

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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"Indian women are good at tedious repetitive jobs that bore men. . . ." (See Editorial).

Indian women at work at I.T.T., Johannesburg.

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EDITORIAL

THERE'S A FORTUNE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Activities of U.S. corporations have come under greater scrutiny during the past 12 months than at any other time in recent years. The I.T.T. affair was only the most prominent among numerous investigations into the policies and impact of the multinationals—the giant businesses whose revenues are larger than the entire budgets of many small countries. A major focus of inquiry has been corporate investments in the white minority controlled nations of Southern Africa. This past spring's series of annual stockholder meetings has seen questions raised inside meetings by concerned investors, and pickets and protests outside the halls.

In the wake of this challenge, corporations have mounted a counter-offensive using both the establishment media, such as the Wall Street Journal, Fortune, The New York Times, and direct statements to their individual stockholders. Thus since June, Mobil, Gulf Oil, and IBM have each released information for stockholders about their Southern African operations in response to demands by several Protestant church agencies which hold stock in the three firms.

All three firms assert that their presence in the subcontinent contributes to the well-being of both black and white, and present data which they argue substantiates the claim. The information provided, however, offers no verification of the thesis that economic involvement by U.S. business can be a benign presence. To the contrary—by their own testimony—the companies must be judged guilty of acquiescence to the inequities of the social order.

The contention that U.S. operations in South Africa can generate progressive change has received recent support from Fortune magazine, whose July issue examined "The Proper Role of U.S. Corporations in South Africa." In a 9-page article, lavishly illustrated with color photographs, the journal deals superficially with a number of complex economic and political trends. While criticizing the record of most U.S. firms as "very embarrassing, for the very good reason that they don't live by the same rules they practice at home," the author includes IBM and Mobil among the exceptions, and insists that "fundamental and genuine reform" is possible.

Symptomatic of Fortune's cursory examination of the issues is the pretence that barriers to real black job advancement are crumbling. A photo labeled "Breaching the color bar," for example, shows young Asian women bonding transistor elements at I.T.T.'s Johannesburg

subsidiary. In fact the shortage of skilled white workers has led to a situation where those particular jobs, once done only by whites, are now performed only by poorly paid Asians; apartheid remains intact. Black workers are being used to do the semiskilled jobs which whites refuse to do.

Two Southern Africa Committee members visiting the same facility were told by officials that the company not only separates black workers from whites wherever possible, but also prefers to segregate coloureds and Asians from other groups and from each other. (See cover photograph.) Revealing both a sexual and racial bias, a public relations officer explained that such jobs, although intricate, do not require a high level of skill or intelligence. "Indian women are good at tedious repetitive jobs that bore men. In fact, they enjoy it."

Fortune points to blacks doing work once reserved for whites as examples of the fundamental changes it thinks desirable. In fact, the phenomenon is merely a continuing modification of the entire economy as it becomes more technologically sophisticated. Whites move on to more complex tasks while blacks take their place on lower-skill rungs. Such periodic adjustments have marked South Africa's history from the beginning, and are not evidence of weakness but of the strength of the white power structure to make the adaptations necessary for survival. The whites remain in control, economic and political; the concessions made simply oil the wheels of the machinery; they do not change the operators.

All this is not to say that Southern Africa is a monolithic and invincible mass. The tensions of an industrial, capitalist economy exist there as elsewhere and will be exploited by the Southern African majority as the struggle for freedom grows. But the forces of justice will not emanate from corporate America. In some firms at certain times, blacks WILL become the beneficiaries of higher wages and better working conditions, but only when the company sees its own self-interest clearly protected by the improvement. Corporate self-reform is inevitably self-limiting—its aim is to obtain the greatest good for a single corporation, not the greatest good for a whole society!

In today's Southern Africa, U.S. businesses believe that profits will be jeopardized by a too hasty departure from accepted practice. And profits are the prize to be pursued. As IBM pointed out to stockholders at its 1972 annual meeting: "Our primary corporate purpose, of course, in all we do, is to keep this a sound, healthy business, and we never lose sight of that."

ALTERNATIVES TO NIXON POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

by David Robinson

This paper represents an effort to document the policy of the Nixon Administration on the major issues of Southern Africa and to suggest alternative policy for a potential Democratic Government beginning in 1973. It makes several assumptions. First, that the actions of the present regime constitute catastrophic departures from an already bad Democratic program of the 1960s—catastrophic for African people and American interests. Second, that U.S. Government policy, formulated principally by the Executive Branch, constitutes the climate and much of the content of the total U.S. relationship to Southern Africa. Third, that there is real potential during this election year to develop and begin to implement a much more creative African program than the Republican or previous Democratic Administrations have ever offered. This is based upon a developing constituency in this country for African questions, anger at Nixon decisions on Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa, new possibility in the Democratic Party under McGovern leadership, and the increasing assertion by Southern Africans of their most fundamental liberties. We have witnessed this assertion in the advance of the nationalist movements in Portuguese Africa, the defiant "NO" to British-Rhodesian settlement terms by the Zimbabwean people, the courageous strike of contract workers in Namibia, and the spreading protests of black and white students in South Africa.

What was the policy of the Kennedy and Johnson Governments toward Southern Africa? Africa generally was clearly a low priority subordinated to European and Cold War interests. Investment by American companies in Southern Africa was encouraged and increased rapidly during the 1960s; there was no examination of employment practices of U.S. firms there. The Administration voiced strong disapproval of apartheid in South Africa and expressed that sentiment by such measures as terminating the port calls of U.S. ships. It complied with the embargo established by the U.N. Security Council in 1963 against the sale of military material to South Africa. As to Rhodesia, President Johnson implemented the Security Council decision on economic sanctions and they were relatively well enforced under him. As to Portugal, we continued older programs of military and economic assistance, maintained air and naval bases on the Azores, and made other aid available to Portugal through NATO. At the same time the Administration expressed verbal support for self-determination in Portuguese Africa and pretended that NATO equipment was not being used there.

The new Administration consciously departed from this compromise position beginning in December 1969. In the now well-known scenario (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 13, 1971; The New York Times, April 4, 1972) the President ordered a policy review in April, 1969 and papers outlining five possible options—particularly with regard to South Africa—were prepared by a December meeting of the National Security Council. Options Four and Five called for stronger confrontation with the white-dominated regimes of Southern Africa and were never seriously considered. Option Three, supported by the career Africanists of the State Department, called for a continuation of the Kennedy-Johnson approach of verbal attacks on apartheid, arms embargoes, and limited official involvement. Option One was the "Dean Acheson View," suggesting a treatment of South Africa like any other sovereign state (i.e. without any relation to its internal affairs). The second choice was advanced by Roger P. Morris, NSC specialist on Africa; it received the support of Henry Kissinger and Nixon and became the new policy. Called the "Communication View" by its proponents and the "Tarbaby Option" by its critics, this approach advocated greater contact with South Africa and other white regimes, ostensibly on the theory that friendly persuasion would more likely lead to modification than some kind of confrontation.

Nixon enunciated the new program in his "State of the World" message in February, 1970 and began to implement it soon thereafter. The ambiance of the Nixon approach became apparent by the end of 1970. Kenneth Kaunda, in his capacity as head of an OAU delegation protesting against Western arms deliveries to South Africa, was snubbed when he sought to see the President in October. In the same month the State Department announced the reduction of its Advisory Council on African Affairs from 50 to 17 members and jettisoned all of the former participants save pro-communication Edward Munger. The new members included a large representation of business interests and relatively few academics. In May 1971, Vice-President Agnew received South African Information Minister Mulder in the highest level contact between the two governments in a decade. Mulder returned to South Africa impressed with his sympathetic audience. And finally, the Administration extended its policy of abstaining or voting negatively on crucial and relatively moderate motions at the United Nations, with one result being the frustration and resignation of Congressman Diggs from the U.S. delegation last December.

As applied to South Africa, the new policy was called "Communication" or "Dialogue," corresponding nicely to Pretoria's professed desire for "Dialogue" with the independent Black African states. Its most frequent spokesman was Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom, as in this speech he made in October 1971:

"We believe change will come in Southern Africa. Economic and demographic pressures make this inevitable. In South Africa itself there is a lessening of rigidity. Change is a central theme of discussion; there is psychological and intellectual ferment within the Afrikaner community; there have been isolated instances of acceptance of multiracial activities; there is a growing realism among businessmen that Africans are important to them as skilled workers and as a market. They are

beginning to focus on the need for improvement of working conditions for nonwhites. We cannot expect change to come quickly or easily. Our hope is that it will come peacefully."

Newsom and the Administration attempted to guide this change which they wished to perceive; thus they sent important official and unofficial American representatives to the Cape, such as Frank Shakespeare, head of USIA, and Kevin Phillips, author and former special assistant to Attorney General Mitchell, both in the summer of 1971. But "progress" at a snail's pace seems to be quite acceptable and Ambassador Hurd was never censured for holding a whites-only function at the Embassy residence in June, 1970. By very close votes which could have been swayed by White House intervention, Congress upheld South Africa's sugar quota in 1971, amounting to an annual subsidy of \$4 to \$5 million. The Export-Import Bank agreed in January of this year, for the first time since 1964, to guarantee a major South African transaction: a \$48.6 million loan for the sale of GM diesel locomotives to an agency of the South African Government.

More serious still, the Administration failed to comment on the British rupture of the arms embargo in February 1971 and itself began to license the sale of light commercial aircraft--still banned from trade with China--to the South African Government in the same year. This was how the licensing was viewed in Johannesburg:

"The South African Defense Force can now buy light American aircraft for reconnaissance and training purposes with the sanction of the U.S. Government, according to Mrs. Olive Beech, head of the American Beechcraft Corporation. . . . Mrs. Beech said that her company, which is one of the big three among American light civil aircraft manufacturers, had recently been given Government permission to sell to the South African Defense Force if the South African Government wants to buy any of their aircraft. 'Our Government uses our aircraft for military purposes such as training, reconnaissance and ambulance work,' said Mrs. Beech. 'And we would be glad to furnish the South African Defense Force.' The Americans for years operated an arms embargo against South Africa." (Star, Johannesburg, April 17, 1971)

State Department spokesmen continue to insist that no planes will be supplied for military purposes--but it is widely recognized that planes supplied for one purpose can easily be converted to other uses. It is precisely such "light commercial aircraft"--the Pipers, Beechcraft, and Cessnas--which act as the crucial forward air controllers in Viet Nam, locating crucial targets and calling in the firepower.

As a final epitaph on American "dialogue" with South Africa, the U.S. Army has been testing the Cactus, a ground-to-air missile developed by Pretoria with French assistance, and North American Rockwell Corporation has signed an agreement to produce the weapon in anticipation of an Army decision to adopt it. (Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972) And South Africa is not insensitive to the advantages of the new situation: "Since President Nixon came to office, American policies have been reviewed and rationalized to the extent that observers believe Mr. Botha [Ambassador to Washington] will find opportunities to better relations that did not exist when he was last there." (Star, Johannesburg, May

15, 1972)

As to Nixon policy and practice on Namibia, U.N. Ambassador Yost's announcement in May, 1970 of an intention to discourage official investment in that area has never been implemented and the United States has failed even to accept membership on the U.N. Council on Namibia.

On Rhodesia, the Administration quietly broke sanctions in 1970 by allowing Union Carbide to import chrome and then refused to support its declared position for continued economic sanctions, thereby allowing the Byrd Amendment to pass in October 1971 and to be reaffirmed in May of this year. Last November the General Assembly voted a bruising censure of the Congressional action; the only two votes against the motion were those of Portugal and South Africa, the only other open violators. The following day President Nixon insensitively signed the amended military procurement bill into law. In January, rather than use its option to delete chrome and other potential Rhodesian imports from the list of strategic materials, the Administration had the Treasury Department issue a license permitting the importation of chrome, nickle, asbestos, graphite, copper, and nine other Rhodesian products. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972; The Washington Post, March 19, 1972; Africa Confidential, July 14, 1972)

But the most serious application of Option Two, and the action which has outraged African opinion more than any other, has to do with Portugal. The Nixon Administration prepared the ground by authorizing the sale of Boeing 707s, 727s, and 747s to the Lisbon government and the state-owned airlines--planes now used in the transport of troops to and from Africa--and of Bell Helicopters for use in Mozambique. (Agence France Presse, Jan. 12, 1971; The Daily Telegraph, Jan. 13, 1971) In 1970 American exports of herbicides to Portugal quadrupled, precisely when Lisbon began to use defoliants against the liberation movements in Angola. The State Department refused to comment about whether the U.S. products were being used by the Portuguese Army. (NARMIC, Weapons for Counter-Insurgency; U.S. Exports-Foreign Trade FT 410, November 1970)

The crowning achievement was the Azores Agreement. On December 10, 1971, in conjunction with the Nixon-Pompidou encounter in the Azores, the State Department announced an "executive agreement" whereby Portugal extended for two years American use of the air base and naval facility in the islands, stations not considered "vital" even by Washington military opinion. In return, the U.S. made \$436.5 million in credits available to Portugal, including \$400 million of loans and guarantees through the Export-Import Bank, and \$36.5 million in commodities, "non-military excess equipment," education, and other items. The \$400 million is eight times what Portugal received from the bank during the entire 1946 to 1970 period and more than all the bank's loans to the entire continent of Africa since 1946.

Congressman Diggs' evaluating this accord in a speech before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 3, 1972, said: "The Administration is claiming that the Azores Agreement has no political implications for the United States. . . . and that this bears 'no relationship to the Portuguese territories in Africa.' In fact, of course, there is a very serious political commitment to Portugal implied in this treaty." The Congressman cited a number of reasons for his conclusion, including the fact that "Secretary of State Rogers' letter of Dec. 9 to the

Portuguese Foreign Minister indicates that the purpose of the Agreement is to 'enhance our POLITICAL, economic and cultural relations' with Portugal." [Emphasis added.] "In announcing the Agreement, there was a noticeable absence of the usual United States pro forma public statement in favor of self-determination in the colonies..." and there are no "regulations prohibiting

goods furnished under the Agreement from being used in Africa in logistical support of the Portuguese forces. The assumption is that equipment will be used in Africa, unless otherwise specified by the donor. The size of the quid pro quo is enormous and unprecedented..."

Finally, Congressman Diggs said that it 'is worth repeating that the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano, announced the deal as a political victory for Portugal; I quote: 'The treaty is a political act in which the solidarity of interests between the two countries is recognized and it is in the name of that solidarity that we put an instrument of action at the disposal of our American friends, who are also now allies.'"

African reaction to the Azores deal was predictably sharp. Congressman Diggs, just back from a January meeting in Zambia with African leaders, commented in the same Feb. 3 speech: "It was incontrovertibly demonstrated that the Africans regard the Azores

Agreement as the most significant step of this Administration in regard to Africa. They see it as the crux of U.S. hypocrisy on African issues, as a forthright announcement of U.S. support for the white minority regimes and as a U.S. decision to jettison U.S. interests throughout Africa in favor of the minority-ruled countries of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau."

A representative of the liberation movement for Guinea-Bissau (PAIGC) described the accord as THE MOST SERIOUS step the United States has EVER taken AGAINST self-determination in Africa, and President Kaunda of Zambia considered American interests and obligations to Portugal to be THE MAJOR stumbling block to liberation of the continent. (Denver Post, Dec. 31, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1971)

This is the heritage of the Nixon Administration with regard to Southern Africa.

Alternative Courses of Action

Administration policy and the total American relationship to Southern Africa has come under increasing domestic attack recently as clearly inhibiting the movement toward majority rule, while placing the U.S. firmly on the side of the white minority regime. The extent of the challenge and the tactics of the challengers



vary considerably, but there is widespread agreement that a viable alternative policy for the U.S. Government is imperative and urgent. There is also an increasingly general consensus on at least the minimum basis for such an alternative policy.

It is generally agreed that it should be a basic principle of U.S. policy that no actions be taken by the American Government which might in any way impede the growth of the struggle for majority rule; many go further and call for various forms of recognition of and support for the liberation movements. It is also widely agreed that U.S. policy must comprehend that violence is deeply rooted in the Southern African situation and has essentially meant white oppression of blacks; continuity as well as change will inevitably involve violence, and the goal is therefore to WORK TOWARD a society which will not practice violence.

Finally, it is generally accepted that the alternative approach must give greater support to the United Nations and recognize that Africa and Southern Africa are of priority concern to the U.S. on their own merits—and are not appendages to Europe to be considered only in moments of crisis. Such a policy attempts to respond to the quest for a stable peace in Africa and to the concerns of a growing American constituency on Africa—particularly Afro-American.

One source for such an alternative plan can be found in the report issued last December by the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. and entitled "Southern Africa: Proposals for Americans" (hereafter UNA Report). This report was prepared by a panel of 14 persons primarily from the business, legal, and university worlds and represents the perspective of the liberal wing of the foreign policy establishment. It calls for judicious involvement of American business and government interests in Southern Africa within the framework of the basic decisions of the United Nations. A stronger and more thoroughgoing alternative policy proposal has emerged from various statements and proposals made by members of the Congressional Black Caucus, most notably in the Action Manifesto of Congressman Diggs issued on Dec. 14, 1971. (Congressional Record, Jan. 18, 1972) The Diggs' Manifesto describes Southern Africa as an actual "threat to peace" and calls for more positive action. The intent of both statements is contained in the 1972 Democratic Platform calling for an end to all military aid to Portugal and the abandonment of the Azores Agreement, enforcement of sanctions against Rhodesia and of U.N. control over Namibia, and stronger opposition to apartheid in South Africa.

In what follows, alternative possibilities are examined with regard to each major area of Southern Africa. First come the major U.N. positions on the question, then the minimal changes that enjoy wider acceptance, and finally the changes in U.S. policy that correspond more closely to the commitment of the U.N. and to a fully creative approach to the subcontinent.

Alternatives Examined

SOUTH AFRICA. The U.N. position on South Africa is exceedingly clear. As recently as 1970 the General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted a resolution urging all members "to terminate diplomatic, consular, and other official relations with the South African Government, to terminate all military, economic, technical, and other cooperation with South Africa, and to end tariff and

other preferences to South African exports and facilities for investment in South Africa..."

In the area of investment and the involvement of American companies, the mildest proposals of reform call for some application of fair employment practices to the operation of U.S. firms, the end of contributions by companies to the propagandistic South Africa Foundation, no additional investment or expansion of facilities and no sale of strategic products to the South African Government.

The UNA Report (p. 47) commends Polaroid Corporation for its decisions to (1) withdraw the sale of its ID2 system to the South African Government; and (2) improve the working conditions of its black employees, and then suggests that other firms follow the Polaroid example. The Polaroid model has, however, been severely criticized as invalid both in method and content, since (1) the whole process of Polaroid's investigation and review of operations is internal and not subject to outside scrutiny; (2) despite much publicized figures which indicate considerable wage increases for black workers, many are still working at close to starvation (poverty datum line) wages and there is no structural alteration of the business by placing blacks in positions of control. Even the minor reforms made are likely to run aground against local law and custom and never approach the basic criteria of equal pay AND equal work; (3) the number of black workers at Polaroid's affiliate is absolutely and proportionately so small that the example is not applicable to the important American operations in the country; and (4) the responsibility of a company cannot be limited solely to the material working conditions of its employees, but extends to the whole environment of which they are a part.

The most serious proponents of a changed policy call either for the full application of fair employment practices now applied in the U.S., under penalty of loss of eligibility for government contracts, or for complete disengagement from South Africa. The first position, advocated in the Diggs Manifesto (item 30), would almost certainly ultimately result in disengagement under the present apartheid regime. The implementation of such a position would require the U.S. Government to establish a watchdog committee and to state clearly that investments would not be subject to the normal guarantees.

In the area of trade with South Africa, a minimal position would implement completely the 1963 arms embargo voted by the U.N., construing that embargo to include all materials with potential military use. It would end South Africa's sugar quota (expires 1974) and all loans and guarantees by the Export-Import Bank, and would encourage trade with independent Africa instead of the subcontinent. Diggs goes beyond the UNA Report to oppose any collaboration with South Africa in the development or production of military equipment such as the Cactus Missile (item 36d) and to advocate the enforcement of the prohibition against importation of goods produced by forced labor, for which most South African products would qualify (Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930; item 34 of the Manifesto). All of these positions stop well short of the U.N. demand for general sanctions.

In the area of direct governmental presence, both Diggs and the UNA Report call for the integration of the American diplomatic staff in South Africa, a ban on all-white functions, selective boycotts, and a phasing out

of the NASA space-tracking stations there. Diggs calls for an end to all cooperation in the nuclear field—a cooperation that has given Pretoria the capacity to produce enriched uranium and, in the near future, to build its own nuclear weapons (item 40). These positions constitute a minimum core of a viable policy and are quite modest in comparison with the U.N. call for complete isolation.

NAMIBIA. In October, 1966 the U.N. General Assembly voted to end South Africa's mandate over the South West Africa territory and to place it under the direct responsibility of the U.N. under its new name of Namibia. In 1971 the International Court of Justice reinforced this decision, stating that "South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration," that U.N. members should recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence and refrain from any acts implying recognition. The U.S. voted for the 1966 resolution and announced its support of the World Court opinion. Furthermore, in May 1970 Ambassador Yost announced that the U.S. would henceforth "officially discourage investment by U.S. nationals in Namibia," refuse Exim guarantees for trade with that territory, and not offer protection for investments in Namibia against "claims of a future lawful government."

The present Administration has done nothing to implement the Yost statement and the first order of business is a recommitment to those positions and active membership in a strengthened Council for Namibia, the embryonic U.N. authority. The UNA Report and Diggs also call for vastly improved conditions for Namibian workers—deprived even in comparison with South African blacks, for the elimination of all deductions allowed to American companies for taxes paid to South Africa, and for the recognition of the authority of the U.N. Council on Namibia in matters such as the issuance of visas. The crucial issue is to begin serious implementation of the International Court's decision, rather than be diverted by such counter-productive gestures as Secretary General Waldheim's "U.N. Presence" working out of and on the suffering of South Africa.

RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE). In 1965 the Security Council condemned the minority Smith regime and its Unilateral Declaration of Independence, called for majority rule and began the application of sanctions. In 1968 it made the sanctions comprehensive and mandatory and established a complete trade embargo. The U.S. voted for and, by and large, supported the program until the passage and signing of the amended military procurement bill last fall. The generally accepted absolute minimum requirement for a new policy is the restoration of the American commitment to sanctions, by repeal of the Byrd Amendment or deletion of Rhodesian products from the strategic materials list, and full support of the U.N. efforts including active prosecution of all violators. Equally as basic is an expression of American commitment to the NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule) principle, whether WITH or WITHOUT the concurrence of the Heath Government in London.

PORTUGAL AND PORTUGUESE AFRICA. The U.N. has made itself clear on the issue of Portugal and its African colonies. The 1970 General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, called on all members "to desist forthwith from the training of Portuguese military personnel. . . , to prevent the sale or supply of weapons, military equipment and material, including aircraft, helicopters and vehicles, to the Government of Portugal. . . to desist from any collaboration with the

ground, air and naval forces of Portugal. . . ." The Azores Agreement constitutes the most flagrant violation conceivable of the U.N. position.

Any serious alternative policy begins with the rejection of the Azores pact and the evacuation of the unnecessary Azores bases. The Senate recently adopted the Case Amendment requiring the submission of the Azores and Bahrain Agreements to the Senate, but the present language of the proposal allows the Administration to implement immediately the major commitment of the Portuguese accord, the \$400 million of Exim loans.

Both the UNA Report and Diggs advocate the ending of all military assistance to Portugal, and the cessation of any trade or aid with military potential (herbicides, commercial aircraft, etc.). In addition, all Exim loans and guarantees should be terminated, investment in Portuguese Africa discouraged, and all aid of any kind suspended until such time as Portugal withdraws her troops from Africa and accepts majority rule on the continent.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND REFUGEES. It is commonly agreed among those proposing an alternative U.S. policy that the U.S. Government should support the U.N. Trust Fund for Namibia, the South Africa Trust Fund, the U.N. Education and Training Program, and other channels for aid to refugees and other victims of minority rule in Southern Africa. (See UNA Report, pp. 78-79; Diggs Manifesto, item 5) There is increasing support for the position that seeks the application of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to the freedom fighters and the civilian population of Southern Africa (Manifesto, item 47). Finally, it is proposed that the U.S. Government should enter into contact with the liberation movements with a view toward future negotiations and relations, and support at least the non-military programs of the movements after the example of the Scandinavian countries, in such ways as best meet the stated needs of the movements themselves. Those who regard the liberation movements as representative of the peoples of Southern Africa in place of the currently recognized white minority governments have also issued a call that any new administration should consider recognizing as the only legitimate government of former Portuguese Guinea the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands), the popular force which now administers about two-thirds of the territory.



shell of an unexploded napalm bomb dropped by the Portuguese.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA's "BANTU HOMELANDS"

Zulus Demand More Land

The White South African Government has announced plans to consolidate Zululand in terms of the 1936 Trust and Land Act. At present, Zululand is made up of 157 "Black Spots" and 63 "Zulu areas." These are to be transformed into "five large pieces of homeland and one small piece." This will involve the exchange of 668,000 hectare of "white owned land for 554,000 hectare of Black-owned and Bantu Trust Land." This proposal has been announced by Mr. Raubenheimer, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration. He made it very clear that the proposal "in no way reflected a final decision by the Government." He said that "White farmers should not have to give up more land for the consolidation of the Zulu homeland until that land already owned by the Africans was used to its fullest agricultural advantage." (Star, Johannesburg, June 17, 1972)

According to the 1936 Trust and Land Act, 13% of South Africa's land will be for the Africans, who comprise almost 80% of the population. The KwaZulu Government has rejected the Government's consolidation plan. Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi made the following statement: "We cannot see ourselves being used in this way in covering up naked and outright White domination. . . ."

"We find it unacceptable that we should not have been involved at all as Black people in the preparing of the draft even in terms of the 1936 act." (Star of Johannesburg, June 10, 1972) In another statement, Buthelezi asked whether Zulu development would at most mean that Zululand would merely continue to be a vast labor farm for White South Africa. He stated that at the present time this was what the Black homelands are. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 16, 1972)

Tswana Homeland Established

On June 1, 1972 the Tswana homeland became the "Self-Governing" territory of Bophuthatswana. Lukas Mangope became Chief Minister, and he has spoken out strongly on behalf of "separate development." He said that separate development was the only policy that would give the Tswana people the final say over their own affairs. His territory will rely, according to Mangope, on mining houses and other private organizations to help in the development of its rich mineral and agricultural

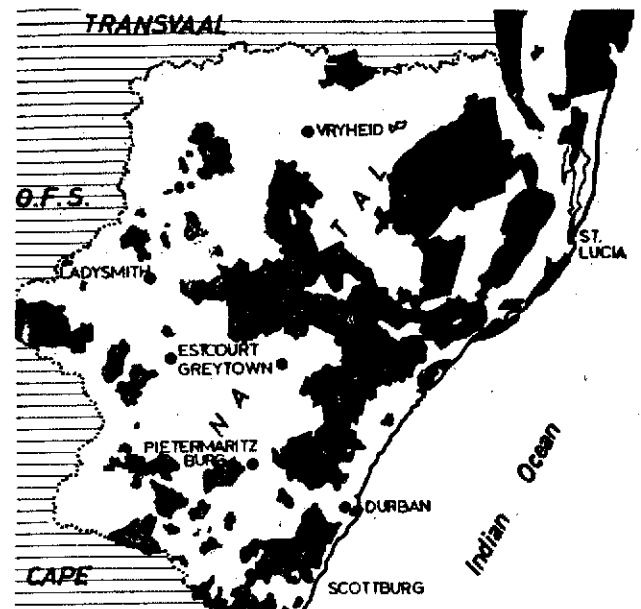
potential. He gave the assurance that no company need fear any interference in its industrial activities.

The territory of Bophuthatswana consists of 53,685 square kilometers of land scattered across the Transvaal and the Northern Cape. Plans have been made to consolidate the 20 scattered areas into only five areas. (Star, Johannesburg, July 8, 1972) Mangope is chief of 1,600,000 Tswana people, only 600,000 of whom live within the boundaries of the homeland. (Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972) Already he has been widely criticized by urban Tswana for his statements in support of "the positive aspects of separate development." Typical of the criticism is this statement: "Chief Mangope's unfortunate public statements came as a big shock to many of us. The impression likely to be created . . . will be that all Tswana in South Africa are in favor of separate development and prefer the Nationalists to either the Progressives or the United Party. This would be misleading." (Star, Johannesburg, July 1, 1972)

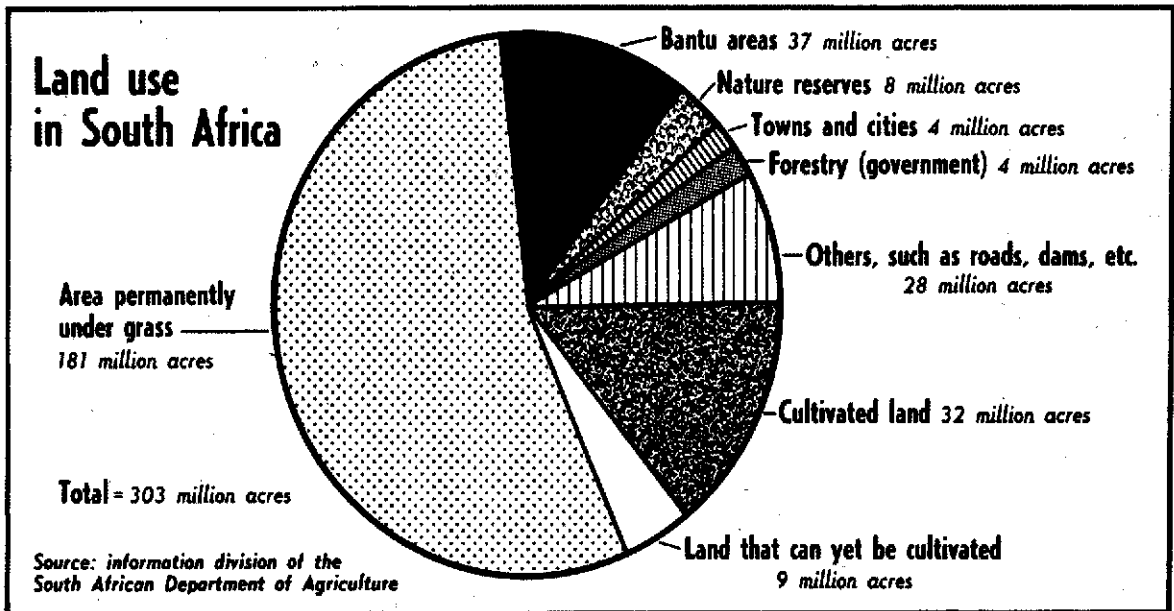
Opposition to Mangope has already consolidated in the creation of an opposition party, led by Chief Ted Pilane. Pilane is credited with having done the spadework for the Tswana Territorial Authority and his supporters say they cannot understand why he did not become the first Chief Minister instead of Mangope. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

Ciskei Homeland Established

On August 1, 1972 the Ciskei became the third "self-governing" Bantustan, following the Transkei and the Tswana homeland. The new Ciskeian Constitution Proclamation 1972 provides for the reconstitution of the legislative assembly to have a total membership of 50—the paramount chief of the Amarrabe, the present 29 chiefs of the various tribes, and 20 members elected by Ciskeians with franchise rights. (Star, Johannesburg, July 29, 1972)



The patchwork pieces of African-owned land in Natal which together form the homeland of the Zulu nation.



The first act of the Ciskei was to demand land. Land is its biggest problem. Large slices of Ciskei land, as occupied today, are destined to be taken from it. Larger slices are to be added at some future date to consolidate the homeland into four far-flung sections from the more than 20 it now comprises. Its overall area at present is slightly less than one million hectares. The population is about 500,000 divided into four main tribes: the Fingos, the Rarabe, the Tembu, and the Sotho.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. Raubenheimer, has said it could take 15 years or longer to consolidate the land of the Ciskei. The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Mabandla, finds that timetable unacceptable. "That finalization of consolidation will take 15 years is definitely not in the interests of the Ciskeians who are now homeless. By that time the Ciskei would like to be independent with defined boundaries within which they would not like any white patches." (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

Homeland Leaders Movements Curbed

The white South African Government is going to enforce a two-year-old "instruction" that virtually forbids homeland leaders from moving outside their homeland without written permission from the Government. The restrictions are explained by the Government as being "in the interests of the Bantustan leaders." "The Bantustan leaders are important men. When they plan to go on a tour outside their territories, measures must be taken to ensure their safety. . . . To enable us to help them . . . we have requested them to warn us a few months in advance of their plans to visit places outside their homelands." (Guardian, U.K., July 7, 1972)

The protocol guide is very complete and governs visits inside and outside South Africa. The Department of Bantu Administration must have the written travel plans of the Bantustan leader in hand, and no travel plans can be finalized before the Department has given permission.

This means, in practice, that the Government must know and approve of a Bantustan leader's plans to go overseas, to meet with other Bantustan leaders, to accept invitations from private organizations such as European bodies or universities, in sum, to move at all outside the homeland. (Star, Johannesburg, July 8, 1972)

Chief Buthelezi's reaction to the protocol is typical. He revealed that a senior white Government official had recently tried to force Zulu leaders to adhere to the rules. He said that he and his Government had never bothered to take notice of the circular "because we are guided by what is in the interests of our people and the whole of South Africa in our actions. We are not prepared to be treated like schoolchildren. . . ." (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

In spite of expressions of shock and anger by the Bantustan leaders, the Government has the administrative machinery to enforce the protocol. The only action open to the Bantustan leaders appears to be that of a direct confrontation with the White Government. When the protocol came to public attention, Buthelezi was in Malawi. President Banda of Malawi has just urged Buthelezi not to have such a confrontation. (Guardian, London, July 7, 1972)

Police Report Transkei Clash

According to a police spokesman, 101 men have been arrested in the Transkei after tribal fighting that left 38 people dead in the Libode district. At least 7 others were

killed in the Matatiele district. Villagers are reported to have fled into the bush. A 60-man police force, aided by two Air Force helicopters, is searching the area. Specific causes of the trouble are unclear. About 260 men have been reported killed in factional strife in the Transkei since June, 1971. (New York Times, Aug. 4, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

AFRICANS STONE POLICE

African workers on a building site in the city of Germiston stoned police who were conducting a passbook raid. Africans are required to carry passbooks at all times, and the police constantly check to see if all the technicalities of the hated pass laws are being followed. On June 15, about 28 Africans threw bricks at police; 14 Africans were arrested, and the rest escaped. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 16, 1972)

BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION ORGANIZED

A new black political organization was founded on July 10 at the end of a three-day meeting attended by 100 Africans, Coloureds, and Asians from all parts of South Africa. [The term Black is being widely accepted as the appropriate term to use to include all three groups, as opposed to the negative "nonwhite."] The organization, called the Black Peoples Convention, is the result of careful planning over many months. It seeks to provide a political home for those who refuse to work within the framework within the framework of the white government's policy of apartheid. It will remain strictly within the law.

The stated aims of the BPS are: to unite and solidify the Black people of South Africa with a view to liberating and emancipating them from both psychological and physical oppression; to preach, popularize, and implement the philosophy of Black consciousness and Black solidarity; to formulate and implement an education policy of, by, and for Blacks; to create and maintain an egalitarian society where justice is meted equally to all; to formulate, apply, and implement the principles and philosophy of Black communalism—the philosophy of sharing; to create and maintain an equitable economic system based on the principles and philosophy of Black communalism; to cooperate with existing agencies to reorient the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the needs, aspirations, ideals, and goals of Black people. (Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972)

Among those supporting the BPC are leaders of the Interdenominational African Minister's Association, Dr. W. F. Nkomo, president of the Institute of Race Relations, and leaders of the South African Students Organization (SASO) have played an important role in pressing for the establishment of BPC. (Star, Johannesburg, July 8, 1972)

Mr. Saths Cooper, public relations officer of the BPC, has had his application for a passport refused by the white government. Mr. Barney Pityana, secretary general of SASO, has also been refused a passport. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972) (For background on the obstacles facing the BPC, see SOUTHERN AFRICA, March 1972)

TIMOL DEATH CALLED "SUICIDE"

A Johannesburg magistrate has ruled that Ahmed Timol, who died while in police custody, committed suicide when he "fell" from the 10th floor of police headquarters on Oct. 27, 1971. Timol is the 17th person known to die during the past 10 years while in security police custody in South Africa. (Guardian, London, July 1, 1972)

WHITE POLITICS

Minister of Interior Resigns

The resignation on June 17 of Theo Gerdener as Minister of the Interior marked the beginning of internal Nationalist maneuverings that ended with a major cabinet reshuffle during the first week of August. Gerdener is a moderate, the most "liberal" member of the Cabinet. His resignation is understood to stem, at least in part, from disagreement with recent moves to the right in government policy and with the tough handling of student protesters in recent confrontations with the Government. Gerdener was also opposed to the campaign to rally Afrikaner support to the Nationalist Party by a form of denigrating the English-speaking whites of South Africa. (International Herald Tribune, June 19, 1972)

Gerdener said that he was resigning to "give my full attention to the improvement of race relationships." (Star, Johannesburg, June 24, 1972) His resignation took effect July 31, 1972.

Cabinet Reshuffle

Prime Minister Vorster announced the resignation of five Cabinet members, including that of Mr. Gerdener, on August 1. The others dismissed are Frank Waring, Minister of Sport; Dirk Uys, Minister of Agriculture; Carel de Wet, Minister of Health; and Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Community Development. Several of these ministers have been involved in public controversy and criticism. (New York Times, Aug. 2, 1972)

Commenting on the cabinet reshuffle, United Party leader Sir De Villiers Graaff said that there would be no change in the Government's direction and that the arch-verkrampptes (die-hards) were still in charge. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party, said that while there had been a major reshuffle of personnel, there had been no real improvement in Cabinet quality. Helen Suzman called it a major shift to the right. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

The new Cabinet, in order of seniority, will be: Prime Minister B. J. Vorster; Minister of Transport B. J. Schoeman; Minister of Finance Dr. N. Diederichs; Minister of Defense P. W. Botha; Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. H. Muller; Minister of Labor and of Posts and Telegraphs M. Viljoen; Minister of Bantu Administration and Development of Bantu Education M. C. Botha; Minister of Justice and Prisons P. C. Pelser; Minister of Economic Affairs and of Police S. L. Muller; Minister of Water Affairs and of Forestry S. P. Botha; Minister of the Interior, of Information, and of Social Welfare and Pensions Dr. C. P. Mulder; Minister of National Education Senator J. P. van der Spuy; Minister of Planning and Statistics J. J. Loots; Minister of Mines, of Immigration, and of Sport and Recreation Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof; Minister of Agriculture H. Schoeman; Minister of Community Development and of Public Works A. H. du Plessis; Minister of Coloured Affairs, of Rehoboth Affairs, and of Health Dr. S. W. van der Merwe; Minister of Indian Affairs and of Tourism Senator O. P. F. Horwood; Deputy Minister of Bantu Development A. J. Raubenheimer; Deputy Minister of Finance and of

Economic Affairs; J. C. Heunis; Deputy Minister of the Interior, of Social Welfare, and Pensions and Police J. T. Kruger; Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education T. N. J. Janson; Deputy Minister of Agriculture J. J. Malan. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

United Party and Progressives to Challenge Nats

The resignation of five Cabinet members will result in elections to fill the seats vacated by these men. For several months there has been the recognition of the need for new alignments in white politics. The Nationalists have moved to the right, abandoning the "verligtes" (enlightened ones) who have called on the Nationalist Party to take seriously the real problems of the country: Gardner of the Nationalists and Mr. Japie Basson of the United Party have both called for the realization that the most urgent need in South Africa is to evolve a just and workable solution to the country's racial situation. (Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972)

The "verligtes" have included a few cabinet ministers,

most Afrikaner business leaders, and numerous Afrikaner academics—the cream of Afrikaner intellectualism and economic strength. Both the United Party and the Progressive Party are calling for this group to give them support. The Progressives have very few Afrikaner members and clearly need to break into the Afrikaans community if they hope to win elections. The United Party has challenged all "verligtes" to join, saying that it has the practical solutions to South Africa's race problems. (Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972)

The upcoming elections have stimulated debate between the United Party and the Progressives. The United Party has questioned the right of the Progressives to contest certain seats, saying that Progressive candidates cannot win, and simply take votes away from the United Party, insuring a Nationalist victory. The Progressives argue that there is little difference between the Nationalists and the United Party—that only the Progressives offer a real alternative and thus they will seek "verligte" support, contesting as many seats as possible. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 5, 1972)

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

SMITH SEEKS YES VOTE

The Smith regime is on the rampage seeking to reverse the African "NO" vote to a "Yes" vote. According to Eddison Zvogbo and Michael Mawema, top African National Council (ANC) men who are now in the United States, the regime is breathing hard down the necks of chiefs urging them to petition the British Government for a ratification of the Anglo-Rhodesian Agreement on the grounds that the "NO" vote was the result of "intimidation" by the ANC. The regime has arrested and detained without trial several hundred local leaders of the ANC. Zvogbo said that before his departure he was defending 62 men from Mtoko, 47 from Mrewa, and 12 from Zaka, all of whom were arrested in connection with their opposition to the Anglo-Rhodesian agreement. (Zambia Daily Mail, Lusaka, July 10, 1972)

In the cities and towns the settlers have formed an African group called the Rhodesia Settlement Association which is canvassing for African signatures on petitions to the British Government to implement the agreement in spite of the overwhelming African vote against it. The group is led by a W. M. Munangatire, a supporter of the Rhodesian Front. (Star, Johannesburg, July 29, 1972) The Settlement Association is known to be supported by business circles led by former Prime Minister Roy Welensky and Center Party leader Pat Bashford. Organizers are paid very highly for every signed petition that they deliver. It is hoped that with enough petitions they can convince British Foreign Secretary that Rhodesians want the agreement ratified. Mawema, who is national organizing secretary of the ANC, said he left the country after he learned that he was due for another spell

in detention. He had been in circulation for only a year after doing six years in detention since the ban of ZANU. Eddison Zvogbo had been in circulation for only six months after doing seven years in detention since the ban of ZANU. Both men walked across the border with Botswana, to Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, from which they flew to Lusaka and other parts of Africa. They both hope they will be able to continue to serve the cause from outside the country. (Zambia Daily Mail, Lusaka, July 19, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

NEW BANTUSTANS

The Smith regime is also revamping the authority of the chiefs to make them the sole political actors for the Africans. According to the Guardian (London, July 6, 1972), Smith has plans for elevating chiefs "to a point where they are unchallenged political leaders for most of the Black majority." This will be done by amending the law which elects Members of Parliament from the African areas and the chiefs will be given more powers to deal with "troublemakers." This is the Smith reaction to the fact that African Members of Parliament from African areas voted against the Anglo-Rhodesian Agreement while the Chiefs Council endorsed the Agreement. By promising more powers to the chiefs, Smith is counting on them to endorse his plans for a new Bantustan system of African representation which is called "Provincialism." The new system envisages a Bantustan legislation for Mashonaland and another for Matabeleland, thus effectively removing the Africans from the mainstream legislative process. The Provincial Legislatures will have only limited powers, like those of the Bantustan in South Africa.

SQUEEZE ON TANGWENA

Hundreds of Tangwena village farmers fled into mountain fastnesses when the Smith regime sent in police by helicopters to arrest them for resisting displacement from their homeland in the Inyanga Mountains. Of the 10 older men who were found in the villages, several appeared in court with bandages resulting from police attacks and police dogs. (Herald Tribune, July 28, 1972) One of the older men told the magistrate that police dogs were set on him. The dispute with the Tangwena people has now been festering for four years. It is a typical land-grab case, like thousands of other cases that happened in the last 80 years. White settlers bought up land which is and has been the homeland of a clan of Africans for hundreds of years. The settlers pegged it and came back 20 years later and told the Africans to move away. The African clan resisted and settler government forces came in with all power to annihilate or bodily move the people. Luckily the Tangwena live high in the Inyanga mountains which are not easy to occupy. And so Tangwena and his people continue to resist settler occupation of their land. Two years ago the settler forces burned down all the Tangwena villages and crops, but when the rains fell the village farmers came back and rebuilt their villages and replanted their crops. This has continued for four years. This time the armed forces have decided to physically occupy the land and thus keep out Tangwena and his people. Tons of supplies and reinforcements have been flown into the mountain where a base has been established, suggesting a long stay by the armed forces. (Herald Tribune, July 28, 1972; New York Times, July 28, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, July 29, 1972) It is also learned that the regime has finally decided to move Africans from Epworth and Chiwasha, two missionary farms near Salisbury originally given to missions ministering to Africans.

Chief Tangwana with his people



FULL CIRCLE APARTHEID

According to Guy Dickson of the Star (Johannesburg, July 29, 1972), Rhodesia has come full circle to apartheid, "back where it started in 1933." The policy enunciated then by Godfrey Huggins was definitely one of separate development—apartheid. But as the years went by and economic development forced the settlers' hands to admit Africans into the economy (largely as laborers), the policy changed to one of enlightened apartheid to near integration. Since UDI, however, the clock has turned back and has now reached the 1933 point again. Rhodesia's Minister of Internal Affairs, Lance Smith, disclosed recently the regime's new policy of "Provincialism," another form of Bantustans.

One of the major problems of full apartheid has been the situation of Asians and colored (mixed blood) peoples. In Rhodesia, up to now they have been classified as white. But as one Asian discovered recently, the settlers are progressively demanding that everyone who is not white be excluded from their little fool's paradise. In bars, where Asians have been admitted up till now, whites have walked out when an Asian is served, and are patronizing more and more only those bars that serve whites only. (Star, Johannesburg, July 29, 1972) Rhodesia's brown "whites" have already been dealt a blow by Residential Property Owners Bill which allows whites to petition for the expulsion from housing areas of nonwhites if the majority of the residents so desire. The next fight is service in public places such as cinemas and restaurants and bars. The 16,000 coloured and 9,000

Asians in Rhodesia will continue to fight the integration battle on their own. Africans are now out of it. There is complete separation of races for them. A few bars in downtown Salisbury which were patronized mostly by Africans are now going to be closed by a new law. Africans who go to work in the city must realize that the city is not their area. They can only have a drink in their own areas, so designated by the whites. Apartheid has come full force to Rhodesia.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES DIVESTS

In a front-page New York Times article (Aug. 23, 1972), it was announced that the World Council of Churches (WCC) voted overwhelmingly to liquidate its financial stake in all corporations doing business with white-ruled African countries. The decision, made by the WCC's 120-member policy-making committee, could oblige the WCC to sell off its entire portfolio of \$3.5 million in company stocks. By its action the committee hoped to set an example for its 250 Protestant and Orthodox member churches in the fight against racism.

A WCC official said that a preliminary study indicated that the WCC's holdings in about 18 U.S. corporations would be affected by the sell-off. The following concerns in South Africa or Angola are among those in which the WCC holds shares: Chrysler, General Electric, Polaroid, Ford, Monsanto, Squibb Beech-Nut, Inc., Merck & Co., Atlantic Richfield, Burroughs Corp., Black & Decker Mfg., Halliburton, Johnson & Johnson, IBM, Tenneco, Texaco, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing (3M Corporation), Upjohn, Gulf Oil, RCA, Control Data Corp., Insurance Company of North America, and Xerox Corp.

In a related action, the committee agreed to double the WCC's fund for combatting racism by raising it to \$1 million. This is the fund that has been attacked by its opponents for its direct financial support to liberation movements in Southern Africa. (New York Times, Aug. 23, 1972)

BLACK BISHOP TO RECEIVE FULL COOPERATION

The newly-appointed black Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Johannesburg, Father Pietro Buthelezi, will have the "loyal cooperation of the whole Catholic community," according to a statement issued by Irish-born Bishop Hugh Boyle of Johannesburg. Boyle said he was pleased at the appointment of Buthelezi, recently announced by the Vatican, and welcomed him "because of the growing needs of the diocese." (Religious News Service, Aug. 22, 1972)

UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA CONDEMNS RACISM

Resolutions condemning the racial policies of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal were passed in August by the General Council of the United Church of Canada. Delegates also approved an examination of the UCC's investment portfolio to see whether any of its holdings might undermine its credibility in Southern Africa, and called for an educational program in the church's congregations to acquaint members with the "inhumanity of apartheid and its threat to world peace." The delegates also commended the Canadian Government for supporting the policy that Rhodesia should not be independent until it allows rule by the black majority.

The UCC charged Portugal with oppressing the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau in contravention of the UN declaration on human rights. (Religious News Service, Aug. 21, 1972)

CHURCHMEN ACQUITTED, ALLOWED TO LEAVE

Anglican Dean Edward L. King was acquitted recently in Cape Town of charges of interfering with police during an attack on a student protest in June (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, June-July 1972). And in another case involving a clergyman who opposes the apartheid policy, Rev. Dr. Basil Moore, 36, and his family were allowed to leave South Africa. The Methodist minister was earlier placed

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

under house arrest.

Dean King had been charged with hindering and assaulting police when they broke up a student protest at St. George's Cathedral. Shortly after his acquittal the Dean gave permission for an Aug. 23 student demonstration on the steps of the cathedral, saying that he hoped police would respect the rights of persons "to protest legally and peacefully and will protect us from any people who may wish to disturb this protest."

Moore, former General Secretary of the new disbanded University Christian Movement, was allowed to go to Great Britain along with his wife and four children. The Moores travelled on Irish passports. Banned early in 1972, Moore and his family had been targets of continued harassment. Ms. Moore described their life as a "living hell," and said the children were afraid to let their father out of their sight and were "in constant terror that one day he might not return home." Moore has promised to return to South Africa in a few months to testify before a commission investigating the activities of the University Christian Movement. The Moores also plan to visit the U.S. (Religious News Service, Aug. 21, 1972)

NEW APARTHEID STUDY SCORES THE CHURCHES

A new South African study on "Apartheid and the Church" is even stronger in its criticism of white South African churches for racial discrimination than initial reports indicated. Printed in both English and Afrikaans, the 100-page document says English-speaking denominations claim to oppose apartheid but endorse it in practice. Authorized three years ago by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the study has led spokesmen of some churches to say they are trying to move against racism. The document says the denominations have not lived up to their words, and calls for special efforts to "liberate Christians from racial prejudice."

Following its release, an official of the Methodist Church said overcoming racism is a top priority in his church. A spokesman for Roman Catholic Bishop Hugh Boyle of Johannesburg said discussion of anti-racism activities were under way in all parishes as a result of

directives from the hierarchy.

A list of recommended actions for all churches was contained in the report, and several top churchmen signed their names to the proposals, including Anglican Bishop B. B. Burnett of Grahamstown, Dean J. L. Knutson of the Lutheran Church, Dr. J. W. DeGrunchy of the South African Council of Churches, and the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute. (Religious News Service, Aug. 14, 1972)

FATHER DESMOND DEFIES ORDER, PREPARES FOR PRISON

Father Cosmas Desmond, a London-born Franciscan priest who has been under house arrest in Johannesburg since June, 1971 for his exposes of the living conditions of Africans in the resettlement districts, is prepared to go to prison, according to his religious superior. Desmond has deliberately been disobeying certain injunctions of his five-year house arrest order, most recently by attending church services in Johannesburg at least six times.

Desmond, who first went to South Africa in 1959, wrote a book called *THE DISCARDED PEOPLE*, and helped a BBC television crew produce a documentary on the subject (both book and film are banned in South Africa). (Religious News Service, Aug. 11, 1972)

ANOTHER INSTITUTE MEMBER HARASSED

The South African Government has taken action against a sixth staff member of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, an opponent of apartheid. Security Police removed the passport of Anne Hope, director of group work for the Institute, who often travels abroad and was anticipating a trip to Lesotho. Ms. Hope works with communities trying to solve health and other problems, and that her program would be hampered by the lack of a passport is obvious. (Religious News Service, Aug. 11, 1972)

NAMIBIA BISHOP URGES BUSINESSES TO STAY

Bishop Leonard Auala, 64, of the Ovambokavango Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia has recently urged U.S. businessmen to keep their operations in South Africa in order to "become acquainted with our suffering and respond as Christians." He suggested that "in the long run, American business may become the savior that overcomes apartheid." During his 45-day visit to the U.S. under the auspices of the State Department and the African-American Institute, Auala visited a number of cities. His church, with 210,000 members, is one of the largest in Southern Africa, and Auala has been a leader in the movement for Namibia's independence. Last year he and Moderator Paulus Gowaseb of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia sent an open letter to Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa calling for Namibia's independence and praising the World Court's ruling that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal.

PRIEST CHARGES TORTURE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Father Luis Alfonso Da Costa, F.S.C.J., a former missionary in Southeast Africa, charged in Utrecht, Netherlands recently that Portuguese colonists are torturing and killing innocent people in Mozambique. The Portuguese priest brought his charge to the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (WCC). He said he had documented proof that 92 persons were killed in the Cabora Bassa dam region, in northern Mozambique, between May, 1971 and March, 1972. He

left Mozambique in May, after having been told by Portuguese authorities that he would have to leave or go to jail. He said that 17 missionaries had been detained for questioning in recent months.

In a related development at the WCC meeting, a group of Dutch churchmen repeated a charge made in June by Swiss Protestants that 20 Presbyterian leaders in Mozambique had been jailed. The Dutch group asked the WCC to "demand" the release of the Presbyterians and other persons held without trial in the vicinity of Lourenco Marques in Mozambique. Father Da Costa said the Portuguese action was against persons suspected of contacts with FRELIMO. He estimated that at least 1,000 persons have been killed, including women and children. He gave names of 16 persons buried alive at Antonio village in the Mucumbura region in November, 1971 and also charged that Rhodesian troops helped massacre 18 persons last September at Mucumbura, near the Rhodesian border. (Religious News Service, Aug. 17, 1972)

BISHOP ZULU DISASSOCIATES FROM WCC PROPOSALS

Anglican Bishop A. A. Zulu of Zululand disassociated himself from the most recent World Council of Churches proposals designed to exert religious and economic pressure on white-dominated governments in Southern Africa. He declined to go along with the recommendations on Southern Africa, saying they would "only serve to embarrass the South African churches." The bishop is the highest ranking black churchman in South Africa, and is one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches. While Bishop Zulu opposes apartheid, he and other South African church leaders often refuse to endorse international, ecumenical criticism of the South African Government because of possible government repercussions against them if they did. (Religious News Service, Aug. 16, 1972)

LUTHERANS DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The Lutheran World Federation Executive Committee meeting in Indonesia in July approved recommendations from an official LWF delegation that visited South Africa earlier this year expressing willingness to work with South African churches for "human rights and Christian unity." One recommendation adopted by the Executive Committee calls on the LWF General Secretary to arrange a consultation with member churches in South Africa to select a "fraternal worker" who would coordinate the implementation of the delegation's other recommendations with officials of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. Other recommendations included improved communications with religious groups in South Africa, and development of a scholarship and exchange strategy. (Religious News Service, July 31, 1972)

CHURCHMEN SUPPORT STUDENTS AS REGIME STEPS UP REPRESSION

Anglican Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor and an ecumenical group of colleagues in Cape Town were recently arrested during a student demonstration protesting discrimination. (See June-July issue of *SOUTHERN AFRICA*) The Archbishop was banned from a radio broadcast, and found himself forced to defend himself and students against widely publicized trifles

about youthful "misconduct" in the sanctuary. Meanwhile, much of South African society, including the churches, were in turmoil in the wake of student-police confrontations.

The Council of Churches in Witwatersrand set June 25 as a day of prayer for a solution to the "moral crisis." The Southern Cross, official journal of the Roman Catholic Church, pleaded to the government to recognize the legal right of protest. Failure to recognize that right, said the paper, means the nation is "doomed to bedlam." Responding to reports that the state planned to repeat physical abuse of students if they gather to demonstrate, the Catholic publication warned that the government will use violence against the "defenseless."

Also, in a surprise move, the Senate of the University of Cape Town joined Archbishop Taylor and others in calling for a judicial inquiry into police action against young people on the steps of St. George's Cathedral in early June.

The students, protesting outside the Anglican cathedral on June 2, were attacked by police. Three days later another assault took place at the same place, driving many of the 10,000 students into the sanctuary. Archbishop Taylor and several other clergymen were arrested. The explosive situation was complicated when S. L. Muller, the Minister of Police, announced he had received complaints about misconduct in St. George's when students took refuge there. The police official implied that it was the warden of the cathedral who complained, and he alleged that students smoked in the sanctuary. The warden and alternate wardens of the cathedral denied writing any such letter, but not before the charges—which one newspaper called "minor incidentals"—were circulated across the country. Subsequently, James Jeffrey, warden of St. Alban's church, admitted he wrote the letter to the police minister and, under sharp rebuke by Archbishop Taylor, said he was sorry for the "pain and confusion" he had caused. Taylor told the St. Alban's official that any complaint about behavior in St. George's should come to him, not the police or the press. Mr. Jeffrey was also taken to task by Anglican Dean E. L. King of Cape Town. The dean said that if men like Jeffrey would think more deeply about the things for which the church stands and "emerge from their insulated pieties," youth would have more respect for the church.

According to Dean King, the students driven into the cathedral were hungry, frightened and "a few of them did smoke, although they always desisted when asked to stop." He continued: "If Mr. Jeffrey thought that eating sandwiches in the house of God under the circumstances, sitting on the floor, and even holding hands was unforgivable, he should be allowed his sense of shock.... It is because Christians so often lock themselves piously in their churches that young people feel compelled to take decisive action for what are fundamental Christian principles." (Religious News Service, June 20, 1972)

MINISTER PROTESTS DIMBAZA CONDITIONS

The Rev. David Russell is weakening visibly after living for four months on approximately \$7 a month in protest against the conditions at the Dimbaza African resettlement camp near King William's Town. His protest will last for six months, but to date has borne no fruit, though both his parents have joined him in the fast. Dozens of people throughout South Africa have responded to Russell's call for them to join his protest, either by fasting or by making some small sacrifice. (Star, Johannesburg, June 17, 1972)



THE ROWS of graves are growing steadily longer at Dimbaza

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

CORPORATE RESPONSES TO SPRING ACTIONS

The burgeoning number of church-initiated stockholders challenges calling for a full disclosure of company operations in Southern Africa has elicited a wide range of response from corporate America. A series of stockholder actions took place this past spring. Since then, a few target companies have issued reports to their shareholders, in one form or another, defending their operations in Southern Africa and invariably touting the line that increased black wages, employment, and improved working conditions would all lead to changes in apartheid.

General Motors and Goodyear Rubber

The first company to respond to the disclosure resolution (and the largest U.S. investor in South Africa) was General Motors. In February, when the auto giant gathered together a roomful of institutional investors, spokesmen delivered a 7-page defense of its South African operations, thus pre-empting the thunder of annual meeting publicity. After this meeting, GM opposed adoption of the churches' disclosure resolution. Goodyear was the next to respond, in its proxy materials, claiming that disclosure would jeopardize the companies' good relations with the South African Government; nothing has been heard since. Mobil and IBM sued for peace when the resolutions crossed their desks, agreeing to fully disclose, and thus avoid the bad publicity of a proxy battle.

Mobil

"Mobil in South Africa," published in July by Mobil Oil Corporation, is the most comprehensive report to date by a U.S. corporation on its operations in Southern Africa. While comprising four pages, 8 inches by 14 inches, the bulk of the Mobil report is devoted to a series of impressive looking charts outlining data on the South African subsidiary's employee positions, wage grades, application of benefits, training, and figures on company contributions. All figures are broken down by racial categories, and spread over a 10-year period for comparison.

Issued as a result of an agreement between the company and an agency of the United Church of Christ, the lengthy document also reveals relations with the South African government, business and charitable contributions, and company attitudes during the decade covered by the report.

The United Church Board for World Ministries places Mobil's performance "among the most sensitive and progressive in U.S. industry," and Fortune magazine (see editorial) cites it as an enlightened leader. Mobil itself is "convinced that our presence in South Africa is clearly

beneficial to the nonwhite as well as the white population..." Yet the figures paint a portrait of limited opportunities for black South Africans.

From its report we learn that Mobil began operations in South Africa in 1897; presently operates a refinery in Durban; a marketing operation for all of Southern Africa; a one-quarter interest in offshore prospecting; and a one-third interest in a new South African refinery. The total work force of 2,852 persons includes 1,806 whites, 798 Africans, 206 Coloureds, and 42 Asians; 86% of all African and Coloured employees fall into job categories 1, 1A, 2, and 2A on a scale which advances to level 15. Mobil's desire to elevate blacks to higher skills and better pay must be questioned since only 8 in-company trainees in 1971 were African, compared with 167 whites. In the 8 preceding years, while 992 whites were trained, ONLY FOUR Africans participated in the training programs.

The average African monthly wage at Mobil in 1972, according to a computation of figures from the charts presented with the report, is \$148-\$6 per month less than the average family's bare subsistence budget estimated by the Soweto Urban Bantu Council; 70% of Mobil's African workers fall into job classifications where average monthly wages are just \$130. Because these figures include a Christmas bonus of an additional month's pay, even the starkness of the \$130 is more than actual monthly take home pay of the average worker.

Mobil claims to be one of the first companies that has established a pension plan for its black workers, though the commencement date and the economic value of this plan is not given. Most Africans receive medical treatment through the South African Government, which is, comments Mobil, "generally considered to be of excellent quality by international standards"! Mobil's charitable contributions, too, belie its claimed role as change-agent. Its \$6,625 contribution to the South African Foundation in 1972 commits its resources to the international dissemination of pro-South African propaganda. Educational gifts favor the already privileged whites, who over the past decade received 7 times more from Mobil than Africans, Asians, and Coloureds who constitute 88% of the country's population.

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of Mobil is the subjects it chooses not to disclose, or lightly glances over. Asked in the resolution to give a "detailed explanation" of the myriad of apartheid laws that the company is subject to, Mobil listed but four, without even a word of explanation on these. Although requested to reveal the exact nature and extent of its South African military and government contracts, no charts were to be seen, but the company was kind enough to inform us that, yes, it did indeed contract with Government agencies, without mentioning a single one, refusing to cite dollar figures, or even reveal the percentage of total sales devoted to the military, etc.

Like Mobil, IBM struck a bargain with the churches over the "disclosure resolution," in this instance, the Episcopal Church, agreeing to mail a similar report as did Mobil to its shareholders. The anxious IBM stockholder might feel let down by what he received, however. IBM granted a mere 31 sentences on its South African subsidiary, which were neatly tucked away in the back 2½ pages of the companies packet-sized regular report on its annual meeting. There was no explanation of the issue as to genesis, no charges, and IBM fulfilled NOT ONE of the agreed upon areas of disclosure.

Episcopal Church officials, who agreed to withdraw their stockholder resolution in exchange for disclosure of information by IBM, are angered by the company's brief and inconsequential response. Nevertheless, IBM is widely believed to be the most progressive corporate employer in South Africa. Its black employees are probably the highest paid on average in the country. But there are special reasons for this. IBM's highly skilled work force includes no laborers—who make up the bulk of most other companies' payrolls. In addition, its proportion of 84 black workers to 933 whites is miniscule by South African standards.

Finally, all of IBM's cleaning and maintenance work is done by contract companies—an uncommon practice in South Africa where manual labor is cheap and plentiful. Thus the company is not held accountable for the low wages paid for its maid and janitor services.

IBM's position can be summed up with five sentences taken from its statement: (1) As in all countries where we operate, we give all our employees—white, black, colored, Asian—equal pay for equal work. (2) Blacks are increasingly receiving more responsible jobs in IBM South Africa. [It has appointed its first black woman employee to be a telephone operator.] (3) To us, withdrawal would most certainly hurt the blacks and our 1,000 IBMers the most. It would help no one but our competitors. (4) We believe that if the law of the United States does not prohibit trade with another country, a corporation, by doing business there, is properly serving its stockholders and its country. (5) Wherever IBM does business, we want to be profitable and we want to offer our employees equal pay for performance, better futures, and respect and dignity as individuals.

The report makes no reference to IBM's most important role in South Africa—the contribution of its technology. This is particularly important in a society where white supremacy is the policy and police state methods are the norm. A large portion of IBM South Africa's business is with the government (25% according to one company spokesman). Two IBM computers are being used by the Department of Defense in Pretoria (Management, Johannesburg, Feb. 1972). Another IBM machine will handle classification of whites, Asians, and Coloureds in the new "Book of Life" scheme, which will give every person a comprehensive identity document, extending the infamous "pass system" to a more comprehensive and total population control. Such a thorough compilation of personal data offers a frightening prospect, since the police already have such wide-ranging powers of investigation and detection. Apparently, detailing all the particulars of the company's record in South Africa would be a bit too much exposure for the company's liberal image.

Gulf Oil is overwhelmingly the largest U.S. investor in the Portuguese colonies, with its \$150 million Cabinda oil find, and has for three years used every available public platform to ward off its numerous critics. In response to a disclosure resolution filed by the United Church of Christ's Council for Christian Social Action, Gulf chose the curious route of refusing to negotiate, recommending to its shareholders a "NO" vote on the resolution, and then turning around and sending out the report, as requested, in its shareholder magazine, *The Orange Disc* (June-July). As befits their over-reacting style (Gulf threatened to sue the United Church of Christ in 1970 for passing a resolution against the company), Gulf's report begins by knocking down allegations that have never seriously been laid at the company's doorstep, and printing inaccurate statistics to show that on the one hand the Angolan military budget has been decreasing over the years (which is patently untrue), while on the other there have been significant increases in expenditures for "education" (the bulk of which goes to the white-dominated University of Luanda). From this argument one is supposed to conclude that Gulf has brought about a change of Portuguese priorities in Africa.

Among Gulf's defenses is that its "concession agreement provides no military agreement with Portugal" and pays no "war tax" or military levy. At the Cabinda operation, it says, "there are no troops, no military barracks, no machine guns, no barbed wire." But by contrast, it also quotes from Article 9 of the concession agreement in which the Portuguese agree to protect the installation and "prevent third parties from impeding the free exercise by Cabinda Gulf Oil Company of the rights granted."

The company asserts that "Gulf does not invest as an employee in any country where laws prohibit the equal opportunity hiring and promotion policy and practice of the corporation." It attributes the heavily lopsided job chart—where nearly all blacks do unskilled labor while whites perform more lucrative tasks—to differences in skill and training among employees, but proposes no plan for a remedy.

Johannesburg skyline.



The article suggests that the real issue is whether Gulf benefits the people of Angola. Not surprisingly, it concludes, "We believe we definitely do." They cite the cascading effect of Gulf's 700 jobs, which they believe create as many as 7,000 others. They quote figures showing skyrocketing school enrollments and phenomenal increases in government expenditure on health, education, and agricultural development. Gulf concludes its five-page defense with largely irrelevant charts on the concession agreement, employment (which is not significant), and company contributions, claiming that "equally concerned" church leaders support Gulf's payments to the Portuguese.

The Orange Disc does not refer to the relationship between Angola and Portugal, nor give any indication of the economic misery of the indigenous population. A reading of Gulf's article leaves an impression that Angola is among Africa's most peaceful and prosperous nations—not one of the last vestiges of European colonialism where a brutal war for the territory's future has been waged for the last 11 years.

Other Companies

After winning their proxy battles, NEWMONT and AMAX (American Metals Climax) became silent on the Southern Africa issue, as did UNION CARBIDE and FOOTE MINERAL COMPANY, the illegal importers of chrome from Rhodesia. Finally, GENERAL ELECTRIC, which avoided a proxy battle with the Presbyterians through a technicality, recently issued its "two cents" on the subject via a few sentences in its own publication to shareholders, the G.E. Investor (Summer 1972). In it, G.E. claims to have an "affirmative action program" (note the American ring) to "ensure continuing progress for nonwhite employees in South Africa."

In sum, the companies responded to church pressures with their own best interests at heart. The revelations are not surprising, but their existence throws the ball back in the churches' court.

BALTIMORE DOCK WORKERS CONTINUE PROTEST AGAINST RHODESIAN IMPORTS

Members of the Baltimore International Longshoremen Association, consistent with the position of their fellow workers in Louisiana, have refused to offload materials from Rhodesia. In mid-March and April, the first shipments of Rhodesian chrome ore arrived in Louisiana and union dockworkers refused to unload them. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, Vol. 5, No. 5, May, 1972) These imports, although in violation of the U.N. sanctions, were allowed by the passage of the Byrd Amendment last year. (See U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, this issue) Since the spring at least eight more shipments of strategic materials have arrived, including cargoes of nickel cathodes and ferrochromium. This increase in imports, which involves cooperation between the U.S. Government, the importing company (i.e. Union Carbide, Foote Mineral, Kaiser Aluminum, Phillips Brothers [a subsidiary of Engelhard Corporation]), and the shippers (Farrell and Moore-McCormack), indicates the extent to which the U.S. is willing to give the illegal Smith regime more than a helping hand. This generous assistance is evidenced by the fact that even the imported minerals (chrome and nickel) have recently been declared superfluous to our stockpile of strategic materials; in July the Congress voted to sell surplus nickel to the

U.S. Mint. (Congressional Record, House, July 17, 1972, H6531)

The tenacity of the staff at the American Committee on Africa, the cooperative action of the ILA (in New York, Louisiana, and Baltimore), and the militancy of the Black community against U.S. aid to racism in Southern Africa, have continued to highlight and expose the U.S. practice of importing directly from Rhodesia.

Most recently, on August 1, the Moore-McCormack ship "Mormaccove" was prevented from offloading 62 drums (12 tons) of nickel cathodes in Baltimore; one of the major entry ports for African goods. Sixty members of the Baltimore African Liberation Support Committee, SOBU, Congressional Black Caucus, and American Committee on Africa, picketed the ship, and the dockworkers action forced the importers (Phillips Brothers) and the shippers, at some expense, to surreptitiously divert the Rhodesian nickel to Philadelphia. There was some dispute, because the shippers and an "industry source" contended that the nickel cathodes were not from Rhodesia, but probably from South Africa (since Rhodesia is landlocked, the only information available is that of the port of origin). But since it is known that in previous months Moore-McCormack ships from Durban, the origin of this August 1 shipment, have carried Rhodesian nickel cathodes (not South African nickel), it was likely this cargo was from Rhodesia as well. The Baltimore workers action was accompanied by the presence of two Black Caucus members of Congress, local Congressman Parren Mitchell, and Chairman of the Africa Sub-Committee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Charles Diggs. Diggs spoke at a Baltimore press conference, declaring: "No amount of slick Rhodesian Information Service or State Department 'PR' can disguise the existence of involuntary servitude in Rhodesia. . . . But slavery . . . inevitably creates the conditions that allow the slave to throw down the slave owner. That act begins when the oppressed man says 'NO.'"

In his speech Diggs hailed the 'NO's' of the strikers in Namibia, of the people in Zimbabwe, and the resounding NO of the dockworkers in Baltimore. He warned: "Let the American shippers and Rhodesian slavers know that if they send their tainted cargoes to American ports, they will sit in the ship." He called on the AFL/CIO to publicly announce opposition to the entry of Rhodesian goods to the U.S.

During the debates on the Byrd Amendment, labor was one of the few strong voices in opposition, including the United Steelworkers of America and the ILA. The United Nations has continued to condemn U.S. policy, as has the OAU. On July 28 the Security Council again called for an end to Rhodesian imports; the U.S. abstained on the vote. The U.S. Government has been submitting information to the Special Committee of the Security Council which deals with Rhodesian sanctions, although the information about the nature of the imports, port of entry, etc., is always given post facto. Therefore the necessity of widening the opposition to U.S. policy through such investigative work as done by ACOA. If you are interested in involving yourself or your union in these actions, contact Henry Lieberg, American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. (The Sun, Baltimore, July 26, 1972; August 1 and August 2, 1972; The Washington Post, August 2, 1972; The Sunday Star and Daily News, July 30, 1972; U.N. Press Release, SC/3344, August 4, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, August 5, 1972.)

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH WRITES NIXON

The Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian General Assembly, on mandate from the church's 184th Assembly, wrote to President Nixon urging an end to chrome imports from Rhodesia; termination of the South African sugar quota, and a cutting off of financial aid to Portugal. He also asked that fair employment practices be required of all firms as a prerequisite to receiving U.S. Government contracts. (Milwaukee Journal, July 22, 1972)

DENVER COMMITTEE CHALLENGES GULF OIL

Sixteen members of the Southern Africa Project of the Denver Clergy and Laity Concerned met with local Gulf officials, an executive from Kansas City and well-known Gulf public relations man, Bill Cox, for three hours in early June. The Denver group successfully challenged Gulf on its "disclosure" report, particularly questioning Gulf's statistics on military expenditures in Angola and prodding Gulf about the significance of its \$165,000 communications system established in Cabinda and made accessible to the Portuguese Government. Gulf defended its African policy to the Denver committee, stating that withdrawing from Angola would be a political act that would have negative implications for Gulf's future in other countries. The spokesmen for Gulf did say that such withdrawal would have a psychological effect and would not bode well for other companies coming into Angola. For a tape of the meeting, write to the Southern Africa Committee, 1460 Pennsylvania Ave., Denver, Colo. 85210.

NEW WASHINGTON OFFICE TO OPEN

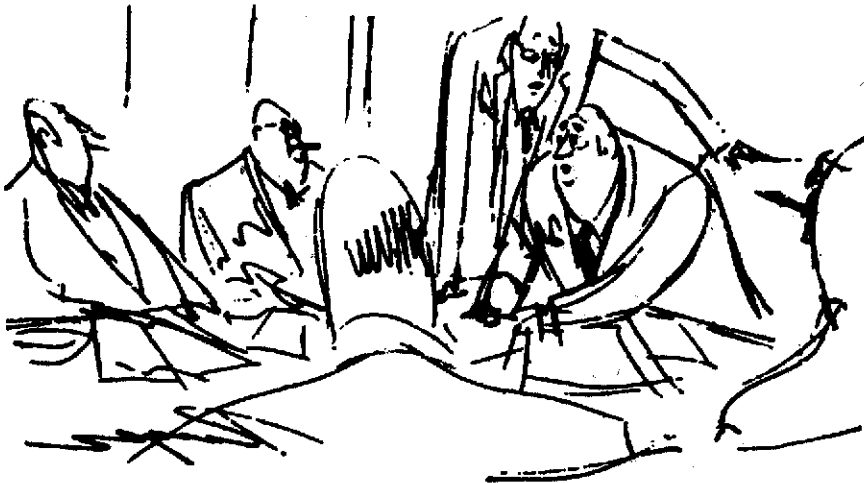
A joint lobby and information office on Africa is being opened in Washington, D.C. The office is sponsored by the American Committee on Africa, the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church, and the United Presbyterian Church USA. Concerns of the office will include an end to the sugar quota to South Africa, the problem of aid to Portugal, and the importation of Rhodesian chrome. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

NEW YORK CITY PENSION FUNDS INVESTED IN SOUTH AFRICAN SUBSIDIARIES

The Community News Service (CNS), a minority controlled media concern in New York, has discovered that the New York City Pension and Retirement Funds hold investments in 28 U.S. firms with major involvement in South Africa. These funds, worth \$196 million, are controlled through a board of city government officials and workers' union. Representatives Michael Dontain, counsel to Mayor Lindsay, and a representative of the NYC Controller's office, both denied knowledge of the implications of the holdings, although Dontain said the city has voted on several GM proxy resolutions dealing with the South African issue. CNS also surveyed major campaign contributors to the political parties and discovered that officers in large corporations involved in South Africa (IBM, Ford, Mobil, and Atlantic-Richfield) had contributed more than \$1.7 million to Nixon in 1969. (For full report, contact CNS, 209 West 125th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.)

ANTICORPORATE CAMPAIGNS

English groups are fast surpassing U.S. initiatives in the anticorporate front. A group called "Counter-Information Services" has recently produced an extremely effective Anti-Report on a major British multinational mining corporation, Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ). On May 17 representatives from this group, as well as members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, attended RTZ's annual meeting in London, focusing protest not only on Southern African issues but also on ecological concerns. The protesters received front-page coverage in the Guardian. Sir Val Duncan, chairman of RTZ, called his company a "beacon light" in its South African policies, cited Chief Buthelezi as a "Wonderful African," and said that in Namibia he hopes to create an African middle class. As in American meetings, the company had its supporters who applauded the chairman and jibed at the anti-establishment speakers. For more information on Rio Tinto Zinc write to Counter-Information Services, c/o



"Before we demand that Westminster* protect our industry against cheap foreign imports manufactured at slave-labour wages, I'd like to remind you, sir, that we own 67 percent of those foreign factories!"

* The British Parliament is at Westminster.

Africa Bureau, 48 Grafton Way, London W1, England.

The World Council of Churches Program to Combat Racism announced plans to develop targets for anticorporate actions and urged that all investment be withdrawn from South Africa. (SCC Press Release, May 5, 1972; see also CHURCHES section, this issue.)

LIBERATION SUPPORT

Increased aid to the OAU Liberation Committee has not only stemmed from African States. In May the Soviet Union announced a grant of about \$18,000 to the OAU to be used for broadcasting to Southern Africa. The USSR also plans to send ten times that amount in medical and educational supplies to the liberation movements. (Agence France Presse, May 26, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972) The Secretary for External Affairs of Guyana recently visited Zambia to discuss this year's Non-Aligned Nations Conference, and pledged more aid to the struggle, including \$25,000 to the OAU. (Times of Zambia, June 17, 1972)

President Amin of Uganda met with representatives of FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC in May and called for a focus of action, citing Mozambique as the keystone to liberating the rest of Southern Africa. His Minister of Foreign Affairs has spearheaded a drive for liberation funds by raising \$50,000 through dances and dinners. Amin in continuation of his attempts to create new African military strategies, has called for joint African and Soviet naval maneuvers in the Indian Ocean. (Agence

France Presse, May 25, 1972; Daily News, Tanzania, June 15, 1972; Ugandan Radio Broadcast, May 10, 1972)

A group called AFRICA 71 in Denmark has contributed an ambulance to MPLA. (Zambia Daily Mail, June 13, 1972)

The International Confederation of Trade Unions sponsored a meeting in Addis Ababa for African trade unionists which reaffirmed support for South African workers, denounced South Africa's repression of Namibian strikers, and condemned Portugal. At a later gathering in London, Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, Ambassador Farah of Somalia, called on British trade unions, which he said had more than \$30 million invested in firms with South African affiliates, to join with other institutions in challenging the corporate role in South Africa. A Trade Union Council official disputed Farah's figure but said it was concerned with the role of the multinational corporation abroad. (Zambia Daily Mail, June 2, 1972; Guardian, U.K., July 13, 1972)

Dutch imports of coffee and oil decreased substantially in 1971 as a result of concerted campaigns and boycotts. Although Dutch exports to Angola increased, imports dropped by 24 percent. The full impact of the boycott of Angolan coffee will not really be felt until 1972. Gulf Oil in the Netherlands has guaranteed not to import Cabinda oil for a year. (Agence France Presse, June 3, 1972)

In Mozambique some importers have begun to stop buying Danish and Dutch goods. (Star, Johannesburg, May 6, 1972)

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

RHODESIA AND SANCTIONS

On July 11 the American Committee on Africa announced arrival of the following Rhodesian products in the port of Baltimore: on July 15 via the SS African Sun (Farrell; call letters KLOA), 80 drums of nickel magnesium from Cape Town (notified party is Kaiser Trading Co. of Oakland, Calif.), 60 drums of nickel cathodes from Durban (notified party is Quast & Co.), and carbon ferrochrome from Lourenco Marques (notified party is Engelhard Minerals of 299 Park Ave., New York City); on July 30 via the SS Mormaccove (Moore-McCormack Lines), 62 drums of nickel cathodes-electrolytic from Durban (notified party is Philipp Brothers, a division of Engelhard and located also at 299 Park Ave.). (See ACTION NEWS AND NOTES, this issue, for protests against these imports.)

In its 40 to 36 decision on May 31 to delete the section of the State Department Authorization Bill which would have thrown out the Byrd Amendment breaking sanctions, the Senate divided in roughly the same fashion as in October, 1971. Senator Stevens (Alaska) switched

from the Byrd to the McGee side while Senator Roth (Del.) went in the opposite direction. Senator Taft, under pressure from Ohio companies, voted for Byrd. Candidates McGovern, Muskie, Humphrey, Harris, and Hartke, and five other liberal Senators, were absent, as were nine conservatives. Those arguing in favor of keeping the Byrd Amendment were Byrd himself, Senator Brock (Tenn.), and Senator Cannon (Nev.) in his capacity as chairman of the Stockpile Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee. Senator McGee expressed the main opposition, with some support from Kennedy. They emphasized the extent to which the October action had hardened the position of the Smith regime and hardened the settlement proposal, thereby making it much less acceptable to the African majority and helping precipitate the negative report of the Pearce Commission. They noted the embarrassment of the U.S. Government about the breaking of sanctions, but were unable to show Administration support for their position other than a letter from Assistant Secretary of State Irwin. (Congressional Record, May 31, 1972; American

Committee on Africa, Legislative Bulletin, June 5, 1972) In Rhodesia the Senate decision to sustain the defiance of sanctions was hailed as a major psychological victory for the Smith Government, where officials reason that it will encourage other nations to take a softer line and also defy sanctions. The Government would willingly use the American precedent to influence other countries and potential buyers of Rhodesian products. (Star, Johannesburg, June 3, 1972)

Representative Fraser (D-Minn.) will attempt to get the House Foreign Affairs Committee to propose a repeal of the Byrd Amendment provisions. (ACOA Legislative Bulletin, June 22, 1972)

AZORES AGREEMENT AND CASE RESOLUTION

The Senate approved on June 19 the Case Amendment to the Military-Aid Authorization Bill requiring that the Executive submit all agreements concerning U.S. military installations in foreign countries to the Senate for advice and consent. The Amendment, if retained in the final bill and in the Senate-House conference, would require the White House to submit the "executive agreements" on the Azores bases and on Bahrain to the Senate within 30 days. It would hope up the \$35 million of surplus military equipment, food, and education funds pledged to Portugal, but would not present the Export-Import Bank from going ahead with its \$400 million in loans, thanks to another amendment by Senator Tower. On the crucial vote to delete the Case Amendment (the vote lost 41 to 36) the lineup was similar to that on the McGee Amendment May 31, except that Scott, Patore, McGee, and Jackson voted with the Administration while Bentsen, Bible, Ellender, Ervin, Hollings, Pearson, Roth, Smith, Spong, and Talmadge voted with the liberal side, apparently as an assertion of Senatorial privilege vis-a-vis the Executive Branch. (The New York Times, June 20, 1972; ACOA Legislative Bulletin, June 22, 1972)

PROTESTS FROM WITHIN ABOUT U.S. POLICY

Fifteen former State Department officials, including two Under-Secretaries of State, 12 Ambassadors of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, and Nixon's former spokesman at the U.N., released a sharp protest against the Nixon African policy as conveying a sense of collaboration with the white governments of Southern Africa. They insisted that present policy "with its inevitably negative impact on the overwhelming majority of the population of the area, which is black, is both morally wrong and practically self-defeating in terms of the long-term interests of the U.S." (Congress Press Release, May 20, 1972)

Carl Rowan sees this protest as part of a larger malaise within the diplomatic corps and the Administration generally about policies toward Africa and toward blacks in America. He views the pact with Portugal and the break in Rhodesian sanctions as the most conscienceless aspects of U.S. policy toward Africa. (Sunday Star, U.S., June 4, 1972) The entire Equal Opportunity Advisory Committee of the Agency for International Development (AID) has resigned in a letter to AID Administrator John Hannah, protesting the failure of the agency to implement its rhetoric on minority employment. Several of those resigning were employees of the African Bureau of AID, which is the only section of the agency to have made any progress in minority employment. (The Washington Afro-American, June 17, 1972)

THE BLACK CAUCUS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

On June 1 the Congressional Black Caucus issued a "Black Bill of Rights" which it urged the Democratic nominee for President to adopt, or risk losing black endorsement and support in the campaign. The statement included several Africa-related demands: increasing aid to independent black African nations from 8.5% to 20% of U.S. aid for a five-year period, withdrawal of all loan and grant support from Portugal, discouragement of investments in South Africa, and closing of all U.S. Government-financed or contracted facilities in South Africa, including the Embassy. (The New York Times, June 2, 1972; The Washington Post, June 2, 1972)

After hearings by the Democratic Platform Committee and a vote of the committee and then the National Convention in Miami, the following African plank was adopted as part of the 1972 platform:

The central feature of African politics today is the struggle against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. There should be no mistake about which side we are on. We stand for full political, civil, and economic rights for black and other non-white peoples in Southern Africa. We are against white-minority rule. We should not underwrite a return to the interventionism of the past. But we can end U.S. complicity with such governments.

The focus of America's concern with Africa must be on economic and social development. Economic aid to

Africa, without political conditions, should be expanded, and African states assured an adequate share of the aid dollar. Military aid and aid given for military purposes should be sharply reduced.

-All military aid to Portugal should be stopped and the Nixon \$435 million deal for unneeded Azores bases should be cancelled.

-U.N. sanctions against the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia should be supported vigorously, especially as they apply to chrome imports.

-The U.S. should give full support to U.N. assertion of its control over Namibia in accordance with the World Court's ruling.

-The U.S. should make clear its opposition to the racial totalitarianism of South Africa. The U.S. Government should act firmly to press U.S. businesses in South Africa to take measures for the fullest possible justice for their black employees. Blacks should be assigned at all levels to U.S. offices in South Africa, and throughout Africa. The South African sugar quota should be withdrawn.

-No U.S. company or its subsidiary should be given U.S. tax credit for taxes paid to white-minority-ruled countries of Africa. (Contained in the Congressional Record of July 6, 1972, E6750)

Congressman Diggs spoke at the platform hearings in support of roughly the same proposals and welcomed them as the first Democratic platform commitment on African-U.S. policy. Dr. Hershelle Challenor of the Political Science Department of Brooklyn College spoke before the platform committee for the African Heritage Studies Association and advocated a stronger position, including: direct U.S. humanitarian assistance to the OAU Liberation Fund, security assistance upon request to border countries victimized by incursions of white forces, relocation of NASA in South Africa and ending of all cooperation in nuclear research with South Africa, support to end South African occupation of Namibia, and

recognition of the PAIGC as the legitimate government of Guinea-Bissau. (Congressional Record, July 6, 1972) For campaign position paper on Southern Africa, contact ACOA, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

DIGGS' BILL ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT

House Joint Resolution 1139, introduced by Rep. Diggs and cosponsored by 23 other Congressmen, would forbid government contracts to major investors in South Africa unless they do business there in accordance with fair employment practices (equal pay for comparable work, equal fringe benefits, equal hiring and training opportunities, equal opportunity for advancement to supervisory and higher positions, all without regard to race or color). It has been assigned to Rep. Celler's Judiciary Committee. (ACOA Legislative Bulletin, June 22, 1972)

ENVOYS AND VISITORS

In correspondence with Senator Javits (N.Y.), Assistant Secretary of State Abshire revealed that three Black American foreign service officers—Frenise Logan, Amos Jones, and Mal Whitfield—had been sent to South Africa on temporary assignment and that the State Department plans to send a fourth. The three envoys have completed their mission without incident, and Abshire said: "We will make the assignment routinely and have no plans to exploit or capitalize on the appointment." (Star, Johannesburg, June 3, 1972)

Singer Eartha Kitt, while enjoying champagne and caviar in a plush Durban Hotel, was nonetheless ousted from a bump-car amusement park by an Indian attendant for "being non-white." She later said: "But I'm glad it happened. It's made me feel the pain that the people here have. . . ."

The State Department announced that the first Black American was to be assigned on a full-tour basis to South Africa. He is James E. Baker, 37, a graduate of Haverford and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, with experience in Africa, Tokyo, and Washington. He will become an economic and commercial officer in Pretoria. The State Department said that Baker would not be subject to any restrictions, but South Africa has resisted the assigning of Black Americans on a permanent basis. (International Herald Tribune, July 7, 1972; The Kansas City Star, July 7, 1972; The Washington Afro-American, July 11, 1972)

THE DISCOMFORT OF THE "DIALOGUERS"

The revelation that South Africa's Bantustan leaders are subject to severe and ongoing restrictions on their freedom came as a shock to the proponents of the Nixon policy of increased communication—postulated on a perception of increased change and liberty. Coupled with the attack on students in Cape Town, the resignation of verligte representative Gerdener from the Ministry of the Interior and the announcement of the Ovambo Bantustan, this revelation is seen as undermining the case of the supporters of dialogue. Ms. Goler Butcher (Congressional aide on African Affairs) was not at all surprised and said: "This makes the whole lie of the Bantustans blatant. The attack on the students at the [Cape Town] cathedral might perhaps have been precipitate action by the police but this—why it gives the lie to their own policy of separate development. It was all nonsense anyway, but now the mask is off." (The Star, Johannesburg, July 8, 1972)

CONSERVATIVE LOBBY

The American-Southern Africa Council (20 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001) made an urgent appeal on March 23, 1972 for \$30,000 minimum for the balance of the calendar year. Chairman Jaffe closes his appeal thus: "The stakes are high! The American-Southern Africa Council has the potential to perform its function as the only countervailing force to the massive African policy drive now being organized by powerful, moneyed interests of the un-American left. . . . Join with us to help build a powerful and effective force actively combatting the Communist/liberal attack on Southern Africa." (From Council letter of March 23, 1972)

Bruce Oudes of The Washington Post (March 19, 1972, p. B2) did a long study of the conservative lobby behind the Byrd Amendment. Called by themselves the "503 Club," 503 being the relevant section of the Military Procurement Act of 1971 to which the Amendment was attached, the group includes the following: Kenneth Towsey and John Hooper of the Rhodesian Information Service in Washington; Bliss, Chairman of Foote Minerals; Andrews of Allegheny Ludlum Industries and Chairman of the Critical Materials Committee of the Iron and Steel Institute (visited Rhodesia early in 1970); lobbyist Margaret Cox-Sullivan; John Moxon, ex-president of Carpenter Technological Corporation of Reading, Pa.; and commentator Fulton Lewis III. Among their friends in Congress they count Rep. Collins (D-Tex.) and Senators Cannon and, of course, Byrd; at the White House, their sympathetic listener is Pat Buchanan, a special friend of Union Carbide.

Another supporter is Kenneth Rush, who taught Nixon at Duke and later became president of Union Carbide and Nixon's Ambassador to Bonn. The first indication of an Administration shift came in September, 1970 when a Union Carbide request for an exemption to import 150,000 tons of chrome paid for in 1968 was granted. The previous administration had refused. The key switches in the October, 1971 vote were Roth (R-Del.) and Metcalf (D-Mont.; due to mining pressure).

THE U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN MISSILES

North American Rockwell Corporation has announced the signing of an agreement with the French company, Thomson-CSF, concerning the Cactus or Crotale ground-to-air missile which Thomson and South Africa developed. If the U.S. Army, which has been "conducting routine tests" on the Cactus for over a year, decides to adopt the missile, Rockwell would produce it. (ACOA, Urgent Bulletin, July 21, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972)

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

OAU SUMMIT IN RABAT—NEW DIRECTIONS, NEW MOODS

From June 5 through 15, the Foreign Ministers and Heads of State of the member nations of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) met at their annual summit conference, in Rabat, Morocco. The overriding concern of last year's summit, that of "dialogue" with South Africa as advocated by certain French-speaking African states, was a relatively dead issue this year. Rather, the 40 member nations (only Malawi stayed home) and 23 Heads of State concentrated on inter-African reconciliation, the Middle East question and forming new commitments on Southern Africa.

The resolutions passed by the conference generally affirmed the legitimacy of armed struggle in Southern Africa, condemning aid and trade (especially military) to the Portuguese, Rhodesians, and South Africans, and called for more aid to the liberation movements. On the question of Zimbabwe, the meeting condemned Britain for lack of action and the United States for sanctions-breaking, while reaffirming the need for economic sanctions. It was suggested that a constitutional conference of all genuine political representatives be held inside Zimbabwe and Britain should enable this to happen. On the Portuguese issue, the OAU called on states to recognize the legitimacy of the liberation movements and to end all relations with Portugal. It urged Western nations to end aid to Cabora Bassa and military aid to Portugal.

On Namibia the OAU affirmed the U.N.'s responsibility for the unity and territorial integrity of the country while condemning South African occupation as aggression under Chapter VII of the U.N. charter. It also asked OAU members to exert pressure on companies still functioning in Namibia to withdraw. The OAU enunciated rejection of South Africa's "outward look" policy and its Bantustan system, and condemned arms aid from Western countries. It asked states to exert pressure on companies in their countries which have South African subsidiaries without policy specification. (Resolutions of the Nineteenth Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, Rabat, June 12-15, 1972; New York Times, June 16, 1972)

In summarizing the meeting, President Senghor of Senegal said that the anti-dialogue attitude was best shown by the new anti-South African trends in Ghana and Malagasy, former collaborators with the dialogue concept. He also said that if the main advocate of dialogue, Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, had attended the meeting, he would have proposed a resolution which would have affirmed the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto, the necessity for Portugal and South Africa to dialogue with their own Black majorities, and the principle that each African state could develop its own policy to fulfill these aims. Senghor believes such a moderate open-ended resolution would have passed. (West Africa, July 7, 1972)

Concerning the liberation movements, Amilcar Cabral, head of PAIGC, who spoke at the closing session, called the meeting a "turning point" and expressed gratitude for the OAU decision to have member states increase aid to the OAU Liberation Committee by 50 percent (to an estimated \$3.9 million). The OAU Liberation Committee itself increased membership from 11 states to 15 (adding Libya, Congo, Morocco, Mauritania) and following the summit in July, a new Executive Secretary was appointed by President Nyerere of Tanzania to replace George Magombe. Former National Executive Secretary of TANU, Major Hashim Mbita, will take over the key position. (Sunday News, Tanzania, July 23, 1972)

For the first time during a summit meeting, liberation movement representatives were allowed to join in discussions beyond their former observer status. The new Chairman of the OAU for 1972-73 is King Hassan of Morocco. He announced an end to Morocco's diplomatic ties with Portugal, pledged over \$1 million to the Liberation Committee, urged territories neighboring colonial possessions to offer the movements land for bases, and suggested that the movements should form governments-in-exile with prime ministerial positions. Hassan may open permanent offices for the movements in Morocco. (Journal de Geneve, July 21, 1972; Times of Zambia, June 18, 1972)

Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the U.N., attended the Summit conference, and said that the U.N. General Assembly would consider the proposal that it act as a clearing house for government grants to the liberation movements. (Star, Johannesburg, June 17, 1972)

In addition to the direct question of African relations to the liberation movements, there was considerable

Amilcar Cabral



discussion of the establishment of a regional Pan-African defense force. Nigeria suggested the placement of such a force in territories neighboring the Southern African regimes. It was recommended that states provide military aid to each other, pending the establishment of an Executive Secretariat of Defense. Some speculate that this increased concern with military matters reflects a growing consensus on strategy toward the Portuguese, especially in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. (Resolutions; Star, Johannesburg, June 17, 1972; Observer, London, June 18, 1972; Daily News, Tanzania, June 9, 1972)

Various traditional disputes were reconciled at the meeting including frontier spats between Algeria and Morocco; a rapprochement between Congo and Zaire, Senegal and Guinea, Ghana and Guinea and the two

Angolan movements, FNLA and MPLA (see PORTUGUESE SECTION, this issue).

A change in the OAU image was also shown when the Secretary General Diallo Telli was replaced by Camerounian Nzo Ekangaki. It is rumored that Telli, who created controversy within Africa and externally, will become head of the OAU Information Office in Geneva. (Agence France Presse, June 17, 1972)

All in all the summit seemed to indicate a diminution of the former emphasis on a peaceful communicative solution to the Southern African dilemma, and a move to a more defined affirmation of the necessity to aid the armed struggle of the liberation movements. As yet action beyond this, in terms of military tactics or economic moves against the West (Portugal and South Africa) are, not surprisingly, weak.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

INTERNAL PORTUGUESE RESISTANCE TAKES VARIOUS FORMS

Nearly 40,000 people (one-tenth of the total population) in the second largest Portuguese city, Oporto, demonstrated on April 15 against the rising cost of living, against fascism and the colonial wars. Police with truncheons and dogs charged the demonstrators, wounding many and arresting dozens. Wide protests against the arrests led to the release of most of those detained.

Student strikes, occupations, and demonstrations this year have included the Commercial Institute strike; a strike in the Law and Letters Faculties of the Agronomics Institute in February and March; a May 16 occupation by Engineering and Economics university students of their Institutes; and street demonstrations by hundreds of students in Lisbon on May 24 and 26 against the government.

Workers also continued struggles for better conditions, and against fascism and the monopolies. Work stoppages were reported in the Sitenor jute factory in Matosinhos, in the C.U.F. in Barreiro, and in the Ferreirinha metal factory in Oporto. There was a go-slow in the State Mint in Lisbon, and various other workers continued agitation for improvements in Venda Nova, Lisbon, Oporto.

Activity among small farmers has included a clandestine publication and reoccupation of common land. Reportedly NCO conscripts in the barracks at Tavira and conscript officers in the barracks at Mafra have also recently been resisting the military and opposing the colonial wars, and in many cases, deserting. (Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, England, July 1972)

PORTUGUESE TRADE DEFICIT HIGHEST EVER

The 1971 trade deficit of Portugal was the highest in Portuguese history, showing a 21% increase over 1970. An analysis of the figures shows the dual position of Portugal as a colonial power and as a state dominated by the larger

western powers. Portugal buys from foreign countries over five times the value of goods that it buys from all its colonies. West Germany and Britain each export more to Portugal than the combined colonies do. Portugal also exports to foreign countries nearly four times the value of goods exported to the colonies. Again Britain buys more than all the colonies combined. (Portuguese Colonial Bulletin, July, 1972)

PREMIER CAETANO TELLS PORTUGUESE PEOPLE REVOLT IS NONEXISTENT

Premier Marcello Caetano in a radio and television "family chat" with the Portuguese people called for the re-election of President Americo Tomas as a symbol of unity against "misguided terrorists... from outside the country." He strongly denied charges of waging a "colonial war" in Africa. No one, he said, can find populations in revolt or any internal uprising in Angola, Mozambique, or Portuguese Guinea. The military forces there, he said, "are not making war. They are assuring peace." (International Herald Tribune, July 5, 1972) Thomaz was inaugurated on August 9 only six hours after bombs planted by anti-government forces had cut 30% of Lisbon's and all of Oporto's electric power. (New York Times, Aug. 10, 1972)

PORTUGAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

At its 57th session in Geneva in 1972, the General Conference of the International Labor Organization passed a strong resolution in which it pledged "the entire support and effective action" of the ILO to "the lawful struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) for self-determination and civil trade union liberties"; condemned Portugal for constant violation of human, civil, and trade union rights; urged member States and employees' and workers' organizations to intensify efforts to give effective aid to the people

struggling in the Portuguese African colonies and to cease all aid to Portugal; and paved the way for representatives of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau to participate in ILO meetings. The resolution passed 211-0 with 84 abstentions. Portugal walked out of the meeting after the resolution was passed. (ILO provisional record, 1972; Guardian, London, June 28, 1972; International Herald Tribune, June 28, 1972)

PORTUGUESE SECURITY MEASURES MODIFIED SLIGHTLY

The security measures in Portugal permit indefinite detention of a person considered "dangerous" by the authorities. Technically, confinement was in three-year segments. On June 1, the Portuguese Government declared that after termination of the initial sentence, security measures could NOT be applied to a person for more than two successive three-year periods. A second reform requires the presence of a lawyer during interrogation. (Le Monde, June 2, 1972; Der Spiegel, West Germany, No. 10/72)

ALGERIA ACTUALITE INTERVIEWS AGOSTINHO NETO, MPLA PRESIDENT

The following are excerpts from the interview with Agostinho Neto, published in Algeria Actualite (2-8 April, 1972):

QUESTION: What form should the armed struggle take in the future? The style of the Tupamaros, the I.R.A., the Weathermen?

ANSWER: The Portuguese colonialists always look for better organization. The Portuguese bourgeoisie is allied to the European and world bourgeoisie with the goal of gaining the material and psychological means to maintain the situation of oppression in Angola. In Angola, the population isn't sufficiently stratified in classes or social levels to speak of an Angolan bourgeoisie. The economic context doesn't permit it. There only exist a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and a few well-off merchants. Nonetheless, the bourgeois tendency does exist, but it isn't completely allied to the Portuguese bourgeoisie nor ready to defend the same gods. The majority of the higher officials of the colonial administration are against the colonial regime. A number of them have been part of our movement. . . . The traders and small proprietors are truly anticolonialist.

Whatever bourgeois reinforcement is given to Portuguese colonization, it does not hinder the development of the struggle in the rural zones. The Portuguese peasantry and the proletarian population of the villages participate effectively in the struggle. We have not had actions in the small or large towns since the action that led to the beginning of the armed struggle 11 years ago in Luanda.

But we will necessarily arrive at this new stage in our armed struggle. We have the means. However, it is not necessary to consider the urban guerrilla as a result of enemy activity but as a normal development in the struggle moving from the countryside into the cities. We will reach this stage and our militants will participate in the same actions as the Latin American organizations which already have great experience in urban struggle. But

Portugal 1971



in the countries which have adopted the urban guerrilla, it is necessary to note that the struggle in the countryside is not very developed. The actions in the cities are relatively detached from the peasantry which remains separated from the movement. The combining of these two forms of struggle in light of the appropriate conditions in each country will permit a successful revolution.

QUESTION: The struggle has two fronts: to the struggle against Portuguese colonialism you add the struggle against traditionalist obscurantism, and religious fetishism and magic. Are you thinking of helping create the "new man" envisioned by the Cuban revolution?

ANSWER: We think that the revolution will create that "new man." Our objective is, for one part, the destruction of the colonial structure, for the other part the construction of our nation. For the second we have need of men, for these are the ones who make up a nation and can guarantee a certain form of social organization. The program of our movement has a teaching stage aimed at changing the mentality of our people....

But when you talk of aspects of culture engrained in our people for centuries, they cannot be erased in a day by another. . . . Certain popular practices are good, others not. We wish to conserve or revive those aspects of Angolan culture that centuries of colonization have misdirected or destroyed. Music, dance, and art . . . were stifled by colonialism which sought to impose its own cultural forms.

There also exist practices that are not positive. . . . The movement combats fetishism through education. . . . The formation of the "new man" is the greatest task and the most difficult for us.



Agostinho Neto

QUESTION: How will this new man integrate himself into the infrastructure set up by colonialism?

ANSWER: A militant who has assimilated the ideology of the movement would not be able to adapt to the actual conditions of life in the zones controlled by our enemy. A radical change in the structures of material life will be necessary. A new economic structure will determine a new way of thinking. The exploitation of man by man cannot serve as the base for creating a "new man."

MPLA AND GRAE MOVE TOWARD UNITY

In early June, at the OAU summit conference in Rabat, Holden Roberto of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (GRAE), and Agostinho Neto of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) both addressed the assembly promising to move toward reconciliation of their movements. The OAU has set up a commission to settle the details of the unification. Presidents Ngouabi of the Congo, Sese Seko of Zaire, Kaunda of Zambia, and Nyerere of Tanzania will be co-mediators. The Rabat reconciliation was preceded by intense meetings in Brazzaville between the movements and the Presidents of Congo and Zaire. (Daily News, Tanzania, June 10, 1972; Afrique-Asie, 10 Juillet, 1972; The Washington Post, June 16, 1972; joint communique MPLA/GRAE; Radio Brazzaville, May 31 and June 10, 1972)

LIBERATION MOVEMENT MILITARY ACTIVITY

MPLA communiques report increased Portuguese activities in March and April along the Zambia/Angola border at the time the Portuguese wanted to prevent a suspected visit to liberated Angola by the delegation from the U.N. Decolonization Committee. During that time the Portuguese lost at least 82 soldiers, 9 troop carriers, a bridge, and a barrack. (Zambia Daily Mail, May 9, 1972; Times of Zambia, June 28, 1972)

On May 22, MPLA units attacked the Portuguese army barracks in Cabinda. Both the barracks and the reinforcements sent by the Portuguese suffered heavy losses. (Radio Free Portugal, June 30, 1972) UNITA communiques also indicate attacks on Portuguese troops on Feb. 11 and 15, March 28, and April 10, 1972, usually in response to an attack several days earlier by Portuguese forces, those in April being reported to be Katangese gendarmes at service of the Portuguese. UNITA reports killing 40 in these encounters and capturing a variety of weapons and other material. Both UNITA and MPLA report heavy bombing raids by the Portuguese and use of defoliants and herbicides during this period.

ANGOLA: PORTUGUESE DEFENSE

The Zambia Daily Mail of May 19, 1972 reports the presence of South African troops based near Luso in northeastern Angola to help Portuguese forces. The Sunday News of Tanzania dated May 28, 1972 reports that two Angolan deserters from the Portuguese forces told a Canadian journalist of American Green Berets advising the Portuguese. Angolan peasants and MPLA guerrillas confirmed Green Beret presence and estimated there might be 40 of them in Angola. The U.S. Ambassador to Zambia denied the presence of Green Berets in Angola.

On June 7, 1972 the Portuguese High Command in Angola announced the loss of a military helicopter with its crew of two. A June 6 Congo (Brazzaville) had announced shooting down a Portuguese army helicopter and crew. (Agence France Presse, June 6, 1972; Daily Telegraph, U.K., June 8, 1972)

BENGUELA RAILWAYS AND GENERAL ELECTRIC

Hoyt P. Steele, a vice president of General Electric, responded in a letter of June 16, 1972 to an inquiry from the American Committee on Africa about a G.E. contract with the Benguela Railways for 10 locomotives, and about loans arranged to finance 90% of the agreement.

Steele outlined that the Benguela Railway will make cash payments for 10% of the value of the contract and has received loans from the Export-Import Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank for the remaining 90%. In defense of G.E.'s aid to Portuguese Angola, Steele noted the dependence of Zaire and Zambia on the railway and that the sales contract between G.E. and the railway stipulates that the contract be subject at all times to export control laws and regulations of the U.S.

PAIGC ORGANIZING ELECTIONS FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The New York Times of May 31, 1972 reported the PAIGC to be organizing an election, the first ever held in Guinea-Bissau, for freely elected representatives to a national assembly. This reaffirms the text of the speech by Amilcar Cabral, PAIGC's President, to the 1632nd session of the Security Council of the United Nations in Addis Ababa, Feb. 1, 1972.

PAIGC DESIRES U.N. MEMBERSHIP FOR GUINEA-BISSAU

Amilcar Cabral, addressing the U.N. Security Council on Feb. 1, 1972 stated as the central problem the PAIGC wished to bring before the Security Council "the matter of recognizing that the Portuguese Government no longer has the right, if it ever did have the right, to represent our people within the United Nations. . . . It is a question of recognizing that the only true and legitimate representatives of our African people of Guinea and of the Cape Verde Islands is our party, the PAIGC. . . . It is the problem of the admission of our African nation to the United Nations as a member. . . . That is the problem which the United Nations and the Security Council, and in particular its permanent members, must come to grips with in order to solve it courageously, if they really wish to do so and if they want to make an effective political contribution to the liberation of our people." (The African World, North Carolina, July 8, 1972)

PORTUGUESE AND SENEGALESE TROOPS CLASH

During the night of May 30-31, Senegal carried out a reprisal raid against Portuguese forces from Guinea-Bissau, following a Portuguese action against the Senegalese village of Santhiaba-Manrak on May 26 during which six Senegalese soldiers were killed and five wounded. Senegal was unable to say what Portuguese losses had been exactly, but considered the reprisal successful. (West Africa, Nigeria, June 16, 1972; Daily News, Tanzania, May 30, 1972; Agence France Presse, June 1, 1972)

PAIGC ATTACKS AIRPORT AND SHOTS DOWN PLANES

Radio Conakry reported in French on May 23, 1972 that a PAIGC unit had attacked and destroyed installations at the Bissalanca airport near Bissau. Radio Free Portugal on July 2 reported that on May 5 PAIGC forces shot down an Alouette-2 type helicopter and on May 11 a reconnaissance aircraft.

PORTUGAL USES DEFOLIANTS IN NORTHERN MOZAMBIQUE

A variety of sources report that in April the Portuguese began chemical warfare against the guerrillas and populations of northern Mozambique. One of the chemicals used is Convolvotox (a mixture containing 2.4D) which not only kills broadleaved plants but can also

inhibit fertilization.

The chemical is manufactured by a South African firm and South African pilots and planes assisted in the raids. According to Cal McCrystal of the Sunday Times (London, July 9, 1972), the action began on April 3 when six small aircraft with South African pilots left Rand Airport near Johannesburg headed for Mozambique. They passed over Lourenco Marques, Beira, and Nacala before arrival in Nangololo. Out of Nangololo went the missions of heavily armed Portuguese planes firing machine guns and rockets into the bush, followed by the South Africans flying at treetop level spraying, and also accompanied by Portuguese Fiat jets dropping 100-kilo and 50-kilo bombs. After two planes were hit, one Portuguese and one South African, on April 17, spraying was temporarily discontinued. However, FRELIMO reports the spraying resumed a few weeks later.

Flink Lugspuit is named as the air service company supplying planes and pilots, and Agricura Ltd. as the producer of the chemicals involved. Agricura said it had no sales to the air company and no sales outside South Africa and did not believe its product was involved. (Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972)

The South African Government said that it is not responsible for the activities outside South Africa of a person with a valid passport, provided he did not break the laws of South Africa or threaten South African security.

WIDESPREAD ARRESTS IN SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE

The Star's Africa News Service (South Africa) reported on June 24 that the Mozambique Security Police had made widespread arrests—as many as 1,800—of African workers in Government offices and private concerns in and around Lourenco Marques in the three preceding weeks. Some were said to be FRELIMO agents. Arrests included about 100 drivers, office workers, and male nurses at a sugar plantation at Xinavane, 110 km. north of Lourenco Marques—held for allegedly planning to blow up the mill. Arrests occurred within the Government departments of public works, health, and transport, and were believed to be indicative of a steady stream of infiltration into Government services. Also arrested were the president, vice-president, and nearly 20 others in the leadership of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique. (Tribune de Lausanne Le Matin, June 24, 1972)

MOZAMBIKAN ECONOMICS

The Clark Oil annual report maintains that "our involvements have been substantially reduced in the politically less stable areas outside North America. . . . In December 1971, we turned back our concession in Mozambique to the Portuguese Government after having failed to establish any production from drilling onshore or offshore."

By 1974, Mozambique will be linked to Europe and the U.S. by satellite for telecommunications. (Star, Johannesburg, July 1, 1972)

Agence France Presse reported on June 3 that an American group, the FID, is to invest \$30 million in the Mozambique fishing industry, including the purchase of a fleet of 100 trawlers and construction of major shipyards.

WEAK PORTUGUESE DEFENSE OF MOZAMBIQUE WORRIES WHITE NEIGHBORS

From many sources come reports that South African and Rhodesian whites are worried about the increased activity of FRELIMO in Mozambique and the apparent inefficacy of Portuguese attempts to contain it. Colin Legum in the Times of Zambia (May 30, 1972) reported the speculation that indeed the Portuguese might lose control, that certainly South Africa and Portugal would increase attacks on neighboring countries if this seemed imminent, and that Zambia and Tanzania were strengthening their forces in preparation. Tanzania had just received its first MIG's for its air force. Rhodesia has increased its border patrols on the border with Mozambique, and has its men there on constant full alert.

Rhodesians are now planning less tourist trips to Mozambique because of the anticipated danger. This applies even to routes further south of Tete for they say they cannot tell when mining will reach those areas. Some workers and their families have apparently chosen to leave the Cabora Bassa area and from all quarters comes disgruntled feelings at Portuguese soldiers, especially those from metropolitan Portugal, who seem to have no will to leave their barracks and meet the enemy. The Star (Johannesburg, July 1, 1972) carried a major article by Wilf Nussey who recently visited Tete area with the Portuguese and who headlined his article "The war in Tete a threat . . . to all in Southern Africa." He notes how little information the Portuguese are able to get from local inhabitants. More importantly, he cites the Cabora Bassa dam as irrelevant compared to the considerable progress of the guerrillas throughout the area. He says they have passed Nyampanda, considerably south of the Zambezi river on the border with Rhodesia and are south of Malawi throughout the area. (Sunday Times, U.K., June 11, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, May 20 and 21, 1972; Financial Times, U.K., May 21, 1972; Times of Zambia, May 30, 1972)

PRINTSHOP PROJECT FOR MPLA

"For the past 14 years, the MPLA has been waging a bitter struggle for the independence of Angola, while at the same time fighting the obscurantism used against our people by the Portuguese colonialists. From the very start of the struggle, clandestine schools were a powerful instrument of combat against ignorance and for liberation." (From ANGOLA IN ARMS, Information organ of the MPLA.)

Throughout MPLA's liberated regions, the CIR schools (Centers for Revolutionary Instruction) are the battlegrounds for the struggle against ignorance, providing children, villagers, and guerrillas with the education denied them by colonial oppression. The teaching of literacy is foremost in this work (under the Portuguese, Angola's illiteracy rate of 98 percent was among the world's highest) and this is the principal focus of primary education. Portuguese is taught as a practical common tongue, serving also to help overcome tribalism and further the development of nationalist identity.

Because of the underdeveloped nature of Angola, both economically and socially, secondary education in the CIR's stresses basic knowledge that can be more or less directly applied to the many pressing needs of the people. For this reason, particular emphasis is given to scientific subjects. A program for training nurses is being carried out by the Medical Assistance Services. Teacher training and increasing the number of schools are major concerns at this stage of CIR activity.

MPLA views the educational work of the CIR's as complementary to and inseparable from the political and military aspects of the struggle.

"The training of politico-military cadres at the CIR's is progressing extremely well. A succession of command leaders, political activists, defenders of the people (militiamen), and leaders for the organs of people's power, both men and women, have all attended the courses organized by the CIR's, leaving them richer for



A school in the liberated areas.

new knowledge which will help them to fulfill the increasingly complex tasks of the liberation war and the reconstruction of our country." From ANGOLA IN ARMS.)

But the work of the CIR's (and the Medical Assistance Service) has been hampered by a number of urgent material needs. Because MPLA has never had a printing press of its own, outside groups have been relied upon to furnish suitable textbooks, and these are in short supply. A printing press and the skills to use it would also provide MPLA with the self-sufficiency to print material for propaganda and informational work and to respond rapidly to various printing needs.

More than a year ago, Liberation Support Movement (which has printed textbooks for MPLA in the past) committed itself to send MPLA a versatile but easily transportable offset press in good condition, as well as a cadre to train MPLA militants in printing skills. If possible, a complete printshop including cameras, darkroom materials, and plate-burning equipment will also be sent.

Bay Area LSM, with assistance from the LSM Information Center, has raised more than \$1,200 to date and is in the process of shipping an A/M 1250 press, which left San Francisco August 20 and arrives in Tanga, Tanzania on Oct. 3.

Larry Wright of LSM has prepared himself to follow the press in October by learning Portuguese and improving his printing skills. However, the task of raising the funds to send him still lies ahead. An estimated \$1,500 is needed for this purpose and for necessary auxiliary equipment.

LSM THEREFORE APPEALS TO GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS TO EXPRESS THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA IN AN ACTIVE AND CONCRETE WAY BY CONTRIBUTING TO THIS PROJECT WHICH MPLA HAS SO URGENTLY REQUESTED. CONTRIBUTIONS AND COMMITMENTS OF SUPPORT SHOULD BE

**ADDRESSED TO:
BAY AREA LSM
BOX 184
OAKLAND, CALIF. 94604**

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DEFENSE

ARMS EMBARGO: EXPAND IT OR TOO LATE?

The importance and character of the arms build-up in South Africa has been recognized by the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. Its chairman, Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah of Somalia, wrote to the Secretary General on June 5: "The evidence of large-scale expansion of the manufacture of arms, military vehicles, and ammunition within South Africa with the assistance of foreign Governments and companies is creating a new situation by which the whole object of the arms embargo might be lost. The Special Committee therefore feels that the Security Council should consider specific measures to ban the transfer to South Africa of advanced technology and scientific military information that can be used for the manufacture of arms, military vehicles, and ammunition."

If the boasting of South African officials is to be believed, it may already be too late: "There is nothing for our defense which we cannot build if we really have to," claims Professor H. J. Samuels, president of the South African Armaments Board. He asserts that arms embargoes undertaken to exert political pressure are no longer a matter for concern.

Specifics include: (1) South Africa already makes sufficient supplies of small arms, artillery, and ammunition (2) Mirage supersonic jet fighters will soon

join the Impala jet trainer rolling off the assembly line at the Atlas Aircraft Corporation's Kempton Park Works; (3) South African aerospace engineers are being trained abroad to direct the Mirage production; (4) though expensive, missile ship hulls and helicopters could be built locally; (5) sophisticated electronic equipment is a problem, but could be managed; (6) 40% of the 1972-73 defense budget of R335 million is for arms (arms procurement also received the biggest increase over the previous year's budget). (Star, Johannesburg, July 29 and April 1, 1972)

Whether self-sufficient or not in armaments, there is ample evidence that South Africa still seeks closer ties with the Western Powers. For example, the new communication and radar networks and other installations at Simonstown "are quite irrelevant to any plans to suppress resistance to apartheid inside South Africa or to threaten neighboring African states." Instead, continues Dr. Barakat Ahmad (India), Rapporteur of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, these facilities are intended to help South Africa "make itself an attractive ally to Western Powers and link itself with them militarily so that they would feel an interest in its stability and survival."

Ahmad summarizes the South African strategy as "constantly harping on the so-called communist threat in

order to entice the Western Powers to an alliance and in order to build up a regional group under its domination." He does not consider the possibility that those same Western Powers may be equally anxious for an alliance which will build South Africa into a sub-imperialist capable of serving and protecting Western interests without requiring the "messy" necessity of direct U.S. or European intervention.

Ahmad credits the South Africans with having built up a "powerful military machine." Yet he concludes that "Military power alone can never succeed in preventing freedom of the great majority of the people in Southern Africa, but it can make the struggle for freedom much more difficult and much more violent."

(The remarks of Farah and Ahmad are contained in Notes and Documents No. 12/72 issued by the Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs of the U.N. in June, 1972. This publication also contains an excellent compilation of news items about South Africa's military. When made use of below, items taken from it will be identified with "N&D" as well as their original source.)

THE MANPOWER SQUEEZE

The military academy at Saldanha Bay is being expanded to take 300 candidate officers annually which should nearly triple the intake of "highly qualified" officers by the Defense Force. (N&D, South African Digest, Pretoria, Dec. 17, 1971)

Forty-one Coloured seamen went to Glasgow in February, 1972 for training to man the Navy's new hydrographic survey ship "SAS Protea," being built there. (N&D, Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 8, 1972) Upon their return with the "Protea" to Simonstown, Defense Minister P. W. Botha announced the establishment of a Coloured Corps Special Service Battalion. The voluntary 12-month training is to be comparable to that of national servicemen. Botha noted that recruiting into the Coloured Corps was not as successful as it should be. (Star, Johannesburg, July 15, 1972)

Officered by whites, a contingent of blacks, mostly African, police began border duty at Katimo Mulilo in late March. They are the first nonwhite police group to carry automatic and semi-automatic weapons. (N&D, Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, March 31, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, March 30, 1972)

PROBLEMS IN THE NATIONAL SERVICE

A Defense Force course in Citizenship is causing controversy and charges of indoctrination. Nationalist Party policies are presented as part of a process of developing a "positive attitude" and countering "the modern youth revolt against moral values, social norms, and customs and against practically all forms of discipline" according to Chief of Defense Administration Lieut. Gen. Pieter Laubscher. (Star, Johannesburg, June 24, 1972)

Defense Force chiefs have repudiated as "unfortunate" an article by Major Shylock Mulder in an official magazine. Writing on spiritual preparedness, Mulder cited Napoleon, Hitler, and Hannibal as examples of inspired military leaders. (Star, Johannesburg, June 24, 1972)

Under the new Defense Amendment Act, conscientious objectors will be tried by courts martials

rather than in magistrate's court. However, they can now receive only one 12-month sentence, a decided improvement over the previous system of repeated 18-month sentences. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

National servicemen carrying out bush warfare training on the borders will get a "discomfort allowance" of R2.67 per day to compensate for the distance from home and lack of urban comforts. (Star, Johannesburg, July 29, 1972)

Complaints have been made by national servicemen that Afrikaans is the only language being used in some units. Officials insist that their bilingualism policy requires alternate use of English and Afrikaans during training. An interesting sidelight: in the Air Force, pilots tend to be English-speaking, but most navigators use Afrikaans. (Star, Johannesburg, July 29, 1972)

ARMS AND BASES

The value of arms supplies to South Africa increased fourfold between 1960 and 1969 despite the U.N. arms embargo decided upon in 1963-64, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. South Africa imported more major arms in 1969 than the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. (N&D, Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 23 and Dec. 13, 1972)

The first entirely locally produced 90mm. field gun has been successfully tested. South African industry has also developed a new lightweight receiver-transmitter system for commando use and a radio beacon for paratroopers. (N&D, Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 27, 1972)

The SAS Drommedaris submarine base has been opened at Simonstown. Welcoming ceremonies for South Africa's third submarine, the Johanna van der Merwe, took place simultaneously. (Star, Johannesburg, June 24, 1972)

REGARDLESS of how much South Africa may need expertise and skills, I will not allow in any person who admits to being an atheist. Tolerance and mutual respect are basic needs if people of different societies are to live in harmony.—Dr Piet Koornhof, South African Minister of Immigration.

ECONOMICS

REPORT SAYS ECONOMIC FORCES WILL NOT CHANGE SOUTH AFRICA

The latest publication of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS), a joint effort by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute, makes conclusions which contrast sharply with the view expressed by Fortune magazine (see Editorial) and the various corporations' statements. According to the Christian Science Monitor story, the report of the SPROCAS Economics Commission "dealt a body blow" to the "long cherished hope of South Africa's liberals—that the country's economic boom will shatter racial discrimination." (July 6, 1972)

In part one, the report sets out long-term goals—"positive features of a Responsible Society." These include an emphasis on social goals as well as economic growth, development policies shaped to human needs, elimination of poverty, sharing of power and economic risks, and equality of opportunity for all. According to these six principles, the commission finds South Africa to be an irresponsible society. Section two is devoted to an analysis of "the facts of inequality," "the proximate causes," and "the historical roots."

Next, the commission takes an in-depth look at the "industrialization will bring change" argument. Quoting from a recent Time magazine article (Nov. 1, 1971—which is similar in tone to the July Fortune article, which was written by Time's Africa Bureau chief) and the Foreign Affairs article by George Kennan, the commission dismisses the view that economic growth will inevitably force significant change, since "the ability of black labor to utilize opportunities for a redistribution of power obviously depends also on factors outside the industrial system." (p. 70)

The commission also concludes that mere replacement of whites by blacks "will not alter the basic patterns of inequality and discrimination in South Africa unless black workers brought in to help relieve the shortage of skilled whites: (1) receive the same wages as whites receive, for the same job; (2) enjoy the same security and social benefits as whites; (3) have recognized means of bargaining power." (p. 91)

With regard to the policy of separate development, the commission concludes that it is causing "little diminution" in economic integration between black and white South Africans. Both black-to-white ratios in urban centers and the dependence of white industry on black labor are increasing. In any case, concludes the commission, "separate development as it now stands would not be a morally just solution." (p. 83)

The final part of the report contains a detailed listing of recommendations. Because of their comprehensiveness and importance, the full list will appear in next month's issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA.

PROBE OF U.S. AUTO COMPANIES BY LABOR PARTY

The deputy leader of South Africa's Coloured Labor Party, David Curry, after returning from his recent visit to the United States, revealed that General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler have agreed to allow a top-level Labor Party investigation into black wages and working conditions. Curry said he would present the invitation to the Party's executive committee, who would probably invite trade union officials to join in an all-black research team. Paul Dold of the Christian Science Monitor (July 3, 1972) speculates that the auto companies' willingness to "come clean" results from the fact that all three have given black workers substantial wage boosts in recent months "to stave off criticism."

However, the companies are unlikely to escape attack from the Party. GM, which has raised African and Coloured pay by 33% since 1970 and is the leader in this respect, still has a minimum starting wage (\$104) which is below many estimates of poverty level wages.

RAND FLOATS WITH THE POUND

At the end of June, the South African Government announced that the Rand would be linked to the British pound. Both currencies are now "floating," meaning their value relative to other currencies is set by market demand and is not tied to a certain figure. South Africa was forced to make the move because so much of its trade is with Great Britain. If the Rand had remained fixed in value, South Africa would have had to pay more for the British goods it imports and would have received less for its exports to Britain. Before this action, one Rand was worth approximately \$1.33.

AFRICAN BUS DRIVERS STRIKE

While white students grabbed world headlines for their protests, 318 African bus drivers in Johannesburg risked much more by striking to demand decent wages. The drivers, employees of PUTCO, were all arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Later, after talks with the company's managing director, the charges were dropped. All their demands were refused. To comply with the Bantu Labor Act, the workers were told to discuss their grievances with officials from the Department of Labor. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 7, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972) According to the act, African employees have no right to represent themselves or even to choose negotiators, but are represented by white officials from the Department.

WHITE LABOR LEADER RESIGNS

Mr. Lukas Van Den Berg, president of the powerful all-white South African Confederation of Labor, resigned his post in late May. He had reportedly been under heavy pressure from within union ranks since he sought, unsuccessfully, to obtain a vacant Nationalist Party seat in the Senate.

The labor reporter of the Johannesburg Star described Van Den Berg as "the hard-line, right-wing trade union leader, and confidant of the Minister of Labor." (May 20) Most press reports suggest that the resignation is a sign of greater flexibility on the part of the white unions that are members of the Federation. According to the Star, the former president "has been blamed by industrialists and Trade Union Council (TUUSA) leaders for holding the Government back on relaxing restrictive labor legislation."

SACTU APPEALS FOR SOLIDARITY AT THE ILO MEETING

At the June meeting of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, the South African Congress of Trade Unions appealed for solidarity with the struggle of black workers in South Africa. At the same time, the ILO's director-general called for a "fundamental transformation of South Africa into a society offering equal rights and opportunities, and a just share in its wealth, to all its citizens."

Mr. Mark William Shope, Secretary General, and M. s. Ray Alexander executive committee member, represented SACTU at the ILO meeting, which was attended by delegates from governments, employers organizations, and labor unions from most countries. In a memorandum circulated to all delegates, SACTU asked for assistance in winning certain basic rights:

1. Democratic rights—one man, one vote.
2. Abolition of pass laws—the badge of slavery.
3. The legal recognition of African trade unions. The right to collective bargaining and to strike.
4. The abolition of industrial color bars.
5. The abolition of migratory labor systems.
6. The abolition of the compound (barracks) system.
7. No sale of arms to South Africa.
8. No trade with South Africa.
9. No technicians or any skilled manpower to go to South Africa.

(Sources: SACTU memorandum; excerpts have been published in U.N. Document 14/72, Unit on Apartheid, ILO Director General, U.N. Document 13/72, Unit on Apartheid.)

BOOK REVIEW W

INSIDE NAMIBIA: a booklet published on U.S. Business in Namibia

The Africa Fund (associated with the American Committee on Africa) has joined with the Program to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches to publish a booklet entitled **NAMIBIA: U.S. CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT**. Beginning with a brief economic portrait of the territory, the publication presents a survey of American policy, investment, exploration, and trade. Detailed treatment is given to the Tsumeb Corporation owned by Newmont Mining Corporation and American Metals Climax.

Authors Winifred Courtney and Jennifer Davis conclude that a neutral role for U.S. Corporations is impossible. The basic conflict between African people and the white minority government dictates that foreign business activity "plays an important role in bolstering the illegal South African regime." by contributing taxes and foreign exchange. Further, it legitimizes South Africa's political control and depletes non-renewable mineral resources.

The 32-page pamphlet calls for the education and mobilization of many thousands of Americans "to end U.S. aid and comfort for South African racism." It can be ordered from The Africa Fund, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 at a cost of \$.50 each.

INSIDE NAMIBIA

NAMIBIA STIFFENS RESISTANCE TO SOUTH AFRICAN CONTROL

In a joint statement released by the headmen and tribal executive, the Damara people of Namibia have refused to accept South Africa's proposal to grant "partial self-government" to their designated homeland in the territory's far northwest. Only about 10% of the 60,000 Damaras live in the prescribed area.

The proposal is part of a South African scheme to divide Namibia into 12 separate areas for the African population, thereby diffusing organized opposition to occupation by South Africa. In late June the Government-appointed Chief Councilor of the Ovambos, whose people form the majority of the Namibian population, announced that Pretoria had fixed a timetable to grant a larger measure of autonomy to the Ovambo area.

Damaras are the second largest ethnic group in the territory, and up to now have been regarded by the South African Government as compliant. The Johannesburg Star sees the Damaras' rejection of the Bantustan plan as "an ultimatum which threatens to wreck its plans to apply its policy of multinational development to their people." (Aug. 7, 1972)

The statement described the "so-called Damara homeland" as part of a policy under which "we are being systematically disinherited and made strangers in our land." Characterizing their situation as "a form of slavery," they maintained that the country belonged to all of its people, and could not be divided. "We are dissatisfied with South African administration and will never be satisfied with it," they said.

Like the Ovambos, Damaras had been taken for granted by the white Government, which appoints and maintains tribal "chiefs" to echo official policy. The myth of Ovambo acquiescence was shattered last December when a strike by 15,000 contract laborers crippled Namibia's economy, halting work at mines and factories for three months. In the aftermath of the strike, South Africa overhauled the system which guaranteed cheap labor to white-owned industries, and set up labor bureaus to replace the centralized South West African Native Labour Association.

Changes were largely cosmetic, however, and it is the regulations accompanying the restructuring which have provoked Damara leaders. Among the new requirements is compulsory registration of black women for work in the white-controlled towns.

UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT DISBANDS

The University Christian Movement voted to disband at its annual Conference in July. The three main reasons were: (1) the need for Black-White Polarization. "Black consciousness was a force to be reckoned with," said Mr. Chris Mokaditsoa, the past General Secretary of the UCM. "We inspired and encouraged it, and will be the last to stand in its path";

(2) Strain had been placed on the organization's leadership by Security Police harassment: Special Branch interrogations, confiscation of passports, raids on the offices of UCM, and recently the banning of three executive members.

(3) The withdrawal of church support from the UCM. The Methodists were the first to withdraw all their support in October, 1971, followed by the Presbyterians. "The churches, with the exception of the United Congregational Church, had exposed UCM to Government pressure by withdrawing the umbrella of their support." (Rand Daily Mail, July 12, 1972)

UCM's Black Theology project will be taken over by a new organization called "Association of Black Churches (ABC)" and the literacy projects by SASO (a black student organization founded by some former UCM leaders).

SASO TAKES MILITANT STAND

In a motion unanimously adopted at its annual Conference at Hammanskraal, SASO forced the President, Mr. Temba Sono, to resign his office and quit the conference. He had urged SASO to consider working with the homeland leaders. SASO has instructed its executive to have nothing to do with Black Bantustan leaders. SASO thus rejects the view that the "Bantustans can be turned into black power bases. It brands the National Coloured and Indian Councils as 'extensions of the oppressive system.'" (Guardian, U.K., July 6, 1972)

A new President was elected, Mr. Jerry Modisane, whose first task it is to establish a "free black university." Mr. Modisane, who comes from Kimberley, is one of the students who walked out of Fort Hare University during the recent student crisis. He was studying law. He was arrested at the Bellville railway station on Thursday afternoon after the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, Dr. N. Sieberhagen, had laid a charge of trespass against him.

Lieut. Col. W. M. Scott (District Commandant of Police, Bellville) said that Mr. Modisane was released at 11:30 that night after paying a \$62 admission of guilt fine. He had been invited by students to address them on the campus in the cafeteria. The authorities refused permission for the address and Dr. Sieberhagen asked Modisane to leave the campus because he had no permission to be there. Students urged Modisane to stay and give his address because they, and not the rector, had invited him to speak there.

Modisane ignored the rector's orders and addressed the students. Members of the new SASO executive committee are: Jerry Modisane (president); Mr. Henry Isaacs (a BA student at the University of the Western Cape who is vice president); Mr. Barney Pityana (secretary-general); Mr. Harry Nengwekhulu (permanent organizer); and Mr. Ben Langa (publications director).

Pityana was refused a passport to travel to the U.S. during the last week of July. Nengwekhulu is in prison awaiting trial on a charge of being an "idle or undesirable Bantu." Nengwekhulu (26) was visited in the SASO offices

by labor inspectors, and asked to accompany them for questioning on his reference book. It was established later that he was charged under Section 29 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act as an "idle or undesirable Bantu."

Pityana and Nengwekhulu retained their positions as secretary-general and permanent organizer. Mr. Strini Moodley, former publications director, was elected president of the South African Black Theatre Organization, a SASO brainchild. Mr. Moodley is also SASO administrative assistant.

NEW NUSAS STRUCTURE

The National union of South African Students voted at its 8th Congress in July this year to substantially decentralize, shifting power from the National Executive to the Student Representative Councils (student governments on campuses) and thence to the student bodies as a whole, bringing the average white student, it is hoped, more into the organization. There will also be two Congresses each year.

Other decisions taken at the Congress included (1) the August Campaign: triggered off by the banning of Stephen Hays, they plan nationwide actions to focus on civil rights; (2) Motions were adopted that supported draft resisters in South Africa, condemned police violence in the breaking up of demonstrations, and called for South Africa's total and immediate withdrawal from Namibia.

Mr. Paul Pretorius was re-elected unopposed as NUSAS President. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

ACADEMICS IN MOVE FOR INQUIRY

Three Stellenbosch professors have joined the student, staff, and citizens action committee of the University of Cape Town, formed to coordinate the countrywide circulation of a petition calling for a judicial inquiry into recent events involving students and police.

STUDENTS

CULTURE

POET REJECTS WHITES,

A famous Black South African poet, Oswald Mtshali, told a white audience in Cape Town during July, "When I read you my poems you appreciate them, but you will not acknowledge me as a person when you meet me in the street, so I'm not going to publish any more poems. The only way we black people can make our presence felt is by rejecting the whites," he went on to say.

JOAN FONTAINE THREATENS BOYCOTT

Joan Fontaine threatened, on her return to the U.S. after appearing in a play in South Africa, to recommend that no more American actors perform in South Africa. She said this was due to the way she and members of the cast had been treated, and because they weren't allowed to perform in front of "nonwhite" audiences—even though they offered to play free of charge on a Sunday. (Star, Johannesburg, June 17, 1972)



Mtshali

SPORTS

SOUTH AFRICA INCLUDED IN DAVIS CUP

"South Africa was voted back into the Davis Cup for the second time in six months in Helsinki on July 12. They were expelled in 1970 immediately after the South African Government's refusal to allow Arthur Ashe to play in South Africa. Three months ago they staged a Federation Cup, the women's team championship, in which nonwhite players from abroad competed in Johannesburg. And this was followed by the first appearance of South African nonwhites in the South African championships. During these three weeks of play there was not segregation in the stands at the Ellis Park Stadium [Johannesburg]." (Guardian, London, July 13, 1972)

This was of course illegal, and with the change in the Cabinet it remains to be seen how South Africa will handle its future sports policies. All tennis clubs in South Africa still remain segregated. Meanwhile, SANROC (South Africa Non-Racial Olympics Committee), ACOA (American Committee on Africa), ICARIS (International Campaign Against Racism in Sports), student groups, and others have launched protests and are organizing to put pressure on Latin American countries to reverse the decision.

NEW ZEALAND RUGBY TOUR

In a letter to the Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Committee, the Prime Minister of New Zealand authorized him to "work for the selection of a visiting rugby team on merit alone—without racial discrimination. This determines that the Springboks either be chosen multiracially [virtually impossible in South African rugby at present] or there is a strong possibility that the tour will have to be cancelled. (Star, Johannesburg, May 20, 1972) Public opinions have switched by 30% in New Zealand recently according to a Market Research survey showing that over 50% of New Zealanders are against the tour in 1973.

SOUTH AFRICAN DISCUS THROWER BARRED

John van Reenan, the world's No. One discus thrower and a South African now resident in the U.S.A., was barred from competing at the National amateur athletic union track and field championships at Seattle in June, after a protest by black athletes on the grounds that South Africa has no reciprocal agreement that lets Americans compete in South Africa. (International Herald Tribune, June 22, 1972)

CASSIUS CLAY TO FIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Negotiations are in progress for Cassius Clay to fight a bout in Johannesburg in September. Clay said that he would not mind fighting in front of segregated audiences provided the separate facilities were equal. (Star, Johannesburg, June 8, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS

ZAMBIA: SPY RINGS CAPTURED

President Kaunda revealed on July 30 that five Zambians had been captured in Zambia over the last four months who were "paid by Smith's agents, Vorster's agents, and Caetano's agents." Just two days earlier, a British-born Zambian farmer appeared in a Lusaka court charged with passing information on Zambian security to a Rhodesian agent between 1964 and 1967, and to a South African agent 1970 to 1971. One week earlier, a former aircraft fitter in the Zambian Air Force was sentenced for 23 years in Lusaka, after admitting breaking into Z.A.F. offices, and stealing valuable documents. The sentence—20 years for spying and 3 years for office-breaking—was meant as a deterrent to "anyone who thinks that money obtained from other powers is more important than the security of the country," said the judge.

A Zambian villager was jailed for five years on July 15 for accepting a bribe from a South African army officer, in exchange for revealing the location of a Zambian police station near the Caprivi strip. He was also offered money for information on the liberation movements.

In June, President Kaunda claimed that South Africa was spending \$8 million during the last year on spy-related activities. (Guardian, U.K., June 21, July 29, 30, and 31, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, June 21 and July 15, 1972)

Rumors are spreading across the copper belt that the Government would seize private savings in order to finance the Tan-Zam railway. To these rumors Kaunda retorted "Vorster and his gang do not like the railway line, because it is going to deprive them of opportunities to exploit our markets. So they must try to destroy our confidence." Progress on the Chinese-aided Tan-Zam line is proceeding apace, with track-laying scheduled for early next year. (Guardian, U.K., July 31, 1972)

Recently, Rhodesia escalated economic pressures on Zambia, demanding that any trade with South Africa (which Zambia does only out of dire necessity) has to be done on Rhodesian railways, rather than by truck from South Africa. (African Development, August 1972)

BOMB BID ON KAUNDA'S LIFE

The Zambian Government recently disclosed that a bomb explosion occurred at State House, Lusaka in late May, seriously maiming a secretary who opened a package addressed to President Kaunda. The bomb was in a parcel similar to that used to assassinate FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane in 1969. Kaunda was attending his mother's funeral at the time of the explosion. (Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972)

LESOTHO: SIGNS OF CHANGE IN PRO-DIALOGUE STANCE?

Significant anti-apartheid developments are emerging from Lesotho, which is serving to unify the country politically and strengthen the Government's resolve to unshackle itself from its South African "client-state" image. Lesotho, Africa's southernmost Black state, is

surrounded by South Africa, like "a pebble in a large fist," and the Government justifiably feels it is treated like another Bantustan by the South African Government. But events began to change last October, when Lesotho spoke in favor of Namibian independence at the UN, and Jonathan accepted the World Court's ruling that South Africa was illegally occupying Namibia.

Also in October, Jonathan openly attacked apartheid, as he did again on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in March (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, May 1972). In April, Jonathan reaffirmed his commitment to South African students at the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, and later a series of scholarships were offered to South African and Namibian refugees. In addition, Jonathan sent a special mission to Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, discouraging him from following in Malawi's path, and sending an official mission to South Africa.

At home, these moves have helped produce closer relations between Jonathan and opposition leader Nte Mikhale, and served to help reconcile the Prime Minister with King Moshoeshoe. One cabinet member has resigned during the reconciliation process, and a number of former officials who were dismissed two years ago have been reinstated. (Africa Report, June 1972; Star, Johannesburg, May 20 and July 29, 1972)

Most recently, Lesotho sparked an incident with its giant neighbor via an interview with Lesotho's UN Representative, M. V. Molapo, published in the Christian Science Monitor (July 18, 1972). Molapo claimed that relations between the two countries were going "from bad to worse," referring to South African harassment of UN officials who are required to pass through South Africa in order to enter Lesotho. As an example, Molapo cited a British UNDP official whose visa was revoked after he was seen kissing his Pakistani wife at the Bloemfontein airport. There are 100 UN officials in Lesotho, and Lesotho has sent an invitation to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to discuss the allegations, which Waldheim has accepted in principle.

Molapo went on to expose South Africa's role in pressuring Mercedes Benz, Honda, and Premier Mills into reversing their decisions to establish plants in Lesotho, and so prevent competition with South Africa. In the case of the mill, Lesotho will have to continue transporting its grain into South Africa for processing.

South African Secretary for Foreign Affairs, B. Fourie, responded with a statement in which he curtly reminded Lesotho of the "very generous terms" it was receiving from the joint customs agreement. Britain recently reduced its aid to Lesotho commensurate with increases in customs revenues. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

One week later, at an African-American Institute luncheon attended by a New York Times reporter, Molapo cited examples where Black Africans were replacing British expatriates, and called for Blacks from the U.S. to join in helping Lesotho meet its staggering needs. Molapo said that whites were being "phased out" because "They condescend. They don't get involved." He

stated his government had rejected the offer of South African technicians. "We are," he said, "one of the poorest countries in the world. But we have dignity. We feel we can't buy South African goodwill at the expense of our principles." (New York Times, July 30, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

BOTSWANA: STRIKE AT DE BEERS DIAMOND PROJECT

A recent nine-day strike by 400 construction workers employed by a South African firm, LTA, is perhaps a first indication of the future tensions to be generated with the rapid economic boom that is taking place in Botswana, as a result of two massive projects: the Botswana RST nickel mining project at Selebi-Pikwe and the Orapo Diamond Mines, owned by De Beers. The strike took place on the Shashi infrastructure for Orapo, and went largely unreported in western press. The cause: job preference for white South Africans. (Africa, July 1972)

The De Beers project, established in 1967 after 12 years of prospecting, has been described to be "just about the brightest and biggest jewel" in Chairman Harry Oppenheimer's firmament. (African Development, July 1972) Expected annual value is said to approximate \$28 million, and the Government publication "Kutlwano" expects earnings from diamonds to exceed those of beef, the chief export, within the year. The British Overseas Development Administration will take an aerial survey of the area, and two British specialist firms are being sent to advise on the reorganization of the postal and telecommunications systems in the former British protectorate. (Africa Report, June 1972; Star, Johannesburg, May 27, 1972)

LIVESTOCK LOANS MADE

Some 90% of Botswana's 600,000 inhabitants make their living from agriculture and livestock, and recent loans of \$1.65 million each from Sweden and the IDA, a World Bank affiliate, will have a significant impact on their lives, helping to increase production 10%, and benefiting some 4,000 ranchers and farmers. The plan is for the establishment of breeding and fattening grounds, while recently meat sales were at a record level. Despite a worldwide shortage, however, South Africa remains the chief buyer, followed by Great Britain. (Christian Science Monitor, and Star, Johannesburg, June 10 and August 1, 1972)

PROGRESS ON HIGH WAY LINK TO ZAMBIA

Botswana is surrounded by South Africa, Rhodesia, and South African-controlled Namibia, with but one link to independent Africa: a 30-yard stretch linking Botswana to Zambia, sandwiched between Namibia and Rhodesia on the Caprivi Strip. With American aid, construction will begin next year on a highway linking the two, in order to reduce Botswana's heavy economic dependence on South Africa.

The contract is expected to total \$8 million, the road running 186 miles and crossing the Zambezi at the juncture of the four nations by ferry. South Africa has pressured Botswana to halt the project, claiming that there is no common border between the two Black African states.

MALAWI: SOUTH AFRICAN EXTRADITION FOR HIJACKER?

Faced with requests from Beirut, Lebanon, and from Pretoria for the extradition of two Lebanese hijackers captured aboard a South African Airlines Boeing 727 at Chileka airport, Malawi's pro-dialogue President, Hastings Banda, has put off both requests. The two are being tried in Blantyre, the capital of Malawi, on hijacking charges that could land them each 25 years in jail. After returning from a month's holiday in Britain, Banda outrightly rejected the Lebanese request, and "iced" the Pretoria request until completion of their prosecution and jail sentences in Malawi. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22 and 29, 1972)

SWAZILAND: AFTER THE ELECTIONS, SOUTH AFRICAN APPOINTED MINISTER; BOMB ATTEMPT

In the general elections held last May, Swaziland's ruling party, the Imbokodvo National Movement, was overwhelmingly returned to power, winning 21 of the 24 seats. The Johannesburg Star (May 20, 1972) reported that what scant opposition there was came from among sugar workers, apparently distrustful of the Government's attitude toward trade unions.

After the election, a cabinet reshuffling took place. Robert Stephens, a South African-born white, was appointed Finance Minister. He replaced another South African, Leo Forell, a former South African Labor Party M.P. who held the post for five years. The Health and Education Minister took over Power, Works, and Communication, one of King Sobhuza's sons became Minister of Local Administration, while the previous Deputy Prime Minister was dropped from the cabinet. (Star, Johannesburg, June 10, 1972)

One month later, the new Health and Education Minister, Dr. Pym Dlamini, was sent a bomb inside a book, which failed to explode when opened by his secretary. The bomb was of the same type that was recently sent to Zambia's President Kaunda, and that used in the 1969 assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's former president. (Star, Johannesburg, July 22, 1972)

MADAGASCAR: A NEW ERA?

At the recent OAU conference in Rabat, Madagascar's new chief of state, Major General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, promised to "re-examine" his government's economic arrangements with South Africa. Just what this will mean in long-range and concrete terms remains to be seen, but two recent decisions made by the General suggest that he may keep his promise.

In the first place, Madagascar agreed, for the first time in several years, to pay its dues to the OAU Liberation Committee, which supports the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and Portuguese Guinea. Second, General Ramanantsoa announced on June 16 that he was granting total amnesty to all persons involved in the April, 1971 revolt in Southern Madagascar (about 2,000 had been detained during the past year) and declared that the country's June 26 Independence Day would be a day to celebrate national reconciliation.

The background to the recent upheavals in the Malagasy Republic is complex, but one of the major issues

underlying the conflict has had to do with the continued presence of 4,000 French troops on the island and with former President Tsiranana's support for economic cooperation and "dialogue" with South Africa.

Madagascar, commanding the Cape route in the Indian Ocean, is of obvious strategic value to its close neighbor, South Africa. Furthermore, because of the rising deficit in its balance of payments, the latter is in dire need of economic links with independent African countries. So far, economic relations between South Africa and Madagascar have been relatively limited. A luxury hotel is being built at Nossi-Be, Madagascar by a South African company which received a loan from the South African Government to improve the airport and the road system of the area. This kind of aid will benefit more than just the tourist industry. The South African Air Force already has rights to use the airport it constructed in Malawi. In addition, negotiations are going on between South Africa, Portugal, and Madagascar for the building of a major deep-water port at Narinda that will serve, ostensibly, the giant oil tankers utilizing the Cape route. Narinda is a bay on a relatively isolated section of Madagascar's northwestern coast. The creation "ex nihilo" of a major industrial one is also envisioned for the area.

Essential to understanding the relationship between Madagascar and South Africa is the recognition of

France's role in the area. In addition to being a major supplier of arms to South Africa, France is also engaging in joint naval planning with that country. Entering into what one pro-Government South African newspaper labelled a "virtual military partnership," the two countries envision the formation of a new strategic bloc in the southern hemisphere—a bloc that will include Madagascar.

Recent student and trade union demonstrations, riots, and finally a general strike in Madagascar led to the resignation of President Tsiranana, who handed over power to the military under the leadership of Major General Ramanantsoa. Relative calm now reigns on the island, and Ramanantsoa's announced intentions to re-examine his government's relationship with South Africa and to pay its dues to the OAU Liberation Committee suggest the beginning of a new era in Madagascar.

However, one should not become overly optimistic. For Ramanantsoa, a graduate of a French military academy, a veteran of the French Army, and an advisor to the Madagascar Government in 1960 when the French defense treaties were negotiated, is considered very pro-French. (MACSA Newsletter, Madison, Wis., June-July 1972)

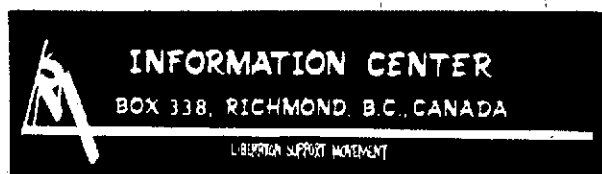
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RESOURCES, NEW GROUPS

(This is a new section which will comprise details of new groups and carry resource lists (or parts thereof) relating to Southern Africa. For fuller information about resources, write directly to the groups mentioned. If you have lists you wish published, please send them on to us.)



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DATES TO REMEMBER IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER:

AUGUST 3

In 1959 on this date a PAIGC strike of dock workers of Pidjiguiti occurred in Guinea-Bissau. Over 50 workers were killed and hundreds wounded by the Portuguese.

AUGUST 9

On this date in 1956 the South Africa Women's Day was initiated. The Federation of South African Women led 20,000 demonstrators to converge on Pretoria from all parts of the country. They sat in front of Government buildings—speeches were made against Government plans to introduce passes for African women, and a massive petition was drawn up. The demonstration under the windows of the "Prime Minister" was organized in the teeth of intense police activity and was seen as a major triumph.

AUGUST 13

In 1967 the ANC-ZAPU military alliance was announced on this day. Joint forces successfully engaged enemy forces for the first time to launch guerrilla activity in Zimbabwe.

AUGUST 23

In 1968 MPLA held a three-day conference in the Eastern Region of Angola—the first Regional Conference to be held inside Angola.

AUGUST 26

SWAPO launched its armed struggle in Namibia on this date in 1966.

SEPTEMBER 9

On this day in 1956 the PAIGC was founded in Guinea-Bissau.

SEPTEMBER 12

In 1957 the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress was formed on this day. The British settlers in "Rhodesia" celebrated Sept. 12 as their day of conquest: occupation day. The people of Zimbabwe formed the People's National Movement on the same day in open defiance—a date which for the Zimbabwe people has come to mean dignity and self-determination.

SEPTEMBER 19

In 1959 the First Conference of Party Cadres was held secretly in Guinea-Bissau, for the preparation of all the necessary conditions for the beginning of the armed struggle. Emphasis was put on political work with the peasantry instead of among people living in the cities where the enemy was stronger.

SEPTEMBER 25

The armed struggle was launched in Mozambique by FRELIMO on this day in 1964. In 1971 the day was proclaimed as FRELIMO Day of Revolution, observed in 1971 as a Day of International Protest Against Portugal's Colonial Wars in Africa.

SEPTEMBER 25

On this day in 1968 Dr. Amerigo Boavida, Director of the Medical Assistance Services (SAM) of MPLA was killed in combat in the Eastern Region of Angola.

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