is primarily informational, covering legislation, State Department policy, etc. The Africa Action series are legislative bulletins to serve the needs of activists interested in working to influence Congress on US-southern Africa policy. Both are available from: Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. You are asked to make a contribution according to means.

From the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau:

Poster: Independence-Guinea-Bissau—a beautiful hand-made silk screen poster celebrating Guinea-Bissau's independence, Sept. 24, 1973. Guinea-Bissau scene silhouetted against a rising sun and map of Africa, with quotation by PAIGC. \$1.50

Booklet: Sun of Our Freedom: Independence of Guinea-Bissau—the story of Guinea-Bissau told through poems, photos, proverbs, quotations and narrative. Sections on Portuguese colonialism, PAIGC history, independence, national reconstruction, and the role of women in building a new society. Updated preface to this printing, November, 1974. 36 pp. 40¢

Booklet: The Organization of Angolan Women (OMA)—background to Angolan struggle against Portuguese colonialism and U.S. imperialism and a description of the efforts of the Organization of Angolan Women to mobilize women into the Popular Movement for the Lib-

eration of Angola. (MPLA). 13 pp. 25¢

OMA button—made at OMA's request for distribution inside Angola. Silhouette of woman militant on red background. 25¢

Give a Gift to FRELIMO this INDEPENDENCE YEAR!—CCLAMG is raising funds for FRELIMO. With Mozambique's full independence to be celebrated June 25, 1975, an important part of the struggle now involves the political education and mobilization of 7 million Mozambicans, many of whom have not previously been a part of the liberation movement. FRELIMO has requested financial gifts from progressive friends all over the world.

Send orders and money to: CCLAMG, 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614. Add 25¢ for each item, postage. (Bulk order of 10 or more, 1/3 discount. Add 10% postage, 20% foreign.) Don't forget a \$ gift for FRELIMO!

Films on Africa: An Educators' Guide to 16MM Films Available in the Midwest

—information on almost 700 different films about Africa, including title, publication date, length, color or black-and-white, suggested level of audience, succinct description of film content, distributors.

—1974 rental price is given for each known distributor of the film in addition to address and telephone of distributors.

—includes films not available in the Midwest for a) African embassy films and b) films on Southern Africa.

—recommendations of films for specific teaching needs are provided by a large panel of professional university and college Africanists.

—annotated bibliography of sources of information on Africana films.

Paperback, 68 pp. Published December, 1974. Available at cost (\$1.00 for individuals or \$2.00 for institutions) from:

The African Studies Program
University of Wisconsin-Madison
1450 Van Hise Hall
1220 Linden Drive
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Books and pamphlets received:

Edward W. Chester, *Clash of Titans: Africa and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1974. Hard cover, \$12.95

White Migration To Southern Africa. Geneva, CETIM, 1975. 280 pp.

Paperback, Sw. Fr. 6.— & postage. Order from Centre Europe—Tiers Monde, 37, quai Wilson, CH-1201, Geneva, Switzerland.

Allen Cook, *South Africa: The Imprisoned Society*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1974. Paperback, \$1.35.

A CALL ISSUED BY THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA

SEND A MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO NAMIBIAN PRISONERS AND DETAINEES

Listed herewith are the names of some of the Namibian political prisoners and detainees held illegally and in defiance of the world by the present regime in South Africa.

We ask you to send them letters and cards—for the holidays and at anytime. Send as many as you can, whenever you can.

Please follow these instructions, with care:

- Enclose your letter or card in an envelope addressed to the person you choose. Include your name and address.
- Then, enclose that envelope in another addressed to:

Ambassador J.S.F. Botha
South African Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

- Write a covering letter to the ambassador, asking him to:
 - See that your message is forwarded to the addressee without delay.
 - **IMPORTANT:** Ask the ambassador to reply to you, giving assurance that your message will be delivered without prejudice, and that it will not interfere in any way with the prisoner's rights to receive mail and visits from his relatives, friends, pastors, lawyers.
- Please advise Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa of the names of those to whom you have written. And, please send us copies of any communication from the ambassador or any South African official.

ON ROBBER ISLAND

Johannes Otto Nankudhu
Simeon Shihungeleni
Julius Israel Shilongo
Immanuel Augustus Shifidi
Kaleb Tjipahura
Rudolf Kadhikwa
Eliaser Tuhadeleni
Johan Shishileni Shimuefeleni
Neshak Victory
Justus Festus Haita
Lazarus Zachariah
David Hamunime Shimuefeleni
Joseph Helao Shityuwete
Eino Ekamti Erandjo
Festus Nehale
Phillemon Shitilifa
Nghidipe Jesaja Haufiku

Abel Haiuteni
Matheus Elia Kanyuele
Malakia Shivute Ushona
Johannes Samuel Shiponeni
Petrus Kamati
Rehabeam Olavi Nambinga
Betuel Nunjamge Nuunyango
Solomon Festus Haita
Joseph Ipangelua
Gaus Shikomba
Toivo Herman Ja Toivo
Simeon Namunganga Hamufeme
Shimina Nailenge
Ndjaula Tshaningua
Sakeus Phillipus Itika
Naftali Amungulu
Petrus Simon Nilenge

The following have also been in prison since 1966 under sentence of five years and may now have been released:
Jonas Nashivela

Nathaniel Lot Homateni

PRETORIA CENTRAL PRISON

Alexander Simon
Jost Mbala Siloka
Manowa Mulibe Mahunga Mzilikazi
Masia Ingenda

Isiah Muhapulo Sitimela
Wilkenson Muluti Lukongo
Alfred Seloiso
Charlie Simpatie

Barnard Matmota Malapo (reported dead)

ARRESTED IN WINDHOEK IN 1973 AND SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT

Elias Erastus
Samuel Njambali

Joseph Spalanga
Martin David
Nestor Xkoma

For more information contact ECSA, 14 W. 11th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

UPDATE

South Africa Ups Military Spending, Seeks NATO Admission

South Africa borrowed a page from the Nixon-Ford strategy book last month, in announcing record military expenditures and a continued commitment to "detente."

A government white paper said the country is acquiring sophisticated new naval equipment, and is raising defense spending by forty per cent. And cabinet ministers told Parliament that the white government is still interested in achieving "detente" with its black-ruled neighbors.

At the same time, South Africa is lobbying for a place in the Western defense alliance. Ads appeared in several American newspapers last month to promote the idea of South African cooperation with NATO. In addition, South Africa is continuing its campaign to end the twelve year-old U.S. arms embargo against Pretoria, partly through efforts to influence Congressional sentiment on the political complexion of Southern Africa.

Nine Congressmen have visited South Africa in the past four months, and *Business Week* magazine reports speculation that the Pretoria government may be helping to foot the bill. South African government officials have denied any financial role in the tours given U.S. legislators, leaving responsibility for the visits with South African businessman Werner Ackerman, who says he is working to change South Africa's image at his own expense. So far the tab is \$120,000.

U.N.-O.A.U. Delegation to Advise on Angolan Solution

The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity are sending a joint delegation to the Portuguese colony of Angola, where nationalist leaders are continuing efforts to stop open clashes among their members. At least 80 soldiers were killed in the most recent factional violence in Angola, including 50 MPLA recruits who were allegedly massacred by FNLA troops just outside the capital of Luanda.

The combined OAU-UN mission will propose ways for Angola's three liberation groups to cooperate within the framework of the coalition government. Some diplomats favor the establishment of an international "peace-keeping force" to help avert civil war, when the Portuguese withdraw in November. MPLA President Agostinho Neto, however, has publicly criticized such a solution, arguing that UN involvement in the Belgian Congo did more to damage that country than Belgian colonialism.

Portuguese authorities and the leaders of FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA, meanwhile, have formed an integrated military force comprised of 500 soldiers from each of the movements, and 1500 Portuguese troops. The movements' separate armies are now formally banned, and arrests can be made only with legal authorization.

World Press Body To Allow South African Participation

The International Press Institute has moved its annual meeting from Lagos, Nigeria to Zurich, Switzerland, so that journalists from white-ruled South Africa can attend.

The Nigerian government had refused to issue visas for South African delegates to the May conference; Nigerian policy forbids South Africans to visit the country.

ZANU, ZAPU, FROLIZI BANNED IN ZAMBIA, TANZANIA

The governments of Zambia and Tanzania have banned three Zimbabwean nationalist movements, ZANU, ZAPU, and FROLIZI. But both governments sanction the continued activities of the Zimbabwe African National Council within their borders.

A major reason for the banning was a desire to enforce the Lusaka Agreement of December, which merges all the Rhodesian nationalist groups under the ANC umbrella.

In addition, Zambia has announced the formation of a special commission of inquiry into the bombing death of ZANU leader Herbert Chitepo, who was slain in the Zambian capital in March. Zambian President Kaunda has invited participation in the commission, by the Organization of African Unity and several other African countries.

Sithole Hopes Peace Talks Will Resume

Zimbabwean leader Ndabaningi Sithole, who was released from detention by the Smith regime to attend a special OAU summit meeting in April, has refused to return to Rhodesia, and jail. Sithole maintains that his refusal to do so may mean the resumption of peace talks between Africans and the white government, since African leaders had vowed to boycott talks with the Smith government as long as Sithole was held in jail, without a fair trial.

Guinea Bissau To Try Plotters for Treason

The government of Guinea Bissau has announced that it will try more than a dozen people for planning the assassinations of government leaders, to delay the decolonization process. Eight of the accused are former African officers in the Portuguese army.

A PAIGC communiqué said that those charged with plotting in Guinea Bissau were linked to organizers of an ill-fated right-wing coup attempt in Portugal. All the assassination targets of the conspirators, it said, were party officials.

Chile Agrees To Davis Cup Match With South Africa

The Tennis Federation of Chile says it will play the white South African team in an upcoming Davis Cup semi-final—if South Africa is allowed to remain in the competition.

Mexico and Colombia have already refused to play South Africa, because of objections to South Africa's apartheid policy, and Chile is next in line. Davis Cup officials must decide whether South Africa wins the matches with Mexico and Colombia by default, or is expelled from the series for disrupting the competition.

Last year, South Africa's tennis team became Davis Cup champion by default, when India refused to meet it for the final play-off.

Democratic Congressmen Visit Rhodesia, Prepare to Back Byrd Amendment

The United States' transgression of UN sanctions against Rhodesia is back on the docket for this session of Congress, and several leading defenders of the Byrd

Amendment have prepared for the fray by paying a visit to Rhodesia. The trip—advised against by the State Department—was paid for by the Rhodesian Promotion Council and South African businessman Werner Ackerman.

The three Congressmen, who also visited South Africa, were Richard Icord of Missouri, Harold Runnels of New Mexico, and Pennsylvania's John Dent. Dent has led Congressional opposition to economic sanctions against Rhodesia's white minority government for some time.

Representative Dent's Press Secretary told AFRICA NEWS that the trip was worthwhile, and that discussions with both black and white leaders in Rhodesia and South Africa convinced the three Congressmen that sanctions are wrong.

South Africa Now Nuclear Power, Thanks to U.S. Aid

South Africa enhanced its reputation as an emergent nuclear power last month, with the announcement that it has developed a unique new process for producing enriched uranium—the raw material for atomic bombs. The nuclear reactor that made the development possible was provided by the United States, under the Atoms for Peace program.

South Africa produces about a quarter of the Western world's uranium, but until now it has not had the capacity for enriching it in large quantities. Enrichment is a necessary step before raw uranium can be used either commercially or militarily.

Pretoria got its first nuclear reactor from Washington a decade ago. The American corporation Allis-Chalmers helped construct the facility, and South African technicians were trained at the Oak Ridge, Tennessee Atomic Energy Labs, where more than three dozen countries with nuclear reactors regularly send their uranium for enrichment.

South Africa says its new method is competitive with the U.S. process, because it takes less capital investment; and Pretoria reportedly hopes to export large quantities of enriched uranium fuel for nuclear power plants around the world.

U.S. Congressman Les Aspin, meanwhile, has

discovered that the U.S. has sent South Africa nearly one hundred pounds of highly enriched uranium intended for research use. The uranium is enriched to a 93% concentration of U-235—well above what is needed for nuclear weapons. And that 100 pounds is enough material for seven small atomic bombs.

Sam Weaver, President of U.S. Nuclear Corporation, the firm that made the shipments, claims that the material could not be used for weapons without extensive chemical re-processing. And, he says, re-processing is virtually impossible outside the U.S.

But according to Congressman Aspin, South Africa has the fear to want to build the bomb, and the technology to do it.

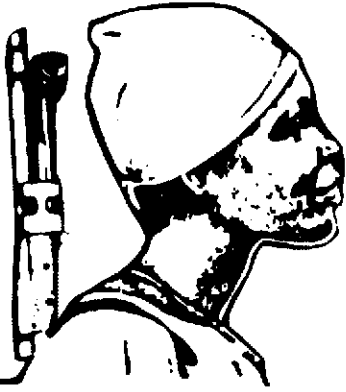
OAU Summit Approves 'Negotiation' Contact with South Africa

Last month's Organization of African Unity Summit on Southern Africa approved a policy of limited contact with white-ruled South Africa, for the sake of achieving majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia. The OAU has in the past condemned contact between black African states and South Africa, and the modification of that policy reportedly pleased officials in Pretoria.

If negotiations break down in Rhodesia and Namibia, the OAU resolution said, OAU member nations are prepared to support and equip guerrilla armies led by liberation movements. In South Africa itself, the summit concluded, warfare is the only means left for achieving racial equality.

The OAU Conference also set up a committee to police OAU economic sanctions against South Africa, and even warned nations that send migrant labor to South Africa that they should begin phasing out that policy.

Reports from South Africa claim that government officials there are, nevertheless, pleased with the outcome of the summit, because it agrees that the problems of Southern Africa should be solved by Southern Africans. Conference sources said that Zambia's President Kaunda has been mandated to conduct talks with South Africa on the Rhodesia question. ■



Note new rates for 1975 listed below:

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