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# southern africa



Northwestern University

Vol. VII, No. 10

NOV. 1974

November 1974



"We are engaged in a revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality"

—Samora Machel,  
FRELIMO

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Front Cover: FRELIMO

TIME TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION  
FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Our subscription rate has increased to \$6.00 for 1975. If you have sent us \$5.00 for next year, please send an additional dollar. — Form on back page

## SPECIAL MESSAGE TO OUR READERS

At least once a year, members of the Southern Africa Committee collective come together for a weekend of planning, appraisal, political discussion, reinforcement, self-renewal, friendship and fun. This year's meeting was held in Brooklyn during September, attended by people from New York, Providence, Durham, and Washington D.C. (Others in the collective live in New Haven, Madison, Indianapolis, Mombasa, Kenya and Bagamoyo, Tanzania.)

Perhaps you weren't aware that our collective embraces such a large geographical area. There are probably other things you should know about us as well. Collectively, we put in well over 200 hours each month of free labor to produce the magazine. There are the obvious jobs of clipping sources, writing, editing, and lay-out. And there are less obvious but equally important jobs of promotion, mailing, delivering to bookstores, record-keeping, finances, subscriptions, fund-raising, and general office work. Our collective is an open one and we welcome people who are prepared to work in any of these capacities. We should have told our readers this before. But we are suddenly confronted with a critical shortage of people in New York. Some of our most dedicated workers indicated at the annual meeting that they will be leaving the city soon. For this reason, we not only welcome, but definitely need people who to help us fill the inevitable gaps that will be left by these workers. We meet every Tuesday night at the SAC office, 244 W. 27th St., 5th Floor. If you can spare some time, please join us! Our phone number is 741-3480.

At our annual meeting, we also came face to face with the seriousness of our financial situation. A little quick figuring and you will understand that we can't meet type-setting, printing and mailing costs of over \$1,200 per month with an overall subscription list of 2000 which includes several hundred free subscriptions to prisoners and to liberation movements in Africa. Our regular contributors are not increasing their gifts as costs go up. We need to find additional financial support to survive. It occurs to us to look to our readers as a source of strength. For some of you, it may be as simple as writing us a check for whatever you think you can afford. Others of you may have information concerning possible sources of funding we aren't aware of. Whether you can send us money or advice, we welcome your concern and support.

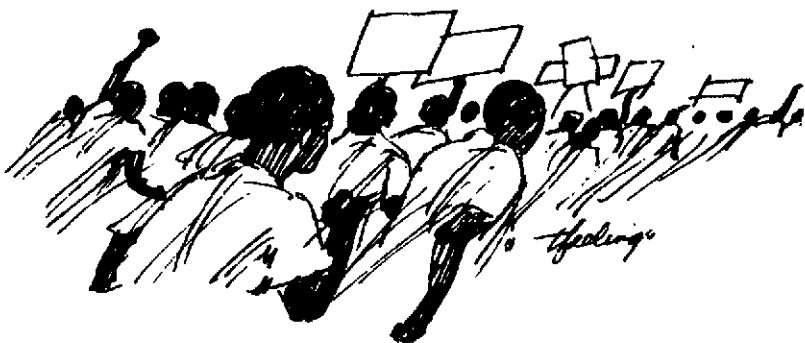
A major part of our annual meeting is always devoted to the magazine. This year, we looked critically at the issues produced since November 1973. We had pledged in September of that year to work diligently to improve our coverage of Southern African news, to provide more critical analysis of the issues and events reported, and, in general, to improve the magazine in quality, format, graphics, etc. We think we've made progress in all these areas, but are by no means complacent regarding the need for further improvement. We have ideas for changes in the magazine which include introducing an editorial-type summary of the major developments and trends of the month, providing an "up-date" outline of the latest events that couldn't be covered in articles, and trying out a letters page through which readers with substantive criticism of any articles can have their points of view aired.

We hope you will agree that as the pace of change in Southern Africa quickens, *Southern Africa* magazine is more important than ever. Our limitations as a monthly became apparent this last year, in that we couldn't announce the Portuguese coup to you during the month that it occurred. On the other hand, if, as a reader of *Southern Africa* you were less surprised by it and better informed about its implications, we feel our function will have been fulfilled. (Similarly, when the Smith regime falls, we trust you won't find that surprising in the context of the information on developments in Zimbabwe that we have been providing and will continue to provide!) To sum up, our collective will continue to work to improve the magazine. How successful we are—and, in a very real sense, our survival—will depend on whether or not we can secure a new infusion of people-power here in New York and sufficient money to keep going. We need your help!

### OUR COLLECTIVE

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charlie ebel  
jennifer davis  
carolyn fleuhr-lobban  
lynn goodwin  
peggy halsey  
janet hooper  
tami hultman  
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david robinson  
susan rogers  
christine root  
melba smith  
tim smith  
jinni stroman  
john stroman  
stephanie urdang  
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feature

# Samora Machel Addresses the Nation (September 20, 1974)

*The following message from the President of FRELIMO, Samora Machel, on the occasion of the investiture of the Transitional Government of Mozambique, was broadcast over the radio on September 20, 1974.*

Mozambican Women and Men,  
FRELIMO Militants and Combatants,

The investiture of the Transitional Government opens a new phase in our history, the phase of the final march towards independence.

Today we are assuming leadership in the government of our country in a period of transition which will lead to the proclamation of Mozambique's total and complete independence on 25 June, 1975, the anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO.

We have inherited a difficult and serious social, economic, financial and cultural situation resulting from centuries of oppression and colonial plunder, aggravated by decades of colonial-fascist domination and repression and further exacerbated by the recent criminal adventure of a small band of racists and reactionaries in the city of Lourenço Marques.

We are faced with a heritage of widespread illiteracy, disease, poverty and hunger. We see our people, and particularly the people in the countryside, living in subhuman conditions of poverty and exploitation. We see destruction, resentment and hatred created by centuries of oppression and instigated by the colonial war of aggression the reactionaries, colonialists and fascists launched in order to divide and confuse us.

It is thus a complex situation that the Transitional Government has before it, and the tasks it faces, therefore, are difficult. However, the difficulties were even greater a little over a decade ago, when we started our thrust towards national liberation. We do not hide the difficulties, nor do we shut our eyes to them. But nothing can make us forget that we are today entering upon an exalting phase in our history: for the first time the Mozambican people have a Government of their own, a Government of their representatives, a Government to serve them.

Thus the Mozambican people have an instrument both able and prepared to face the serious problems of the present phase: a Government led by FRELIMO and which has within it militants seasoned in the tough struggle for national liberation, in political and armed struggle, in clandestine struggle.

Our people's experience of a State and Government, the experience of all workers has been that State and Government are oppressive structures, hostile forces compelling us to submit and resign ourselves to foreign domination, to the domination of big financial interests.

## **Power Belongs to the People**

Under FRELIMO's leadership, the Transitional Govern-

ment has the fundamental task of creating the conditions for people's democratic power to be extended to areas which are still under colonial domination. Whereas for the millions of Mozambicans who have established their power in the liberated zones this is already a reality and a practical experience, the same is not true for the remainder of the country.

This means that we all need to learn what our power is and how to exercise it. We shall all need to know what distinguishes our power from colonial power.

Power belongs to the people. It has been won by the People and it must be exercised and defended by the People.

Before the people's victory, power belonged to colonialism and was the expression of the domination of our countries by companies.

Who ruled? The rulers were those who served the interests of a handful of big exploiters

Years of rule enabled them to accumulate fortunes through the abuse of power, by theft, large sums given in exchange favors granted to the companies, rewards for ceding the country's resources and even for selling human beings.

After serving their term as governors, they immediately joined the boards of directors of large enterprises where they received inflated salaries as payment for services rendered.

The government of the exploiter was characterised by privilege, despotic arrogance, favoritism, nepotism and lawlessness. Problems were solved through the system of "string pulling", and such basic rights as the right to work were made to seem like favors from the rulers. Even a woman's dignity had exchange value for obtaining employment.

Today, for the first time in Mozambique's history, comrades are being appointed to government posts.

When we say 'comrades' we are using a word bathed in blood and sacrifices. Comrades are those who have fought in clandestinity, those who suffered torture and death in the prisons, those who gave of their bodies and intellect on the battlefield, those who built freedom, those who made us what we are, those capable of translating their aspirations into action, who have devoted their lives to the service of our people.

The comrades who are today being given the difficult task of conducting the State machinery until the proclamation of independence are precisely the representatives of the People in the leadership of the State.

This representativeness has been earned in the varied and hard tasks of the politico-military struggle for national liberation. They are all veterans of the people's struggle, seasoned in the toughest school of government: the struggle for national liberation and national reconstruction in the liberated zones.

No one can claim that they are representatives of a race, ethnic group, region or religious belief. They



"Raising the living condition of the masses demands fighting disease by improving health conditions" (Machel) Attending a patient in liberated Mozambique

represent the working People, their sacrifices and aspirations, the whole People from the Rovuma to the Maputo, without distinction as to race, ethnic group or religion. No one fought for a region, race, tribe or religion. We all fought and are still fighting for the same nation, for the single ideal of liberating our land and our people.

The authenticity of the people's representatives in the leadership of the State is more than just an assertion: it must be manifested in the content of government action and in the method of work.

#### **Government Linked to the Masses**

To govern is not to issue laws and decrees which the masses do not understand the reasons for but which everyone must comply with for fear of being punished.

To govern one needs to know exactly the interests of the working masses, formulated and discussed with them and not merely on their behalf. To govern is to be able to fulfil those interests in the decision taking.

To govern is always to be closely linked with the masses in order to sound out their preoccupations and discuss with them so as to come to a correct decision together, not disregarding the details of everyday matters on the pretext that they are minor problems. A decision taken in this way mobilises people and any difficulties or obstacles which crop up will be overcome because the People understand the decision and see it as their own.

Conversely, the Government will be unable to solve any problem if it remains enclosed in a building, governing by bureaucratic and administrative methods. The solution of the problems of the masses and of the country is more political than administrative. Therefore it is FRELIMO's political line, forged in the intransigent struggle to defend the interests of the masses, that must guide Government action, it is FRELIMO that must guide Government

action, FRELIMO that must orientate the Government and the masses.

In every factory, every department, every service, every commercial establishment, in every agricultural enterprise, Party Committees must be formed to implement the watchwords of FRELIMO and the Transitional Government, thus releasing the people's initiative and setting in motion the masses' creative ability.

We will thus establish true democracy throughout the country, which is the essential principle of FRELIMO which has guided political life within the Organisation and in national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

FRELIMO's peoples democratic government is also distinguished from the colonialist government by its collective working style, joint discussion and analysis of problems, mutual co-operation and the elimination of the compartmentalisation of work sectors. Thus and only thus can government actions be harmonious and efficient.

Our Government's action must be guided first and foremost by our political line. The political must never be subordinated to the technical. In practice this means that in each productive unit, in each Ministry, in each public service throughout the whole of our nation, our main effort must be to develop People's consciousness of their destiny, their awareness that to build Mozambique, to build freedom, means work, doing away with laziness and poverty.

#### **No Privileged Leadership**

We also want to call attention to a key factor: the need for leaders to live according to FRELIMO's political line, the need for them to represent the sacrifices made by the masses in their behavior. Power and the facilities which surround rulers can easily corrupt the firmest man.

We therefore want them to live modestly and with the

People, not turning the task entrusted to them into a privilege, a means of accumulating property or handing out favors.

Material, moral and ideological corruption, bribery, seeking comforts, string pulling, nepotism, that is favors based on friendship, and especially giving preferential employment to relatives, friends or people from one's own region, all this is characteristic of the system which we are destroying. Tribalism, regionalism, racism and unprincipled alliances are serious onslaughts on our political line and divide the masses. Because Power belongs to the People those who exercise it are servants of the People.

Anyone who thus deforms our line can expect no tolerance from us. We shall be intransigent on this, as we were during the hard war years. We shall never have any hesitation in exposing to the masses the crimes committed against them. Deviations from our line breed contradictions, cracks through which the enemy, imperialism and the reactionary forces can enter.

To maintain the austerity required for our life as militants and thus preserve the meaning of the sacrifices of our People, all FRELIMO militants with government tasks must now as in the past, shun material preoccupations, particularly regarding salaries. What is more, we cannot tolerate one of our representatives owning means of production or exploiting the labor of others.

For ten years we fought without any concern of an individual financial nature, involved only in devoting all our energy to serving the People. This is the characteristic of FRELIMO's militants, cadres and leaders.

As we have always done and in accordance with our means, we try to ensure that each militant who carries out a task has the minimum material conditions required for his work, his sustenance and that of his family. But we must also not forget that we have often fought and won with bare feet, dressed in rags and hungry.

"Economic development is essentially the result of work. More work means higher production" (Machel)



FRELIMO

It must also be stressed that just as we fought a war without a time-table, without vacations, without days of rest, we must engage in the battle for national reconstruction in the same spirit.

This means that as always, the decisive factor for our victory is identifying with our line and implementing it, rejecting luxuries, fighting corruption, practising austerity, and fighting extravagance.

The watchword is work and self-sacrifice.

If the Government is to be really capable of making the interests of the working masses its own and never deviating from serving the People, it is essential that it remain constantly under FRELIMO's leadership.

Within FRELIMO are the organised masses, conscious of their true interests, within FRELIMO are the militants forged and seasoned in the People's struggle, guaranteeing the intransigent defense of the interests of the workers and the Revolution. Hence, only FRELIMO is capable of organizing, guiding, orientating and leading the millions of Mozambican women and men in the present battle to build the people's democratic power and for national reconstruction.

The Government is FRELIMO's instrument at the State level, the executive arm of the People's will. If the arm is amputated from the body it will rapidly decay and decompose.

State power has been won through the struggle of our People, united by our correct line, under FRELIMO's leadership. At the start the broad masses were not organised, we had neither weapons nor State power. Colonialism had the subjugated masses, economic and military strength and the State apparatus. Colonialism lost everything because the people were not in accord with it and it had neither a correct political line nor just leadership.

This means that a Government which deviates from the People's interests, from FRELIMO's political line and leadership, is like the colonial-fascist regime, bound to be overthrown.

#### Tasks to be Undertaken by FRELIMO in Government

Led by FRELIMO, the Transitional Government begins its action today.

Although it is not for us to spell out the Transitional Government's program, since this is its own task, it is nevertheless necessary to define, as from now, the tasks which must be undertaken by FRELIMO, the Government and the masses at this decisive moment in our country's reconstruction.

These have to do with mobilizing and organizing the masses, with institutions of government and national reconstruction, and finally with the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the armed wing of our working People.

As regards the State and its institutions, it is first necessary to decolonize and, secondly, to build the appropriate structures for the people's democratic power.

Decolonisation does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centers from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do, and neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern.

To decolonize the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to

impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses.

In this, although we can seek inspiration and stimulation from the revolutionary experience of other peoples, we shall build on the foundation of our own *originality*, basing ourselves on the specific conditions of our country. We shall thus also enrich the revolutionary heritage of humanity, a duty we have been fulfilling over these hard years of struggle.

The decisive factor for our success is the unity of our people from the Rovuma to the Maputo. The enemy rose and will always rise against this unity: yesterday's colonialism and today's reactionaries and imperialists, exploiters from every race.

As in the past, they will try to use everything. Overt or covert appeals to racism, tribalism and regionalism will be intensified. We will make relentless use of the same liberating fire that wiped out colonialism in opposing racism, tribalism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy's forces which attack and destroy our People's unity, the main weapon in our struggle. These are the essential instruments which weakened our people in the past and allowed them to be dominated.

### **Economic Strategy: "Austerity and Work"**

As regards our action in the field of socio-economic development, it is necessary right away to lay down a number of priorities, so as to know how to orientate our efforts.

We inherited a colonial economic structure in which the productive factors did not serve our country or our people, but foreign domination. We must combat this situation by laying the foundations of an independent economy to serve the working masses.

The Transitional Government must try as rapidly as possible to solve the serious financial problems, in particular the monetary situation and the establishment of a Mozambican bank of issue, and make a frontal attack on the most pressing problems of the broad masses in our country: hunger and lack of clothing and housing.

These ills were not an act of fate, but a result of the system of exploitation. If the productive efforts of the working masses are made within a system of social organization which fights exploitation, these problems will be gradually eliminated, as the evidence of our liberated areas shows.

Faced with the present economic and financial situation, characterized by a balance of payments deficit and a rapidly rising cost of living, especially as regards essential goods, our economic strategy must be based on the principle of relying on our own efforts, with emphasis on the following watchwords: austerity and work.

The present situation demands, on the one hand, that we fight against superfluous and luxury consumption, avoid wastage and accept sacrifices. On the other hand, we must throw ourselves fully into the economic development of our country, which means stepping up production and raising productivity.

Indeed, economic development is essentially the result of work. More work means higher production, which in turn enables us to raise our standard of living.

With the conquest of political power by the people, the foundations are laid for solving the problems of the working masses in accordance with their interests.

Adequate structures will be established for the correct

solution of problems which crop up in labor relations.

Mere wage increases will not solve the problems facing the working masses, especially since in the present situation they would inevitably be transferred to price increases which would automatically cancel out the higher purchasing power.

Under these conditions, at this stage in the life of our country, there is no more reason for strikes because our main concern should be to restructure and relaunch our economy.

Another defect which is characteristic of the structure we have inherited is the tremendous imbalance in regional development, particularly the imbalance between town and countryside.

The overwhelming majority of our people live in the countryside, and it is in the countryside that are to be found the natural resources which must be developed so as to make our country prosper. It was the countryside that most suffered from the destructive effects of war and it is in the countryside that the clearest signs of hunger can be seen. It is therefore towards the countryside that our main efforts to improve the living conditions of the masses will be directed. Priority must be given to the development of our agriculture, animal husbandry and the most effective use of our sub-soil resources.

Agriculture will therefore be the base of our development and industry its galvanising factor.

Industrial development must be based on the processing of our natural resources, which will make it possible to diversify and increase the value of exports.

We must launch an unyielding struggle against the vestiges of colonialism, decadent values, erroneous ideas, the attitude of uncritically imitating foreigners, and against immorality. We must affirm and develop our Mozambican personality by strengthening our unity, constantly exchanging experiences and merging the contributions made by all of us. In this respect we must bear in mind that the city is one of the centers of vice and corruption and of alienating foreign influences.

### **Education a Priority**

We will place training, education and culture primarily at the service of the broad masses oppressed and humiliated by the system of colonialist and capitalist exploitation. The blood of our people was not shed only to free our land from foreign domination, but also to reconquer our Mozambican personality, to bring about the resurgence of our culture and to create a new mentality, a new society. The priority aim of education will be to wage a vigorous battle against illiteracy, a product of colonialism which today affects the overwhelming majority of our people. This effort must be centered especially in the rural areas, where schools are practically non-existent.

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centers for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition, individualism, selfishness, elitism and ambition must be fought in them. There should be no place in them for social, racial or sexual discrimination. Above all, the masses must have both access to and power in the schools, universities and culture.

We are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality. We



ERFI/IMO

"The priority aim of education will be to wage a vigorous battle against illiteracy . . . This effort must be centered in the rural areas, where schools are practically non-existent" (Machel) A school in liberated Mozambique.

are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of People's democratic power. Therefore at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradely relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction.

Our schools must truly be centers for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge. The propaganda of knowledge must be aimed at mobilizing nature and human potentialities for the development and progress of society.

It is therefore necessary to democratize teaching methods. Pupils and trainees must play a responsible part in creating a school of a new type in which manual labor is accorded its due value as one of the sources of knowledge, closely related to practice, drawing inspiration from it and serving the people.

Raising the living conditions of the masses demands fighting disease by improving health conditions. We have inherited a situation in which the vast majority of medical personnel and equipment is concentrated in the towns to serve the minority which can pay, and what is more this takes the form of intense racial and social discrimination in hospitals.

As from now, we must throw ourselves enthusiastically into health work among the broad masses, so as to wipe out the causes of disease, improve eating habits by enriching the diet and eliminating unhygienic traditions. In this field priority must be given to preventive medicine, which is in line with our present capacity and facilities.

This work is not simply a bureaucratic or technical task, but above all a political battle, demanding the mobilization of the people, which is now possible on a national scale because the people are in power.

#### Prevent Crime by Eliminating its Causes

The judiciary must be reorganised so as to make justice accessible and comprehensible to the ordinary citizen of our land. The bourgeois system surrounded the administration of justice with unnecessary complexity, with legalism which made it inaccessible to the masses, with deliberately confusing and misleading jargon, and with such slow proceedings and high costs as to create a barrier between the people and justice. In short, the existing legal system in our country serves the rich and is accessible only to them. The path we want to follow is that of simplifying and speeding up the application of justice, within the framework of new laws and rules which the Transitional Government must begin to study immediately, bearing in mind the existing situation and the gradual transformation which must be effected.

The basic policy in the field of justice should be inspired by our experience in the liberated areas, where crimes and offenses have been almost completely eliminated owing to two combined factors: the improvement of the people's living conditions and the heightening of their political consciousness by thorough and constant political work. This means that it must be our concern to prevent crime by eliminating its causes.

It is the duty of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, FRELIMO's army, the people in arms, an army of peasants and workers, to consolidate the People's victory and defend the Revolution.

FRELIMO's army is not a barracks army. It is an army which studies, produces and fights. This means that the army must have a study center so that its members, especially veteran militants of the national liberation struggle, have the possibility of continuing to raise their political, educational, cultural and technical level. It will thus be possible further to develop our army's operational and organizational capacity, and it will be able fully to



assume the defense of the nation.

At the same time we find in the army people who come from every region of our country, bringing with them the rich and varied traditions of our people. In the army these traditions are harmoniously merged, ceasing to be regional and local culture to become national culture. So, being a center of cultural fusion, our army also is a center for the propagation of national culture among the broad masses. We must never forget that an army without culture is an army without national personality, with no popularly based motivation, and hence it is a weak army.

Now as in the past, every unit of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must continue to be a production center.

FRELIMO's army is not an army of parasites; it is an army with a tradition of productive labor, an army which produces for its own subsistence, which helps the people to improve their living conditions and learn about new production methods and new crops. This work must be continued.

At the same time the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must remain actively vigilant and in a state of constant preparedness, so as to put down any attempt at external aggression as well as any attempt by reactionaries aimed at jeopardizing independence, sabotaging national reconstruction and destroying the Revolution.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique also have the task of mobilizing and organizing the broad masses. Since the start of the struggle, our combatants have been actively carrying out political work among the masses, which contributed decisively to our victory over colonialism. This work must continue and even more vigorously, guided by the objectives which correspond to the new phase.

At this hour of struggle and also of happiness, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by feelings of victory and excessive euphoria. The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must be well aware that they come from the people, that it was the people who built our victory, and that they are our only heroes. It is therefore by remaining closely linked with the People, by still organizing the masses, that we will be able to win the new battle in which we are now engaged.

### Liberation of Women

One of the major fronts in the struggle for the genuine liberation of our people is the liberation of women.

Mozambican women are still weighed down by two burdens: on the one hand reactionary traditions which deprive them of initiative in society and reduce them to mere instruments of men and, on the other, the colonial-capitalist system which regards them as objects of exploitation and a means of production. We must wage a close struggle for the emancipation of women and the restoration of their dignity.

We must, in particular, put an immediate end to that supremely degrading expression of the colonial-capitalist system, prostitution, the sale of the body as though it were a mobile shop. The Transitional Government has the task of reintegrating these elements in society through productive labour.

Finally we wish to address ourselves to Mozambique's white population, whether Portuguese or foreign nationals in general. The first words we wish to convey to them are words of calm and trust. FRELIMO has never fought

against the Portuguese people or against the white race. FRELIMO is an organization for all Mozambicans without distinction as to race, color, ethnic group or religion. Our struggle has always been against the colonial system of oppression and exploitation. Therefore all those who live off their honest labor, whom we know to be the overwhelming majority of the white population, have a positive contribution to make to our country's national reconstruction, together with the entire Mozambican People.



"We must wage a close struggle for emancipation of women and the restoration of their dignity" (Machel). The women's detachment of FRELIMO.

At the same time, we wish to remind the whole people that, with this phase, we are now entering upon a new era of race relations in Mozambique: all superiority and inferiority complexes created and reinforced by centuries of colonialism must be completely eliminated. The white population must wage a profound internal struggle and eliminate the attitudes of superiority and paternalism towards blacks and other racial groups which still influence the minds of many, so as to blend in with the Mozambican people as a whole. This watchword is also valid for many people in the Asian community and many mulattoes, who still regard themselves as superior or different to the black population.

The black population must also wage internal struggle

against the inferiority complexes instilled in it by centuries of colonialism, and which fascism rendered particularly acute. These are the complexes behind the reactions of individual revenge and hatred which are contrary to our policy. FRELIMO fought for the People's interests and can never allow the sacrifices made to be used as an instrument of personal revenge and hatred, however great the burden of suffering and humiliation under colonialism.

### **Political Work Against Racism**

There are no superior and inferior races. But it is not enough to talk about racial harmony for everyone to get on well together from one day to the next. What is needed is the political work of constant explanation, a conscious effort to change attitudes and habits, a deliberate effort to make people of the different races which go to make up our people live together in harmony. The togetherness which must be established must be full and real, and not just superficial togetherness during hours of work and in professional relations. Most especially, clubs and associations based on racial, ethnic or regional origins must be transformed into associations for all Mozambicans, into centers of Mozambican culture where all can meet in a healthy spirit of true fraternity, and with a clearly defined political line on the building of a new society. We should like especially to draw attention to the fact that since the fact of being Mozambican is not determined by skin color, language, religious belief, social origin or sex, we must vigorously combat the minority concept which some people are trying to instill in the minds of especially white Mozambicans.

There are no minorities, there are no special rights or duties for any sector of the Mozambican people: we are all Mozambicans with the rights that work gives us, and with the identical duty of building a united, prosperous, just, harmonious, peaceful and democratic nation.

In all we have said we have kept the dominant idea that politics must guide Government action, and that this action will not succeed unless it is fully understood by the masses.

Hence the chief task of all FRELIMO militants is to further the work of organizing the masses and guiding them in each factory, each agricultural unit, each PFLM detachment, each co-operative, each neighborhood, each department, so that the government is constantly aware of the people's feelings and thoughts. In other words the FRELIMO militant's work is to create the conditions to release the creative initiative of the masses, to free them from passive obedience and to create structures and channels through which the will of the masses can determine government action.

This also means that they should not passively wait for solutions sent down from on high by the minister in his office, but, on the contrary, what can be done immediately by relying on one's own efforts should be analysed in every productive unit, village, neighborhood, and family cell. At the same time, and guided by FRELIMO's political line, suggestions on organization and improvement which contribute to progress and increased productivity in each sector must be studied and formulated.

For this purpose, in each place of work or residence a party Committee should be set up, comprising the militants who are most dedicated and most committed to the cause of independence, progress, democracy and the

### **Mozambican Revolution.**

Another task of these Committees and of all the people is active and constant vigilance against open or disguised sabotage attempts by agents of colonialist reaction who, although they have lost the decisive battle have not yet laid down their arms and still have accomplices at various levels. All those attempts must be publicly exposed in order to neutralise those responsible. Yet we shall never allow this task to be used for settling personal scores, attempts at personal advancement for selfish ends or any kind of manifestation of racism.

We can therefore see that the action of racist and colonialist forces will sometimes take the form of overt or covert sabotage, that is, of typical reactionary activities.

Such action is doomed to fail because one will be dealing with a clearly defined enemy. Therefore, reactionary action will also take other more insidious forms which, assuming a revolutionary appearance, will in fact be aimed at creating chaos and divisions among our forces. This means that we shall find reactionaries disguised as ultra-revolutionaries, who will demand of the government drastic and extremist measures, seeking to present them as immediate revolutionary necessities. These elements, as such, are weak, but their action will be aimed at manipulating certain sectors of our population, selfless and militant but politically uneducated sectors which are likely to be used by the enemy.

Ultra-leftism is thus a weapon of reaction.

### **Reaffirm Friendship with the Portuguese People**

We should like, on this occasion, to address ourselves to the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Mozambique, in whom we see a representative of the new leaders of the Portuguese people and Armed Forces Movement.

We wish to reaffirm the friendship which unites us with the Portuguese people, and in particular with the Portuguese democratic forces, a friendship forged in the common struggle against the colonial-fascist regime.

That common struggle continues.

Colonialism has already been buried, Mozambique's independence will be a fact within a few months. Let us therefore definitely turn towards the future. What matters now is to build the future relations between our peoples, between the democratic forces of our countries. And the future relations between our peoples largely depend on the actions of the High Commissioner and on frank and sincere co-operation between the High Commissioner and the Transitional Government.

Together with the High Commissioner, the Transitional Government will build, stone by stone, the edifice of friendship and co-operation which we hope will be a historical example. We are faced with the tremendous challenge of a unique historical situation—the simultaneous liberation of two peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism. Neither of us liberated the other, it was mutual liberation through a parallel struggle which must take on new scope in the future.

Even now in the co-operation established between our forces in the struggle against the death throes of colonial-fascist reaction, we presented to the world a singular demonstration of the fact that the identification of peoples in the struggle against a common enemy is not an empty word, but that it is possible, open and fruitful, even between yesterday's colonized and those who were

forced to be instruments of that colonization.

We therefore expect the High Commissioner, in the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement, to carry out to the full what we regard his most inspiring duties, which are to give impetus to the process of decolonization, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and lay the foundations for a new type of relations between our peoples.

In line with its political principles, and remaining true to the commitments it has undertaken, FRELIMO will co-operate sincerely with the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic and with the Portuguese Armed Forces, so as to fulfill together the tasks of the present phase and build the future.

### Tribute to the memory of our Heroes

At this moment, we wish to pay heartfelt and stirring tribute to the memory of all our heroes, to all those who made both us and our country what we are today. Among them all and to remind us of them all, we wish to evoke the unforgettable memory of comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, founder member and first President of FRELIMO, the true inspirer and driving force of our struggle, who fell in the national liberation struggle. May his example of heroism and sacrifice be a source of inspiration and encouragement to enable us to fulfill the new tasks. At a time when the city of Lourenço Marques, and with it the whole of Mozambique, is in mourning because of a fascist adventure, let us be able to transform our sorrow into new strength to galvanise us to continue on the road of building independence, freedom and democracy in our country.

If the destruction of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was brought about primarily by sacrifice and efforts of the Mozambican people, it is nevertheless important to emphasize at this time the great contribution united Africa made to this victory, which is the common victory of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and of the entire African liberation movement.

We therefore wish to hail the representatives of the Organisation of African Unity who are here to show by their presence their consistent solidarity with our struggle.

We particularly wish to hail the representatives of Tanzania and Zambia, great brother peoples who, with heroism and determination were able to assume the role of strategic rear and therefore made our victory possible. Here we honor the memory of the Tanzanian and Zambian brothers who fell victim to colonialist aggression, consolidating through their sacrifices friendship and solidarity which, forged in the hard years of war, will be strengthened and consolidated in peace. Through them we send our greetings to our brothers in all countries bordering on the fighting territories, in Guinea, Senegal, the People's Republic of the Congo, and Zaire.

We salute the valuable and decisive contribution made by the generous political, moral and material help given to us by the Socialist countries in the highest internationalist spirit.

Through the Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, we greet the United Nations Organisation and the international community in general, whose growing moral, diplomatic and material support was a powerful factor in encouraging our struggle and isolating the colonial-fascist regime.

We wish to hail especially the support given by the democratic forces throughout the world, by progressive international organisations and revolutionary and anti-colonialist forces in western countries.

In conclusion, we wish to greet the Portuguese people, through the Portuguese democratic forces with whom we forged bonds of militant fraternity during the difficult years of common struggle, bonds which, more than the written words of treaties, are the guarantee of our future friendship and co-operation.

As we engage in this new struggle, we call upon our entire people to remain united, firm and vigilant under the banner of FRELIMO embarking with enthusiasm, discipline and hard work on the building of a free, developed and democratic Mozambique, under the watchword:

UNITY, WORK, VIGILANCE.

The *continuadores* of the revolution—it is for the children that the struggle has been fought and won.



# South Africa



Boarding an apartheid bus in Johannesburg. Travel services for Africans are inadequate and over-crowded.

## WHITE POLITICS

### EFFECTS OF CHANGE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Rapid change in Mozambique has made the fate of White minority rule in South Africa an obvious question. Various sections of the White power structure in South Africa are trying to cope with the new situation in a number of ways:

**Government:** Worried about the new developments, the Government has announced a 60% increase in next years military budget and has decided to build a new defence headquarters, costing over \$65 million, in Pretoria. Also, from now on, all physically fit South African policemen will be required to spend a tour of duty fighting with the Rhodesian security forces.

In addition, a law has been passed in Parliament, to forbid encouraging a person to refuse military service. The action came only a week after the South African Council of Churches had called on its members to consider conscientious objection.

However, it appears that the Government does not plan to interfere directly in Mozambique, and expects that the close economic cooperation that existed during Portuguese rule in Mozambique will continue.

**The ruling National Party:** A struggle for leadership seems to have developed between the "hardliners" and the "moderates" in the influential pro-ruling party secret society "Broeder-Bond", with Dr. Andries Treurnicht

M.P. leading the "hard-liners" and Prof. Gerrit Viljoen of Rand Afrikaans University, leading the "moderates".

A leading Afrikaans newspaper, "Die Vaderland" which traditionally supports the ruling party, recently called for mixed teams to represent South Africa in sports. Dr. Treurnicht replied that the logical consequence of mixed teams in sports would be a "mixed team" in Parliament.

Based on these indications there is some speculation that the ruling party may be heading for an internal rift, although details about such a rift are yet to be known.

**Opposition Parties:** The two main opposition parties, the United Party and the Progressive Party, feel that in the changed situation, there is a urgent need for the government to change its policies in order to win the support of the non-whites in the country; failure to do this will mean disaster for South Africa.

The United Party is prepared to make far fewer concessions to the black population than the Progressive Party feels necessary. Thus, the United Party supported the recent bill in the South African Parliament, against conscientious objection to military service.

**The Press:** Traditionally, the Afrikaans press supported the ruling National Party and the English press supported the opposition, United and Progressive parties. However, there are some indications, that in the changed situation, the English press, en bloc, may be supporting the Progressive Party or at least the "reformists" in the United Party and completely deserting the "old guards" in the

United Party. This is highlighted by the recent changes in the editorship of the *Sunday Express*, an erstwhile supporter of "old guards" in the United Party. The new editor Mr. Allister Sparks, was previously the deputy editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, and is believed to be a supporter of the Progressive Party.

Several of the Afrikaans newspapers have also begun urging some "reforms"; e.g. as mentioned earlier "Die Vaderland" recently called for mixed South African teams for international sports. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 17, 24, Sept. 7; *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, July 26, Aug. 2; *Guardian*, London, Aug. 15, 31; *Africa News*, Durham, N.C. Aug. 19; Comment and Opinion, Aug. 30.)

### SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION REPORT

In its fourth and final report, the Schlebusch Commission warned the South African Government that NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) was bent on replacing the present South African order with "African Socialism". This, according to the report, was to be brought about by inciting industrial and labor unrest among Blacks, which would lead to Black-White polarization and eventual "violent conflict" Nusas was also accused of being "Anti-South Africa" and of being a front organization financed by overseas bodies attempting to change the existing socio-economic system in South Africa.

The Commission also advised the Government on methods to combat these activities. Among others the commission recommended that:

- a) Action should be taken to prevent people and organizations from encouraging arms and economic boycotts of South Africa.
- b) Measures should be considered to prevent political activities in South Africa from being financed and influenced by help from abroad.
- c) That political parties should be allowed to operate on University campuses, in order to break the hold of NUSAS.

Significantly, the commission also urged the Government to improve what the report euphemistically described as the "unhealthy economic condition" which had become a fertile ground for fomenting revolution.

Most of the top Nusas leaders mentioned in the report have already been banned and few of them can contest these charges. The Prime Minister said Schlesbusch report together with the relevant doc-

would be referred to the Attorney General for possible court action. A few of the commission's recommendations have already been anticipated by the Government's passing of the "Affected Organizations Act" at the beginning of the year. Using this act, the Government could prevent an organization from receiving aid from overseas by declaring it an "Affected" organization. Since two of NUSAS's biggest sources of money are the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund it would be unable to continue with most of its welfare programs if this step was taken against it. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 17; *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Aug. 13)

### CONTROVERSY OVER BLACK TRADE UNION POLICY

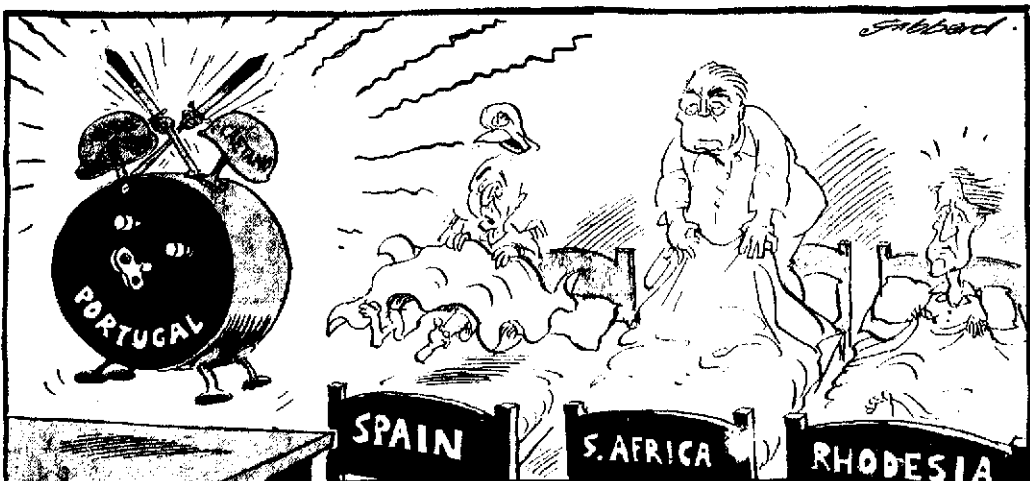
Two of South Africa's largest corporations announced in August that they were willing to negotiate with African Labor Unions, although trade unions for Africans have no legal standing in South Africa, and African workers have no rights to bargain collectively or to strike.

Observers believe the action by the powerful Anglo-American Corporation and Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, was stimulated by their concern over the labor supply situation, as well as the growing militancy of workers. The mining industry, in which both firms have extensive investments, depends heavily on migrant labor, almost eighty per cent of which comes from outside South Africa. One of the main suppliers, Malawi, recently indicated it might stop all recruiting by South African firms next July, and an independent Mozambique might well take the same step.

The Minister of Labor Mr. Viljoen responded quickly to the companies' announcement by stating the Government's implacable opposition to African unions. Official recognition for black unions, he said, would lead to economic power and then to political power, and this would mean racial friction.

The minister gave no indication of what action he might take against firms who negotiate with Africans, but said that he would take a very serious view of such developments. However, the corporations involved have investments in almost every sector of the economy, making Government reprisal difficult, if the corporations are determined to begin establishing negotiating machinery.

For the time being both companies have insisted that



they will not act unilaterally in recognizing black trade unions, nor will they act if the government is against such recognition. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 17, 1974)

Legally, the companies could recognize black unions and agree to work with them even if the government refused to recognize and register them. In fact there is a growing black labor movement in South Africa and although the unions are not legally recognized, in certain industries they have forced a degree of actual recognition from employers and have been able to gain limited ends for their members.

Black unions include the following: the Engineering and Allied Worker's Union with 1,500 members, the Metal and Allied Workers Union with 3,900 members, the National Union of Clothing Workers, the National Union of Textile Workers, with 5,000 members, the Union of Clothing and Allied Workers with 1,000 members and the Furniture and Timber Worker's Union. (This list is not complete.) Some of these unions have contact with the British Trades Union Congress, the International Labor Organization, and the International Metal Workers Federation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 7, 1974)

## ECONOMICS

### BUTHELEZI WELCOMES WHITE INDUSTRIALISTS

According to existing regulations, white industries in the black bantustans are limited to 25 year contracts. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu, one of South Africa's eight reserves, has called for the twenty five years to be extended to 99.

Over the years there has been considerable debate as to the role of white industries in the black reserves. For a time whites were totally excluded. Later this position was changed to allow white investments on a restricted basis. Now the conditions of this investment are being challenged.

The September issue of *Southern Africa* discussed Buthelezi's political position. His new economic demand is completely consistent with his call for a federal South Africa. Buthelezi's long range plan, politically and economically, is based on the assumption that Africans must share in the wealth of South Africa. He is not calling for a fundamental redistribution of wealth and power. He is asking that Blacks participate more fully in South Africa's consumer economy. His position is shared by other bantustan leaders including Chief Mangope of Boputhatswana. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 24, 1974)

The extension of white contracts in the bantustans would be one more indication of the fraudulence of the white government's claim that the bantustans will be granted independence. If the bantustans are developed significantly at all, they will be tied so tightly to the economy of South Africa that political "independence" will be largely meaningless.

### MINES FACE POTENTIAL LABOR CRISIS

Weeks before agreement had been reached between Mozambique and Portugal concerning independence, South African Tony Fleischer of the Mine Labor organization, was drawing up a plan to recruit more South African blacks. The hand writing was on the wall. Mozambique would become independent. And Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana supply South Africa with 75 per cent of its mining labor.

It is not clear what FRELIMO's position will be regarding the labor question. Certainly it is unlikely that



South Africa is dependent on migrant labor from beyond its borders for working the mines

the flow of labor to South Africa will be cut immediately, before alternative work can be found for the miners within Mozambique. Still, in the long run, it is obvious that South Africa dare not be dependent upon Mozambique as a source of labor.

Thus, a major recruiting campaign is on to attract South African blacks to work in the mines. Fleischer admitted that other sectors of the economy offer more desirable working conditions, that the mines will have to be made more attractive. Part of the attraction will have to be an increase in basic wages.

At present about 400,000 Africans work in the mines, 300,000 coming from outside South Africa. One of the most significant aspects of Mozambique's independence will be the working out of the labor situation with South Africa. The coming crisis for the regime is very real because there are not enough black South Africans to replace the 300,000 who presently come from outside. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 17, 1974)

### SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS NEW MARKETS

Scandinavia is an expanding market for both raw materials and manufactured goods from South Africa. The industries of these nations need raw materials and high standards of living make sale of manufactured goods possible. Because the nations are so dependent on trade, their trade policies are liberal, import restrictions are few and tariffs are moderately low. As an indication of the level of trade, South Africa's exports to Sweden for 1972 totalled about \$17 million and reached about \$14.7 million in the first ten months of 1973. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1974)

South Africa is also seeking markets in Africa. The Wellcome Pharmaceutical group is a good example. A new market has just been opened with Mauritius and total exports to Africa are expected to increase 60 per cent this year. Gabriel, a company that manufactures shock absorbers and exhaust systems, has increased its export

sales by 90 percent, following a 100 per cent increase last year. It sells to Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Mauritius, Malagasy, Reunion, and Zaire. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, 1974)

Even though the face of the White House occupant has changed, the South African government expects that its friendly relations with the United States will continue under the Ford administration. When the South African Minister of Information and Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, visited the United States last January he spoke with Mr. Gerald Ford then Vice-President. Dr. Mulder considers Ford "a hard realist" who "does not accept things at face value . . . and was prepared to keep an open mind." *Die Vaderland* feels that "South Africa has no reason to be worried about the White House's new occupant, Gerald Ford . . . will not deviate from President Nixon's policy to any extent worth mentioning. The small shift in emphasis which is expected will favor South Africa rather than harm her." Additionally, *Die Transvaler* notes that President Ford is well informed of the South African government viewpoint of the conditions in South Africa. (*Comment and Opinion: A Weekly Survey of the South African Press and Radio*, Aug. 16, 1974) Therefore, unless the American public acts to change administration policy, the United States Government will continue to be a major bulwark of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

## SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

### South Africa-United States Relations

The general evaluation in the South African Afrikaans Press of the Nixon administration is that it has been a very favorable time for South Africa. According to the *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (Aug. 10, 1974) South Africa has benefited from Nixon's international policy of establishing a "network of international cooperation and mutual interest", opening "channels of communication with countries near and far." Under the Nixon presidency "Washington's attitude to us [South Africa's apartheid regime] was fair and constructive." The *Hoofstad* stated that South Africa had indirectly felt the drama of Watergate and the pressure which forced Nixon's resignation because "under Mr. Nixon's leadership the United States, often to an exceptional degree, proved itself a friend of South Africa." In agreement with the above evaluation, the *Oggenblad* wrote that "to South Africa . . . Nixon's term was relatively advantageous. Relations between these two countries were as near as normal as was possible in light of everything on which they could differ." In other words, South Africa found in former President Nixon's policies considerable support for the maintenance of apartheid.

### South Africa-Europe

It was noted in the September issue of *Southern Africa* that a new international organization, known as the "Club of Ten", has been acting as a private propaganda agency for the promotion of the interests of the South African government. Although much about the "Club" is still shrouded in secrecy, it has been revealed that Mr. Lampis Nichas, a millionaire farmer from the Transvaal, is one of its four principal backers. Mr. Keith Stanmore-Bloxam, the manager of the Jan Smuts Airport Holiday Inn, was the intermediary who introduced Mr. Nichas to the "Club's" manager Mr. Gerald Sparrow.

During the past summer the "Club of Ten" has taken a series of full page advertisements in British newspapers to attack the *Guardian's* coverage of South Africa. This

prompted the *Guardian* to investigate the "Club" and publish its findings that the "Club" had connections with the South African Department of Information (see *Southern Africa*, September 1974). This allegation led to an investigation by the British Foreign Office into the sources of the financing of the "Club." The investigators reported that, as of now, there is no evidence of a breach of diplomatic convention, but that British officials would continue to monitor Mr. Sparrow's propaganda tactics. Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, the head of the South African Information Services, has admitted that the South African embassy in London is used to transmit the text of the advertisements from Pretoria to Britain. Such a use of the Government teleprinter link "was purely routine," according to Dr. Rhoodie, because "information regarding South Africa in the press was regularly relayed to South African embassies abroad."

Due to the publicity about the "Club of Ten's" connection with the South African Government, the "Club" is planning a new series of full page advertisements in the major newspapers of the world in order to counteract the charges that the "Club" is a propaganda agency of the South African Government. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 23, 1974)

### South African-Israeli Relations

South African-Israeli trade during 1973 amounted to approximately \$45 million and it might increase during the coming year as a result of General Moshe Dayan's two-week visit to South Africa in late August-early September. Besides expressing his gratitude for South African support of Israel—that is the support of both the South African Jewish community and the South African Government—Dayan spoke with Mr. Harry Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American Corporation. It is most probable that the talks between Dayan and Oppenheimer concerned ways of increasing the volume of trade between the two countries. Interestingly, while Dayan avoided making any comment upon racial oppression in South Africa during his visit, he called for the increased immigration of South African Jews to Israel, in order to increase the percentage of Jews of European origin living in Israel. (Around 60 per cent of the Israeli Jewish population are of Asian or African origin.) (*WBAI*, New York, *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1974, Sept. 9, 1974)

### World Conference on Population

The Rumanian Government which hosted the World Conference on Population in August 1974 refused to issue the necessary visas to the South Africa delegation and thereby forced the United Nations organizers to withdraw their invitation to the South Africans. Even though it was refused admission to the Conference, South Africa propaganda is attempting to picture South Africa as a "bridge between the developed and the underdeveloped world" because it contains both "worlds." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1974; *South African Broadcasting Corporation*, Aug. 24, 1974) Of course we know the nature of South Africa's policy for its "underdeveloped" sector—the poor oppressed Black majority of the population. □

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# Namibia

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## SOUTH AFRICA'S SCHEME FOR NAMIBIA

South Africa, with considerable fanfare, has announced a scheme whereby black, brown and white people would start talks on the "future pattern of constitutional development" in Namibia (*New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1974). A letter from South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim asserted that the white population in the territory had decided to act "in a more positive and practical manner."

Peter Younghusband perpetuates the questionable theme of a "dramatic turnaround" in the *Washington Post* of September 25, saying the National Party (the same as the Nationalist Party of South Africa) "would take part in multiracial talks to determine the future of Namibia (South West Africa)." This announcement came from the party's Windhoek office and the party leader, A. H. du Plessis, stated: "All options are open. It would be premature to say if the future pattern of political development would be independence as a confederation, federation or unitary state." He added that the idea of incorporation of Namibia into the Republic of South Africa had not been scrapped.

The September 21 air edition of the Johannesburg *Star* quotes Mr. Jannie de Wet, who bears the title "Commissioner General for Indigenous Peoples in South West Africa," as envisaging an "umbrella liaison" between ethnic governments in the territory. De Wet delined to go into details, saying the various "ethnic governments" would have to decide the matter. He denied, according to the *Star*, that he had foreseen a mixed-race government in Windhoek. Yet the *Star* quotes an earlier de Wet speech: "It is possible at this stage to establish a central government here which is representative of all ethnic groups. It is only sensible to be able to say, before you constitute any government that will be representative of every national group, but (it is) important that the man who represents . . . his people or ethnic group, will also have experience of government and administration methods."

Clive Cowley, correspondent in Namibia, reports in the *Star* of September 17 in the same glowing terms that all peoples in the territory "are to be given a chance to carve out, against huge odds, an independent future for themselves in a multi-national state" and goes on to say the new plan is "designed to neutralize the dangers of the northern border, to loosen the political logjam within the territory and to revive dialogue with the U.N." He quotes a senior official: "It is absurd to think South west Africa will be able to exercise its rights to self-determination while all the important departments are under Pretoria." Cowley states that closed-door meetings had been going on for months.

The South African scheme must be seen against the background of the opening of the UN General Assembly and a growing move to expel South Africa from the world body. The new projection is sufficiently hazy—for instance, the slippery use of words like "multi-racial" and "multi-national"—and bears marks of the frantic hope of whites in Southern Africa to keep a grip on rapidly moving events in the sub-continent by putting forth a vague scheme for future change. But the inevitable is under way: FRELIMO is in power in Mozambique;

Portuguese-Angolan talks are in progress; labor, student and black political expressions are mounting in South Africa itself; Ian Smith's regime in Zimbabwe is in trouble; and the defiance of the Namibian people uncontainable. Moreover, the new scheme will fool no one at the UN.

## NAMIBIAN PRISONERS

Anglican Bishop in Namibia Richard Wood, now on a missionary tour of the United States, relates how members of the families of Namibian prisoners on Robben Island, South Africa's penal colony off Cape Town, are now able to visit their menfolk. Beginning at the end of July, one wife and two mothers, including the mother of Toivo ja Toivo, SWAPO leader, traveled from northern Namibia to Cape Town to spend one hour—separated by a glass partition—with South West Africa People's Organization men convicted under South Africa's Terrorism Act. Five or six other family members will soon make the trip. Church sources are providing the \$150 round trip fares for the three-day rail trip from Windhoek to Cape Town. There, the South African Council of Churches Dependents' Conference make the formal arrangements for the prison visits, while Namibians living and working locally accommodate their fellow countrypeople. With additional funding, more families could have such brief meetings more frequently. Prison authorities have said the men could have one visitor a month.

## SWAPO DETAINEES RELEASED

Mr. Lot Zacharias, 31, and Mr. Axel Johannes, 28, detained in Namibia under the Terrorism Act since January, were released on September 3, having never been brought to trial. (*Times*, London, September 5). Justice J. J. Strydom said: "After all these months there is still doubt about the charges against them. A magistrate says they are charged with attempting to leave the territory illegally while a police officer says they allegedly assisted others to leave illegally."

The judge set bail at \$375 each and ordered them to remain in the Windhoek district and to report twice a day to the police. Both men assert they were beaten during detention; three magistrates filed affidavits that they found no evidence of this.

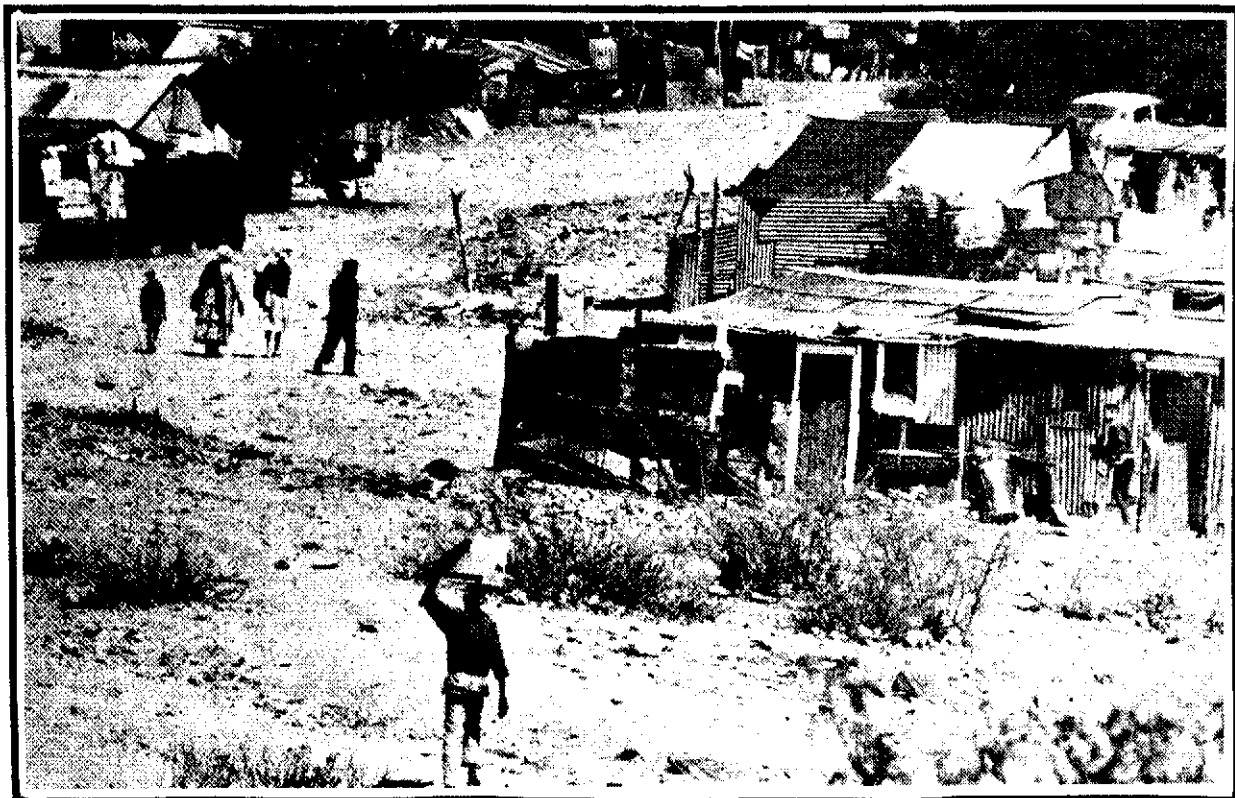
## TORTURE

Mr. David Meroro, SWAPO chairman inside Namibia, alleged in a Windhoek court that he had been tortured by police during his six month detention under terms of South Africa's Terrorism Act. He was on trial for possession of five copies of a South African Communist Party journal. A security police captain denied on the stand Mr. Meroro's statement.

## EXILES

More than 1,500 Namibians are now said to have gone into exile in Namibia and Zaire, most of them travelling through Angola with help from both Portuguese soldiers and liberation movement freedom fighters. Thomas Kamati, a SWAPO Youth League leader who had been detained under the Terrorism Act for almost six months, has now gone over the border.





Black slums in Namibia

Commissioner Jannie de Wet has stated "Political fugitives and dissidents who left South West Africa would be indemnified on their return to the Territory provided that their return would be for peaceful intentions and not to incite or cause violence." (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, Sept. 16, 1974). According to the *Advertiser*, "... he made it clear that South Africa would never abandon South West Africa in the sense of leaving her to her fate ... South Africa would not interfere nor would she permit United Nations interference and she would leave it to all South West Africa's peoples to decide the future."

#### NAMIBIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

In June, 1974, the voluntary contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia amounted to some \$164,000. Additional funds are expected. These contributions are in addition to the \$100,000 appropriated by the UN General Assembly to the Fund for Namibia.

#### UN CHALLENGES SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA

The UN Council for Namibia decreed on Sat. Sept. 28, 1974 that Namibia's (South-West Africa) resources could no longer be exploited without the Council's consent. Nations seeking to exploit animal or mineral resources of the country which is illegally controlled by South Africa must seek written permission of the Council set up in 1966 to look after the welfare of the territory which had up to that time been governed under a League of Nations mandate by South Africa. The Council stated that any resources exploited without its written permission may be

seized and shall be forfeited and held in trust for the people of the territory. The decree stated further that any vehicle, ship or container found to be carrying resources from Namibia "shall also be subject to seizure and forfeiture." Since the UN Council has no enforcement powers it must rely on member states for implementation; nevertheless, the Council's decree will have to be taken into consideration by business concerns such as the US mining companies who have interests there. This is the first instance of actual legislation on such an issue by the Council.

The *New York Times* (Sept. 29, 1974) also reported that South Africa had informed the UN earlier in the week that the National Party of South West Africa, representing most of the white population (50,000 according to the UN Commissioner Sean MacBride, but 90,000 according to South Africa) had "decided" to start interracial talks on the territory's future. This move was simultaneous with the continued efforts and recent move of the African UN delegates to expel South African delegates from the General Assembly. The Credentials Committee voted on the same day as the Council for Namibia's action, to unseat the South African delegation.

The UN held special commemorations on Namibia Day, August 26, as a reminder of the critical time in 1966 when the people of Namibia were forced to begin "resistance against the aggression of the illegal occupation." (UN, Press Release NAM/125 Aug. 26, 1974) □

# Zimbabwe

## GUERRILLAS STRENGTHEN POSITION

The Zimbabwe African National Union's (ZANU) liberation army is strengthening its forces in the struggle against the white Rhodesian regime. The Rhodesian Front continues its removals of people in the Chiweshe Reserve, north of Salisbury, in the attempt to stop villagers aiding the guerrilla effort. (see *Southern Africa*, May, 1974) The war zone continues to be a hot spot for civilians and soldiers alike. A running battle of several hours was reported on August 16. Rhodesian helicopters dropped forces into the area and light strike planes were used to rout guerrillas. Surface-to-Air Missiles have been in use by the liberation army, and four Rhodesian planes were downed in July. Several African-owned vehicles and a Rhodesian Railways truck were damaged by landmines, and two African teachers were killed when their vehicle struck a landmine. Two teenage white Rhodesian soldiers were killed by a landmine, and one African was killed when his jeep detonated another landmine. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 18, Aug. 17, 24, 1974; *Africa*, London, Sept. 1974)

Five Africans were each sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for allegedly recruiting four men for guerrilla training. Permission to appeal was denied. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 15, 1974) The men were allegedly recruiting in the men's hostels in Salisbury. If the allegation is true, it signifies an important escalation of guerrilla activity in the urban areas.

In response to what, from the white regime's perspective, is a worsening situation, the Rhodesian Front has increased its defense budget for 1974. Increased spending for salaries, wages, and allowances in defense-related ministries is reported by John Wrathall, Minister of Finance. The *Star* calculates the defense figure at about US\$180 million, or about 20 per cent of total government spending. This figure includes hidden appropriations relating to security. Within the defense budget, the biggest increases outside of wages and salaries, were made to the airforce. The protected village scheme has cost nearly three million dollars and border and farm security nearly eight million. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 22, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1974)

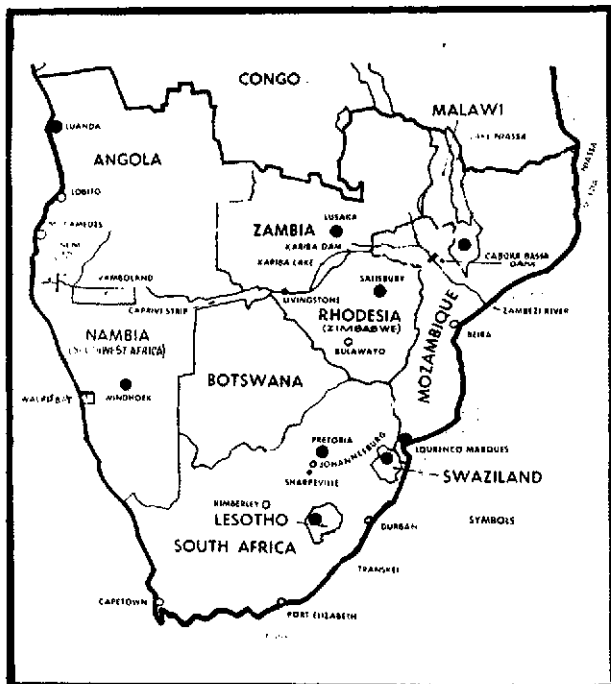
*Zimbabwe News*, the official organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union, reports that more than 200 people have died of malaria in the Chiredzi concentration camp in the northeast. Thousands of Africans are being moved from their homes and land because they are allegedly harboring guerrillas. Forced labor is being used to clear the bush for roads and bridges for the Rhodesian Front forces. (*Daily News*, Dar Es Salaam, Aug. 21, 1974)

## SETTLEMENT RUMORS

James Callaghan, British Foreign Secretary, has suggested that a new British initiative on Rhodesia might coincide with Mozambique's independence (in June 1975), which will create new economic problems for Rhodesia. If FRELIMO, as the new government of Mozambique, applies UN sanctions against Rhodesia, this will mean the closing of the ports of Beira and Lourenco Marques to Rhodesian goods, the lifelines Rhodesia has enjoyed since UDI in 1965. (*Financial Times*, London, Aug. 12, 1974)

In the meantime, Rhodesia is eager to reach a settlement with Britain, according to Clifford Dupont, president of Rhodesia. He said his government will "renew their endeavors" for a settlement "with the same patience and forbearance which they have shown in the past." He warned that there would be no lowering of standards nor departure from the principle of "responsible rule." Dupont commented on the supply routes problem and the new rail link to South Africa. This link has just been completed, nearly two years ahead of schedule. Ironically, it was opposed in the 1920's on the basis that it would make Rhodesia too dependent on South Africa. South Africa has warned, however, that it cannot assist Rhodesia with transport to the degree needed because its own harbor facilities and transportation system are already over-extended. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 28, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, Sept. 15, 1974; *New York Times*, Sept. 15, 1974)

An organization called Southern African Civilization Association advocating union of Rhodesia with South Africa has been formed in Rhodesia, with support from the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Rhodesier*. However, Smith is undergoing pressure from South Africa to reach a settlement with the Africans, and South African support for the Rhodesian cause is slipping away. Ian Smith warned that South Africa could not save herself by sacrificing Rhodesia to black forces from the north: He said, "You are next on the list." Smith said he would not make concessions or take up a policy of appeasement. The recent election, he said, indicated that the voters support his stand. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 26, 1974; *Africa* Sept., 1974)



Mr. A. Grobbelaar, general secretary of the Trades Union Council of South Africa addressed the Rhodesian trade unionists and underlined the growing change of opinion in South Africa. He said, "The open question being asked in South Africa is whether a much stricter policy of neutrality, as distinct from a policy of identification, would not be more in South Africa's interests" (regarding Rhodesia). "I think it is realistic to realise that while your country has until now acted as a buffer zone in blunting terrorist incursions from Black Africa, your importance to South Africa for that purpose has now declined." (*Guardian*, London, Sept. 2, 1974)

### CHURCHMEN CHARGE BRUTALITY

Anglican, Roman Catholic, and British Methodist church leaders in Rhodesia have compiled a dossier of ten documented cases of alleged brutality against African civilians by Rhodesian security forces. The dossier includes cases of prolonged and brutal torture of innocent people. (see *Southern Africa*, July-Aug., for detailed case). The ministry of law and order said that three of the cases were already investigated and that the allegations could not be sustained. Lardner Burke, head of the ministry said the churchmen were conspiring to "embarrass the Government and the security forces . . . without having to prove any given situation beyond reasonable doubt." The church leaders may face prosecution. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 7, 1974)

The government said the churchmen should have made their case known privately, not through the press. In reply, church leaders said they had spoken with Smith himself, and after 18 months, learned that he accepted the decision of Lardner Burke that the evidence did not warrant judicial action. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 31, 1974; *Le Monde*, Aug. 24, 1974; *Times*, London, Aug. 24, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, Aug. 23, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1974)

Further implication of Rhodesian troops in assaults on civilians is contained in a sworn affidavit by a Rhodesian medical doctor now in Britain, disclosing details of a massacre of 13 African women and children by Rhodesian security forces operating in Mozambique. His testimony will be sent to the Roman Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. The doctor served as a medical officer with the Rhodesian light infantry during his six month call-up period of duty. The massacre of which he has first hand knowledge took place in Mozambique during a ten day military operation in August-September 1971. Rhodesia denies any military operations in Mozambique, except for "hot pursuits." (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 31, 1974)

### ECONOMICS

"Specially imported from America—Beautiful Printed American Cotton Voile" reads a sign in the window of a Salisbury department store. Other items advertised are fabrics from Switzerland and shoes from Europe—more evidence of the failure of UN sanctions. "The Sting," "The Great Gatsby," and "The Three Musketeers" are playing in the movie houses. The British TV series, "Civilization" was carried on Rhodesian TV. Salisbury bookshops carry Solzhenitsyn's book and other books printed in Britain. Japanese radios and phonographs are available. The three year waiting list for new cars is due not so much to their not being available as to the restrictions on foreign exchange imposed by the government on each importer. (*New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1974)



Rhodesian farmers armed with automatic weapons

Fifty tons of weedkiller destined for an importer in Rhodesia were locked out of a Danish freighter under charter to South African Lines. The action followed an investigation by the Rotterdam Economic Control Service. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 7, 1974)

Rhodesia's agricultural output is up 25 percent in value from last year. Faster growth is expected in retail trading, and increases in public sector building and African housing will offset the downturn in European residential building. The sugar industry will earn millions in foreign currency because the London spot price of sugar has risen from about \$35 to \$850 per metric ton in seven years. Gross domestic product growth could top 15 percent this year, compared to ten per cent last year. Given inflation, the real growth rate will exceed ten percent this year, compared to over six in 1973. (*Standard Bank Review*, Aug., 1974)

### JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY FALL IN LINE ON SANCTIONS

Japan and West Germany have taken steps to block illegal trade with Rhodesia. In West Germany a commission has been set up to supervise sanctions and tighten controls on trade that has allowed some \$1.6 million worth of goods to flow to the Smith regime, while almost \$1 million worth of Rhodesian goods has entered West Germany.

Trade between Japan and Rhodesia has frequently been routed through South Africa. In an effort to prevent this practice in future, trade contracts with South Africa are to specifically ban the re-export of goods to Rhodesia. Japanese companies have been told to obtain certificates of origin from South Africa on shipments of chrome ore, to make sure that these do not come from Rhodesia.

Both countries have been stimulated to take these steps by similar pressures. Neither wants to incur the antagonism of the independent states of Africa to the north. The Middle East oil crisis had special meaning for Japan which is heavily dependent on Arab oil. Japan clearly had to choose between the Arab states and Israel. Both Japan and West Germany see the necessity for a similar choice in Africa, and both seem to want to make that choice before a crisis actually arises. (*The Australian*, June 18, 1974; *J.M.H.* Aug. 14, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1974) □

# portugal and africa

## angola

### MPLA RESOLVES LEADERSHIP QUESTIONS

In August MPLA held its first Congress in 12 years in Lusaka having as its critical task the working out of internal divisions among the leadership of three separate factions. It was more than a month before settlement was reached, and this was not accomplished without considerable pressures from the heads of state of Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire and the Congo People's Republic. (*Africa News*, Sept. 9, 1974) The 400 delegates attending the Congress were divided along factional lines representing the three tendencies within MPLA. The present leadership group led by Dr. Neto and the 'eastern rebellion' group led by Daniel Chipenda were each represented by 165 delegates and there were 70 delegates representing the 'active rebellion' group of Pinto de Andrade (*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, Aug. 15, 1974) After 2 weeks of meetings it appeared that the Congress had become mired in irreconcilable conflict and that talks had broken down. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Aug. 29, 1974) Later at the Ninth Summit Conference of the Heads of State of East and Central Africa held in Brazzaville August 31 to September 2, the leaders of the three tendencies were persuaded to reach a unity agreement by Presidents Nguabi, Nyerere, Kaunda and Mobutu. At the same conference a resolution (now referred to as the Brazzaville Declaration) backed by member states pledged full support for the complete independence of Angola. (*Africa News*, Sept. 5, 1974)



At the summit conference in Brazzaville left to right: Dr. Agostinho Neto, MPLA, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and President Marien Nguabi of the Congo

An MPLA communique issued on September 2 outlined the new leadership—the president of MPLA remains Dr. Agostinho Neto, with two vice-presidents, Daniel Chipenda and Pinto de Andrade. A Political Bureau composed of nine members is to consist of three members from each group, and a Central Committee of 39 members which will have 16 members from Neto's group, 13 from Chipenda's faction and ten from de Andrade's group. (MPLA communique, Brazzaville, Sept. 2, 1974)

The full political background and implications of the divisions within MPLA is not yet completely clear. Neto charges the split emerged with an assassination plot against him in March 1973 which he claims was a conspiracy led by Chipenda. (*Jeune Afrique*, Paris, Sept. 14, 1974) Neto was reported to have been prepared to resign if any merger with FNLA occurred (*Southern Africa*, October 1974), however "tactical unity" with FNLA now seems one of the points on which there is some agreement among the leaders of the three factions. Neto is now on record as favoring a united front with FNLA as long as MPLA is not forced to make too many concessions. Chipenda had complained that Neto's leadership has become "elitist" and "dictatorial" and that democratic principles have not operated under his presidency. On the other hand Chipenda credited Neto with being largely responsible for sustaining the struggle over the years, but said Neto must "abandon his autocratic rule". (BBC interview, "This Week in Africa", August 24, 1974) In another interview, with *O Provincia de Angola*, Chipenda said he believed MPLA to be the vanguard of the Angolan people, but added that he recognized that a common political front with FNLA and other groups was necessary to achieve independence. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Aug. 23, 1974) In contrast Neto has said he would not accept any of the new political organizations which have emerged in Angola since the Lisbon coup. (*Times*, London, Aug. 26, 1974) Chipenda has also indicated that his faction favors the recognition of the right of self-determination of the people of the Cabinda enclave, and may present another point of contention. (BBC interview, "Focus on Africa", Sept. 3, 1974)

The clash between Neto and Chipenda has been interpreted as largely personal and the emergence of the de Andrade faction is seen as an appeal for the democratic airing of differences within MPLA. (*Jeune Afrique*, Paris, Sept. 14, 1974)

The Black African press has lamented the divisive atmosphere which pervades Angolan liberation movement politics at this critical time in the nation's history, and many fear the road to independence is even less certain given the present realities. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Aug. 29, 1974)

## MPLA-UNITA-FNLA REJECT PORTUGUESE PLAN

On the fourth day of the MPLA Congress the delegates in plenary session unanimously rejected the proposal of a provisional government offered by Portugal. The MPLA rejects any such unilateral decision and warned Portugal it would have to bear the consequences of such a move. (*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, Aug. 16, 1974) Spinoza has worked out an ingenious plan whereby African "tribal" groupings are separated out (eg. Ovumbundu, Lezi) leaving the white settlers the largest single "ethnic" group in the territory, and therefore an element which must be included in any independent government. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Sept. 1974)

UNITA also rejects Portugal's plan to organize a referendum on independence or federation. A spokesman told a Brussels news conference that independence is not negotiable. (*Washington Post*, Aug. 30, 1974)

FNLA said in a communique issued in Kinshasa that it too rejects any constitution drawn up by Portugal without the participation of the true representatives of the Angolan people, the liberation movements. (*Radio Club Portugues*, Lisbon, July 30, 1974)

## NEGOTIATIONS

Portugal's readiness to begin negotiations with FNLA was signalled by the arrival in late August of a delegation from Lisbon to begin preliminary talks in Zaire. A BBC reporter in Lisbon claims the Portuguese prefer dealing with the less militant FNLA who many observers believe would settle for less than immediate and total independence for Angola. (*Africa News*, Sept. 2, 1974)

## COFFEE: PRICE AND LABOR PROBLEMS

Angola has joined five other coffee exporting countries in blocking the sale of coffee until the price rises. A Portuguese representative at the International Coffee Organization in London in July, said that sales would be stopped until the price of Robusta coffee on the world market reached at least \$73 per 100 lbs. The current price was between \$65 and \$70. (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Frankfurt, July 13, 1974)

Meanwhile strikes and work stoppages due to curfew orders were preventing the shipment of 8,000 tons of coffee from the port in Luanda. The coffee should have left Angola in late June or early July, but is now expected to be held up for some time. It is worth about \$12.5 million. (*AFP Interfric News Survey*, July 25, 1974)

# mozambique

## NEW GOVERNMENT FOR MOZAMBIQUE

On September 20, the new transitional government of Mozambique took power. It will lead the country to full independence under FRELIMO on June 25 next year. FRELIMO members of the cabinet are the Prime Minister and 6 other Ministers, while the remaining three posts are filled by Portuguese.

The Prime Minister is Joaquim Chissano, a member of FRELIMO's Central and Executive Committees, and the movement's representative in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where FRELIMO had its headquarters during the war. The six other FRELIMO ministers are as follows:

Armando Guebuza, Minister for Internal Administration and Home Affairs. National Political Commissar and

a member of the Central and Executive Committees.

Baltazar dos Santos Alves, Minister of Justice. A white lawyer who lived in Lourenco Marques.

Mario Machunga, Minister for Economic Coordination. A long-time FRELIMO militant working in Lourenco Marques as an economist.

Oscar Monteiro, Minister for Information. A member of FRELIMO's Central and Executive Committees, who has worked as the movement's representative in Algiers and in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Gideon Ndobe, Minister for Education and Culture. A member of the Central and Executive Committees and Secretary of the Education Department.

Mariano Matsinhe, Minister for Labor, FRELIMO's representative in Lusaka.

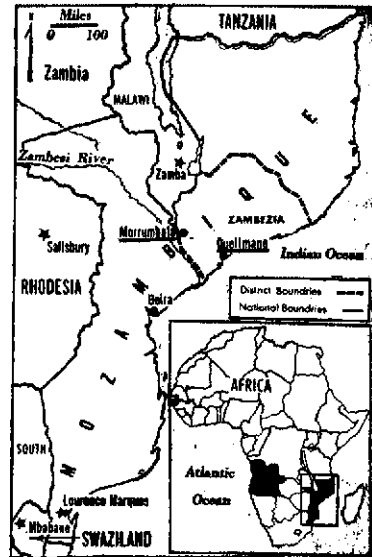
In addition there are three FRELIMO members of a Joint Military Commission responsible for overseeing the ceasefire. They are Alberto-Joaquim Chipande, Deputy to Samora Machel in the Defense Department; Sebastiano Maboye, FRELIMO army's chief of operations; and Jacinto Valoso formerly FRELIMO's representative in Algiers.

The Portuguese Ministers are:

Antonio Paulino, Minister for Health and Social Affairs.

Luis Santos, Minister for Public Work and Housing.

Lt. Col. Eugenio Picolo, Minister for Communications and Transport.



## LAST DAYS ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The past three months have amply illustrated the problems that will be facing FRELIMO as they take over government. Illustrated too, have been their techniques in building popular unity, showing examples of discipline and strength. Until they were sure of independence FRELIMO continued its military activity—on the premise that they had been fighting for independence for 10 years through armed struggle, and until independence was theirs, there was no reason to stop fighting. A ceasefire came into effect on September 7.

Prior to this many Portuguese troops refused to fight, and greeted FRELIMO soldiers as comrades when the



Captured Portuguese soldiers in Cabo Delgado are marched to a FRELIMO base (August 1)

latter came on a mission. Portuguese troops throughout Mozambique began to desert their barracks and continued to disobey orders to fight against FRELIMO.

In July, one such company of soldiers based in Macussa about 50 miles from Vila de Gouveia, wrote a manifesto which stated that it had joined FRELIMO as it is "the only valid party in this country". The document was signed by the chief officer and three sergeants. It was later sent to the Portuguese High Command in Nampula. Around the same time, more than 2,000 Portuguese soldiers left their barracks at Boane and Lourenco Marques to join the fight against colonialism. These were not isolated cases, said Samora Machel, FRELIMO President in a message to the Mozambican people and the Portuguese army (see *Southern Africa*, October 1974); everyday messages of support were sent to FRELIMO by Portuguese officers and soldiers.

During this period, guerrillas increased their contact with the white civilian population. In Zambezia, they had stopped cars driven by whites and talked to the motorists. In the area around Vila Pery, farmers and sawmill owners were asked not to leave their homes, with assurances given that there will be no reprisals. Farmers in the area of port town of Quelimane appear to feel great respect for the discipline of FRELIMO.

Military activity continued, and was intensified after news of the coup. A FRELIMO communique of August 11, 1974 stated that 30 enemy soldiers had been killed and 4,000 Mozambicans freed in the one and a half months since the opening of the new front in Zambezia province on July 1st. During the month of July, enemy soldiers were forced to abandon the posts of Mulelemba and Marrundo. Several trucks carrying Portuguese soldiers hit landmines in the same district, killing at least 20 soldiers and destroying at least one truck.

In Tete province during June at least 43 enemy soldiers were killed in various actions including ambushes and attacks on military barracks. In Cabo Delgado province

Frelimo blew up two bridges and captured assorted weapons. Two enemy soldiers were taken prisoner while freeing 36 FRELIMO prisoners from concentration camps during June and July. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, July 27, 30, 1974 and August 12, 1974; *New York Times*, August 6, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 20, 27, 1974; *Washington Post*, July 26, 1974).

## republic of guinea-bissau

### GUINEA-BISSAU IS FREE

As has long been anticipated in these pages the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is free at last. In Portugal on September 10 1974 documents were signed which formally ended the five centuries of Portuguese presence in Guinea. Large numbers of Portuguese troops have already been evacuated and much movable material has been removed. Independence celebrations were held by PAIGC on September 24, the day of national independence declared in the liberated regions of Boe a year earlier.

The issue of the independence of the Cape Verde Islands still remains. The PAIGC has called for independence and self-determination. The Portuguese authorities have proposed a referendum. The matter is complicated by the strategic role played by the islands for maritime traffic around Africa, to South Africa, and to certain interests of military strategy for the North Atlantic region. It is clear that the PAIGC has done extensive political mobilization in the islands but other groups such as the UDCV (Democratic Union of Cape Verde) and the UPICV (Peoples' Union of the Cape Verde Islands) have made a small bid to have a role in any proposed referendum. PAIGC supporters in the United States (which has one of the largest Cape Verdean populations outside the islands) have expressed fears that the Portuguese may extend referendum voting to Cape Verdeans who have long lost contact with the current realities in the Islands. Such a move may enable Portugal to retain a federated status with the islands rather than have them unite with the mainland.

These discussions were held at the Peoples' Palace in Algiers on August 26. It was at this time that the final details for the departure of foreign troops and the devolution of power were arranged which culminated in the signing of the documents in Lisbon's Belem Palace. (*Internews*, Sept. 6, 1974; *The Times*, London, Aug. 30, 1974; *UPI*, Aug. 27, 1974; *New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1974)

The agreement stated that it will "establish and develop relations of active cooperation, notably in the economic, financial, cultural and technical fields, on a basis of independence, mutual respect, equality, reciprocity of interests and harmonious relations between the citizens of both republics." (*The Militant*, New York, Sept. 6, 1974)

In related news, in a new book, *Testimony*, written by deposed dictator Marcello Caetano some outlines of the fascist program for Guinea-Bissau have come to light. Caetano stated that he thought it preferable to suffer a "military defeat" in Guinea-Bissau so that a precedent of negotiated settlement would not be established for

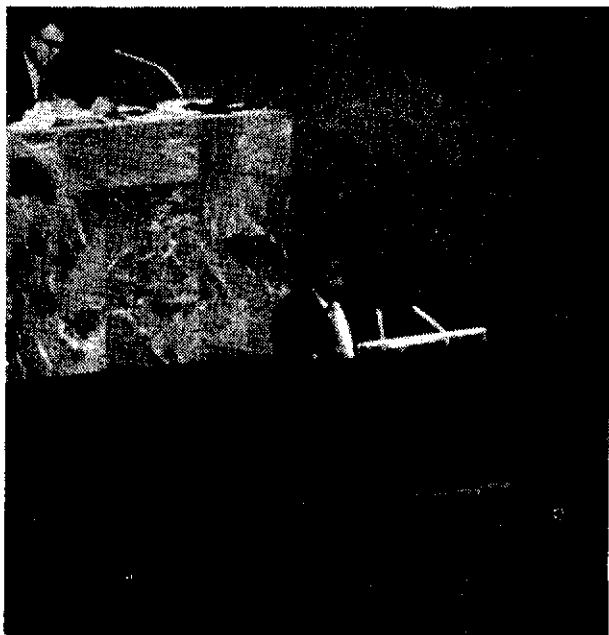
Mozambique and Angola. Opposition to Caetano came from the current Portuguese President Spínola and his allies who preferred a negotiated settlement to the wars that were otherwise unending. (*The Times*, London, Aug. 30, 1974).

#### INSIDE GUINEA-BISSAU

Despite encouraging words from the PAIGC it appears that some of the few thousand Europeans in Guinea-Bissau intend to leave the country. (*New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1974). Also leaving are Portuguese troops; the Portuguese have promised to evacuate 33,000 soldiers by the end of October (*International Bulletin*, Sept. 6, 1974). At least 10,000 troops had left by the end of August (UPI, Aug. 27, 1974). At least 17,000 African troops will be reabsorbed into the new republic. Since many of these soldiers were acting out of economic necessity or were drafted to fight there is little fear that there will be problems in bringing them into the new society (*New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1974).

President Luis Cabral has indicated that the country will remain revolutionary and anti-colonialist and that "we are an agricultural country and it is in the rural areas that our people must work to develop the nation" (*Africa*, London, Sept. 1974). A program to have most of the government in the rural areas with the capital at Madina Boe in the east, is to be stressed, with the city of Bissau functioning only as a formal political capital. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Aug. 14, 1974).

The future of C.U.F. (the giant Portuguese merchandizing cartel) is unclear as its local representative in Bissau, Casa Geverea. Throughout the war Casa Geverea exported palm oil and peanut oil. Now that the war is over the security in the rural areas could mean the increase of production by five or six times. Some European businessmen have already arrived in Bissau to



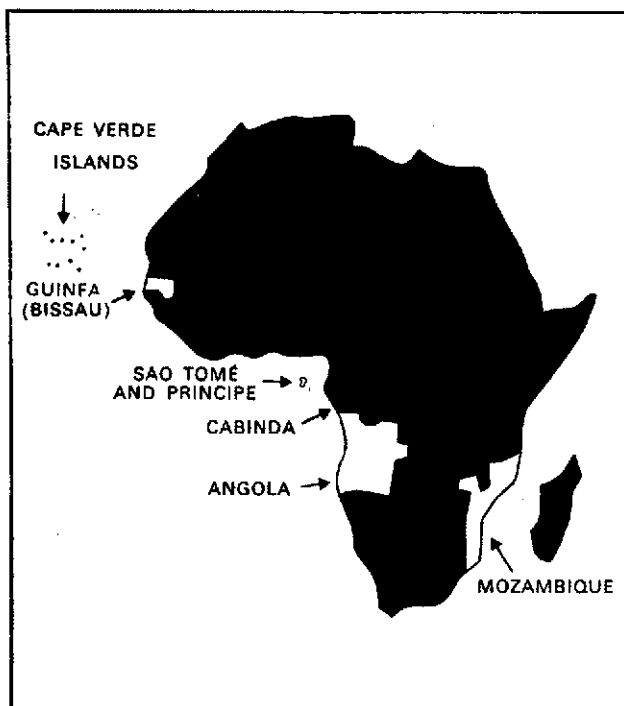
Victor Saude Maria, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Addressing the United Nations on September 17 after the Republic of Guinea-Bissau had been admitted to the organization. The flag of the Republic was raised the following day.

negotiate certain trade agreements. (*New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1974). The World Food Program has recently donated some emergency food aid to help the nation get a good start (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, Aug. 7, 1974) □

The late Amílcar Cabral (standing)



# UNITED STATES and SOUTHERN AFRICA



## ROCKEFELLER AND RHODESIA

An article by Stella Day in the Rhodesian *Sunday Mail* of August 25 revealed that Nelson Rockefeller, Vice-President designate, owns large interests in Rhodesia through Arbor Acres, Ltd, a multi-million dollar international poultry business. Arbor Acres is a subsidiary of the International Basic Economy Corporation, (IBEC) a conglomerate investing in an assortment of Third World countries through supermarkets, home construction companies, chemical and rubber industries, and consulting firms. According to Standard and Poor's *Corporations Directory*, The "Company is a profit-making development concern which initiates and operates corporate ventures concerned with basic human needs and the economies of developing nations." (p. 3667)

Rockefeller was president of the IBEC until becoming Governor of New York, at which time he passed the presidency on to his son, Rodman. IBEC's subsidiary Arbor Acres bought out a poultry business in Rhodesia sometime after the Smith government declared unilateral independence from Great Britain in 1965, but before United Nations Sanctions (1968) and the Executive Order of 1968 made new investments in Rhodesia illegal.

According to Rockefeller's own figures, he personally owns 12,250 shares in IBEC worth \$27,563. (*Washington Post*, Sept. 24, 1974) The Rockefeller family owns 70 per cent of IBEC's common stock and all of the common class 10 stock (10 votes per share). Their common class 10 stock holdings are significant because, "Matters which require approval of stockholders under N.Y. law must be

approved by both classes." (Standard and Poors, p. 3668)

The Rockefeller corporation may be legal in its Rhodesian operations but Rockefeller's close connection with Rhodesia through Arbor Acres raises some questions about what perspective he will bring to issues of US policy toward Southern Africa.

## US AND GUINEA-BISSAU/MOZAMBIQUE

The US has no doubt been surprised by the speed of the progress toward independence in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. It is now engaged in a pragmatic reassessment of its stance toward these areas of Africa. Since 1961 when the wars of liberation began in Portuguese Africa, the US has maintained a policy of fundamental support for its NATO ally, Portugal. Substantial economic aid was granted to Portugal, particularly through the Azores Treaty. As part of this support, the US maintained a careful official posture of non-alignment to the Portuguese African wars. Indeed, State Department personnel above Desk Officers were prohibited from having contact with any of the Portuguese African liberation movement. Now the US must deal with two nations led by liberation movements which have a decade of good reasons for regarding the US with rancor.

Although Guinea-Bissau had declared its independence on September 24, 1973, the United States withheld its recognition until Portugal had formally turned over power to PAIGC. Speculation was that the US might repeat its action last May when its delegation voted against Guinea-Bissau's admission to the World Health Organization. However, on August 12 the US joined the 14 other Security Council members in voting to recommend Guinea-Bissau's admission to the U.N. After Portugal officially handed over power to Guinea-Bissau on September 10, the US belatedly followed the more than 90 nations which had already recognized the Republic. President Ford sent a letter of recognition to President Luis Cabral and offered to set up a diplomatic mission in Guinea-Bissau. The State Department is still waiting for a response from the Guinea-Bissau government before moving ahead with a diplomatic mission, and it is unclear what the nature of such a mission will be. Options include a resident ambassador or a shared ambassadorship (shared with another West African nation). In the meantime the State Department is preparing an economic briefing paper on Guinea-Bissau utilizing non-State people in its preparation.

The US has not yet issued any statement about relations with the transitional government of Mozambique. In late September the new US Consul General Peter Walker extended \$25,000 emergency disaster relief to the FRELIMO-led transitional government to be used for Mozambicans whose food stuffs and property were destroyed in the abortive right wing resistance attempt in Lourenco Marques. According to the State Department, FRELIMO's leadership has been unwilling to meet with lower status State Department representatives. Frelimo's



coolness is interpreted by a State Department source as "basically hostile toward the U. S." and "left-leaning, pro-Communist."

The reorganization of policy toward the former Portuguese African colonies is being developed in a new post-coup NISDOM—National Security Council Decision Memorandum. Its contents are naturally a well-kept secret. Its significance is unquestionable, as the new US policy toward Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, invariably will profoundly affect the rest of Southern Africa.

### CONGRESS CONTINUES REVIEW OF DIEGO GARCIA BASE

For the past six months, Congress has been considering whether to permit a build-up of the US base on the Diego Garcia islands in the Indian Ocean. (see *Southern Africa*, May and June, 1974)

In the latest development, on September 11, the Senate granted significantly less of the Navy request than did the House in action taken April 4. The House had approved the entire Navy request of \$29 million for expansion of the facility. The Senate, however, voted to reduce the authorization contained in the Military Construction Authorization Act to \$14,802,000. The Senate also included a provision under Section 612 requiring that the President advise the Congress of "all military and foreign policy implications" regarding Diego Garcia and certify that the expansion is "essential to the national interests of the United States." The Presidential assessment must then be submitted to Congress and be approved by joint resolution of both Houses before funds for Diego Garcia are obligated.

There is little doubt that President Ford will determine that the Diego Garcia expansion is in the national interest. Ford stated in a press conference on August 28 that "I favor the limited expansion of our base at Diego Garcia."

Some Senators hope that the President will be convinced to change his mind by a recently exposed split within his own Administration on the justification of the expansion. A major argument throughout the debate has been that a Soviet build-up in the Indian Ocean necessitates US expansion of Diego Garcia. Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, was recently contradicted in his support of this contention by William Colby, Director of the CIA. In July Colby testified before the Subcommittee on Military Construction of the Senate Armed Services Committee, presenting a picture of considerably less Soviet build-up in the area than that presented by the Navy. During questioning, Colby agreed with Senator Symington that the Soviet Union will escalate its presence in the Indian Ocean "faster if we start to develop Diego Garcia." (Congressional Record, August 1, 1974, *Washington Post*, August 4, 1974)

Another possible justification for the Diego Garcia expansion which has received considerably less attention is the precedent that an expanded base at Diego Garcia may provide for public military cooperation with South Africa. The request for Diego Garcia parallels recent revelations that the Supreme Allied Command, Atlantic—SACLANT—of NATO is preparing a secret contingency plan for southern Africa and the Indian Ocean. Tad Szulc suggests in his important *Esquire* article of October, 1974 that independence in Angola and Mozambique will cause SACLANT and Pentagon planners to "proceed with their contingency planning, perhaps with even greater urgency



Luis Cabral addressing patriots

than before." It may be important to watch further developments at Diego Garcia in light of this possibility.

### NEW MATERIAL COMES OUT ON U.S. SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELATIONS

Important new information about the secret Nixon Administration policy toward Southern Africa has recently come out in an article by Tad Szulc in the October issue of *Esquire*. In the last six months, Tad Szulc and several other journalists have uncovered new information about the plans of NATO to become involved in Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean. Szulc's article is the first to present the total US policy from which US participation in the NATO plans may have been derived. (see *Southern Africa*, June 1974)

The main new information in the *Esquire* article is found in extensive quotations from a National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) prepared by the National Security Council's Interdepartmental Group for Africa. The decision emerging from the study is based on the assumption in the NSSM that "the whites are here [in southern Africa] to stay and the only way that constructive change can be brought is through them." The consequent decision is basically to "selectively [relax] our stance toward the white regimes, [and to] encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies," in Szulc's words.

The secret document to which Szulc gained access is a NSSM prepared in 1969. In making major policy decisions, the National Security Council (NSC) studies various options put forward in the Study Memoranda. The NSC then decides among these options and prepares a National Security Council Decision Memorandum (NISDOM) setting forward the policy option which has been chosen.

The NSSM on Southern Africa set out five options for United States policy, from which Option 2 was chosen. This option, while less extreme than Option 1 which "would be transformed into clear support for the white

regimes" according to Mr. Szulc, has allowed for significant erosion of the former public policy of pushing for change in Southern Africa and refusing military cooperation with the white regimes.

The "General Posture" of Option 2 includes the following: "We would maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the whites states." "Without openly taking a position undermining the United Kingdom and the UN on Rhodesia, we would be more flexible in our attitude toward the Smith Regime."

The document goes on to suggest the following "Operational Examples": "Enforce arms embargo against Southern Africa [and Portugal] but with liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes." "Permit U.S. naval calls in South Africa with arrangements for non-discrimination toward U.S. personnel in organized activity ashore; authorize routine use of airfields." "Conduct selected exchange programs with South Africa in all categories, including military." "Without changing the U.S. legal position that South African occupation of South-West Africa is illegal, we would play down the issue and encourage accommodation between South Africa and the U.N." "Toward African insurgent movements take public position that U.S. opposes use of force in racial confrontations."

The NSSM containing this option was presented by Secretary of State Kissinger to President Nixon in the full National Security Council on December 19, 1969. In February of 1970, Kissinger consulted with Nixon and ordered the drawing up of the Decision Memorandum.

Szulc proceeds to look back on the Nixon policy toward southern Africa, which suggests that the Administration did indeed adopt the NSSM recommendations to relax the public policy of opposition to the policies of the white regimes. For example, the US did sell to both South Africa and Portugal aircraft which could be converted to military use. US implementation of Rhodesian sanctions has been considerably less than thorough.

When questioned about the Szulc article, a State Department spokesman said that "a lot of this [article] is taken out of context," pointing to the question of whether the quotations are from the NSSM or the NISDOM. While all of the quotations are actually from the Study Memorandum, Szulc contended in a telephone interview that the statement of the NISDOM Decision Memorandum is taken "virtually verbatim" from Option two of the NSSM.

Whether or not the State Department perceives the article as significant, it has received wide public criticism in Tanzania and Zambia and wide circulation in South Africa. In comparison, the US press has virtually ignored these potentially explosive findings.

Now that the 1970 decision has for the first time been made public, the contention that "the whites are here to stay" seems absurd in light of the successes of the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies. In fact, the 1970 NISDOM may have already been replaced. According to a source in the State Department, a new NISDOM has been arrived at since the Portuguese coup, but its contents are still secret. □

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# action news and notes

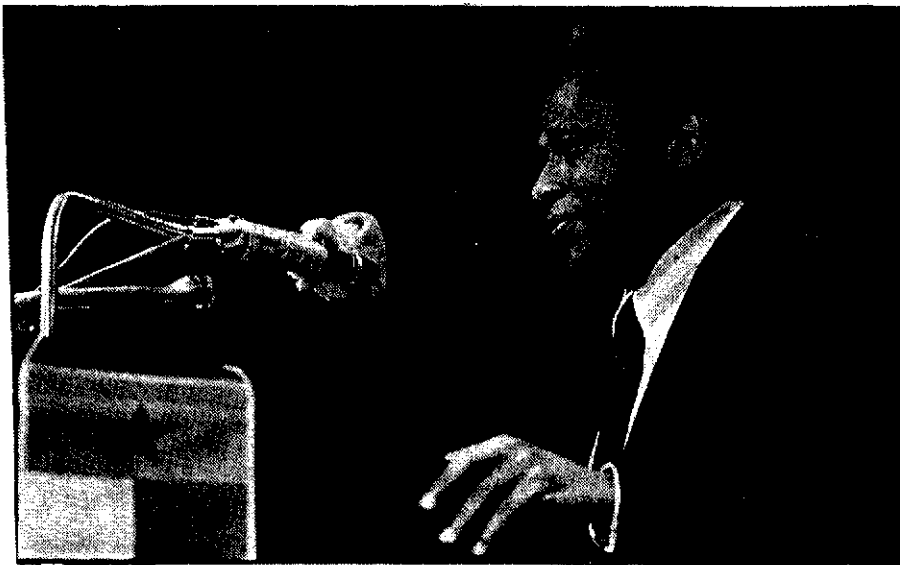


## LIBERATION CELEBRATIONS

Many meetings and celebrations were held in September to commemorate the many victories of the peoples of "Portuguese Africa" including the final victory in Guinea-Bissau on the 24th of September (The First Anniversary of the Creation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau) and the 10th Anniversary of the launching of armed struggle in Mozambique, September 25.

The New York City a Peoples Recognition Day was sponsored by the Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. An evening meeting was held at Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers Martin Luther King Jr. Center. Featured speakers included Gil Fernandes, on the Guinea-Bissau mission to the United Nations and member of the PAIGC Supreme Council, Dramare Ouattara, Ambassador of the Organization of African Unity to the UN, Congressman Charles Diggs, Chairman of the House

Foreign Affairs, Sub-Committee on Africa and Stephanie Urdang, recent visitor to Guinea-Bissau. Judge William Booth, President of the American Committee on Africa, chaired the event and highlighted the spirit of the affair when he exclaimed that he considered September 24th his day of independence—not July 4th. Bob Maurer, Secretary of the Committee to Support, spoke first and described the year long campaign to collect signatures recognizing Guinea-Bissau. Nine thousand, three hundred forty five people had signed petitions, with particular support from regions as diverse as Goleta (California), the southside of Chicago, and Endwell Junction, New York. Telegrams of support came from a number of groups representing different constituencies including the Gulf Boycott Coalition (Dayton), Centro de la Raza (Seattle), UFOMI (Chicago), Thornton Community College (South



Mike Schuster/LNS

**Gil Fernandes of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau addressing the meeting in New York to celebrate the country's first anniversary of independence**

Holland, Illinois) Syracuse Committee on Southern African Liberation, the Women's School (Cambridge, Mass.), and Black Panther Party (East Coast Unit, Philadelphia) The involvement of so many, although insignificant in the eyes of some, represented, said Maurer, the widening concern with and support for struggles for real self-determination. Although the peoples' campaign was overshadowed by events including the coup in Portugal and the entrance of Guinea-Bissau into the UN (without US opposition), it represented a grass-roots approach toward education and solidarity.

Robert Van Lierop of Africa Information Service presented the signatures of 534 political prisoners (from 21 prisons in the US) who at some personal risk signed the petitions for Guinea-Bissau. Judge Booth also presented a Scroll of Recognition and Solidarity on behalf of a Queens New York woman.

The speeches by Ambassador Ouattara and Congressman Diggs emphasized the growing confrontations in the rest of Southern Africa given the liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and the need for continuing peoples solidarity actions. Diggs also criticized US policy towards Africa, raising questions about the Cape Verde Islands, US economic policy, etc. Stephanie Urdang spoke about her visit inside liberated Guinea-Bissau, and of the country's women, their personal militancy and their total involvement in the revolution. (For a fuller report on women in Guinea-Bissau, see *Southern Africa*, September, 1974) The meeting closed with the unfurling of the PAIGC flag, after the song poem, "Natividade: A Battle Hymn to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau" recited by Zamyé Clover, Nefriti and Yaba Pogue. More than 150 people attended the Recognition Ceremony.

In Boston the Coalition on Southern Africa sponsored a meeting on September 20 with Eddison Zvogbo of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and slides and presentation by Stephanie Urdang.

On September 25, the New York African Liberation Support Committee and AIS celebrated the FRELIMO

anniversary of the armed struggle with a with a meeting at Columbia University. Speakers included Bob Van Lierop, Salim of ALSC, and readings of poetry and political statements by Viola Plummer. The film, "A Luta Continua" was also shown to the audience of 150.

The Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (CCLAMG) leafletted several local companies involved in Southern Africa (International Harvester, Motorola) on September 24 and 25, and had a fund-raising party on the 28th. In Syracuse a commemorative meeting was also held.

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#### **Other Meetings**

The fourth annual conference of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA) was held in New York in late August. Attended by 200 people, the workshops and presentations included a focus on socialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. Speakers came from PASOA, African Youth Movement, Ethiopian Students Union, Caribbean Unity Conference, PAIGC, Youth Organization for Black Unity and Young Socialist Alliance. (*The Militant*, New York, September 13, 1974)

South African women were honored at a Chicago meeting sponsored by the African American Solidarity Committee. Petitions to oust South Africa from the UN were circulated. (*Daily World*, Sept. 10, 1974)

Deputy Minister of the South African Pan Africanist Congress, T.M. Ntantala, spoke at a meeting in Madison, Wisconsin sponsored by the Madison Area Southern Africa Committee. (*MACSA News*, June-July, 1974)

*If your group is involved in an action on Southern Africa please write to Southern Africa so that we may publicize or report it to our readers.*

## ECONOMIC

### WASHINGTON D.C. GROUP WORKS ON SOUTH AFRICAN BOYCOTT PROJECT

In the Potomac area a number of groups have become active on Southern African issues, going beyond the traditional focus on legislative and government concerns. There has been a campaign on banks involved in massive loans to South Africa (see *Southern Africa*, December, January, 1974). Now a group has begun work on the interest of the Washington D.C. School Board in its relation to US companies involved in South Africa. (See *Southern Africa*, April, 1974) The group involves various local church and community people, coordinated under the umbrella of Action for World Community, [South Africa Boycott Project.] (1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036). The Project has produced research on the criteria for boycott of companies (through cutting off lucrative contracts) as well as working out a strategy to involve the local D.C. government.

Using the following criteria, five companies have been chosen as targets: the strategic role of the company in the South Africa, a relatively low number of African employees in the South African plant, and an ability to find alternate sources for goods. (The board has contracts with 56 companies.) The five companies are Control Data (with whom the group has met), General Electric, ITT, Motorola and Addressograph-Multigraph.

On August 16 a letter supporting the boycott, signed by 22 church and other persons, was sent to each D.C. School Board member and the Supt. of Schools, asking for their position on boycott. Walter Fauntroy, Washington D.C. Congressional Representative, sent a personal letter supporting the boycott issue. Follow up will include visits with the Board, press coverage and more

community involvement. Expanding the idea to include the local government, the Project is relating to political candidates and a coalition of three religious groups (Council of Churches Social Justice Task Force, Jewish Community Council's Urban Affairs and Social Action Comm., Catholic Archdiocese of Washington's Office of Social Development) which cited the South African boycott as one of their human rights issues for candidates. A workshop was held on September 14 with speakers including Chris Root of the Washington Office on Africa, Yvonne Chappell of Cong. Diggs office, and Charles Cassell, formerly of the D.C. School Board and a local activist. For more info. on the boycott and plans contact Larry Gordon at the above address. (Progress Report, South Africa Boycott Project, No. 2, August 1, No. 3, August 20, 1974)

### RHODESIAN BOYCOTT EXPANDS—NEW GROUPS FORM

The boycott of goods from Rhodesia initiated and sustained on both coasts by longshoremen and others, may expand to include certain South African products. Additional support for the boycott of Rhodesian chrome and other minerals has come from people in Seattle (Washington) and Houston (Texas).

Northern New Jersey has a number of industrial areas with companies involved in Rhodesia and South Africa. The ZANU Support Committee has recently been formed (Marie Schall, 336 Fourth St., Jersey City, N.J.), and has held fund raising events for ZANU. It plans to involve workers and community in more actions. (*Guardian*, New York, Labor Supplement, Fall, 1974) □

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## MULTIRACIAL SPORTS: SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

A Play by  
Dipankar Ray

### ACT I

(Prime Minister Vorster's office. Prime Minister discussing something with Dr. Koornhof, minister of sports and tourism)

*Koornhof*: Mr. Vorster, I believe you have heard the latest decision by the International Lawn Tennis Association to expel South Africa from its membership.

*Vorster*: Is that so? No, I did not hear about it. What do they say?

*Koornhof*: Well, they say that the multi-national sports we started recently is not enough, because that is restricted to the top level only. They say that in order to remain a member of the association we must have mixed sports at all levels.

*Vorster*: You mean at all levels?

*Koornhof*: Yes, that is what they say.

*Vorster*: Well, what can we do about it?

*Koornhof*: I have an idea.

*Vorster*: What do you mean? Do you want to have mixed sports at all levels? Are you out of your mind? Can't you hear the noise the verkrampes are already making? What will happen if we go still further?

*Koornhof*: Wait, Sir. My idea is a bit different. We shall call it mixed tennis, although it won't really be so.

*Vorster*: How is that?

*Koornhof*: Do you know what is a ball boy in tennis? Ball boys are those who throw the ball back to the court when the ball goes out of play. My idea is to give each ball boy a tennis racket by which he will send the ball back to the court instead of doing it by hand, and instead of calling him a ball boy he will be called a "player." Of course the players inside the court will be white and the "player" standing outside the court will be Bantu. In other words, the Bantu will continue to work as ball boys in white tennis; only thing is they will now be called players.

*Vorster*: Not a bad idea. But do you think that the association will be satisfied with this?

*Koornhof*: Let us try. As you know, we also have some friends in the association. In most cases, what they need is some face saving. I think if we provide them with this, they will be able to tell others, "Look, things are getting better in South Africa, apartheid is breaking down." But unless we do this, it will be hard for them to speak for us.

*Vorster*: Yes, I like the idea. Let us try.

## Act 2

(South African Parliament: Opposition leader Sir de Villiers Graaf addressing the house, after Dr. Koornhof has announced his new plan about tennis)

*de Villiers Graaf*: We are pleased to know that the Government is at last coming to its senses and moving in the right direction to remove petty apartheid. We in the United Party called for liberalisation in sports long ago. [applause]

## ACT 3

(Election rally in Bloemfontein, supporting a H.N.P. candidate. Dr. Jertzong addressing the audience)

*Hertzog*: I am sure, by now all of you have heard about the Government's decision to remove apartheid in tennis. This is what we had been fearing all these months. This is a clear betrayal to the memory of Verwoerd and a betrayal to the White Man in South Africa. Is there any doubt left in your mind as to which party really wants to protect your children and grand children? [applause]

## ACT 4

(Mr. Vorster sitting in his office in Cape Town. Dr. Koornhof enters)

*Vorster*: Hallo, how is the reaction abroad? Anything favorable?

*Koornhof*: What do you mean by favorable? Do you really expect to convince these Asian and African countries that we are doing alright?

*Vorster*: No, I mean what about our friends outside?

*Koornhof*: Yes, it has given them a face saving. Now they are speaking more for us. But you see, there is a problem.

*Vorster*: Yes, that is a problem. Let me think. [thinks for a while] Yes, I have an idea. Let me call M.C. Botha. [makes a phone call. M.C. Botha, minister of Bantu affairs enters a few minutes later.]

Take your seat, I want to discuss something with you. I want to give some more land to the Bantustans.

*Botha*: Still more land?

*Vorster*: Yes, you know that in tennis, some space is left between the end of the court and beginning of the spectators gallery? What about giving that area to the Bantustans; This will justify our new plan about tennis. We'll say that we are not discriminating against anybody; whites are in their area i.e. inside the court and the Bantu are in their own area, i.e. outside the court.

*Botha*: [Thinks for a while] Not a bad idea. All these Bantustan leaders are asking for more lands. Now we shall be able to tell them that we are giving them land.

*Vorster*: Yes, you make a draft of this plan and show me. And let me also think for a while in case there is something else to add.

## ACT 5

(South African Parliament: Mr. M.C. Botha has just announced the plan about the tennis court.)

*One Nationalist M.P.*: I want some clarification, Mr. Botha. As you know, all the Bantustan leaders are not responsible. What will happen if an irresponsible Bantustan leader like Buthelezi wants to use the land for agriculture?

*Botha*: Don't worry about that. You know as well as I know that we can always veto any proposal made by them. Moreover don't forget that the Bantu will have to travel through the white area to enter that land. We are at full liberty to impose any condition for such travel.

*Another Nationalist M.P.*: I am not opposed to giving those lands to the Bantu. But in view of the fact that so much land is being given to the Bantu, the government must assure us that the Government is no longer thinking in terms of handing over Port St. John to the Transkei.

*Botha*: Yes, that is my next announcement. Since so much land is being given to the Bantu, the Government feels that it will be unfair to the whites if Port Saint John is also given to the Bantu and the Government is no longer thinking in that line.

## ACT 6

(Prime Minister Vorster addressing a press conference of foreign journalists.)

*Mr. Vorster*: I think Mr. Botha's announcement in Parliament should convince our critics abroad how much we the whites in South Africa care for the Bantu. We are giving them land even without them asking for it. Also from now on, whites and Bantu will take part in tennis together in a full spirit of cooperation and harmony. Is there anything more that you think we could do to promote racial cooperation and harmony in South Africa?

# resources

**GUINEA-BISSAU: Toward Final Victory, Selected Speeches and Documents from PAIGC.** Liberation Support Movement Press, Richmond, B.C., Canada, 1974, 98 pps.

This handy book will provide a good compilation of many of the more important documents, programs, statements, and communiques from the PAIGC over the recent years. It will serve an important function if it helps inform more people about this important struggle in West Africa. The modest price (\$1.25), one map and several photographs will make it a useful reference. Virtually all of the documents presented in Part I have been made available before in the collection called *Revolution in Guinea*, edited by Richard Handyside. The PAIGC documents from 1973-1974 in Part II are also not new. Yet while many of these documents have been widely circulated separately it is sometimes difficult to get them all in one publication, even though some have been edited.

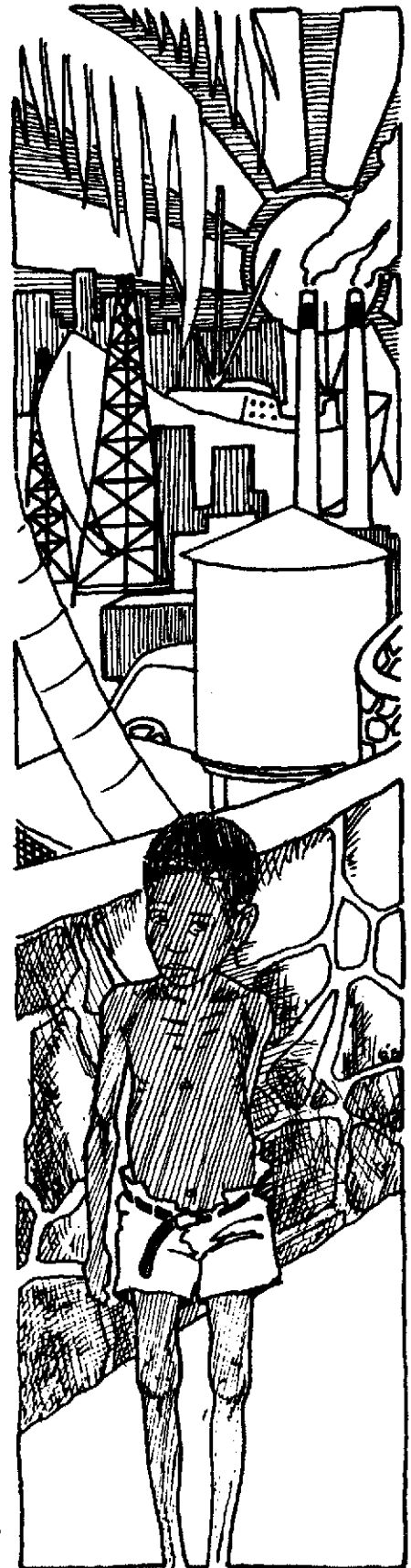
**World Council of Churches study: "Business As Usual; International Banking in South Africa".** The thirty-page study, prepared by the corporate research group Counter Information Service, thoroughly examines the role of international banking in supporting South Africa's apartheid system. In particular, the study looks at the role of banks in selling gold, merchant and commercial banks in South Africa, the banks and South Africa's white farmers and the importance of banking to the other white minority regimes in southern Africa. The report is available from the WCC Publications Service, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 at \$.75 a copy.

## **SOUTHERN AFRICA LECTURES AVAILABLE ON TAPE**

Lectures by Mr. Eddison Zvogbo and Albie Sachs (both reported on in the last MACSA News) are available on 60 minute cassette tapes through the Wisconsin African Studies Program's Instructional Materials Center.

Zvogbo is Deputy National Organizing Secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union, and speaks on "The Growing Struggle for Liberation in Zimbabwe/rhodesia". His talk is an excellent summary of Rhodesian history, politics, and the state of the war of liberation being fought in the northern sector of the country. Zvogbo has been a prominent African politician in Rhodesia for many years and was imprisoned for 7 years in Salisbury for his political activities.

Albie Sachs, Professor of Law at the University of Southampton (UK), is a South African who was active in that nation's politics, was imprisoned for his activities, and now is living in exile in England. He is author of the new book, *Justice in South Africa*. To purchase or borrow copies of the tapes, write: Ms. Marylee Wiley, IMC, African Studies Program, 1450 Van Hise Hall, Madison, Wisc. 53706



**RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA  
SUBSCRIBE NOW FOR 1975**

we must plant

We must plant  
mother  
we must plant

we must plant  
among the stars  
and on the seas

on your bare feet  
and by the roadsides

in forbidden hopes  
and on our open palms

in the present darkness  
and in the future to be formed  
everywhere  
everywhere

we must plant

the reason  
for bodies destroyed  
and the earth bloodied

for the cry of anguish  
and arms raised as one

everywhere  
everywhere  
everywhere, mother

everywhere  
we must plant  
the certainty  
of tomorrow's good  
in the endearments of your heart  
where every child's eyes  
renew their hope

Yes, mother  
we must plant  
we must plant

along the road of freedom  
the new tree  
of National Independence

Marcelino dos Santos  
FRELIMO

poem

Come, brother and tell me your life  
come, show me the marks of revolt  
which the enemy left on your body

Come, say to me "here  
my hands have been crushed  
because they defended  
the land which they own

"here my body was tortured  
because it refused to bend  
to invaders

"Here my mouth was wounded  
because it dared to sing  
my people's freedom"

Come brother and tell me your life,  
come relate me the dreams of revolt  
which you and your fathers and forefathers  
dreamed  
in silence

through shadowless nights made for love

Come tell me these dreams become  
war,  
the birth of heroes,  
land reconquered,  
mothers who, fearless,  
send their sons to fight.

Come, tell me all this, my brother.

And later I will forge simple words  
which even the children can understand  
words which will enter every house  
like the wind  
and fall like red hot embers  
on our people's souls

In our land  
Bullets are beginning to flower.

Jorge Rebelo  
FRELIMO



UN/Van Lierop

to you, the people

Yours, this symbol in ebony,  
symbol dyed by your own rough hands,  
symbol dyed by your love.  
Yours this red, yellow, green  
joined together by skilled effort  
during long hours of sleeplessness.  
Long life to my people  
and to he who sets out for the awakening of his  
branches torn down by countless gales.

You, people of strong cause,  
you march in the first wave,  
I, soldier of the front line  
support you,  
I deploy the columns.  
Reunited we shall face the fallen dawn.  
Let us crush the fascist invader  
and in the explosion of freedom,  
we shall embrace.

Mario Cissoko  
PAIGC



**our sure road**

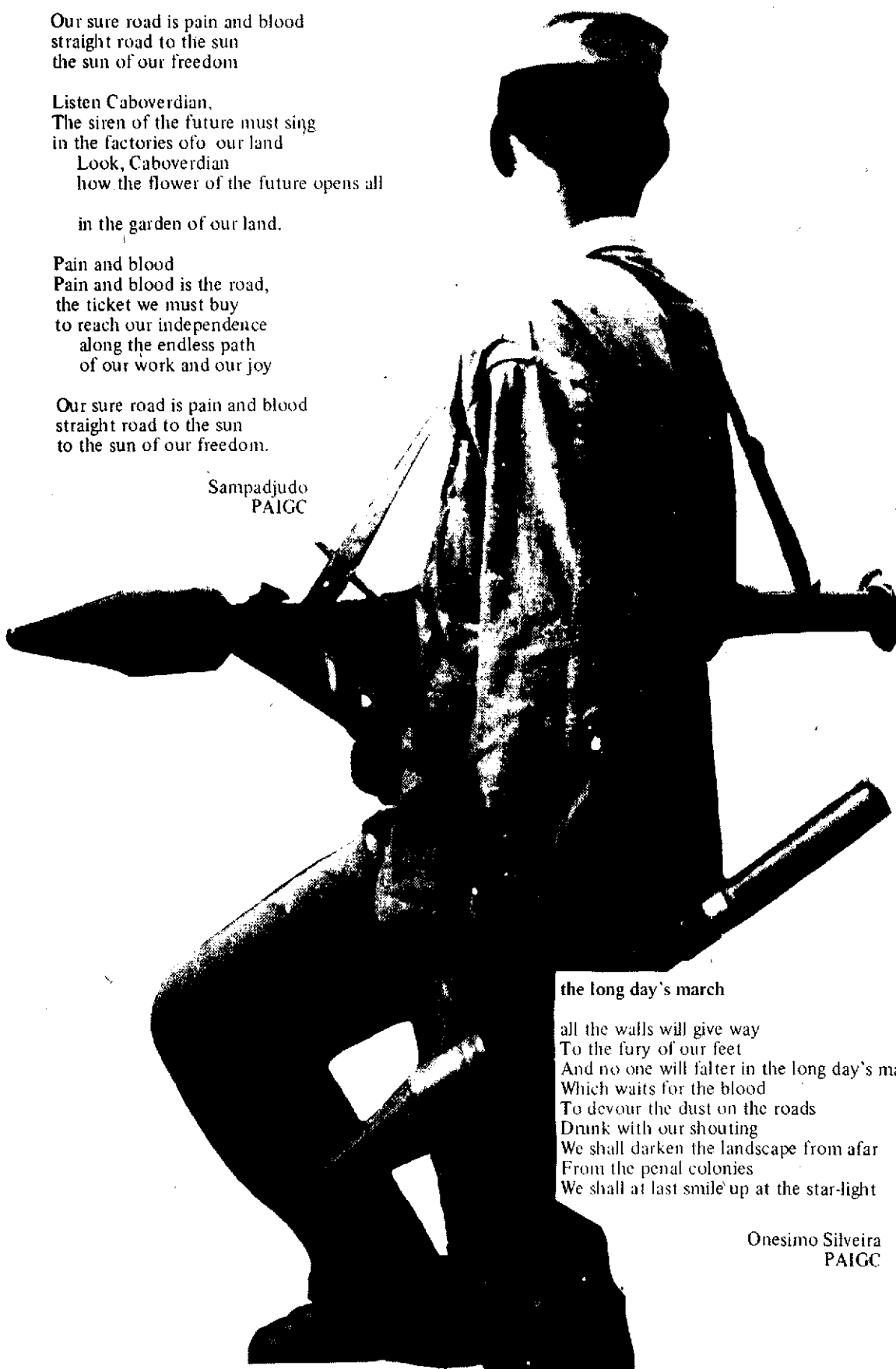
Our sure road is pain and blood  
straight road to the sun  
the sun of our freedom

Listen Caboverdian,  
The siren of the future must sing  
in the factories of our land  
Look, Caboverdian  
how the flower of the future opens all  
in the garden of our land.

Pain and blood  
Pain and blood is the road,  
the ticket we must buy  
to reach our independence  
along the endless path  
of our work and our joy

Our sure road is pain and blood  
straight road to the sun  
to the sun of our freedom.

Sampadjudo  
PAIGC



**the long day's march**

all the walls will give way  
To the fury of our feet  
And no one will falter in the long day's march  
Which waits for the blood  
To devour the dust on the roads  
Drunk with our shouting  
We shall darken the landscape from afar  
From the penal colonies  
We shall at last smile up at the star-light

Onesimo Silveira  
PAIGC



# UPDATE

*A Brief Survey of Recent Events prepared by AFRICA NEWS SERVICE*

## **ANGOLA—HAS DECOLONIZATION BEGUN?**

Daniel Chipenda, vice president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, M.P.L.A., told a Swedish newspaper that Angola independence will soon come, perhaps by year-end. And Portuguese Foreign Minister Soares said the last obstacle to decolonization in the territory has been removed.

Their remarks came in response to the cease fire announced by the National Liberation Front, F.N.L.A., on October 12th. F.N.L.A. president Holden Roberto said in a radio broadcast that the cessation of hostilities would enable the two parties, F.N.L.A. and Portugal, to begin negotiations towards decolonization.

On October 1, M.P.L.A. president Agostinho Neto reported that his group decided not to resume its military activities following the resignation of General Spínola as Portuguese president.

The F.N.L.A. announcement followed the visit to Kinshasa, capital of Zaire, by a six-man Portuguese delegation, headed by the deputy armed forces chief of staff and special envoy from President Costa Gomes. The delegation held talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who backs the F.N.L.A. According to Roberto, whose movement is based in Kinshasa, the cease-fire was worked out in "top-level meetings" with the Portuguese authorities.

President Mobutu is expected to play a major role in future decolonization efforts, which may include formal talks in Kinshasa between Portugal and one or more of the liberation groups.

## **LITTLE APPARENT CHANGE FOLLOWING SPINOLA'S RESIGNATION**

• The resignation of General Antonio de Spínola as president of Portugal on September 30 has brought little visible change in policies, either domestically or overseas. His action followed several days of considerable tension in Lisbon, sparked by attempts to hold a large pro-Spínola demonstration.

Leftist groups opposed the planned demonstration, and Spínola was forced to cancel it by the Armed Forces Movement, the group which staged the April coup. According to the AFM, the demonstration was actually a cover for a right wing take-over move, which included an attempt to assassinate AFM leader and current prime

minister, Brig. Vasco Gonçalves. Whether Spínola was involved in the plot remains unclear, but apparently there was also an attempt to assassinate him as well. The government carefully avoided accusing the general of complicity, but their action may have been an attempt to avoid alienating his supporters.

Spínola's resignation, which came after he refused AFM demands to dismiss three generals—members of the seven-man ruling National Junta, charged with planning the overthrow—makes clear the dominant position of the AFM in the country.

Some observers believe events in Angola have moved more quickly because of Spínola's resignation, but government officials assert that they are proceeding as planned before the presidential change-over.

## **POLICE SHOOT AT CAPE VERDE DEMONSTRATORS**

• Coinciding with the growth of right wing pressure in Lisbon, leading to the resignation of Spínola (see above) repressive measures were being taken on the Cape Verde islands against people who demonstrated in support of PAIGC and unification with Guinea-Bissau. These demonstrations began on August 28th when the PAIGC delegation arrived on the islands.

Violent reaction on the part of the Portuguese soldiers under orders began on September 21 and continued through September 25, when they indiscriminately opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators. By the end of the period a number of people had been wounded—men, women and children—and some had been killed. Among the dead were two members of PAIGC.

The attacks began on the island of Sao Vincent on the 21st. On the 22nd in the town of Mondelo on the same island, 1,000 soldiers opened fire. The next day raids were conducted in Ribeira Buote and soldiers opened fire against demonstrating dockworkers. On the 24th Cape Verdians protested to demand the return of their arms.

Strikes began on Sao Vincent and spread to other islands, leading to more confrontations with the military police.

In addition, during this time, there was a build up of war material on the islands. Eight warships, five frigates and three torpedo boats arrived in the harbors. It has been rumored as well that much of the war material that should have been returned to Portugal from Guinea-Bissau has been sent to the Cape Verde islands.

(source: Interview by *Southern Africa* with a representative from the Republic of Guinea-Bissau mission to the United Nations)

## **FORD RECEIVES SOMALI AND PORTUGUESE PRESIDENTS—DECOLONIZATION DISCUSSED**

• Within a week, President Ford received President Siad Barre of Somalia and President Costa Gomes of Portugal at the White House. President Siad, current chairman of the Organization of African Unity, told the U.S. leader of Africa's strong commitment to decolonization. And President Costa Gomes assured Ford that Portugal is moving quickly in that direction.

Both visits had special significance. Two of Siad's predecessors as O.A.U. head received snubs by President Nixon when they came to this country to address the United Nations.

The face-to-face meeting with Costa Gomes may go

some way towards dispelling U.S. fears about the direction of events in Portugal. The U.S. government, a firm supporter of the now-deposed Portuguese dictatorship, has quietly harbored uneasiness about leftist influence in the new Portuguese government. President Spínola was considered an important counter-balance to the Communist Party and other left groups.

One high-ranking American diplomat told *Africa News* several months ago, "Spínola has assured us that the Communists will not win the election, and he is an important symbol in reassuring American businesses with investments here that they should stay."

#### INDEPENDENCE FOR SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

Agence France Presse reports that Portugal is ready to cede independence to Sao Tome and Principe, without a referendum. Control will go to the Liberation Movement of Sao Tome and Principe, which Lisbon recognizes as the legitimate representative of the islands' 65 thousand people.

#### KIDNAPPING AND ARRESTS BY RHODESIAN SECURITY POLICE

E. Dube, representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, ZAPU, was kidnapped in Francistown on October 15 by three men believed to be Rhodesian Security Police. According to eye-witness accounts, he was forcibly removed from his home, bundled into a car and rushed towards the Rhodesian border. He was thought to be recruiting Zimbabweans in Botswana to join ZAPU.

On the same day, the BBC Salisbury correspondent, Justin Nyoka, reported the arrest of 20 officials of the African National Council. The men, ranging from branch officers to national executive members, were all from the Matabele region of the country, which borders Botswana. The Rhodesian authorities clearly believe they have uncovered a ZAPU ring and hope to break it up by their actions. □

your pain

Your pain  
yet more my pain  
shall suffocate oppression

Your eyes  
yet more my eyes  
shall be speaking of revolt

Your scars  
yet more my scars  
will be remembering the whip

My hands  
yet more your hands  
will be lifted fully armed

My strength  
yet more your strength  
shall overcome imperialism

My blood  
yet more your blood  
shall irrigate our victory.

Armando Guebuza  
FRELIMO



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