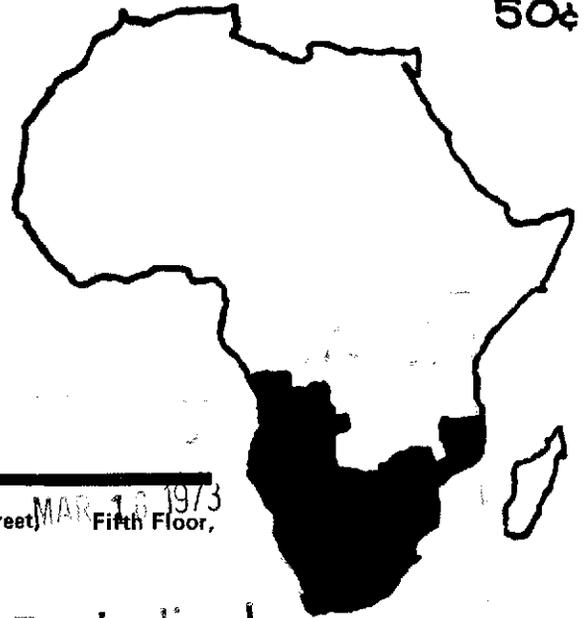


# SOUTHERN AFRICA

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**A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion**

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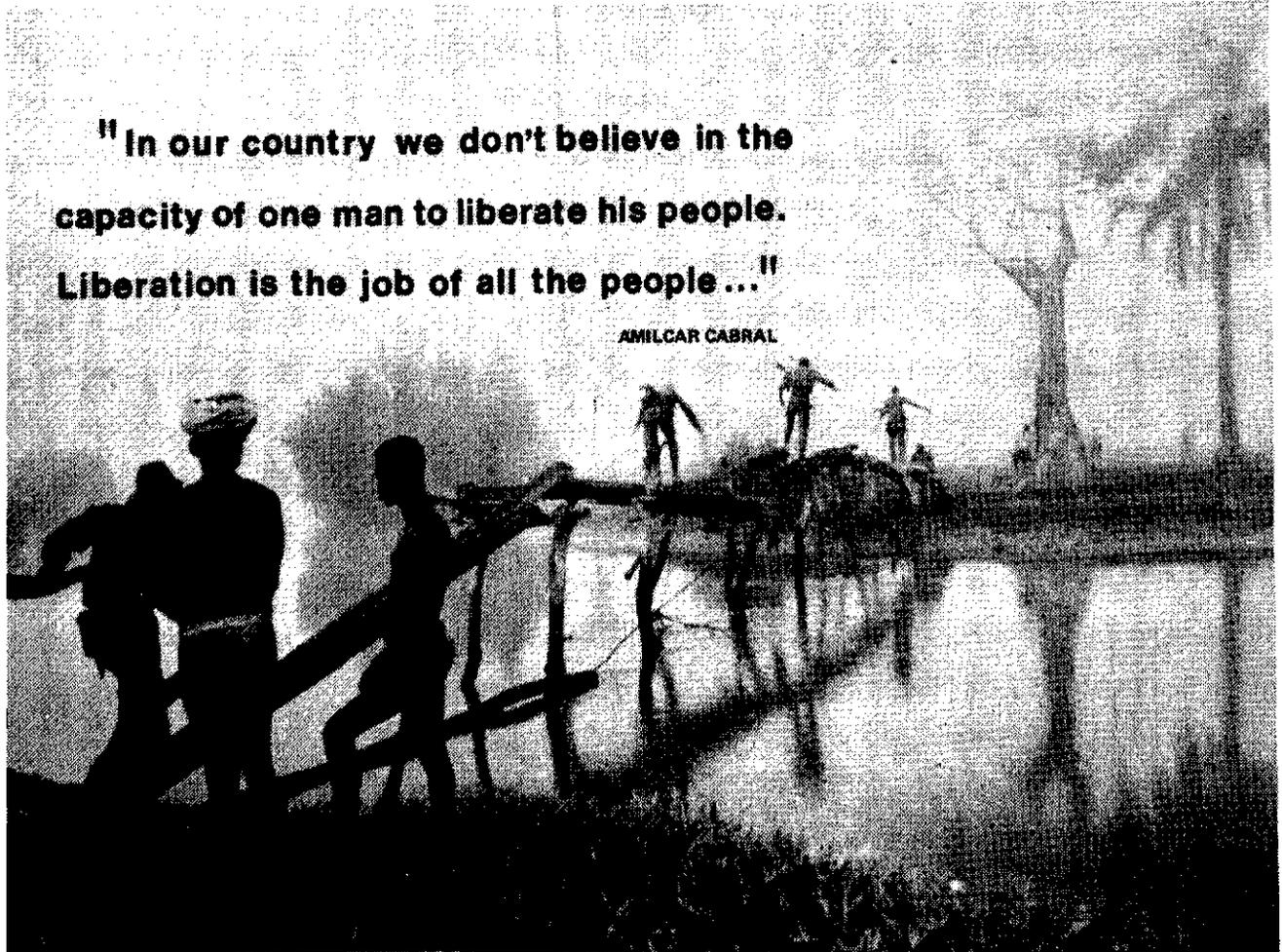
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VOLUME VI, No. 2

FEBRUARY 1973

**"In our country we don't believe in the  
capacity of one man to liberate his people.  
Liberation is the job of all the people ..."**

AMILCAR CABRAL



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duction to a speech  
delivered by Amil-  
car Cabral at Lin-  
coln University,  
October, 1972.

Photo:  
United Nations

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# LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF AMILCAR CABRAL

The Portuguese agents who assassinated Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC destroyed not only a brilliant political leader but a memorable human being. When he visited the U.S. briefly last fall several New York Southern Africa Committee members spent an evening with him at a small meeting. He talked to us quietly, with no rhetoric or ringing phrases, but with a strong, clear analysis of the situation in his country, and with the most compelling qualities of all—intense honesty and a serious respect for his fellow men and women. He never talked down to anyone, nor was he ever deliberately "chummy." He simply believed that all people were equal—and he acted on that belief.

These qualities, as much as the outstanding depth and clarity of his political analysis, contributed to his almost unique qualities as a political leader, and to the tremendous respect in which he was held, in Africa, in many countries of the "third world" and in both Eastern and Western Europe. He never compromised on principles but he had a lack of rancor and personal bitterness that added an extra dimension to the quality of his political message.

Honesty, respect for the people, and a driving insistence on the importance of the broadest possible base of political understanding and participation were essential elements in the policy Cabral consistently advocated for the PAIGC. Thus for example the 1965 *Party Directives* began with a detailed and open examination of many mistakes made, before going on to outline organisational directives.

*"In various regions—and indeed everywhere in a general sense—political work among the people among our armed forces has not been done appropriately . . ."*

*"On the military plane . . . as proof of insufficient political work among our armed forces, there has appeared a certain attitude of 'militarism' which has caused some fighters . . . and leaders to forget the fact that we are armed militants and not militarists."*

*"Oppose among the young, especially those over 20, the mania for leaving the country to study elsewhere, the blind ambition to acquire a degree, the complex of inferiority and the mistaken . . . belief that those who study will thereby become privileged in our country tomorrow . . . But also oppose any ill will towards those who . . . wish to study—the complex that students will be . . . future saboteurs of the Party."*

*"Educate ourselves, educate . . . the population in general, to fight fear and ignorance, to eliminate little by little the subjection to nature and natural forces which our economy has not yet mastered. Convince little by little . . . that man is the strongest force in nature."*

*"Learn from life, learn from our people, learn from books, learn from the experience of others. Never stop learning."*

*"We must practice revolutionary democracy in every aspect of our Party life, . . . exacting from others a proper respect of his work and properly respecting the*

*work of others. Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories . . ."*

These were not empty slogans but the principles on which Cabral insisted that the movement must be built—because he recognized that without them no political theory, however correct, could serve to radically transform the lives of his people. The aim of the PAIGC is not to change the faces of the Masters, it is to eliminate all masters, so that the people come to control their own future.

Cabral was also an important theoretician, who once said ". . . if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it is based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."

Cabral had used his post as an agronomist in 1952-54 to travel around his country and acquire an intimate knowledge of the life of his people in the villages. Thus he combined, in a most unusual way, theory, observation and practice. When he and a few comrades formed the Party in 1956 they embarked on a long and careful assessment and analysis of the various social forces in their country. Out of this grew the understanding that "the peasants would be the mainstay in our struggle" but also the recognition that it would be necessary to "struggle fiercely for peasant support." In 1959, after the massacre of striking dockworkers in Bissau, Cabral realised that a new stage of political action had been reached in which, in order to save and strengthen the people's struggle, it was necessary to organise underground. In the years between 1959 and 1963, when the PAIGC finally felt ready to embark on armed struggle, Cabral made a fundamental contribution to the future of his country, by carefully building a widening base of political education, creating consciousness among the peasantry so that they could become the engine of the revolt. He recognised that nothing could be achieved by a small group of leaders, however militant. Without the political preparation that would mobilise the mass of the people "nothing of lasting value can be done. This political preparation is the toughest, most daunting but also most important aspect of the whole campaign for national liberation."

History has proved the validity of Cabral's beliefs. Actual fighting against the Portuguese began in 1963, and now, ten years later, three-quarters of the country is under PAIGC control. When he was here last fall, Cabral reported that 1973 would be the year in which Guinea Bissau declared its independence. In 1972 the Party had initiated elections to a National Assembly representing the people throughout the country. This body, speaking for the people of Guinea-Bissau will have the power to announce the freedom of the people.

The Assembly is only the most recent of the many creative structural measures taken by the PAIGC under Cabral's leadership. As early as 1960 he established the first training school for political leadership, designed to develop a cadre of organizers to work inside their country for its liberation. Later, as areas were freed from Portugal's control, people's stores, schools and hospitals

were organized. Always, as soon as possible, the people were involved in running and controlling their own lives, men and women, through the establishment of democratic village committees.

The murderers have killed a great man, but their actions will not kill a movement so deeply rooted in a whole population. Last year, speaking at the United Nations, Cabral condemned the aid given Portugal in its fight against the people of Africa, by the United States and other Western powers. He questioned how nations that called themselves champions of liberty and defenders

of the "free world" could continue to give assistance to the "most retrograde colonialist country on the planet." But he said, no power on earth could prevent them from attaining their complete liberation, from protecting the sovereignty of their people and from developing the "new life" they have begun to build in the liberated zones.

As he closed, he said "It is still a very difficult life indeed, but it is a life of beauty because the depth of work is being carried out in liberty, democracy and the happiness of our people."

**LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF AMILCAR CABRAL**



*Amilcar Cabral addressing U.N. Committee in Conakry, Guinea, April, 1972*

*We print below a shortened version of an informal talk which Amílcar Cabral gave to a small group of people in New York during October, 1972, including members of the Southern Africa Committee.*

*As English was not Cabral's home language, we have edited the transcript slightly, but in essence it records what he said to us that memorable evening.*

For me it is a pleasure to be here with you, friends of our people in the struggle, people that we view as our brothers and sisters. This meeting helps us to know better what constitutes our dream of America—all kinds of people, simply seated on the floor with the heart and the head, dedicated to the marvelous adventure of man in this controversial planet, very simply man and woman. Our hearts, maybe more than our heads, have the same rhythms of pulsation.

And now I am bringing you the salutations of my comrades, of the leadership of the party and of our fighters—of our people in general.

I have to tell you also that maybe we are utopians, we dream too much, but what can men do without dreams?

We consider, in our spirit and our vision, that something new is coming in this country. We're confident that a nation is being born in this country. For many years, people lived back-to-back, not only because of your internal problems, but also because of your international problems. You are now, step by step, facing one another. It's very nice, really, it's very nice.

In my country today, there is something like this. Our struggle has performed a miracle. People, who for centuries have been back-to-back, now they are face-to-face. Not only face-to-face, but in the arms of one another. It's a great change, and is the best hope I have for your country, principally your grandchildren. Respect for people, this is our hope for your country. And also that each day more there will be more people feeling what you feel, in relation to other people in the world, and particularly, with our own people.

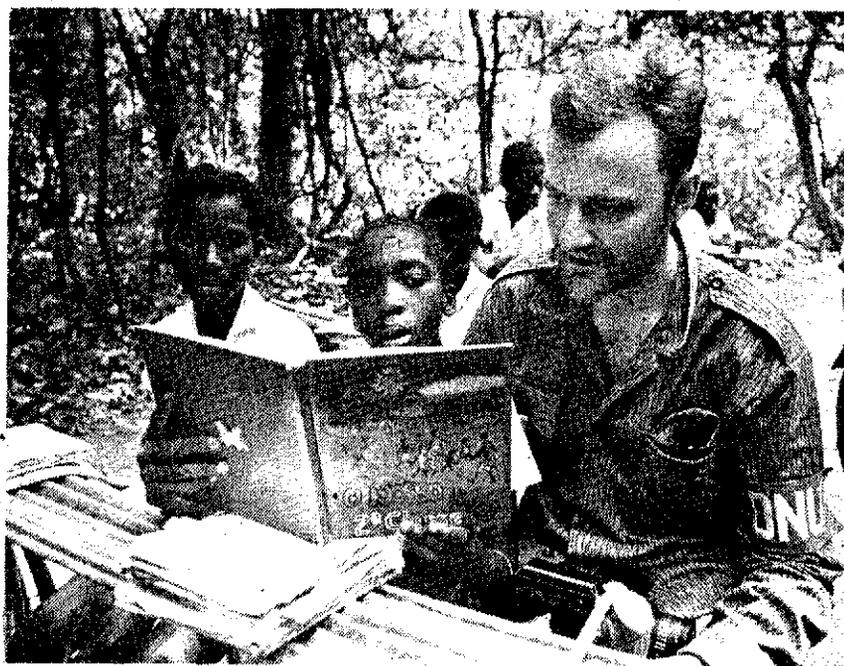
Since two years ago, there have been many changes in my country. Not only because we have liberated more areas. When you have arrived at the step that you are going to liberate the towns, the fight develops more slowly. First of all, in our condition, we have a very small country, not many people. We are concerned with the problem that we can not have too many of our people killed. And, until a certain level, we don't want to destroy too much of our country until we are sure we can gain. Convinced of this, we're going step by step, creating all the necessary conditions to take our towns without too many losses, human and material losses. But if it's necessary to have many losses, we'll do it also, because there is no other way.

#### **The Urban Centers**

But during these two years I can tell you that one of the principle aspects of the evolution of the situation is a big change in the urban centers. I told you last time that the Portuguese colonialists, through their famous governor Spínola, were implementing what we call the politics of blood and smiles. But now they are finishing with smiles. After all this time, the people of the urban centers, particularly the people of Bissau, Bafata, are each day devoted more to the fight and to the party. We can tell you that we now control the life of Bissau more than ever. And we've begun to create this insecurity. We think this is a very great achievement in this fight, and we are now preparing to give the means to the people in the urban centers in order to defend our own lives and material riches there when the final battle will arrive. It's very important, you see.

Proof of that is that during the last six months, hundreds of young people have abandoned the town, including their studies in Bissau, to come and join us in the countryside in order to put themselves at the disposal of the struggle. We even had to take some security measures to avoid any kind of infiltration.

Our relations with the Cape Verde Islands now are better than ever. We have been waiting for new developments, and yesterday, we received a message from our comrades that there have been riots between the



*A 3-member U.N. mission visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). The Swedish representative is seen with 2nd grade students at the Aerolino Lopez Cruz boarding school located in the Cubucave Sector.*

Photo: United Nations



*PAIGC militants*

Portugese authorities and the people in Praia. It's the capital of the Cape Verde Islands, on Santiago Island. They declared a state of emergency for seven days. They arrested many people. But the message in the end is, that you can be sure we are still strong in our position [in the Cape Verde Islands], and we are ready for all kinds of problems with the Portugese colonialists.

#### **First General Elections**

We think that in Guine also the political position is stronger. We achieved one of the most important realizations in the framework of our struggle—the first general elections in our country. The creation of our regional councils, and of the first national popular assembly for our country. I can tell you we didn't dream of doing this. It was not the result of the dream of Cabral. It was a need coming from the results of the struggle. A need also to impose on us in the party [PAIGC] some limits to our own action, some possibilities of control on us. Because, if in the framework of the development of the liberation struggle, you don't create simultaneously something to help you always do good things, maybe you are creating the conditions for your own defeat. And the best way to stop yourself is to create conditions for the people to stop you.

In another way, we think we have to be quiet with our [party's] principles. We want our people to take, step by step, in their own hands the authority for their own lives, you see, their own lives. For that, the party is not enough, in our opinion. It is too dangerous, the fact that in our historical condition we have to have only one party. It is necessary to create some organ, some instrument in order to give to the people this *real* consciousness that they are the master of their own destiny.

#### **The Economy and Education**

Naturally, we have no problems in the economic field. Our production has been good. This year, maybe we have some problem. I am speaking of Guine because there is some lack of rains until September. But if during this month of October there is enough rain, we can assure you the satisfaction of the cities in the matter of the needs of rice. You know that we are great eaters of rice.

We can tell you also that with the help of some countries, and first of all some socialist countries reinforcing the help in the humanitarian field, but principally with the help of Sweden, now we can better supply our populations through the People's Shops. We can tell you that this organization is better than two years ago, not only in the amount of articles and goods, but also in the structure of the organization.

We sent some people last year to some European countries to study. We have now nearly 500 young people, girls and boys, studying in the universities, doing medium technical studies and professional studies. And our secondary school in Conakry, and our pilot schools in the south and the east and the north are better now than before. And we have many books elaborated by ourselves.

#### **Visit of the U.N. Team**

You have another very important achievement. That was the visit of the special mission of the United Nations to our country. We invited these people in order to give to the United Nations new concrete elements to facilitate their work against the Portugese colonialism.

The visit was very important, and it was another check of the political consciousness of our people. Our people consented and sacrificed in order to allow this visit. Never have the Portugese dealt such a kind of aggression against our liberated regions as they did during the U.N. visit. We

have recorded pictures of peasants before these people during the bombings. People decided to do their best so that this visit would be a great success. And it was a great success, really.

Naturally it was very difficult for these people of the United Nations—you can imagine what difficulties there are, marching for one week and less. And our good friends of the United Nations were not so accustomed to such a kind of diplomacy (laughter). And they had some difficulties. But it was a great achievement for them. They showed a good conscience for their responsibilities. But never have the Portuguese done such a great aggression. They moved about 15,000 people they already had in the south. They bombed.\* They made many assaults with helicopters. And the [Portuguese] minister of "overseas provinces" was in Bissau waiting for the captured members of the United Nations team, or their bodies. But our people reacted very well to all this aggression.

You can imagine the political and juridical consequences of this visit.\*\*

#### **Military Developments**

In the military field, we've done many interesting things. In order to attack Bissau, and it was a very important thing, and more than just military. Politically also. To show our people there this thing—and that they have to do something more because we are able to destroy Bissau. The attack was very efficient because the political work in Bissau has accelerated very much, after these rockets hit Bissau. It was a very great work for our fighters because the Portuguese had defended Bissau very well.

We attacked Bafata during these two years three times, maybe four times, yes, four times, but the first time for me was better because our fighters entered inside Bafata and kept their position for more than three hours there.

We attacked also Gabu, the important town in the eastern region. We entered many times inside Gabu, and destroyed planes and helicopters in the airport.

We attacked the airport of Bissau. It was very good because the Portuguese are always afraid. When they hear "Boom," you see (laughter).

Another great achievement also in the political field is that now the Portuguese are not on a good footing with the traditional chiefs of the Fula Tribe. I told you last time that we had some difficulties with some traditional chiefs of the Fula tribe, but now they are in complete agreement. And we have very good contacts with these people, each day more. Even in the zone of Pirada, the northern region, the Senegalese border, many of these people give their weapons to our fighters. This is a great thing in the political evolution of the country.

Yes, the party claims today that all the people [are in] the party. If you told some people you are not of the party, they would be furious. But at the same time it is necessary to create something new in order to develop what we can call, in the classical language, the "practical democracy" in our country. We decided to create these regional councils and the national assembly. Prior to this, we developed a great discussion in the meetings of the people for one year. But even with this base, I can tell you that we never supposed that the people would respond with such an enthusiasm to this question of elections for this national popular assembly.

The assembly will have, and is now, one hundred twenty people. It's too much for a small country like ours. But we're not thinking of paying the salaries of our representatives, our "Congressmen" (laughter). Eighty of these people have been elected from the masses—workers, peasants, the majority are peasants, and artisans and other

people. And forty from the party cadres Two-thirds masses, one-third party cadres. The same in the framework of the regional councils. These people have been elected by each sector—each sector elected their representatives to the regional council. And, at the same time, these representatives are candidates for the national assembly. In the regional council meeting, these same elect one-third of their members for the national assembly. This is our democracy for elections in our country.

**QUESTION:** I was wondering if we could hear a little bit about your analysis of the Portuguese tactics.

**CABRAL:** Yes, there is some evolution in the Portuguese position. The "solution" for Angola and Mozambique is each day more Rhodesianization which follows what the Portuguese did about [announcing] those so-called states. When they speak about states, they never speak about Guine and Cape Verde, but principally about Angola and Mozambique. There were in the Portuguese government people fighting for the Europeanization of Portugal, claiming that Portugal is a European country. These people, called "liberal" people or technocrats, have very recently been expelled from the government—some young people, very good people, colonialists like the others, but good people in any case. And now there are the racists, the ultras, who are leading all, and their way is to keep my country for some time more, and to try to impose this new situation for the perpetuation of the domination of white minorities on Angola and Mozambique. Recently many Italian people are arriving in Angola—Italian settlers, and they are establishing agencies all over Western Europe to recruit people to the zone of Cuanza [Angola], Zambezia [Mozambique] and so on, because their plan is to put one million people in Southern Africa. The program is to increase the white population and to do everything to not allow the black population to increase.

That is the strategy. Portugal is a country which is losing population. Today the biggest Portuguese colony is France (laughter). There are 800,000 Portuguese in France. About 200,000 young people were ready [to be drafted] for the colonial war, but they have been escaping. But the people of Portugal now seem to be more active in trying to struggle against the colonial war. In the last two weeks they [blew up] a boat with Portuguese military material [on it] for my country. It was very symbolic because the boat's name is Cape Verde. The people coming from the colonial war have now created, in Portugal, an underground party of the veterans of the colonial war *against* the colonial war.

Last year I quoted a secret report of the Portuguese about what they call Section 15, psychological warfare, in which they declared that for two or three years more they cannot get more officials for their army, because people do not want to go to the military academy. They said that each day more the "detrified people," which is to say the people in the towns, this is Portuguese language it seems, are against them and for the liberation movement.

They are also trying their best to be associated to the Common Market, but offering to it the privilege of having colonies, you see. But until now the Common Market did not decide to take them in as a member, but they are an associated member. They signed the elements some days ago.

In my country they now have a great stock of herbicides, defoliants and so on which they didn't use last year. It is difficult to use them in my country. It is not easy like in Angola simply because of the great extension

of our country that is cultivated with rice, and on rice it is not so easy to do it [use herbicides] as with cassava, manioc, but they will try to do it.

About these African units. It is true that the Portuguese create some, but in my country not too much. But they do create some African military units, and even in the aggression against the Republic of Guinea [in 1970, after Cabral's last visit to the U.S.], the great part of the troops they used were African. Actually, as a matter of fact, it was Guineans from the Republic of Guinea, but also some black people from my country, and naturally a great group of specialized Portuguese troops. They attacked the zone of our [PAIGC] office and warehouse [in Conakry]. But the fact that they used these people and were defeated was a very good thing for us because then they have had more difficulties recruiting people into these African units. Also many of the people of the Portuguese Army are deserting to join us. We have now an opportunity to do great work in this field against the Portuguese. And they're doing their best to convince America to create a military base in Cape Verde. And we are sure that they will ask for more and more material, napalm and other things. But you see, fortunately, on the other hand, war has its limits also. Napalm has a limit of utilization in the condition of my country, and the Portuguese have their technical limits. I'm not being too optimistic in this matter, but we feel that Portugal has its limits, and the Western countries supporting Portugal are not too interested in creating too many problems.

I think this is what I can tell you generally about the prospects and tactics of the Portuguese colonialists.

**QUESTION:** I wonder if you could tell us something about the increasing role that South Africa is beginning to play.

**CABRAL:** Dos Santos [Marcelino Dos Santos of FRELIMO] spoke today [at the U.N.] about this problem, not only about South Africa and Mr. Vorster,

but also about this Smith [of Rhodesia]. After the beginning of the struggle in Manica and Sofala province in Mozambique, Smith made a statement saying that the Rhodesians are ready if Portugal asks them to send troops in to help Portugal. But [already] they are collaborating effectively with Portugal in the field, in the air, and so on. The planes that bomb some parts of Mozambique come from Rhodesia and the patrol of the Zambezi [River] is made by South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese planes. Following the information from Marcelino Dos Santos, they [the Mozambicans] have killed South Africans and Rhodesians in Mozambique. It is an effective cooperation. You see that some days ago Smith came to Lisbon, and spent his holiday in Madeira, the Portuguese island in the Atlantic. He went to Lisbon to meet Caetano. Now it's perfectly clear that there is a cooperation between them. It's the same thing, you see, only one struggle on three fronts.

Now, South Africa knows very well that if Mozambique and Angola are free, they will be in a very bad position. What do they have to do: their best in order to avoid the liberation of Angola and Mozambique. And Portugal wants the same. They have to collaborate. Now it is for us to collaborate also with the African force in general and with other forces that want the real liberation of Africa. ■

\*Approximately three months after the U.N. visit, the Portuguese colonialists completely destroyed the Areolino Cruz Boarding School in the Cubucare sector of Guinea. The U.N. team had visited this school, and witnessed the determination to educate the people even while the liberation struggle goes on.

\*\*In effect, the U.N. visit denied, for its part, Portugal's claim of sovereignty over Guin

Basil Davidson

## Cabral's Monument

While mystery still obscures the murder of Amílcar Cabral, who was an outstanding figure in his own right as well as leading representative of the National Liberation movement in what used to be called 'Portuguese West Africa,' two things about this crime are already apparent. The first concerns the *prima facie* evidence of its source. All of this points to the Portuguese army or police command. Lisbon understandably rushed in to deny its guilt the very moment after President Toure, in whose capital of Conakry the crime was committed, had said it was the work of Portuguese agents. But Lisbon's disclaimers are very markedly such as guilty men devise in desperation. They offer patently improbable, not to say impossible, alternatives.

One alternative proposed by Lisbon is that the murder was organised by dissidents within the National Liberation leadership. No such dissidence has ever been shown to occur on any serious issue. I have myself known most of these leaders for a good many years, and have just spent several weeks with them. They include Aristides Pereira, practically Cabral's alter ego since 1956; Vasco Cabral, another veteran (no relative of Amílcar's) who

cannot possibly be suspected of dissidence; Amílcar's younger brother Luis, for whom the idea of dissidence would be just as ridiculous; and other staunch pioneers of the same stamp and mind. All these men were solidly united in the past, and could not otherwise have led the PAIGC, the movement they founded, in its remarkable career of success; they were solidly united when I met them in November and December.

Lisbon's second alternative to its own guilt, or to the guilt of its police or army agents, is that the crime was somehow the product of Russo-Chinese rivalry. One can only say that this, if possible, is even sillier than the first alternative; if anything has marked the PAIGC, it has been its staunch autonomy and independence. On the other hand, the fact that is neither silly nor imaginary is that Cabral has repeatedly symbolised defeat for Portugal's generals, and has done so in a peculiarly painful way. His wit and barbed humour, let alone the success of his movement, have floodlit their clumsy failure. And now Cabral was about to step upon the world's stage no longer as the leader of a guerrilla movement, but as the accredited spokesman of an independent state.

His loss must be a sorry one for his comrades as well as for his countless friends up and down the world, not to speak of his bereaved wife and children. Yet, a second point that is already clear is that this loss, however grievous, will not prevent the onward progress of the work that Cabral began. The little that one has so far learned from the PAIGC leaders, since the murder, shows

that they are closing their ranks, that they will have no difficulty in uniting on the choice of a successor, and that they are now likely to work and fight even harder to complete the plan that Cabral had laid. Not only was Cabral's style of leadership emphatically collective; but the men he gathered round him were precisely those who could and did share his own convictions and discernment. They will create the conditions whereby their new national assembly, elected in 1972, can meet inside the country this year; and this assembly, as foreseen, will proclaim the country's independence, 'even while,' as Cabral said when I saw him in December, 'a small part of our country, and our capital, are still in enemy hands'.

It will be a newly-independent state with a difference. This month, January 1973, marks the completion of 10 years since the PAIGC began their armed resistance to a colonial rule that would listen to no other argument. But it marks 10 years, also, since they began promoting the construction of an independent social and political system: since they began building a new society in this long-colonised territory. What they can show, accordingly, is something new in the spectrum of anti-colonial nationalism: a new African state springing from the foundations of its own new system, and not the other way round. The horse, for once, before the cart.

Last November, I entered these regions of established self-rule after an absence of five years. Much had changed: much had developed. In some 17 days, by an easy and roundabout route so as to see people and activities in different sectors I had walked as far as the southern sector of Como, along the Atlantic seaboard. Already it was clear that these village communities had acquired a confident and stable pattern of self-government. They still live simply, often badly, and have many urgent needs: but they have found the way to work together for their common good.

The war still goes wearily on. These communities are much hurt by bombing: and the Portuguese army still occupies the Pissau and many rural centres. I was able to inspect the military situation of several of these. They are held by Portuguese garrisons which have lost all communication with each other or with Bissau, save by sea or air or radio. They occupy their few square miles, and that's about all. One can march past them in complete safety even by day, for they are pinned to their peripheral defences by enclosing units of the PAIGC.

Portuguese offensive actions, aside from bombing, are limited to raids by helicoptered troops or by troops landed from the sea. These are sporadic and of short duration. PAIGC offensive actions, on the contrary, derive from a consistent hold on the strategic initiative. Whenever the widening needs of the liberated regions may require it, the regular units of the PAIGC go beyond their harassment of Portuguese garrisons and eliminate these altogether. A comparison with 1967, in the southern region where I was, shows eight garrisons thus removed. Strictly political objectives govern this strategy. These consist in the clearing and enlargement of wide rural areas, and the assurance of a general security there so that political and social reconstruction can go freely on. 'We are armed militants not militarists' is in this connection the key phrase in the terse but all-embracing *Palavras Gerais* that Cabral composed in 1965, a 40-page document which one day may be seen to rank among the classics of revolutionary theory and practice. Nobody here is fighting for the sake of fighting, or not if the leaders of the PAIGC can help it.

In these liberated regions the visitor can move around in daylight and inspect the various components of a social and political system brought into being over the last nine

years. The Como sector is a good example, not because it is more advanced than its neighbors, for in some important ways it is less advanced, but because the Portuguese were entirely cleared from it as much as seven years ago. What you find in this remote area is little enough of all those things a people need so as to be comfortable and command their own future, but infinitely more than ever existed under the Portuguese. This is a point on which the people of Como are firm and unanimous, and all the available evidence supports them. The peasants say they had absolutely no voice in what was done. They say they had no schools or health service. They speak bitterly of having had to pay taxes for the most elementary rights, such as holding a wake or cropping a palm tree. They say that the marketing of all their rice was at the mercy of a single trader, a man called Pinho Brandao.

'He was the only one you could sell your rice to, and he paid what he wanted, or he paid nothing. And if you took your rice over the water, he found out and you were beaten by the *cipaios* of the *chefe*. 'tein' You can still see where Brandao lived hard by the shore, with his warehouse and his terrified harem of local girls. But there is nothing left now save an outline in the undergrowth. One night in 1963 the early guerrillas of the PAIGC came over the creeks and burnt Brandao's buildings to the ground; the man himself, they think, got away to Portugal. A year later the Portuguese army followed over the creeks and attacked through Como's ricefields for nearly two months. They were defeated. And even though Como is 'only a tide' from the big garrison at Catio, as a fisherman defined the distance for me, they have never come back.

Even before that the political workers of the PAIGC, mostly peasants themselves, began persuading the peasants to form committees to support the liberation struggle. Como now has 15 such committees, and these are the central factors in everyday affairs. They act together with full-time PAIGC workers concerned with the running of schools, clinics, barter trade, political education, local security and the rest. Gradually, over the years, their representative nature has widened and improved, partly by the snowball influence of PAIGC success against the Portuguese, partly by continuing political education, and partly by broader experience of active participation in new responsibilities. This indeed is where one can see how a people long deprived of any recognised responsibility for its community life can regain command of itself.

#### COMMITTEES'S ROLE

The committees have a hand in everything except military operations. They take part in running local primary schools founded by the PAIGC, arguing with parents who grudge the labour lost when children go to school, supplying teachers with food and lodging. They are represented on the 'board' of Como's PAIGC clinic, a cluster of thatched huts with four beds for in-patients and a staff of 13 nurses, eight of whom are women. All these, after all, have to be fed and looked after, but the 'taxes' so contributed now bring a solid return. Thus the clinic's register for October and four-fifths of November showed a list of 672 names and patients and their ailments. The committees also supervise local trade and, another innovation since 1969, are responsible for the establishment of local courts; consisting of a judge and two assessors, these village courts apply a mixture of customary and new law now being fully codified by the PAIGC's legal department.

Statistics can tell a little of what liberation has come to

mean. By 1972 the PAIGC had founded 155 new primary schools inside the country with about 140 teachers and some 8,500 pupils, of whom about 2,000 were girls, while another 7,000 full-time workers of the PAIGC were attending adult classes. They had 125 mobile medical teams or medical establishments inside the country, with a total of 265 beds (and another 233 beds in PAIGC hospitals in Guinea and Senegal). Built from the bare ground, as it were, such services have now reached a point where they are beginning to feel an acute shortage of more qualified staffs. This at the moment is one of the most urgent problems.

But their greatest achievement has no statistical indicators, and rests in the political field. This is to have set going a process whereby the active participation of ordinary people in the control of their own communities has gained, steadily and widely, over the PAIGC's initial and inevitable act of revolutionary 'substitution.' Beginning in 1956 with exactly six members, the PAIGC was in this way no different from any other party of revolutionary change. Aiming at objectives more or less completely strange to the majority of people, or dismissed as impossible, these pioneers necessarily substituted themselves for 'the will of the nation'; and the substitution was all the more because 'the nation' in no sense existed then.

It proved hard to start the process of winning participation by the peasants among whom they lived and carried on their labour of persuasion. Few took them seriously, or were ready for the risk of doing so. But they worked away, resisting all advice from abroad that they should 'simply begin' their revolt, and that the peasants then would 'rally to the sound of a guerrilla rifle.' Cabral and his comrades were sure, on the contrary, that the peasants would do no such thing. They began their revolt only when they were sure of enough support to survive and expand. And ever since then, with every expansion of their armed resistance, they have like-wise expanded their effort at winning participation as well as mere support.

So conducted, the liberation struggle has entirely shifted the PAIGC from being a party 'claiming to speak for the nation' to being one that really does so, and has thus become, by the steady enlargement of participation, this country's national party of popular and representative self-rule. No one who wanders round these liberated regions—and this particular visit lasted 27 days—will doubt the truth of this, I think, although it would be silly to suppose the process is complete, or that everything is well done. Cabral and his fellow leaders made no such claims. Much is not well done; and another of Cabral's dicta, 'Tell no lies, claim no easy victories,' allows any visitor to see this too. Yet the process of making popular participation gain over party substitution is far advanced. The party's latest major effort in that direction, the general election of 1972 and its resultant institutions, provides another evidence of that.

In August 1971 it was decided that the political system of the liberated regions was mature enough to justify a full-scale electoral consultation. Village committees established everywhere in these regions, covering most of the country by then, already had several years' experience behind them. In 1970, moreover, all the committees of each administrative sector had elected their own sector committees. The time had come to elect committees for the 15 large administrative regions, and, going beyond that, a representative national assembly.

This was done in several stages during 1972. The first was a campaign of political explanation. The second was the drawing up of an electoral register by each sector

committee. The third consisted in direct and secret elections at village level, 'yes' or 'no' votes being cast (by differently coloured cards) for lists of local candidates presented in and for each sector. The fourth stage, at part of which I was present, was the meeting of 15 regional councils thus elected, and their selection of about a third

of their number who will also sit in the national assembly. 'The base' is thus established at 'the top': all the members of the two regional councils whom I met were village farmers, whether men or women, except one who was a tailor. They and their fellow representatives form two-thirds of the assembly, which has sovereign powers, while the PAIGC will at this stage nominate one-third from its full-time workers. The aim is to evolve a constitutional separation of powers.

### HOPE FOR RECOGNITION

Due to meet in the near future, this undoubtedly representative assembly of liberated Guinea-Bissau will adopt a constitution and proclaim the independence of their country, though not of the Cape Verde Islands, whose people cannot yet be thus consulted and represented; when they can be the Cape Verdes will be federated with the mainland. Several dozen countries, one is told, have already promised immediate recognition. Apart from most of the African countries, these include

**There is one form of struggle that we consider to be fundamental . . . We refer here to the struggle against our own weaknesses. . . . Our experience has shown us that in the general framework of daily struggle this battle against ourselves—no matter what difficulties the enemy may create—is the most difficult of all, whether for the present or the future of our peoples.**

*Address to Tricontinental Conference  
Havana, 1966*

the Soviet Union and other communist states which have given great material aid to the liberation struggle. But they also include India and apparently Sweden (whose aid to the PAIGC in 1973 will total \$2m.); and the policy of the new state will be one of international non-alignment. Backed as they are by African countries such as Nigeria and Ethiopia, the leaders of the PAIGC hope that the reality of their non-alignment will be recognised by the West.

They will also ask for British recognition, as well as looking to their friends in Britain for active help in gaining it. Coming back from Africa, one sees there is plenty of scope for such help. This year is the 600th anniversary of an Anglo-Portuguese alliance that has long been absurd, but is now completely odious. Yet Mr. Heath, one learns, is preparing to spend our money on celebrating this alliance and on providing a state welcome for Marcello Caetano, the current representative of Portugal's crass dictatorship: above all, after the murder of Amilcar Cabral, a man who looked to the British people with an especial hope of friendship it is hard to think of any celebration in this country that could be more odious.

*(Reprinted from The New Statesman, London, January 26, 1973)*

# inside south africa

## NO COMMENT

• Cape Town Police interrupted and stopped a wedding in a city mosque. The bride was a local Indian woman, and the groom a Turk—regarded as white in terms of South African race classification laws. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 30, 1972)

• Two African women, working on a white farm, served tea to their employer. When the tea tray was returned to the kitchen, the women used the old tea leaves to make themselves tea. Their mistress discovered them doing this and fined each of them \$7.00. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 30, 1972)

• South Africa's censors have just banned a T-shirt bearing the words: "Help Cure Virginity." (*New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1972)

• A retired school teacher shocked by the latest "immoral" fashion: trousers cut low at the back to reveal hitherto hidden assets of the female body, wants to call a conference to discuss immoral dress. The teacher is known for his campaigns against the mini skirt. (*Star*, Johannesburg Dec. 16, 1972)

• A terrible crises in Middleburg has been solved at last. The small copy of Michelangelo's nude David has been given a "tribal G-string" and the guardians of Middleburg's morals are satisfied.

• White South Africans frightened by the ever increasing number of Blacks, frequently hear Nationalist politicians urging them to have "white babies for the Republic." According to a United Party spokesman "Every white woman between the ages of 19 and 45 years would have to remain permanently pregnant and the period of pregnancy be reduced from nine to three months if the Whites wanted to close the population gap with the Blacks. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972)

• In a Christmas message to the nation, the President of South Africa, Mr. Fouché said, "Conditions in our fatherland are proof that we enjoy the goodwill of the Divine Master of Bethlehem. On the whole we enjoy prosperity. We enjoy national health. We enjoy peace. In the honesty of our hearts we must admit that it is well with us." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 30, 1972)

## FAMILIES IN RESERVES ARE STARVING

Kupugani, a non-profit nutrition corporation, circulated a request for information on conditions in the reserves. The responses indicate that hundreds of people in the Transkei, Ciskei, and Namaqualand are starving. Malnutrition is reported as the rule, with as many as 75 to 80 percent of the children examined at two hospitals in Pondoland, suffering from it. Related diseases such as tuberculosis, kwashiorkor, and marasmus are very common. In many cases, those suffering starvation conditions are women and children who have been forced back to the reserves where there is no work. The men involved have returned to the cities to work, and if they fail to send money, there is no source of income for the dependents. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. Braam Raubenheimer, has ordered an investigation into the reports of starvation. He admits that malnutrition does exist but that it is due "more to ignorance than to lack of food."

The Cape province is not the only area threatened. Parts of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are experiencing the worst drought in years, December being the driest month on record since 1925. The summer maize crop is in serious danger. Its failure would hurt the farmers in the area and also limit the supply of maize which is the staple of the African diet. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 12, 16, 23, 30.)

## COLORED LEADER CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FIRMS

Mr. Sonny Leon, president of the South African Labour Party has returned from a visit to the United States and Great Britain. His return will intensify the party's two point strategy: to call for the withdrawal of foreign investment and commercial interests from South Africa, and to consolidate an organized labor force among industrial workers in the country. Leon's position is that foreign investment simply strengthens the power of the Government, enabling it to carry out its policies.

Leon has come under attack for his position. According to the leader of the Federal Party, Mr. Tom Swartz, he "fell into the trap laid for him by anti-South African forces to condemn and blackmail his Fatherland." Swartz is chairman of the Coloured Representative Council. This council is the Nationalist Government's vehicle for dealing with the Coloured People. Swartz's party has received support from Nationalists, including substantial aid from the Broederbond. (See *Southern Africa*, December 1972.) (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 23, 1972.)



Sonny Leon

## BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION MEETS

The Black People's Convention, a new political party for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians, held a two day meeting at Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria. It is the first black political party to convene since the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960. The meeting selected leadership and established policy.

Key positions include a rejection of dialogue between South Africa and other countries. Members of the convention will not accept invitations from foreign governments which engage in dialogue or support the South African government. Further, the convention is convinced that foreign investors maintain and support the economic system of White South Africa, a "system designed for maximum exploitation of Black people."

The convention is against multi-racial sports because "they are designed by White sporting bodies." The creation of black sporting organizations will be encouraged which will be consistent with the ideological position of the Black movement.

The National President of the BPC is Mrs. Winnie Kgwane, a teacher by profession. Mr. Chris Mokokitso, former secretary of the now disbanded University Christian Movement, is the vice-president. The general secretary is Mr. Herman Buthelezi, a high school teacher from Zululand; Mr. Saths Cooper, director of the Black Theater Project, is the Public Relations officer; and Mr. Masebudi Mangena is the national organizer. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972. For background information on the Black People's Convention, see March 1972, and August-September, 1972.)

## SOUTH AFRICA'S "FREE" PRESS

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, is the man responsible for questions of censorship and press control, as well as being the man most likely to succeed John Vorster as Prime Minister. His views on censorship are thus of special importance. Mulder is in favor of a free press, including an English language press that is critical of the Government. "A free press in this country is one thing which convinces visitors that this is not a police state."

There are, however, limits to this freedom. "If the Press besmirches South Africa's name overseas or if it endangers race relations leading to tensions and conflict then I would be failing in my duty if I did not act. Otherwise I would not be true to South Africa. The obverse side of Press freedom is Press responsibility." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972)

One of many dangers inherent in his kind of "press freedom" is illustrated by Mulder's determination to alter provisions for submitting manuscripts to the censor before publication. In the past, books have been published and then withdrawn from circulation if they failed to meet the requirements of the Publications Control Board. Mulder wants book censorship to take place before publication, if that is desired by the publisher. In practice this will force frightened publishers to submit manuscripts that they fear will not pass. They will do this in order to save themselves the expense of publishing a book that later cannot be sold. But they will, by so doing, become in effect agents of the Control Board, exercising an insidious restraint on writers. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Dec. 6, 1972.)

## VORSTER HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

Prime Minister John Vorster held a press conference in late November. The main issue under discussion was

South West Africa. However, Vorster also make the following points:

Direct foreign investment in the "homelands" would be allowed if and when the homelands reached the necessary stage of development. This issue was being studied by the government and more specifics on it would possibly be made public during the 1973 session of Parliament.

The present form of communication between the Government and the Coloured people, the Coloured Representative Council, was a temporary arrangement and not a final solution to the problem. Vorster has discussed Coloured affairs with leaders of different Coloured political parties, excluding the Labour Party.

On the question of demonstrations, Vorster said that people had the right to protest, depending on where and how they did it. Protest that would escalate and lead to disruption and violence would not be tolerated.

Finally, the Government would take "positive steps" to narrow the wage gap if and when the opportunity presented itself. Vorster did not want to go into details on this question. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972)

## WHITE POLITICS: BY-ELECTION RESULTS

The results were announced from the by-elections to fill seats in parliament that were vacated when a cabinet reshuffle took place six months ago. The opposition United Party had predicted victory in Klip River. The Nationalist candidate won, but only by 232 votes as opposed to the 1,479 votes in 1970. United Party members are accepting this as a sign of growing support for their party.

The Nationalist Party won all the seats that were being contested. The issue is the size of the majority and whether or not trends can be seen. According to South African political analysts, the election shows that there is a trend away from the Nationalist Party, but that it is not significant enough to warrant expectation of a United Party victory until 1975 or 1980. In order for the United Party to gain power, it would have to undergo significant internal organizational change as well as improve its image to voters. Its Federal Plan for the future of South Africa, outlined in the November issue of *Southern Africa* is not understood by the electorate, not is it a viable program in its present form. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 9, 1972.)

The United Party is expecting a General Election in 1974 and seems encouraged by the by-election. However, its optimism is unfounded. As reported in the *Star*, the electoral system in South Africa is such that the Nationalists have been able to take and hold power without a majority of the popular white vote. (Only whites vote in South Africa.) This is possible because rural constituencies where the Nationalists are strongest are weighted in favor of urban constituencies. For example, after the 1965 establishment of constituencies, the rural district of Kurumen with 8,471 voters sent an MP to parliament, as did Turffontein with 13,149 voters.

In 1948 when the Nationalists came to power, they polled only 40 per cent of the vote. Five years later they still had only 45 per cent of the vote. Five years later they still had only 45 per cent of the vote but 94 seats in parliament as opposed to 62 United Party seats. There is a plan now to continue this practice of weighting the voting in favor of the Nationalists, giving even more power to rural and less to urban areas. The United Party is sure to oppose the plan, but they do not have the votes in Parliament to defeat it. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972.)

The presence of the opposition party in South Africa gives the impression that parliamentary democracy is alive and well. The fact that only the white minority participates at all, and that even for this minority, the system is stacked in favor of the ruling party must never be overlooked. Genuine democracy is as absent from South Africa as is racial equality.

## STUDENTS

### STUDENT PROTEST

On October 24, 1972, 38 students and a photographer were acquitted in Johannesburg on charges under South Africa's Riotous Assemblies Act rising out of a demonstration at the University of the Witwatersrand in June; and, on the 11th of November, charges against the remaining demonstrators arrested on June 4, were formally withdrawn in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court—this withdrawal was a result of a successful appeal in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

However, a blunt, formal warning by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Marais Viljoen to South African students followed, stating that demonstrations against the Government—whether peaceful or not—will no longer be tolerated and must be stopped. "The Commissioner of Police, General Gideon Joubert, has said he could not predict what degree of force or what weapons would be used against future demonstrators threatening law and order. "I cannot say we will confine ourselves to batons. We may even be compelled to use firearms, depending on the degree of violence used by the demonstrators, the threat to public order and the degree of danger to people and property," he said. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 28, 1972.)

The National Union of South African Students' (NUSAS) official response to Mr. Marais Viljoen was that it "would not hesitate to seek a court injunction to prevent the police from interfering with peaceful student protests." At the same time, it warned that it was "committed to maintaining and extending" student rights, particularly the right of peaceful protest as an integral part of the democratic process". (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Oct. 30, 1972.)

Summonses were expected to be issued early in December on behalf of about 34 University of the Witwatersrand students against the Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, for alleged wrongful arrest and imprisonment by the police.

### PETITION

A petition with 110,000 signatures has been raised by the University of the Witwatersrand and the University Cape Town and a letter requesting a meeting had been sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster. Both universities began collecting signatures for petitions during the student protests in June. Later they decided to combine their petitions. The University of Witwatersrand petition reads:

"We the undersigned:

- call on the Government to immediately revise the education system to the benefit of all;
- express our firm support for the right of peaceful protest;
- express our opposition to the undermining of democratic rights;
- abhor violent measures taken against universities and members of the public who are expressing heartfelt grievances." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Oct. 28, 1972)

## THE FUTURE

The question now arising is whether the Government plans to amend legislation or make new legislation in its battle with demonstrating students as a result of the court's acquittals and comments. "Observers do not discount the possibility that the Government is planning either to amend the Riotous Assemblies Act or introduce new legislation after the report of the Van Wyk de Vries Commission of Inquiry into universities, and the Commission of Inquiry into four organizations, including NUSAS". (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Oct. 30, 1972.)

## SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT'S ORGANIZATION (SASO)

Recently, the President of SASO, Jerry Modisane, was fined R50-00 for trespassing at the Western Cape University, and a SASO organizer was interrogated by the Security Police for alleged illegal "presence" in the Johannesburg area.

SASO has criticized Bantustan leaders Chief Kaiser Matanzime and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi for "subconsciously aiding and abetting the total subjugation of the black people of the country". SASO concedes that the chiefs have shown "fighting spirit and determination", but black people should "constantly put pressure on Bantustan leaders to pull out of the political cul-de-sac that has been created by the system". (*Anti-Apartheid News*).

The Bantu Education Department has demanded that Ramobithi Tiro, whose anti-apartheid speech at the University of the North's Graduation Day ceremonies sparked off last year's student demonstrations, should be dismissed from his teaching post at a Soweto School. "So far the school board has said it will stand by Tiro and has refused to sack him". (*Anti-Apartheid News*).



Ramobithi Tiro supported by his students during student strikes during May, 1972.

## SPORTS

### UNWRITTEN RUGBY LAW BROKEN BY SPRINGBOKS

Dr. Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, has criticized Springbok rugby players for breaking an unwritten law by using the sport for political gain. The issue arose when it became known that five Springboks were assisting former Springbok captain Dawie de Villiers in his campaign as the Nationalist candidate in the Johannesburg West by-election. Craven pointed out that while the Springboks in question had every right to assist de Villiers as individuals, the players had to be careful because "rugby is played by all political parties . . ." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972)

### PETITIONS AND PESSIMISM IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS

In separate memoranda, two non-racial sports bodies in South Africa, the National Non-racial Sports Organizations and the South African Soccer Federation, have asked the International Olympic Committee (IOC) respectively ) and the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) respectively to exclude South Africa from international sport until sports-Apartheid is ended.

That South Africa's position in international sports was growing increasingly precarious was noted by Ben Franklin, past president of the South African Lawn Tennis Union. Speaking at a Sportsman of the Year banquet at which Gary Player was given the title for the sixth time, Franklin observed that while Communists, Africans and Asians were "never satisfied with anything but total integration," South Africa's sports administrators should work to satisfy "friends in the Western World" by promoting non-white sport in the country.

He also pointed out that golf, tennis and athletics were sports in which South Africa seemed to be maintaining a satisfactory position. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972)

### A BOOST FOR ABILITY RATHER THAN RACE

Assuring its readers that there was nothing "un-Christian or unnatural" about racially mixed sport, South Africa's influential Calvinistic journal, *Woord en Daad*, recently suggested that ability should be the only factor taken into account in selecting sports teams representing South Africa overseas.

The journal cited both moral and practical reasons for taking this position, stating that exclusion that the exclusion of sportsmen from South African teams on grounds other than ability was "discriminatory and unjust," and pointing out that while multiracial sports teams were not yet appropriate in South Africa, host countries overseas, which do not share South Africa's "practical problems," have the "right to expect that we do not disturb their order by sending a purely white team." The journal insisted that this was not a "capitulation" to overseas demonstrators. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972)

## CHURCHES

### DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES MAKE STRONG RESOLUTIONS

Two of South Africa's three Dutch Reformed Churches (DRC's) have recently returned from Australia waving recommendations which, "if accepted, will bring about enormous church pressure for the overthrow of the Government's entire apartheid policy." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972) The recommendations were spawned

in the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, the smaller of two international DRC groupings. South Africa's biggest and most powerful church, the white Nederduitse Gereformeerde mother church, together with its African, Indian, and Coloured offspring, belongs to the synod. The Gereformeerde Kerk also belongs.

In Lunteren, Holland in 1968 the Reformed Ecumenical Synod sent its members home with a list of ideas for easing racial tensions. Churches were asked to test these ideas and report back in Sydney, Australia in 1972. The Sydney meeting has now come and gone, and the churches accepted 15 resolutions, most of them dealing with delicate and potentially explosive racial matters. These resolutions now need to be ratified by their own synods in South Africa, and if accepted will mean a staggering upheaval in the churches and in the country. If not accepted, the DRC churches could find themselves rejected and scorned in other countries.

Following are some of the resolutions:

—The church should speak courageously and relevantly on issues of the day . . . both for the edification and correction of her members and, where necessary, in criticism of the activities and policies of governments and organizations.

—The church bears a particular responsibility towards members of all races who suffer from poverty, underdevelopment, and political oppression.

—Even though different churches for different indigenous groups may exist, no person may be excluded from common worship on grounds of race or color.

—Church and State should refrain from prohibiting racially mixed marriages, because they have no right to limit the free choice of a marriage partner on the ground of race or color.

—Synod urges its member churches to reject every form of racial discrimination and racism; to reject every attempt to maintain racial supremacy by military, economic, or other means; to reject the subtle forms of racial discrimination found in many countries today with respect to housing, employment, education, law enforcement, etc. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972)

### CATHOLICS MOVE AGAINST RACISM

The South African Council of Churches has also reported some "vigorous and unprecedented action" by the Roman Catholic church of South Africa to eliminate racism "within their own structures and in society in general." Citing meetings in early December of the Transvaal Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and the SACC's own Division of Justice and Reconciliation as authority, *Ecunews*, news organ of the council, quotes the chairman of the Roman Catholic commission, Mr. W. Ledechowski, as saying:

"Never before has there been such a consciousness among South African Catholics of the need to attack racial injustice as that displayed at the conference."

Five task forces were appointed to deal with specific problems such as investment and labor policies, nonviolence and conscientious objection, international affairs, the role of women, and the preparation of educational materials on justice and reconciliation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972)

### ANGLICANS TO PUSH FOR BLACK JOBS

The Anglican Church in South Africa's executive body, the standing committee, has decided to put pressure on companies in which church funds are invested to induce them to improve working conditions and wages of black employees. The committee's executive officer, the Rev. Canon Carmichael, said a committee had been formed to

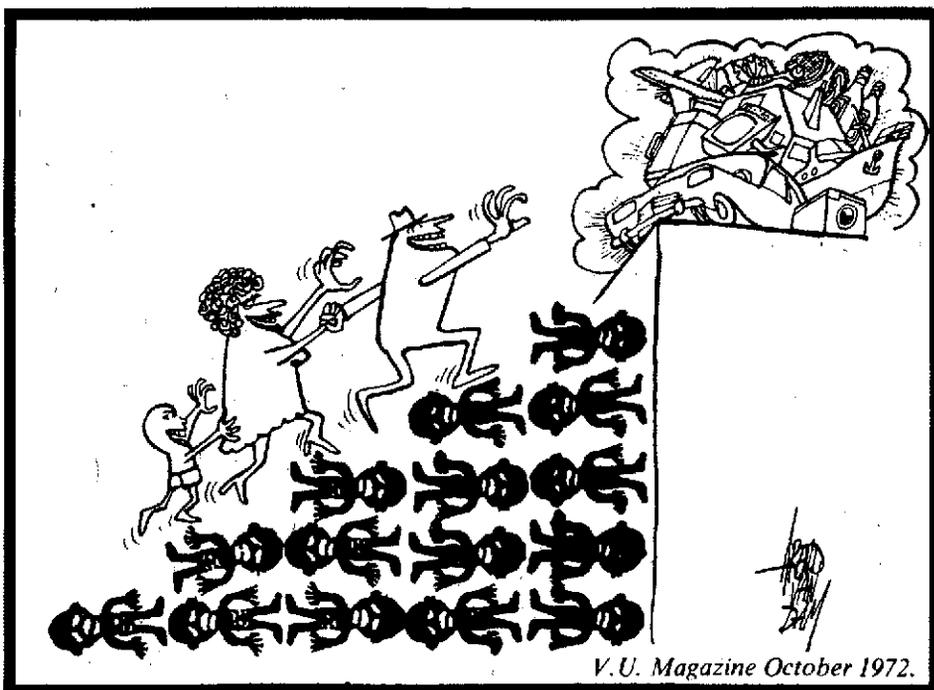
investigate ways of exerting pressure. This is the first time that a South African church has taken a stand relating to its own investments and racial justice, although churches in other countries have been involved in attempting such pressures for years. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 18, 1972)

#### DESMOND LEAVES PRIESTHOOD

Father Cosmas Desmond, the priest banned and placed under house arrest by the South African Government last year, has decided to leave both the Franciscan Order and the priesthood. His mother said that he had decided to take this step "because the church in South Africa has accepted apartheid in practice, if not in principle." (*Guardian*, London, Dec. 12, 1972) Desmond has been selected along with 11 others as political prisoners by Amnesty International for its annual "prisoner of conscience week." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 18, 1972)

#### WCC OFFERS TO "DISCUSS" GRANTS

The World Council of Churches has offered to discuss its controversial antiracism program grants with South African member churches in Nairobi in February or March. The nine South African member churches are deciding whether to attend such a meeting. The Methodists have already agreed to send three delegates. A representative of the South African Council of Churches may also attend the meeting. However, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Mulder, hinted recently that he may prevent representatives of the WCC from visiting South Africa altogether, and advised South African churches to break all links with the WCC. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972)



V.U. Magazine October 1972.

# THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

## ANGOLA

### MPLA AND GRAE SET UP SUPREME LIBERATION COUNCIL

Holden Roberto of FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and Agostinho Neto of MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) met in mid December and signed an agreement setting up a Supreme Liberation Council. The agreement provided for both a Unified Military Command, under Neto's leadership, and an Angolan Political Council, based in Zaire and headed by Roberto. (*West Africa*, London, Dec. 25, 1972; *Daily Telegraph*, London, Dec. 15, 1972)

### MILITARY ACTIVITY IN ANGOLA

MPLA guerrillas, on November 12, 1972, attacked and destroyed a new Portuguese barracks, an administrative

office and a roads department office at Lumbala. The barracks had just been rebuilt after they had been previously destroyed by MPLA on July 25. (*Daily Mail Lusaka*, Nov. 20, 1972)

On August 8, 1972 and July 10, 1972 MPLA militants in Cabinda had successes. The August incident "annihilated" a motorized enemy column on its way to the enemy barracks at Ximbeze. In July the aim was to paralyse an economic scheme exploiting timber along the Lombe river. Tractors, a truck, saws, and other equipment were seized or destroyed.

On July 27, MPLA cadres attacked an enemy cavalry company from battalion 2870 operating in the Mavinga area. (MPLA War Communiques No. 6/72 & 7/72)

Reports of Portuguese activity include mining across the border in the Mwinilunga district of Zambia, resulting in a woman's death (*Times of Zambia*, Oct. 5, 1972) and

lynching of 10 Africans in Luanda by the settlers' militia on September 10, and further shooting of children by the militia on Sept. 19 in African areas of Luana. (Radio "Voice of Freedom" in Portuguese 0015 gmt, Oct. 8, 1972)

Portuguese War communiques reported in the *Diario de Lisboa* between July 7 and October 11, 1972, have indicated activity in the Moxico area, in the Dembos, in the south, in the Cuando-Cubango region, at Uige, in northern Angola, and in Cabinda. The Portuguese reported being particularly severely attacked at the Cazage post in August. And the north is under serious enough stress that since April 28, 1972 the districts of Zaire, Uige, Northern Cuanza, Nambuangongo, Quicabo, Ucuca, Dande, Bela Vista and Ambriz have been placed under absolute military control according to *Vida Mundial*, Lisbon, July 21, 1972.

On December 13, 1972, the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (GRAE) brought seven Portuguese prisoners before the press and also released two others to the International Red Cross in Kinshasa. (Washington Post, Dec. 14, 1972)

## GUINEA-BISSAU

### BOTH SIDES REPORTED INCREASING MILITARY ACTIVITY IN GUINEA-BISSAU

It is reported that on December 14, 1972, thousands of Portuguese soldiers and marines landed in an area of southern Guinea (Bissau) known as Cantahez, a peninsula between the rivers Cumbija and Cacine, near the frontier with Guinea (Conakry). Heavy bombing by Fiat G-91 fighters preceded the mass landing by sea and air. This is the largest Portuguese operation in the war in Guinea and the first move in that particular part of the country since the war began ten years ago. (*Daily Telegraph*, London, Dec. 15, 1972)

This report followed very closely upon a report also from Portuguese sources, that they believed the PAIGC was in the midst of a big build-up of arms and supplies, including amphibious armoured vehicles, 85 mm guns with a range of 10 miles, and the 122 mm rocket. (*Daily Telegraph*, London, Dec. 11, 1972)

Portuguese sources also claimed victories in November, claiming to have killed 41 guerrillas during two weeks in November. (*Star*, South Africa, Nov. 25, 1972) There is no equally current report from the PAIGC side.

PAIGC has reported a great deal of activity during the past year however, sometimes two and three attacks a day against the Portuguese. In September the movement launched more than 60 attacks on colonial troops, in such diverse locations as Gabu, Botama, Empada, Tite, Cacine, Cadedu, Mansaba, Sare Bacar, Cambudju, Buruntuma—south, north, and east. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 11, 1972) In July 9 attacks were made on Portuguese garrisons, and on July 19 the city of Gabu was attacked and a number of military and administrative installations destroyed. There were also a variety of ambushes. In June, there were fifteen important actions against Portuguese camps. One was the penetration of the barbed wire around a detention camp and the freeing of 182 Guineans on June 26. Also on June 26, PAIGC heavy artillery attacked the town of Mansoa, and on June 29 the PAIGC had a major ambush destroying 4 vehicles in a military convoy on the route Guidage-Binta in the north. (PAIGC Actualites, No. 43 & 44, July & August 1972)

## GUINEA-CONAKRY PROPOSES DEFENSIVE PACT WITH SENEGAL

The Republic of Guinea is ready to discuss a mutual defense pact with Senegal to protect the two countries against Portuguese aggression, which both have experienced. Action would be in cooperation with the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 25, 1972; *West Africa*, London, Nov. 6, 1972)

## MOZAMBIQUE

### SUICIDE OF CHURCH LEADER IN MOZAMBIQUE JAIL

Rev. Zedequias Managahela, aged 60, reported the Mission Department of the Protestant Church of Switzerland, killed himself after six months of isolation and interrogation in a Mozambique jail. He was found hanged, on December 11. He had been imprisoned with 30 leading members of his church, the Presbyterian Church in Mozambique, since June 13. Rev. Managahela had been president of his church since 1963 and was instrumental in achieving its local autonomy. The takeover by Mozambicans of their own church affairs appears to have been one of the main accusations levelled against him and his colleagues by the Portuguese authorities. (*Times*, London, Dec. 14, 1972; *Guardian*, London, Dec. 14, 1972; *N.Y. Times*, Dec. 17, 1972)

### FRELIMO ATTACKS TWO AIRPORTS AND TOWN OF TETE

On November 9, 1972, FRELIMO guerrillas shelled the center of the town of Tete, the capital of Tete province, damaging the post office, the National Overseas Bank and the Zambeze Hotel usually occupied by army officers and engineers working on the Cabora Bassa Dam. At the same time, another unit shelled Tete's Chingozzi airport, where 17 aircraft, including helicopters were destroyed on the ground. The hangar and aircraft within were also blown up and a helicopter flying in from Caldas Xavier was shot down. The runway was reportedly very badly damaged. Thirty barracks near the airport, housing a company of paratroopers, were also largely destroyed.

Portuguese sympathiser, correspondent Ian Colvin, describing "a marked increase in guerrilla terrorist activities" in the Tete area also mentions this event: "Operations have also included an attack by Russian-built rockets on Tete airport. Some have fallen in the town of Tete itself, which has for two years been effectively cut off from Rhodesia and Malawi except for intermittent convoys of lorries."

Another *Daily Telegraph* reporter writes from Lisbon: "Russian 122 mm rockets with a seven-mile range have been used by FRELIMO in an attack on the military air base at Matundo across the Zambesi River from Tete. (*Daily Telegraph*, London, Nov. 27, 1972; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 21, 1972)

### MANICA AND SOFALA ACTIVITY SPECIFIED BY FRELIMO

The first FRELIMO war communique from the new front in Manica and Sofala was issued October 27, 1972, indicating activity in the regions of Mandie, Mungari, Vila Gouveia, and the area between Mungari and Chema. On July 25, a FRELIMO unit stopped a convoy of seven lorries on the road between Goera and Vila Gouveia. The lorries carried material for the Cabora Bassa dam. The drivers, all Europeans, did not resist and were unharmed; FRELIMO solicited a ride for them to Vila Gouveia when another car passed. FRELIMO then destroyed the lorries 17

and material, including barrels of tar, drums of petrol, cement, and electrical equipment. The same day two Portuguese camps were attacked. By August 15, FRELIMO units also attacked the administrative post of Mungari and ambushed convoys or troops on five other occasions. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Oct. 28, 1972)



FRELIMO militant

#### NEWS FROM MOZAMBIQUE'S BORDERS

In mid November a Portuguese soldier was killed on the Tanzanian side of the Royuma River. In late November, early December, the Portuguese claimed to destroy at least 10 guerrilla camps in the far north of Mozambique. Parachute troops and special forces units were used for this big operation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972; *Financial Times*, London, Dec. 6, 1972, *Daily Mail*, Zambia, Nov. 16, 1972)

Rhodesian Security Forces claim to have captured a number of armed guerrillas on the frontier with Mozambique as well as supplies or arms and explosives. After a Rhodesian farmhouse was fired upon by automatic weapons, all army and air force holiday leaves were cancelled and Salisbury police reservists were on standby status as Rhodesian security forces searched for more guerrillas along Mozambique's borders. (*Agence France Presse*, Dec. 23, 1972; *Le Monde*, France, Dec. 7, 1972)

"Operation Border" is a Portuguese scheme for showcase social and economic progress in the far north of Mozambique at the chosen town of Nangade. On October 23, Nangade was toured by the Lourenco Marques-based consul of the United States, France, West Germany, Italy, South Africa and Rhodesia. At Nangade, water and power lines have been laid, and the nucleus of a town built (replacing traditional African huts of a few years ago). Two primary schools, a school of arts and crafts, a hospital, and a cooperative warehouse have been built. It is planned that Africans will next build themselves housing under the supervision of Army engineers. Farming and fishing experts have arrived to teach modern methods. And the first television station ever in Mozambique is scheduled to open soon—in Nangade. (*Agence France Presse*, Oct. 24, 1972)

#### KAULZA DA ARRIAGA ON DEFENSIVE CLAIMS FRELIMO FAILED 7 TIMES

Faced with increasing criticism by Rhodesian and South African neighbors, Portuguese military commander in Mozambique Kaulza da Arriaga, recently issued a major statement claiming FRELIMO guerrillas had failed in seven major attempts against the Portuguese forces in 1972. His list totally lacks corroboration by media at the time of the events he cites. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972)

#### BRAZIL AND AFRICA

##### BRAZIL'S PORTUGUESE TIES HURT RELATIONS WITH AFRICA

Brazil's Foreign Minister, Mario Gibson Barbosa, visited eight African countries on the Atlantic in late October, early November 1972. The trip was touted as a turning point in Brazilian foreign policy and a reassertion of a common heritage and interests, but the principal goals were economic. Brazil's rapidly growing economy can absorb raw materials from Africa, and Brazil also sees a market-potential in Africa for Brazilian public services, technical assistance and machinery suited to similar geographical and ecological conditions. Another reason for the thrust into Africa by Brazil is an attempt to gain recognition as a "third world" leader.

Not only has Brazil forayed into the economic scene, but Barbosa also offered to help arrange talks between the liberation movements, African states and Portugal concerning the future of the colonies, a proposal which was well received by Camerounian President Adidjo.

However, most of Africa seems to be asking Brazil to choose—saying it cannot both maintain its currently good relationships with South Africa and Portugal, including its trade with the African Portuguese colonies, and also cultivate the trade and goodwill of the rest of the African continent. In March 1972, a Brazilian industrial and commercial group set up a trading company in Portuguese-held Mozambique. In June, Portugal and Brazil were reported to be planning a joint investment bank for operations in Mozambique, Angola, and South Africa. In August, the Banco do Brasil was said to be contemplating opening a subsidiary in either Angola or South Africa. Brazilian newspapers carry vivid advertisements for trips to South Africa and trade and governmental exchanges are regular.

On December 4 and 8, 1972, *Diario de Noticias* (Lisbon) reported that three hundred bankers, industrialists and traders from Angola, and Mozambique had arrived in Sao Paulo for a conference concerning trade with Brazil. Portugal wishes to open trade representations

in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Santos, while Brazil wants to open trade representations in Lisbon, Luanda and Lourenco Marques. This is seen as a first step in a ten year plan whereby, via Lisbon, Brazil will gain entry to the common market, while Portugal gets, viz Brazil, an open door to the Free Trade Organization in Latin America.

As a writer in the magazine *West Africa* (Nov. 13 & 20, 1972) said, "It will require much more than a whistle-stop trip by the Brazilian Foreign Minister through some African countries to convince black Africa that Brazil and Brazilians have come to grips with the realities of Black Africa." (*West Africa*, loc. cit.; *Christian Science Monitor*, U.S., Sept 7, 1972, *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1972; *Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 4, & Nov. 25, 1972)

## THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

### MACGREGOR IN RHODESIA

Clark MacGregor, former campaign manager for Nixon and now an official of the United Aircraft Corporation, was vacationing with his wife in Rhodesia and gave a quarter-hour television interview, broadcast at prime time in Salisbury. He said that the lifting of the chrome embargo and the Olympic Games incident had produced sympathy for the white regime and that U.S. policy towards Southern Africa might soon change "for the better," thereby implying a possible recognition of the Rhodesian government. Political observers in Salisbury were skeptical about attaching much significance to his remarks. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972) The *Washington Post* and the *Religious News Service* raised the possibility that the MacGregor comments might have been a "trial balloon" to test U.S. reaction to a possible recognition of Rhodesia, in spite of State Department denials. The *Post* condemned any movement toward recognition as an act in favor of white supremacy. (*Washington Post* editorial in *International Herald Tribune*, Paris, Nov. 30, 1972; *Religious News Service*, New York, Nov. 28, 1972) The South African Government attached importance to MacGregor's remarks as reflecting the new open and pragmatic attitude of the Nixon Administration. (*South African Broadcast Corporation*, *Current Affairs*, Nov. 27, 1972)

### FERGUSON GIVES NIXON ORIENTATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

After completing a four-week tour of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Clyde Ferguson, gave a news conference in Nairobi outlining the Nixon policy of "contact" with African countries, including all segments of the population in South Africa, and disengagement from the Cold War and any competition with Russia and China in Africa. He said there were important signs of flux in South Africa, including the decision to give some black doctors equal pay with white doctors, the recent strike of Durban dockers and Johannesburg bus drivers, and the support of

white labor unions for a black trade union movement. Ferguson said active American intervention in Africa's problems would solve nothing and he defended the decision to buy Rhodesian chrome on the basis of the high Russian price for the commodity. His remarks were considered very indicative of Nixon orientation by the South African Broadcast Corporation, and are expected to be an important part of the Nixon State-of-the-World Message in 1973. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Nov. 11, 1972; *Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 18 and Dec. 2, 1972; *South African Broadcast Corporation*, *Current Affairs*, Nov. 27, 1972)

### THE NEW CONGRESS AND ITS 1973 AFRICAN AGENDA

The November elections probably added about three Senate and five House votes to the liberal side of African questions. Important Senate gains are represented by Haskell (D-Colo.), Clark (D-Iowa), Hathaway (D-Maine) and Abourezk (D-S.D.). Huddleson (D-Ky.) will probably be more conservative than Cooper and Bartlett (R-Okla.) will definitely be much more conservative than Harris. Other Senate changes will probably not change votes. Important House gains include well-informed Patricia Schroeder (Colo.), Richard Ottinger (N.Y.), three California representatives (Peter Stark, Leo Ryan and George Brown) and the three new members of the Black Caucus (Andrew Young of Ge., Barbar Jourdan of Tex., and Yvonne Burke of Calif.). Big losses include Ab Mikva, John Dow and James Abourezk, and in general the Illinois delegation promises to be much more conservative than before.

In 1973 Congressman Diggs will probably continue hearings on African policy, focusing on Namibia, American aid to development in Africa, trade and monetary patterns, and possible leaks in the arms embargo against South Africa and Portugal. Diggs' bill on fair employment practices for American companies in South Africa should be heard by one of the subcommittees of the Judiciary Committee. The sugar quota comes up again for renewal in September, 1973, and the International Coffee Agreement, if it does not die before that time, may come up as well. In the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee will probe into multinational corporations, including those involved in South Africa. Fraser in the House and McGee in the Senate are not anxious to revive the chrome issue and suffer another defeat, but there may be possibilities in approaching Fulbright on the sanctions-busting question. (*Washington Notes on Africa*, Nov. 22, 1972)

### IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AZORES AGREEMENT

In application of the December 1971 arrangement, the U.S. has delivered the promised oceanographic vessel to Portugal (early 1972) and spent the money for education. In early summer an agreement for the \$30 million two-year Food for Peace program was signed. Portugal has made no request thus far for the \$5 million in non-military equipment, according to the Defense Department.

In the Senate-House conference over the Foreign Aid bill, the Case provisions of the Senate bill requiring a submission of all agreements as treaties to the Senate and cutting off funds for the Azores agreement proved to be one stumbling block in the deliberations. No agreement was reached and the Congress simply voted a continuing resolution to sustain foreign aid. (*Washington Notes on Africa*, Nov. 22, 1972)

## U.S. COMMUNICATIONS BASE IN ETHIOPIA ASSISTS PORTUGAL

It is reported that the U.S. giant relay station for world communications can listen in on guerrilla radio communications from the bush of the Portuguese colonies and can, by their signals, locate them specifically for the Portuguese. The station is in Ethiopia. (*Afrique-Asie*, Paris, Nov. 13, 1972.)



*Effects of herbicides in Angola*

## LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

### OAU DELEGATION INSIDE MOZAMBIQUE

The OAU Liberation Committee sent a delegation, led by Executive Secretary Hashim Mbita, to spend two weeks in liberated Mozambique. Living in Cabo Delgado Province with FRELIMO, the group returned to hold a press conference in Dar es Salaam at which they confirmed FRELIMO control of the province and exhibited a Belgian sub-machine gun which the Front had captured from the Portuguese. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Dec., 1972)

## HERBICIDES SOLD TO PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. sales of herbicides to Portugal and South Africa have increased substantially between 1969 and 1972, coinciding with reports of MPLA and FRELIMO use of herbicides in liberated areas as well as reports that South African planes have been used in the spraying process (*Sunday Times*, London, July 9, 1972). The U.S. Government has recently classed as civilian several herbicides that previously had both civilian and military uses and has sold to South Africa preparations containing 2, 4-D and 2, 4, 5-T which have been used in Vietnam and are classed as munitions. Sales figures for Portugal are as follows:

		Value
1969	Herbicides, NEC	22,050 lbs.
	Herbicide Preparations	23,590
1970	Herb., NEC	88,200
	Herb. Preparations	17,125
1971	Herb. Preparations	109,297
1972	(Jan.-July)	
	Herb. NEC	18,203
	Herb. Preparations	239,268

Sales figures for South Africa are as follows:

		Weight	Value
1969	Herb., 2, 4-D & 2, 4, 5-T	644,087 lbs.	\$ 155,707
	Herb., NEC	347,237	832,847
	Herb. Preparations	1,738,740	994,944
	(with some 2, 4-D & 2, 4, 5-T)		
1970	Herb., 2, 4-D & 2, 4, 5-T	426,680	83,815
	Herb., NEC	407,223	1,007,863
	Herb. Preparations	2,812,205	1,499,454
	(with some 2, 4-D and 2, 4, 5-T)		
1971	Herb., 2, 4-D & 2, 4, 5-T	843,499	354,419
	Herb., NEC	472,480	1,277,011
	Herb. Preparations	3,977,266	1,992,467
	(with some 2, 4-D & 2, 4, 5-T)		
1972	(Jan.-July)		
	Herb., 2, 4-D & 2, 4, 5-T	657,010	137,302
	Herb., NEC	26,826	7,528
	Herb. Preparations	572,594	512,757
	Herb. of Pentachlorophenate & Mercury (in previous years included with Herb. NEC)		23,220

(*Washington Notes on Africa*, Nov. 22, 1972)

## DAHOMY—ABOUT FACE TO SUPPORT LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The latest military coup d'état in the small West African state of Dahomey has split the former almost solid French-speaking African alliance with respect to attitudes about Southern Africa. Major M. Kerekou announced that his government would fully support the OAU position on liberation movements, a far cry from the leading position of the pro-dialogue Ivory Coast. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972).

The Johannesburg *Star* ran a recent article about the growing friendship between the Central African Republic's President, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, and South Africa. The reporter who visited the CAR attested to Bokassa's backing of the Houghouet-Boigny line and the receptivity of the former French colony to South African trade and visitors. A Presidential spokesman said that the CAR government is afraid that armed struggle in South Africa would result in a victory for the whites. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972).

The following press release was issued by IFCO on January 23rd.

WE URGE ALL OUR READERS TO SUPPORT THE APPEAL.  
PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE PAIGC DIRECTLY  
TO IFCO, 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N.Y.  
10027 (212) 870 - 3151

"It was announced today by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) that its response to the murder of Amilcar Cabral would be an attempt to raise \$100,000 for the independence struggle which he led.

Lucius Walker, Black director of the foundation stated, "We feel a profound sense of loss and outrage over this most treacherous attempt to stop the freedom drive of a courageous people, but we will not take time to mourn or to indulge our anger. They keep killing good men who are fighting evil, but this time we are determined the assassination will not stop Guinea-Bissau's near victory after 16 long years of struggle. We have mourned over fallen heroes enough; this time we will not mourn; we will work harder to press the struggle on."

IFCO is a Black-controlled foundation which has raised nearly \$3,000,000 over the past five years for community organization and for liberation projects in the United States and abroad.

Said Mr. Walker, "We have a responsibility which is especially ours in this country. We can provide financial support to the PAIGC, but we must also educate ourselves and our people to understand the true nature of the struggles being waged in Africa and here at home."

# AT THE UNITED NATIONS

## TERRORISM POLARIZES UNITED NATIONS

The General Assembly approved a resolution sponsored by Algeria that concerns itself principally with exploring the causes of acts of terrorism rather than with drawing up international legislation aimed at stemming the acts of terrorism. There were 76 votes in favor of the resolution and 34 opposed including the United States, Portugal and South Africa. Two other resolutions, the first, introduced by the United States, called for an international conference to be held early in 1973 to draw up a convention against acts of terrorism, and condemned acts of international terrorism. The second, introduced by a group of countries that included Italy, Austria, Canada and Britain, called for the U.S. International Law Commission to draft a convention to be considered "at the earliest practical date."

The resolution which passed "condemns the continuation of repressive and terrorist acts by colonial racist and alien regimes in denying people their legitimate right to self-determination and independence and other human rights and fundamental freedoms." Afghanistan, Cameroon, Chad, the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Guyana, India, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mali, the Sudan, Yugoslavia and Zambia joined Algeria in sponsoring this resolution. (*N. Y. Times*, Dec. 12, 1972)

## DISAGREEMENT OVER U.N.'S ESCHER REPORT

Alfred Escher's report to the Security Council following his 17 day visit to South West Africa (Namibia) and talks with South African Premier Vorster was received with mixed reaction. Premier Vorster said that the document should be recognized as an indication that South Africa was not only prepared to discuss the future of South West Africa but to agree to a basis for a solution. The report conveys the South African Government's view that South West Africa should advance to independence under a system of separate regional development evolving possibly to a federal system at an undetermined future time. In the meantime, its various ethnic groups would be represented on an advisory committee presided over by Premier Vorster. Key Africa delegates remained unsatisfied with the concessions that U.N. Secretary General Waldheim's office has made with the South African Government over self-determination for Namibia. Meanwhile the Security Council has agreed to an extension until April 30, 1973 of the Secretary General's mandate for contacts with South Africa on the problem. The resolution stressed that these must be conducted in the light of UN insistence on independency for a united Namibia. The resolution was adopted by 13 to 0 with

Russia abstaining and calls upon South Africa "to bring about a peaceful transfer of power." Both China and the Soviet Union have agreed to serve on the council for Namibia but Britain, France and the U.S. refused, saying that they did not vote for the establishment of the council five years ago. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Nov. 25, 1972; *Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972; *International Herald Tribune*, Dec., 14, 1972; *Washington Afro-American*, Nov. 28, 1972; *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 13, 1972)

## ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION RECOGNIZES LEGITIMACY OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

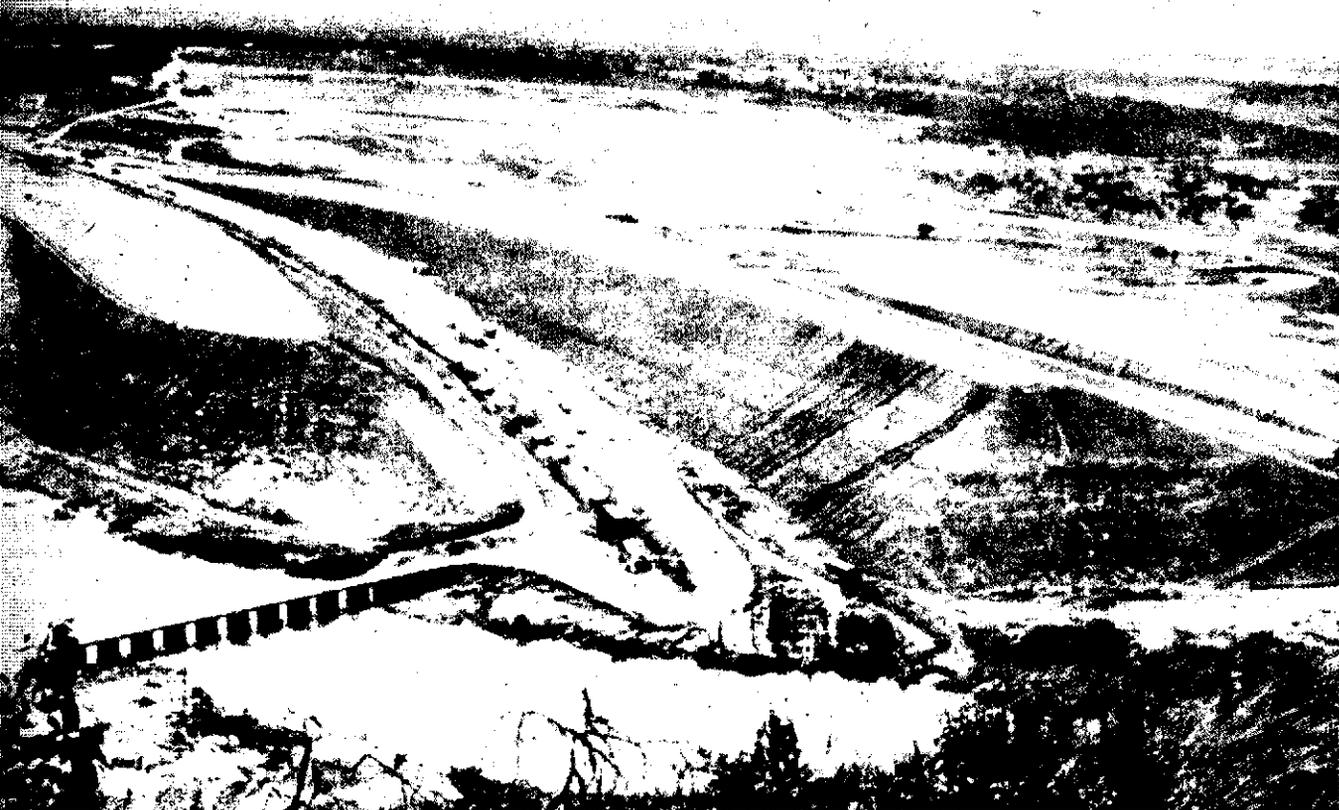
A resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly by a vote of 98 to 6 with 8 abstaining and 20 absent, called for early negotiations between Portugal and the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea (Guinea Bissau). The resolution also stated that the liberation movements "are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those territories." Only Britain, the United States, Brazil, Spain and South Africa joined Portugal in voting against the resolution. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972)

## U.N. CONDEMNS CABORA BASSA AND KUNENE RIVER DAMS

A resolution adopted by 106 to 6 (Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, Britain and the United States) with 15 abstentions condemned the Cabora Bassa and Kunene River schemes as part of a wider resolution attacking the activities of foreign economic interests which are blocking the independence of colonial peoples. The resolution declares that the projects are intended to "entrench colonialist and racist domination over the territories in Africa and are a source of international tension." An earlier resolution had asked European Common Market members to deny aid and "commercial or other facilities" to South Africa as long as the country practices race segregation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972; *Evening Star* and *Daily News*, Nov. 16, 1972)

## U.N. CONGRATULATES AUSTRALIA

The U.N.'s Apartheid Committee sent a message of congratulations to the Australian Government on its decision to bar sports teams selected on a racial basis. The Committee has complained to the British and Irish Governments and to the English Squash Rackets Association about the South African squash team's visit in January 1973. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972, Dec. 16, 1972)



general view of the Gove dam which Portugal is building on the Cunene in southern Angola

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## S P O R T S

### **SOUTH AFRICA'S 'RACIAL' TEAMS BARRED FROM AUSTRALIA**

Australia's new Prime Minister, Mr. Gough Whitlam, has indicated that his Labour Government will refuse to permit racially selected sports teams from South Africa to enter the country, either to participate in matches with Australian teams or for purposes of transit to other countries. Although Dr. Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, insisted that Whitlam would be the "loser" and that Australian teams would be barred from South Africa in retaliation, there can be little doubt that the new Australian Government has struck a forthright and important blow against South Africa's sports-apartheid policy.

Heretofore, white South Africans have been allowed into Australia without visas. In future, however, visas will be required of all South Africans, both for entry and for transit, and will apparently be denied to members of South African sports teams. This will mean the cancellation of a number of planned rugby matches in Australia, and will prevent South Africa's Springbok rugby team from travelling to New Zealand via Australia for a scheduled tour this year.

The stance of Australia's new Labour Government with regard to South African sports teams is one important aspect of a policy which appears to be directed toward cleansing the country of both internal racial

policies and association with racist governments elsewhere. In related moves, Whitlam has decided to close down a Rhodesian Information Centre located in a Sydney suburb and has acted to eliminate racial restrictions in Australian immigration laws. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972)

### **SPRINGBOK'S NEW ZEALAND TOUR IN SERIOUS JEOPARDY**

Even if South African Rugby Board president, Danie Craven, can figure out a way to get the Springboks to New Zealand without stopping in Australia (see above), the all white rugby team—the pride of South Africa—is destined for a rough time of it in New Zealand, if they make it at all.

Opposition to this year's traditional match between the Springboks and the New Zealand All Blacks (for their black playing uniforms) has been mounting steadily over the past few months, particularly since the refusal of South Africa's Minister for Sport, Koornhof, to permit non-white players to participate in pre-tour trials. Halt All Racial Tours (HART), an anti-apartheid organization with active committees in both New Zealand and England, has spearheaded the movement and has put pressure on the All Blacks, recently on tour in England, to cancel their invitation to the Springboks. As of mid-December, attempts on the part of the London committee of HART to get the All Blacks to meet with them had been unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, New Zealand's Prime Minister-elect, Mr. Norman Kirk, has indicated that while his Labour Government will not interfere with the conduct of the proposed Springbok tour, there will be no Government 23

reception for the players, and the team, selected on racial grounds, will not be officially recognized. Said Mr. Kirk, "We will indicate our opposition to apartheid and to discrimination on grounds of race or colour." (*Star* Johannesburg, Nov. 27, 1972; Dec. 2, 1972)

In the opinion of anti-apartheid groups in New Zealand, the welcome position of the new Government is likely to indirectly bring about cancellation of the tour. Even those who do not consider the Government position welcome at all agree. Writing for the *Star* Russell Gault, an immigrant from New Zealand, pointed out that "the Labour-supporting Federation of Labour, the union power in New Zealand, knows it will have almost free rein to disrupt the tour. Transport, accommodation, catering and numerous other essential facilities are likely to be subjected to effective union boycotts and blacklisting." (*Star* Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972; *Observer* London, Oct. 29, 1972; *Guardian* London, Dec. 11, 1972; *Christian Science Monitor* Boston, Oct. 11, 1972)

### TENNIS ANYONE . . . OR SQUASH?

Canadian MLA Emery Barnes refused to open a Vancouver tennis tournament in which two South Africans were competing, and indicated that he also intended to "seek a review of government policy regarding South African products, including wines stocked on Liquor Control Board shelves." Premier Dave Barrett supported Barnes' action and also stated that the proposal for such a review would be given "serious consideration." (*Vancouver Sun*, Oct. 17, 1972)

And in England, the Royal Automobile Club has decided not to present the squash test matches scheduled

between England and South Africa. Other squash fixtures have been cancelled as well, with all cancellations being regarded as anti-apartheid victories by England's Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, a familiar refrain is heard: How can there be racialism in squash "when there are no non-whites interested in playing or watching the game." (*Guardian*, London, Nov. 30, 1972)

### IOC PRESIDENT LORD KILLANIN CLARIFIES ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVITIES

Ireland's Lord Killanin, who replaced Avery Brundage as president of the International Olympic Committee, has insisted that contrary to a report in the British magazine, *Sportsworld*, he has never contributed money to the fight against apartheid.

This fact, however, should give little comfort to South Africa's sports-apartheid advocates since Lord Killanin also asserted that he had been a patron of the Irish anti-apartheid movement for many years and had resigned only when he became chairman of an IOC fact-finding commission sent to South Africa in 1967 and felt that this position required political impartiality.

Emphasizing that he was still against apartheid, Lord Killanin said that the chances of South Africa and Rhodesia competing in the next Olympics depended upon future developments and reports. He refused to comment specifically on these countries or on whether or not Uganda's olympic standing would be affected by the recent expulsion of Asians. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972)

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Southern Africa in Perspective: Essays in Regional Politics**  
Christian A. Potholm and Richard Dale, eds.; New York: The Free Press, 1972. \$12.95 hardcover. 417pp.

This anthology of 23 essays is intended to serve as a basic source book for advanced students of political science looking at Southern Africa as a region. The thrust is towards comprehensiveness and balance—dealing with all the territories in the region and the broader context of "influence vectors". The center point of the balance is that of moderate liberal American political science, and the viewpoints represented range from semi-official Portuguese and Afrikaner positions (3 essays) to the position of the liberation movements (one essay by two SWAPO representatives). Also represented among the contributors are more moderate white South Africans (2 essays), Africans from Zambia, Kenya and Uganda (3 essays), English scholars (2 essays), a black American political scientist (1 essay), and nine white American scholars (11 essays).

The overall orientation is set by an introductory essay by Richard Dale on "research frontiers", and a concluding schema of scenarios of the future in Southern Africa by Christian Potholm. The introductory essay is a useful guide to academic sources of information on Southern African political developments. However, there is little on publications of support groups such as Southern Africa Committee, Liberation Support Move-

ment, or Angola Comite, and an almost complete neglect of sources of information on economic developments. The tone unfortunately gives the impression that Southern Africa exists largely for the purpose of providing interesting cases for political scientists to study.

The concluding essay lays out nine scenarios. Pothelm sees, in the short run, continuation of the status quo; in five-ten years, advances by African nationalist forces in Angola and Mozambique; and in the long run, intervention by the "Great Powers" in favor of African majority rule (!). The option of victory for the African liberation forces in the region as a whole is ruled out as unlikely, and the possibility that the Western powers might intervene on the side of the white minority regimes is not even considered.

This omission reveals a basic flaw to the whole work, for the section on "Influence Vectors" contains no article on the present involvement of the Western powers. It has one on the OAU and Liberation (on the whole well-informed), one on the military balance (straight-forward, more or less up-to-date through 1969), one by a South African proponent of a "Southern African Commonwealth" headed by South Africa, and one by John Marcum discussing the problems of exile movements. But the vital strategic involvement of Britain, the U.S., or Western Europe is mentioned only in passing in a few of the book's articles. Thus economics is ignored (for

most part) and existent Western involvement played  
down: The "scenarios" section consequently reinforces  
the misleading dichotomy between non-intervention  
presumably the present) and the expectation of  
intervention on the side of majority rule (an expectation  
suitable for a "liberal" political scientist). The result is  
that the political issue of stopping the present support  
given to the white regimes is bypassed, and the danger of  
increased Western intervention against African liberation  
is ignored.

The other four sections of the book are on "The South  
African Nexus" (including Namibia), "The Former High  
Commission Territories", "Angola and Mozambique", and  
"The Former Central African Federation". The articles  
are, as one would expect, of mixed quality. Perhaps of  
best use are the essays on Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland,  
and Malawi, simply because of the difficulty in finding  
brief discussions of developments in these areas. The  
editors themselves have concentrated on study of the  
former High Commission territories, and in the essays on  
Botswana, by Dale, and Swaziland, by Potholm, reveal  
some of their own orientation towards the future of  
Southern Africa. Dale waxes eloquent about Botswana's  
possible role in promoting dialogue "between the whites  
of the south and the blacks of the north". Potholm not  
only explains, but also justifies the Swaziland govern-  
ment's position, noting that "the cause of liberation of

Southern Africa and the radical reconstruction of the  
subsystem are not—at least to the Swazis—worth the  
price of economic or political dislocation".

The section on Angola and Mozambique would have  
been greatly enhanced by including an article stemming  
from MPLA or FRELIMO, or even (although it would  
upset the editors' geographical scheme) by Amilcar Cabral  
of PAIGC. Instead, there are two essays on Portuguese  
colonialism, one by a Portuguese scholar, the other by  
Douglas Wheeler, a "neutral" American historian, and two  
essays, by Ronald Chilcote and Maina Kagombe, on  
nationalism in Angola and Mozambique. Both of the  
latter articles are sympathetic, but neither provides much  
on the development of the liberation struggle in recent  
years, Chilcote devoting much of his essay to  
pre-FRELIMO developments, and Kagombe using much  
of his for a theoretical essay on guerrilla warfare.

The book concludes with an extensive bibliography,  
both of books and articles, a useful feature and worth  
consulting. But overall the book does not seem suitable as  
a text on Southern Africa. Someone wanting an overview  
of Southern Africa would still do better to build it up  
from several books and pamphlets, rather than letting  
Professors Dale and Pothold do the selection. Some of the  
articles in the book are, however, well worth reading.  
Moreover, the idea of such an overview is a good one—it is  
needed. One hopes the next attempt will be better.

## FILMS:

### FILM REVIEW: A LUTA CONTINUA (The Struggle continues)

*A Luta Continua* is unquestionably the best available  
film on the African liberation struggle. It was made in the  
autumn of 1971 by two committed Afro-American film  
journalists visiting liberated Mozambique. The 32 minute  
color film not only portrays the texture and quality of  
life in free Mozambique with a sensitive and sympathetic  
camera eye, but it also sets this portrait within an  
historical and political context. Using music, stills, maps,  
camera techniques, cartoons and graphics *A Luta  
Continua* unlike other films on African revolutions,  
outlines the basics of Portuguese colonialism, historic  
African resistance, the neo-colonial present, and the  
Southern African medium of the Portuguese colonies.  
Moving the viewer to the inevitable massacre of Mueda,  
the film, at times with drama, at moments with great  
significance, shows something about the origins of the  
Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the nature of  
the anti-Portuguese and anti-imperialist war, and the kind  
of exciting reconstruction of society which is being forged  
by Mozambicans today. The reality of a Portuguese  
helicopter attack; the schools and health clinics; the song  
and animated dancing of women, of children, of soldiers;  
the ideology and practice of the people emerge from *A  
Luta Continua* to form a unity of words and pictures  
about the Mozambican revolution.

Having observed several different audiences and their  
positive reactions to the film, it is clear that the intent of  
the film makers is fulfilled—that is to make the African  
struggle understandable and relevant to people's lives here  
they women, Blacks, High School students.

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or political organizations)

# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

## WAR ESCALATES ON THE FRONT

Guerrilla warfare on the Zimbabwe front escalated into a running war over the Christmas season. Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) (the military wing of the United Command of the Zimbabwe African People's Union [ZAPU] and the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZAPU]) land mines killed several Rhodesian soldiers, and ZANLA fighters attacked several farms which had been converted into operation centers and the towns of Mtoko and Mt. Darwin, which had become operation headquarters for the region, were also attacked.

An information bulletin released by ZANLA points out that Reuters reports are slanted to give the impression that ZANLA is attacking unarmed children, women and civilians. ZANLA gives details of places, dates and names of battles fought and Settler soldiers killed and wounded on the farms. They point out that Settler military fatalities are deliberately not disclosed to give the Settlers a false sense of security. (ZANLA INFORMATION; Lusaka, Jan. 4, 1973)

According to the *New York Times* (Jan. 7) "guerrilla attacks against white-owned farm houses and burning of stores just before Christmas revived fears of an offensive by black nationalists against Prime Minister's Government." Two farms in the Centenary area, a tobacco-growing area about 120 miles north of the capital, Salisbury, were attacked a week before Christmas. A week later the towns of Mtoko and Mt. Darwin were also attacked, and guerrillas were reported to be moving in the whole northeastern region which borders on Mozambique. Movements of guerrillas were also reported in the northwestern region, around Wankie and in the western region on the border with Botswana.

A number of white farmers have sold their farms and moved into the more settled areas, but the Government discourages such moves which could trigger panic evacuation of certain areas. The Government is now paying incentives for farmers to remain in the northeastern region and is using most of the farms as bases of operation.

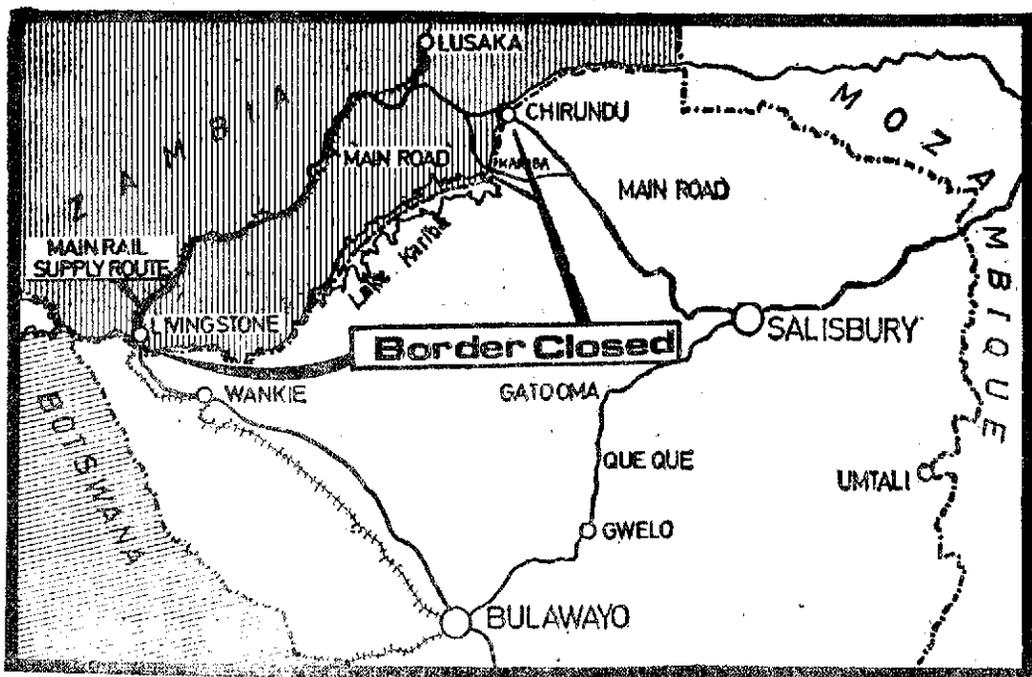
Rhodesian Defense Minister John Howman told a public meeting that until recently the only security threat had come from the northern region which borders with Zambia... "but now we have a somewhat changed position—we have two additional borders to watch and protect." He added: "We have always have to watch the Botswana border but now we have undoubted evidence of terrorists in Botswana." (*New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1973)

ZANLA information bulletin maintains that their fighters are operating from within the country and have bases outside the country. "The fact that ZANLA operations are taking place in Zimbabwe, far away from any Zambian border, confirms our long held view that Zimbabwe people are fighting within Zimbabwe itself."

Both Rhodesia and South Africa have threatened to punish and even make pre-emptive strikes against countries that support freedom movements.

## RHODESIA BLOCKADES ZAMBIA

Rhodesia closed her borders with Zambia on January 9 (*New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1973). Rhodesia took the action because "the Zambian Government had ignored repeated requests to stop guerrillas from using its territory as a base for raids into Rhodesia." Zambia is a land-locked country, and therefore the blockade would affect well over 75% of Zambia's imports and exports. Rhodesia Railways were until recently jointly owned by Zambia



and Rhodesia and therefore Zambia used that outlet more than any other. International law generally gives a right to land-locked countries to import and export without duress. The Rhodesian Government made only one exception to the blockade, copper. Until now Zambia exported 27,000 tons of copper a month, over 40 per cent of Zambia's copper exports, through Rhodesia.

Contrary to Rhodesia's expectations, Zambia retaliated by stopping all exports through Rhodesia, including copper exports. Rhodesia Railways benefits tremendously from transportation of Zambia's bulk commodities like copper; but Zambia has to try and reroute all her imports and the 27,000 tons a month copper. President Kaunda said he would do just that because he would not be blackmailed by Rhodesia into abandoning freedom fighters of southern African. Portugal and Malawi have expressed their disagreement with Smith on the blockade, but South Africa is fully supporting Rhodesia after stating that the sanctions were imposed without her prior knowledge. Two of the soldiers killed were South African. President Kaunda disclosed that 4,000 South African soldiers were in Rhodesia to help Smith. (*London Sunday Times*, Jan. 14).

#### THE NEW STRATEGY:

ZANU's publicity secretary W. Maliaga told the *Star* (May 22, 1972). [See "South Africa's Neighbors" section for further details] that following the Pearce finding they were now "fully confident that there are enough Africans in Rhodesia willing to pick up guns and use them." He added that they were aware of many Africans who were anxious to assist in the freedom struggle if they were supplied with the arms: "We know that we cannot hope to achieve our objectives for some years. But time is on our side. One day there will be plenty of guns in Rhodesia and our people will know what to do with them." The *Star* report added that "At present ZANU... seems by far the most powerful of the three rival groups... Zapu and Zanu are trying yet again to unite, at least for the purpose of pooling their military resources... FROLIZI has done nothing to convince its numerous critics that it is anything more than an impotent splinter group."

Among the recently reported incidents of the escalating war are the following:

The attack on two farms in which a child and a woman were injured occurred around December 20 at Altena farm. The report pointed out that there had been a battle with guerrillas two weeks before that. (*London Times* Dec. 22, 1972) According to the *New York Times* (Jan. 10, 1973) "The Rhodesian security forces also reported a guerrilla raid last night against Mount Darwin." Several deaths of Rhodesian soldiers from landmines have been reported in the last three months.

#### FULL ALERT

All Army and Air Forces leave in Rhodesia was cancelled and police reservists were called up because of the freedom fighters Christmas offensive. (*Star* Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972) An all-out alert has been called throughout the land by the Rhodesia security forces.

In a joint operation between Rhodesian and Portuguese troops, throughout the northern region, two freedom fighters were killed. A full-scale operation is underway involving the Army and the Air Force and many Portuguese troops. (*London Times*, Dec. 23, 1972) A week later more territorial units were called to strengthen security forces on the northeastern border. Territorial regular troops have been called up for an

indefinite emergency period.

Rhodesian defense headquarters said that five soldiers were killed and seventeen wounded since the current offensive (*New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1973) but ZANLA's statement says that at least forty-five Rhodesian soldiers were killed in direct attacks and several scores in land mines. They give the names and ages of wounded soldiers whom they gave medical attention to before they left. ZANLA also points out that the Settler forces have been brutalizing and harassing scores of civilian Africans in the area. Three village farmers were sent to prison in Sinoia court for failing to report the presence of men who were recruiting Africans for guerrilla training. One was given five years and the other two four years. Prime Minister Smith admitted that Africans in the rural areas were supporting and helping freedom fighters in the northeastern region. He announced a system of community punishments for areas supporting guerrillas.

Lt. George Walls, general officer commanding, Rhodesian Army recently said that freedom fighters had changed their tactics and their method of operation. In his Christmas message General Walls said that the war was "entering into a new era," and greater demands would be made on the forces in the new era.



According to the *Star* "Reliable sources say the guerrillas were members of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) who infiltrated Rhodesia's northeastern district from the Tete area of Mozambique." A *New York Times News Review* article (Jan. 14, 1973) comes to the same conclusion: "But last weeks developments seems to confirm speculation that two Rhodesian black nationalist groups which seek to end white rule in Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union, which have headquarters in Lusaka, were responsible." ZANLA is the military wing of the United Command of ZANU-ZAPU.

Even the *New York Times* has come to a conclusion that "the struggle of the majority will continue." In an editorial on December 19, the *Times* said "Whatever the short-run effects of Rhodesia's action and Zambia's retaliation, the struggle for majority rule by Rhodesia blacks, who outnumber the white 20:1, will continue . . . The United States cannot condone violence, but it might avoid giving comfort to the white regime—as it does when

it imports Rhodesian chrome in violation against mandatory sanctions invoked by the United Nations Security Council with Washington's support." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 23, 1972; *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 19, 1973; *Times*, London, Jan. 8, 1973.)

#### RHODESIAN MISSIONARIES UNDER FIRE

The integrity of mission workers in Zimbabwe is being called into question by a bill now before Parliament that would require missionaries to apply for permission to enter African areas. The bill has sparked heated reaction, especially following Rhodesian Internal Affairs Minister Lance Smith's remark in Parliament that some missionaries are closely linked with church organizations that encourage or support terrorism. Anglican and Roman Catholic clergymen have joined in angry response to Smith's statement. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 1972)

The bill also extends controls on public meetings to cover the whole African area as defined by the Land Tenure Act and not only the tribal trust lands as at present.

## SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS

### ZAMBIA RETALIATES AGAINST RHODESIAN, SOUTH AFRICAN "SANCTIONS"

Declaring that "Zambia cannot be blackmailed," the Lusaka government announced on Jan. 11, its defiance of the recent closing of the Zambia/Rhodesia border by Rhodesia. Zambia stated it would no longer ship its lucrative copper production via the Rhodesian railways to the Mozambique port of Beira (see map). In addition, the Zambian government ordered all banks to suspend foreign exchange dealings with the two white minority regimes and to withhold payments for any imports now in transit from Rhodesia or South Africa until they have arrived. Zambia also called on the OAU and the United Nations to take "appropriate measures" to deal with the Rhodesian provocation and protect its rights as a land-locked nation to have access to the sea.

These moves were in response to the announcement in Salisbury two days earlier that Rhodesia would close its frontier with Zambia. Salisbury closed the border following an incident in which two South African "police" were killed, two South Africans and three Rhodesians wounded when their vehicle struck a mine along the Zambian border near Victoria Falls. (An estimated force of some 3,000 South African "police," trained in "counterinsurgency" methods has patrolled the 400 mile border with Zambia since 1967.) South Africa quickly followed the Rhodesian move, agreeing to ban freight bound for Zambia. The Rhodesian government also renewed its oft-repeated threat to take unspecified "protective action" against Zambia if the Zimbabwe

liberation movements operating out of Zambian territory (the ZAPU-ZANU Joint Military Command and Frolizi) were not curtailed in their actions. The border is to stay closed until Rhodesia receives "satisfactory assurances" that Zambia would suppress those liberation movements.

The punch behind these actions, however, proved largely illusory upon the discovery that the Rhodesian Government had exempted the 20-30,000 tons/month of copper which are carried on its railways from Zambia to Mozambique. Because of the legacy of British colonialism, Zambia is still dependent economically on Rhodesia and South Africa. However, Zambia limits business dealings with the white minority regimes as much as possible. The completion of the TanZam railway to Dar-es-Salaam, built with the aid of the Peoples Republic of China, will help to free Zambia from dealings with South Africa and Rhodesia.

According to business sources in Salisbury, the Smith regime has exempted Zambian copper as it cannot afford the loss of revenue that would result from "full sanctions." The *London Guardian* (Jan. 10, 1973) commented that the concession "neutralizes most of the sting of Smith's blockade [and] indicates the troubled state of the Rhodesian economy. Zambian copper is carried at a higher rail tariff than is charged to Rhodesian mineral producers (including Union Carbide and Foote Mineral Company of the U.S., the recent U.S. sanctions-breakers importing chrome from Rhodesia). Therefore, Zambia effectively subsidizes Rhodesia's mineral exports. The loss of the Zambian revenue would result in either a Rhodesian railways deficit or increased rail costs to Rhodesians." Also exempted was the supply of electricity from the Kariba dam, which straddles the border of the two countries, but whose power plant is located on the Rhodesian side.

The reactionary United Front party in Rhodesia was quick to attack the move as a "half-measure," while the new "moderate" white Rhodesian party condemned the move as "focusing attention on another country when much is wrong internally." This later view was in agreement with the initial reaction by Zambia, reported

through a government spokesman, who declared that Rhodesia was searching for a "scapegoat" because of "the wave of nationalism" sweeping through Rhodesia in the past year. The African National Council, which organized the opposition to the British settlement proposals last year, predicted that the outside world would help Zambia withstand the effects of sanctions.

Indeed, Zambia has bravely seized on the Rhodesian weakness in its retaliation. It would appear that Smith's hastily-planned move will boomerang in its intended economic pressure against Zambia, to the detriment of Rhodesian railways and the Rhodesian economy, already straining under the effects of U.N. sanctions.

Zambia plans to transfer copper shipments to the 1,000 mile truck route to Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania and perhaps increase shipments on the rail line through Zaire to the Angolan port of Lobito. Currently some 16-20,000 tons/month are carried on the truck route. Most serious, perhaps will be the problem of rerouting imports, which may require an airlift. Equally serious over the long run may be the loss of trade through South Africa, Zambia's

Party and broadcast over Radio Malawi. Before publication, it was approved by President Kamuzu Banda. The paper claimed that the reason for the Portuguese allegation was because "the Portuguese military authorities in Mozambique are finding FRELIMO nationalists too tough a nut to crack and in their frustration are seeking excuses for their military inefficiency." Quoted in an article accompanying the editorial, a government official said the Portuguese allegation "was a deliberate invention of untruths and defamation of a friendly country." Portugal's ambassador to Malawi, V.E. Pereira left the capitol at Blantyre in November "on three months leave," reportedly "for failing to give adequate explanations for the continued violation of Malawi's territorial integrity by Portuguese troops based in Mozambique."

There are other indications that Malawi may be seeking a new direction in her relations with the white minority regimes towards closer relations with the OAU. At the meeting of 15 African nations held in September, in Dar Es Salaam, Malawi did not dissent from a resolution



*Zambian soldiers on the Zambesi*

second largest trading partner; which formerly shipped such critical items as heavy mining machinery.

Zambia is the world's third largest copper producer, after the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and the world's leading exporter of the metal. However, falling prices on the world market have severely affected the booming economy in recent years. Nonetheless, President Kenneth Kaunda has stood behind the liberation movements, reaffirming Zambia's "solidarity with those gallant people struggling for their freedom" in southern Southern Africa, adding "We have suffered already the consequences of our geographical proximity to the den of iniquity and mass exploitation." (*New York Times*, Jan. 10, 11, 12, 1973)

#### **MALAWI BLASTS PORTUGUESE ALLEGATION**

Early in December, the Malawian government made what the *Star* (Johannesburg, Dec. 9, 1972) described as a "vitriolic attack" against the Portuguese in Mozambique for alleging that FRELIMO militants were operating out of bases in Malawi against targets in Mozambique. Malawi has had friendly dealings with all the white-minority governments in southern Africa, and the response seemed deliberately intent on upsetting relations with the Portuguese.

The attack was made in a front-page editorial in *Malawi News*, the official organ of the Malawi Congress

which called upon the nations to allow free transit of men and materials over their territories to the "war front," conditional upon their own national security. (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, Dec. 1972) And a recent background article in *Africa* (U.K. 1972) claims there is a basic sympathy in Malawi for FRELIMO, and "probably covert government contacts with it." In replying to Portuguese charges that FRELIMO had opened an office in Malawi, President Banda said, "The people of Mozambique are our people, they are our own people; flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood. When they are in trouble, they have every right to find refuge in Malawi."

There are also indications that Banda may be near denouncing the Smith regime and UDI in Rhodesia. Banda banned an edition of the *Rhodesian Herald* which carried an article, maintaining that Malawi was aiding FRELIMO militants. With the indications that the white minority regimes are failing in their pursuit of "dialogue" with other African states, the mounting militancy of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, the turn-about in relations with South Africa in the Malgasy Republic following the coup and the seeming indifference of even the Francophone nations such as the Ivory Coast towards "dialogue," perhaps the Malawian government is seeking new ways to stem her isolation among Black independent states.

## SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL REFUGEE KIDNAPPED FROM LESOTHO

Four South African policemen helped kidnap Herbert Fanele Mbale, a political refugee from South Africa from his flat in Maseru November 26. He was later returned with a government apology following a protest from the Lesotho government. After questioning by the Lesotho police upon his return regarding the circumstances of the kidnap, Mbale refused to comment on the incident.

The incident has caused much consternation and anger among the Lesotho people because of the blatant violation of Lesotho's territorial integrity and sovereignty by her giant white supremacist neighbor. South Africa's Chief Deputy Commissioner for Police, P.J. (Tiny) Venter declined to comment on what, if any, steps would be taken to discipline the policemen involved.

Two weeks later, however, the South African government announced that it had granted political asylum to the Lesotho Trooper Jobo Bofolo who helped kidnap Mbale. At most, Bofolo would have faced suspension and possible dismissal from the Lesotho Mounted Police, and officials in Maseru described this situation as one of a long series of incidents that have increased strains between the two countries.

Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan and his Cabinet were reported to be "extremely angry" over the affair, and were preparing to deliver a strong note of protest. An extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet was held to discuss the matter. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 2, 16, 1972)

is not a gamble, and that even if there were no strikes at the Aghulas Bank in the coming months the operation would be moved to the West Coast. Oil is the one major natural resource that South Africa lacks. Concern for self-sufficiency in all vital resources stimulates the continuous search.

The American Ambassador was on hand to add a few words of encouragement. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 11, 1972)

## 25% TAX CONCESSION AMONG NEW MEASURES AIMED AT DECENTRALIZATION

In an effort to engage the lagging interest of industrialists, the South African government has announced a new policy of 25% tax breaks and special loan-interest rates for those industries willing to move to the borders of African reserves and to the reserves themselves from the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area. Industries wanting to take advantage of these new concessions must announce application for their transfer by September 1st, 1973.

The Federated Chambers of Industry, though it sees the new policy as a standing offer "long overdue," has expressed some reservations about the plan, and will seek clarifications on matters of limitations concerning place-bound industries, as well as certain labor-ratios.

The new policy also allows for special appeals from those companies who insist that the concessions are not enough to offset their relocation costs. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972)

## \$560-m PLATINUM DEAL "COULD" RESULT IN PAYOFF FOR BAFOKENG

Impala platinum will soon have to double the capacity of its mines to meet the requirements of the R400-million (\$560 million) deal recently signed with General Motors. The chairman of Impala, Mr. H.L. Monro, is confident that even if GM exercises its option to vary the quantities to be purchased, perhaps coming short of the contracted amount, the company can sell the balance, and, most important, avoid any loss on the increased capital investment needed to expand their plant. Improvements to be made include the sinking of two new vertical shafts with accompanying ventilation systems. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972)

Expansion of the Impala operation, which is located in the Rustenburg district, is likely to raise Impala's profits now set at \$17.64 million for '72, to approximately \$47 million in five years. Meanwhile, the Bafokeng tribe of the Tswana people, on whose lands the mines are located, will continue to take their 13% cut of the company's taxable income. Mr. K.A. Byng Jackson, managing director of Impala, commented: "The Bafokeng will be a wealthy tribe in due course." If the company's projections are accurate, the pay-out could amount to \$5.6 million annually. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 16, 1972)

Recently, Chief Lucas Magope, leader of the new Tswana Bantustan government, said that the company's payments should instead be made to his government. (*Southern Africa*, December, 1972)

## BANKER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Gaylord Freeman, president of the First National City Bank of Chicago, who has been a trip to South Africa met with Finance Minister Diederichs. He sharply criticized the efforts of those few Americans critical of investment in South Africa and said their pressures should have no influence on investment decisions. (*Sunday Express*, South Africa, Oct. 29, 1972)

# economics

## PHELPS DODGE WITHDRAWS FROM NAMIBIA

Phelps Dodge, the second biggest copper producer in the United States, has applied for a concession over a vast tract of land in the north of Namibia and has opened offices in Johannesburg to supervise its new Southern Africa operation (South African *Financial Gazette*, October 9, 1971). Contacted in December 1972, Mr. Arnold Godduhn, a lawyer in the International Department of Phelps Dodge, explain that the company has withdrawn from Namibia in 1972. Explaining the decision, he said, "The political considerations made it imprudent to stay there."

The United States government position is to discourage investment in Namibia. This open position plus the World Court decision may have led to the imprudence of staying in Namibia.

However, Phelps Dodge, is actively prospecting for copper in South Africa itself, and that operation is slated to expand markedly.

## MONEY NO OBSTACLE IN OIL SEARCH

A giant American drilling rig located off the South African coast was the scene of a special "spudding in" ceremony during which the Minister of Mines, Dr. Koornhof, promised a persistent search for offshore oil, regardless of cost. Admitting that the project was expensive, Koornhof told his audience that drilling for oil

# ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

## U.S. ACTIONS

### UNIVERSITY ACTION ON CORPORATE HOLDINGS

During the Spring of 1972 when anti-Gulf Oil actions burst forth in Pittsburgh, New York and most dramatically at Harvard, students at Cornell University organized a petition demanding that the university vote its \$2.4 million worth of Gulf stock in favor of the church sponsored disclosure resolution. The students, led by the Southern Africa Liberation Committee and STOP (Students to Oppose Persecution), also stated that if Gulf refused disclosure Cornell should demand that the company leave Angola, and that if Gulf did not comply, Cornell should sell its stock. Although the protesters managed to get Cornell's Provost to sign the petition, the university did not vote for the disclosure resolution at Gulf's annual stockholders' meeting. Yet in early December, Cornell announced that it had sold its Gulf stock, and although the school's President denied any connection between the sale and the student pressures, spokesmen for the Southern Africa Liberation Committee declared the sale of stock a victory.

The SAL Committee has collected \$2,600 for the OAU Liberation Committee and has sponsored numerous speakers on Southern Africa. It plans a week long African program in March; invited speakers include Congressman Diggs, Senator Kennedy, State Senator Julian Bond, representatives of PAIGC and FROLIZI. (Southern Africa Liberation Committee, Cornell, Press Release, Ithaca, N.Y., Dec. 18, 1972)

### NEW LEAFLET ON APARTHEID

A one page leaflet has been produced by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to coincide with their December 10 vigils on South Africa. The leaflet equates conditions in South Africa with those in the United States and can be obtained for 1 cent each (bulk orders) or free for a single copy. Write WILPF, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

### AFRICA LIBERATION DAY GROUP IN AFRICA

Owusu Sadaukai of Malcolm X University and Kwadwo Olowole Akpan of the Pan African Congress USA travelled to Tanzania where they met extensively with representatives of the liberation movements and the Tanzanian Government. Travelling on behalf of the African Liberation Day Committee, they had particular success showing a film (in Swahili) about ALD to thousands of Tanzanians, many of whom, said Sadaukai, responded favorably to the heightening activity in the U.S. on Africa issues. A new African Liberation Support office has been established in Tanzania to work with the OAU Liberation Committee and the liberation movements. The film was also shown in Nigeria, both to the public and on TV. (African World, Greensboro, N.C., Nov. 25, 1972)

### MADISON CAMPAIGN ON APIGC

Gil Fernandes of the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau spent a

weekend in early December speaking before several mass meetings in the church and university communities in Madison, Wisconsin. Almost \$1,000 has been raised in for the Party. (Macsa News, Madison, December, 1972)

### AFRICAN STUDENTS PASS RESOLUTION ON "TERRORISM"

African students affiliated with the All African Student Union called recently for President Nixon to evidence his real support for an end to "terrorism" in the world by cutting off arms to Portugal and South Africa! (African World, Greensboro, N.C., Nov. 25, 1972)

### HARVARD'S YES TO GULF OIL: AN ANALYSIS

On April 20, 1972, thirty-five Black students at Harvard University, members of the Pan African Liberation Committee (PALC) and the Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students (AFRO), began a week-long occupation of the offices of Harvard President Bok in protest against the university's decision to retain its holdings in Gulf Oil. Harvard, the largest university investor in Gulf, owns 702,961 shares worth more than \$18 million at current prices. Gulf Oil is the largest U.S. investor in Portugal's African colonies. Gulf has prospected for oil in Angola since 1954, making its first strike in 1966 in the province of Cabinda, an enclave of Angola lying between the Republic of Zaire and the Peoples Democratic Republic of the Congo. By 1970, Gulf's investments totaled more than \$150 million.

Harvard University issued a report (Harvard Gazette, October 6, 1972) on Gulf in Angola and Harvard's role as an investor prepared by Stephan Farber, special assistant to president Bok, who traveled last summer to Portugal, Angola, Zambia, and Tanzania. The report is evidently a response to a PALC document, "Repression in Southern Africa" (September, 1971) which stated the basis of their protests against the university's holdings.

The conclusion of the Harvard report is that a withdrawal by Gulf from Angola would have "extremely limited" practical effect on ending Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, and would only have unspecified "symbolic" impact; that divestiture of Gulf stock by Harvard would be a "symbolic rather than practical act" and "would appear to have no practical effect in advancing the independence of black Angolans."

The Harvard report aims to present, in response to critics of the positions of Gulf and the university, "a hard factual analysis" of Gulf in Angola. However, there appears to be very little new factual information in the report that has not already been available elsewhere. The report tends to be sophistic, with questionable assumptions, omissions, and lines of reasoning. The Harvard report is not critical of Portuguese colonialism and glosses over the severity of the impact of the colonial wars in Africa and Portugal. The report refers at several points to Portugal's "economic and social development programs" in Angola without an indication of how these are tied to Portugal's strategy of pacification and continued colonial

rule.

The point of view of the report is also indicated by the terminology used: the liberation movements are called "insurgent groups", they are called "anti-Portuguese", not anti-colonialist, and Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea are referred to as Portugal's "African states", not as colonies.

Gulf's strategic role in Angola is indicated in the report. Gulf's tax and royalty payments to Portugal for 1972 are estimated to reach \$45 million, which represents 75% of the 1972 military budget of Angola and 11% of Angola's total budget revenue. Yet the report insists that a Gulf withdrawal could only be "symbolic", and minimizes the dislocations the Portuguese would undergo in attempting to maintain the operation.

Similarly, the potential impact of Harvard's divestiture of its Gulf holdings is played down as "symbolic", which seems inconsistent with both the sheer size of Harvard's holdings and the university's position of intellectual leadership and its capacity to influence informed public opinion through its actions.

Finally, Farber suggests that individuals can take action on the Angolan issue, including giving monies to the liberation movements. The proposal, although valid, again does not deal with the fundamental ways in which Gulf and the United States provides massive aid to Portugal not to the institutional impact of Harvard.

The objectivity brought to the investigation by Stephen Farber has been doubted by students at Harvard, since he was the one who prepared Harvard's original policy decision not to divest in the spring of 1972. The university was evidentially not prepared to support a fact-finding mission that would include a representative of those opposing Harvard's Gulf holdings. However, a student accompanying Stephen Farber on his trip as photographer, Peter Shapiro of the Harvard *Crimson*, has disagreed with the substance and the conclusions of the Farber report in a series of articles published in the *Crimson* in September.

Finally, the implications of an earlier Harvard document, a "statement by the President and Fellows of Harvard College on the Gulf Oil Question" (April 19, 1972), which authorized the Farber mission, and declared the university's intention to retain its Gulf stock, should be noted. The statement suggested the principle that:

"... for Gulf and every other American corporation doing business in southern Africa, there is a special obligation to serve as a constructive force within repressive societies and to provide maximum opportunities for non-whites. This obligation applies equally in our view to companies doing business in nations governed by colonial policies such as Angola, or by *apartheid* policies, such as South Africa

Harvard's President and Fellows thus endorse Gulf's position in Angola and the position of foreign investors in all Southern Africa in direct opposition to positions taken overwhelmingly against such investment by the United Nations General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity, and the African liberation movements. Harvard has publicly proposed that corporations take up the white man's burden in promoting social welfare programs in countries where the African majority is denied the power to control their own institutions and resources or to regulate the operations of the very corporations which Harvard proposes should aid them. That the Harvard Corporation is itself run by some of the same men who have major corporate interests in southern Africa could be an important area of investigation for



*PALC leaving Harvard building after occupation last spring*

those at Harvard not in accord with their recommendations.

Stephen Farber prefaced his report for Harvard with the ingenuous statement that, "When the debate began at Harvard last spring, many members of the community found to their dismay that they could not come within three thousand miles, or in some cases a hemisphere, of accurately locating Angola on a world map". This is a bald example of institutional racism—how a major university has turned its back on the widening struggle for freedom in southern Africa that involves more than 30 million people. Indochina seemed similarly remote a decade ago.

Current Studies of Gulf in Angola Include:

1. A REPLY TO STEPHEN FARBER'S REPORT ON GULF IN ANGOLA: a twenty-five page report is available in limited quantity from the Corporate Information Center, National Council of Churches, Room 846, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. \$2.50
2. GULF OIL, PORTUGUESE ALLY IN ANGOLA: Corporate Information Center, address above.
3. REPORT OF THE PAN AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE ON GULF OIL, P.O. Box 514, Brookline, Mass. 02147
4. ALLIES IN EMPIRE: The United States and Portugal in Africa (Africa Today, Sept.-Oct., 1970). Obtainable from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Payments to Portugal from Cabinda Gulf Oil (figures from *Diario* (Mozambique), November 3, 1972, summarized in "Facts & Reports", Angola Comitê, Holland, item no.1337, 1972)

\$33 million total royalties, projected through 1972.

\$49.5 million total taxes paid, projected through 1972.

\$82.5 million total payments, projected through 1972, to Portugal.

\$140 million total sales, November 1968 through 1971.

\$99 million total foreign exchange to Portugal from foreign sales from 1970, projected through 1972.

\$18.5 million in sales to Portugal from 1970 projected through 1972.

\*note that Gulf Oil has denied in statements made in this country that Cabinda Gulf, its subsidiary, has provided oil from Angola to Portugal.

Projected Gulf payments to Portugal for 1972 alone

\$15 million royalties

\$31.5 million taxes

## HOLY CROSS UNDER FIRE ABOUT GENERAL TIRE LINKS—BLACK STUDENTS BUILD CAMPUS PROTEST

*The College of the Holy Cross, with its long liberal, Jesuit image, has for some time been immersed in the tradition of General Tire and Rubber, as reflected in merely one of the company's gifts to the college, in the O'Neil Science Building. The evil and treachery has been realized in seeing these two ingredients under the name of the same college and it is the duty of the directors of the college to speedily correct this onerous situation.*

Holy Cross BSU—Statement to Trustees  
Oct. 20, 1972

College of the Holy Cross, a Jesuit school in Worcester, Mass., and the General Tire and Rubber Company are interwoven institutions. The founder of the multinational rubber giant, William O'Neil, graduated from Holy Cross in 1907, and since then generations of GT & R O'Neils have attended the school. The O'Neil Science Building and O'Neil Memorial Hall attest to their past devotion to the prestigious Catholic college, as well as the present status of the President's Council of Holy Cross upon which sit four members of the O'Neil Family, including President of GT&R, Michael O'Neil, Chairman of the Board, and Chairman of the Board's Finance Committee. Thus it is no wonder that students at Holy Cross, spearheaded by the research and planning of the Black Students Union, have focused considerable attention on the role of General Tire in Southern Africa (See *Southern Africa*, January, 1973) as well as a recipient of U.S. Government military contracts.

After the seizing of a building by the BSU in May of 1972, the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees said it would "pursue" the issue of its stock holdings in

GT&R worth some \$500,000 as well as undertake a study on the implications of such holdings for "morally responsible action." When the Board met again in mid-October, after the opening of school it had done little or no research and avoided a decision about the Black student demand that the college sell its stock.

The students escalated their campaign, appearing before numerous Trustee and Faculty meetings, as well as producing a wide range of materials about GT&R, its military/Southern Africa connections, Holy Cross and General Tire, and conditions in South and Southern Africa. The BSU sponsored several campus meetings showing films on South Africa and presenting South African speakers. The campaign gained support from a major campus newspaper, *THE CRUSADER* which broke with its former tradition of supporting the administration. All Black faculty at five Worcester schools came out in favor of the BSU position, and the media, TV, Boston papers, UPI all carried stories on the building General Tire issue at Holy Cross. In a local campus referendum conducted by Inter-house Congress and the BSU where 29 per cent of the student body voted, 423 students voted in favor of the sale of GT&R stock, 417 against the sale and 16 abstained. The BSU expressed pleasant surprise at the supportive vote considering the white middle class nature of the students.

In spite of the growth of campus support, the Trustees informed the BSU that it would not sell the GT&R stock in a meeting on December 9. The move was predictable given the growing apprehension of the administration about the protest; it did not allow a South African liberation movement representative into a Faculty meeting. The BSU reps left the meeting after a short statement, and will be preparing further actions in the near future which *Southern Africa* will report. For more information on General Tire and Rubber, and the Widening Protest contact:

Black Students Union  
College of the Holy Cross  
Worcester, Mass.—01610

## INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

### ENGLAND

Continuing a series of militant protests at British corporate stockholders' meetings, 20 anti-apartheid adherents volleyed accusations and responses with the management of British owned Consolidated Gold Mines. The Chairman tried to defend his company's mining policy including the fair living conditions offered miners, and pointed to increased wages in the past few years. The Counter Information Services, a research group, has done a complete and revealing study of Consolidated Gold, detailing not only its practices in South Africa (wages average around \$7 per week!), but also the extent of important shareholders in Britain. Stock is held by government councils, churches, Conservative party personages, etc. For a full report write to Counter Information Services, 52 Shaftesbury Ave., London W.1, England. (*Star* Johannesburg, Nov. 25, 1972; *Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Dec., 1972).

Several British organizations have joined the growing campaign on the investment issue. The London and South Suburban Co-operative Societies have had to deal with the issue of South African goods sold in Britain as well as the Co-op's connections with Barclays Bank. A London borough has moved its funds out of Barclays in protest of that bank's extensive links with business in Southern Africa. And several trade unions, including the Civil and

Public Services Association and the Society of Lithographic Artists, have called for the sale of stock held in South African connected firms.

Demonstrations in England have included a protest at the South African Immigration Office (Emigrate to the Sun—Whites Only) and at a London karakul (persian) lamb auction.

The Royal Institute of British Architects, a prestigious society with long standing ties to the architecture world of South Africa, has received the attention of some 200 members who are calling for the severance of such linkages. A RIBA representative visited South Africa recently, where at six universities courses are offered which enable graduates to join RIBA, and came back with

the recommendation that an end to South African ties would "be harmful to many people who oppose apartheid..." The anti-apartheid contingent will take their cause to the RIBA annual meeting. (Guardian, U.K., Nov. 1, 1972) (Anti-Apartheid News, London, Dec., 1972).

Finally, \$1,000 was raised to aid the ANC, SWAPO, MPLA and FRELIMO by students from Southampton in connection with a fund-raising week sponsored by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the National Union of Students. Smaller amounts were raised at Cambridge, Keel Univ. Hammersmith College of Further Education and elsewhere. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, Dec. 1972)

# RESOURCES,

## NEW GROUPS

### AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA OPENS NEW YORK OFFICE

The African National Congress of South Africa has recently opened an office in New York. Their representative to the United States and the United Nations is Mr. Thami Mhlambiso. For further information, he can be reached at the office, 18 East 35th Street, New York, New York; telephone (212) 689-8552

### ACTION GROUPS

Southern Africa Liberation Committee, 310 Tripphammer Road, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607) 256-4624. A Committee based in the Cornell community working on issues such as university investment and sponsoring programs on Southern Africa.

### NEW CANADIAN GROUP

Manitoba Association for World Development, 145 Colony Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3c, 1w1, Canada. The group produces a news letter (MAWD News) with some materials on Southern Africa.

### NEW RESOURCES

Two new booklets from the Corporate Information Center MOBIL IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, An Analysis of Mobil's Report on Operations in South Africa.

"A REPLY TO STEPHEN FARBER'S REPORT ON GULF IN ANGOLA," a twenty-five page report is available in limited quantity. \$2.50. Both obtainable from the Corporate Information Center, NCC, Rm. 846, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

### FILMS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

"A LUTA CONTINUA" (*The Struggle Continues*)—filmed inside liberated Mozambique by an Afro-American film team in 1972, depicts Portuguese colonialism, U.S. imperialism, and the struggle being waged by Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front). 32 min Color Rental: inquire African Information Service 112 West 120 Street New York, N.Y. 10027 Tricontinental Film Center 244 West 27th Street New York, N.Y. 10001 212-989-3330

"BEHIND THE LINES"—filmed by a British team with Frelimo inside free Mozambique in 1970. Interviews with Frelimo militants; life in the liberated areas. 30 min. color Rental: inquire Committee for a Free Mozambique 616 West 116th Street New York, N.Y. 10027 212-280-4242

**"VIVA FRELIMO"** (also called "Mozambique Revolution")—with Frelimo inside Mozambique in 1970, by a Dutch TV film team. 40 min. color Rental: \$20  
Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa  
731 State Street  
Madison Wisconsin 53703  
608-421-1137

**"VENCEREMOS"** (*We Will Win*)—taken inside with Frelimo in 1969, by a Yugoslav film team. 20 min. black and white Suggested: \$10  
New World Resource Center  
2546 North Halsted  
Chicago, Ill. 60614  
312-348-3370

**"WITNESSES"**—re-enactment of the Sharpeville massacre, shots of mine recruitment and training, reserves, guerrilla struggle. 30 min. black and white Rental: inquire  
Trincontinental Film Center (see above)

**"DUMPING GROUNDS"**— filmed by Granada Television (British), showing the removals of Africans to the most desolate areas of South Africa, and the resulting problems of malnutrition, starvation, disease; the true violence of the apartheid policy. 22 min. black and white Rental: \$15  
United Church of Christ Audio Visuals  
512 Burlington Ave.  
La Grange, Ill.  
312-352-3377

**"END OF A DIALOGUE"**—The harsh reality of enforced racial separation and oppression of Blacks by a small white minority, as portrayed by the victims. 45 min. color, Rental: \$20/showing.  
Harold Mayer Productions  
155 W. 72nd Street  
New York, N.Y. 0023  
212-874-3034

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If interested in scheduling a showing in one of the above-mentioned areas, please write:  
BOX 94338, RICHMOND, B.C., CANADA 604-273-3225



We mailed a subscription form to all our readers in January. Unfortunately, it was impossible to weed the computer list adequately. As a result, some readers who had already paid received notices, as did some organizations with whom we exchange publications. We apologize for any inconvenience caused.

Our printer apologizes for the irregularly printed January issue of Southern Africa. This was a result of the 'flu epidemic.



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