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Vol. VII, No. 4

April 1974



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**Front Cover:**

The Army and the People are one in liberated Mozambique

**OUR COLLECTIVE**

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**SOUTHERN AFRICA** is published monthly except for two double issues for the months of June-July, August-September, by the New York Southern Africa Committee. Our two addresses are: Southern Africa Committee, 244 West 27th Street, Fifth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10001 and P.O. Box 3851, Durham, North Carolina 27702, (919) 682-7342 (publishers of AFRICA NEWS). For subscriptions and further information about the magazine, write to New York.

All subscriptions run from January to December. Those readers subscribing later in the year will be sent back issues to January, or after June, readers may opt for the 7 month subscription. Subscription rates are \$5.00 per year for individuals; 7 month subscription from June is \$3.00; institutions are \$15.00 per year; Cost per copy if 50¢ for regular issues, 80¢ for double issues; airmail postage (add subscription rate); South and Central America: \$6.00 per year; Africa, Asia, Europe: \$7.50 per year; Prisoners free. If unable to send \$5.00, please write to us for other arrangements.



Marcelino dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO

## FEATURE REPRINT:

### Interview on Mozambique Liberation Struggle

*The complex tasks and problems of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa are vividly illustrated in the following extracts from a long and careful interview of Marcelino dos Santos (Vice President of the Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO] by Joe Slovo, for the African Communist (London, Fourth Quarter, 1973). Outlining the continuing development of the struggle in Mozambique Dos Santos reported that FRELIMO is now moving into new zones with increasing speed, thus involving more and more people in the armed struggle. At the same time efforts are continuing to consolidate the liberated areas in which the enemy still has small pockets of control based on purely military concentrations. A primary military aim of FRELIMO in these zones is to destroy these bases in order to reduce the possibilities of Portuguese action and to stabilize the areas. Between 1 and 1.2 million Mozambican people now live in the liberated areas and Dos Santos estimated that about 24 per cent of Mozambique is now part of this zone. In the interview, Slovo then turned to the history of the development of the struggle in the last fifteen years. (ed.)*

#### BEGINNINGS OF STRUGGLE

**Slovo:** Could you describe briefly the beginnings of political resistance actions in the modern period and in particular the emergence of national political activity as opposed to purely tribal activities. I

refer not to the struggles that occurred when the Portuguese first came, but to the period just prior to 1962.

**Dos Santos:** It is necessary, in the first place to distinguish different types of resistance. Some types of resistance give an appearance of being merely economic struggles related to immediate reforms but in truth contain significant political overtones. In this category falls the action taken by the workers in the ports—for instance, the Port of Lourenco Marques—which was the result of political organisation although the actions themselves were expressed in economic demonstrations which included salary increases, etc. The actions taken by the cleansing workers in the towns made the Portuguese respond with military force and the action of the enemy gave a political content to these actions. The important actions taken by the workers of the plantations from time to time were certainly the result of political mobilisation. But the actions taken by some on specific economic issues were not directly and immediately against the colonial system as such. Even in these cases, directly political issues emerged because the reaction was clearly political on the part of the enemy. In a colonial situation it is difficult to prevent simple demands from becoming political even indirectly. But one cannot say that they were, in the first place, politically motivated actions. On 16th June 1960 the Mueda people went to the administration to demand back some fertile land and

more than 600 people were killed—there is no doubt that this was a political demonstration. Then there were the efforts of the people working in the rice fields to organise co-operatives. The cattle owners also, less successfully, tried to organise co-operatives. These actions were often the result of politically conscious small groups trying to develop the political consciousness of all the people, and engage them in some activity. Other actions are the result of some people feeling that their conditions are bad and as a result they engage in an action which is objectively a political action but the person so engaged does not necessarily have political consciousness in the sense that he is aware that he faces a political power that must be destroyed, his aim may be limited to the need just to have at least enough money to live.

*Slovo:* In other words, these actions were basically a reaction to conditions and an attempt to improve them. Did this kind of struggle give rise to any sort of broader political organisation amongst workers and peasants?

*Dos Santos:* After 1947 and '48 in particular small groups were created, first in the towns. Later some people, as a response to the enemy strength in the towns, moved their political activities to the bush and village. So, small groups were formed—here one, there another, and so on. At that same time many economic actions were taking place which helped to develop political consciousness. Inside Mozambique there were many people engaged in this type of action who at the end of the '50s were already politically clear. In the centre and in the south different groups who did not know of one another began organising. Some of them began to make rudimentary contact more or less in the years '58-'59. Those links were often established by those who were employed in the Portuguese administration when they were moved from one place to another. But the first organisation of a truly national character was not born in Mozambique as such but was created outside.

*Slovo:* Where were these groups that you are talking about mainly situated?

*Dos Santos:* In towns.

*Slovo:* Did they consist mainly of the wage-earners in the towns or the intellectuals, or middle class?

*Dos Santos:* Mainly people in government administration, in commerce, teachers, and nurses. When we talk of our intellectuals we must understand what it means in relation to Mozambique: most of those who are normally regarded as intellectuals were not just thinkers who wrote in the newspapers, poems, novels, etc. Many of them were also wage earners at the level of administration, etc. In the cultural field we had people who had a clear understanding but others who would, say, try to revive the cultural traditions but who did not have a clear understanding of Mozambican nationalism. The unconnected small political groups were started mainly in the towns, but it was outside Mozambique—in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia—that steps were being taken to create national organisations with a national content. In some ways the level of political consciousness of those who were outside and who founded those

organisations, was really comparatively lower than the activists inside, despite the fact that the latter never reached the point where they succeeded to launch a real national organisation. . . .

## BIRTH OF FRELIMO

*Slovo:* In 1962 FRELIMO was born—the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. Was it at that stage an alliance of groups i.e. a Front like the F.L.N. in Vietnam consisting of a number of political groups; or was it a Party? The P.A.I.G.C. is called a Party; FRELIMO is called a Front. Is there any significance in the use of the word Front?

*Dos Santos:* Well, it is true P.A.I.G.C. is called a Party and FRELIMO is called a Front. But I would say FRELIMO is a Front—not a Front of organisations in spite of the fact that it was formed by three organisations which dissolved to create a new one. I would say it is a Front because it groups together all the social groups or social classes with the one aim of eliminating the oppressor. Everybody—whether he is involved in the capitalist or traditional sector—is suffering humiliation because of racism, and economic exploitation, including even the tribal chiefs. So, I would say that FRELIMO is a Front not because it is a federation or something like that, but because in FRELIMO all the social groups are represented.

*Slovo:* So it is correct to say that when FRELIMO was formed it represented all strata of the Mozambican people. Now, at that stage in 1962 when the organisation was formed what was the minimum basis for this unity between the various social groups? What was the minimum ideological framework in 1962?

*Dos Santos:* Just to be against the colonial oppression and for national independence. Nothing else.

*Slovo:* Now we know that FRELIMO was formed out of three organisations which existed externally—UDENAMO, MANU and UNAMI. What part did the cadres inside who had been working clandestinely, play in the formation of FRELIMO?

*Dos Santos:* I would say that they played the major part. In 1961 cadres started to come from the groups which had been working inside. They came to Zimbabwe, to Malawi, to Tanzania.

*Slovo:* To work or to form political organizations?

*Dos Santos:* To join the existing political organisations because they heard about these organisations which had started in 1960. What was the reality when they arrived there? They found in fact that the people leading the organisation did not have clear political understanding, and very little knowledge of the reality of Mozambique. These people who came outside immediately pressed for the creation of only one body. And on 25th June, 1962 a meeting took place which founded FRELIMO. Only four of those elected to the leadership came from the exile group. The rest were from inside. Thus a unity was created with the major part coming from activists in Mozambique. It was an expression of the fact that people had been working under

the concrete reality that gave them the political consciousness, the political awareness, and the capacity of producing a solution to the problems facing the action for freedom.

*Slovo:* From the way you have described the level of political activity and organisation inside the country before 1962, it is clear that it was not the sort of situation in which you could say the people were on the verge of revolution and showed that they were ready for violence. There were isolated confrontations but in general, from your description, it is clear that the position was not on the face of it erupting into insurrection. So what were the main reasons for FRELIMO turning to armed struggle?

*Dos Santos:* In fact the armed struggle started only two years after the formation of FRELIMO. But I think that it is correct to say that even in 1962 everybody—or at least those who were responsible—realised that the armed struggle would be the only way. The 1962 Programme and Constitution of FRELIMO states that we are engaged in a struggle for independence by all means. By then many people in Mozambique had already learnt through bitter experience that it would not be possible to get independence through strikes and constitutional methods alone. Mass action was, of course, still necessary because it is part of the process of raising political consciousness. As a result of the experience of the Mozambican people in quite a number of mass actions, the political consciousness which developed led to new responses. For instance when there was talk of strike actions, many said: "But strike—for what? What goal do we want to reach? Freedom with strikes—impossible!" I am not saying that the masses had spontaneously turned to the idea of armed struggle as a higher form of struggle. But let us say that people began to understand that the type of actions they had carried out could not on their own result in any sort of breakthrough.

*Slovo:* So you are saying that the Mozambican people in general, even though they could not clearly see this in the same way as advanced political cadres could, were beginning to feel that they could not really get anywhere with traditional methods of mass struggle. This was your assessment of the mood of the people in 1962?

*Dos Santos:* Yes, and we acted on it. Immediately after the formation of FRELIMO in June, 1962 our first Congress took place in September, and already in January, 1963 the first comrades were going to Algeria for military training. At the same time we started intensive political preparations inside the country. Those who were the main inspiration for the creation of FRELIMO—the cadres from inside who were closer to the reality of our situation—set about the task of mobilising and organising the people inside Mozambique. Immediately after the formation of FRELIMO, the small group structure that already existed inside Mozambique automatically became part of the FRELIMO network. The accent at that time was to restructure it in accordance with the knowledge local militants had of conditions in their own localities. . . .

*Slovo:* But when you actually started the armed struggle in September 1964, could it be

said that, at that stage, the conditions for armed struggle had already been prepared throughout the country? Or did the beginning of armed activity in one part of the country help to prepare the conditions for the further unfolding of the armed struggle?

*Dos Santos:* Let us say that minimum conditions were created; not everybody was politically conscious. We believed that the conditions were such that we could start in the knowledge that, in starting, other people would be convinced and would also engage themselves in the armed struggle. . . .

## UNDERGROUND STRUGGLE

*Dos Santos:* But I want to add a few comments on the complexities that faced us during this phase. We faced a colonial fascism so it was impossible to have legal and open organisation. The police network was everywhere, even in the bush. So first, it was impossible to organise many people. Why? Because if you go too fast and incautiously in creating organised structures you will open the organisation to infiltration by the enemy. But in spite of the fact that you could not organise everybody into organisational apparatus, what is important is that mobilisation must reach everybody. At least the maximum number of people must be mobilised one way or another even if they cannot be part of the underground structure. It is quite clear that we could not expect to create organisational networks simultaneously all over the country. Secondly, it is impossible to expect that the armed struggle would start at the same time all over the country, and that the whole country would be ready on the same day to start the armed struggle. Why? For the same reasons that we could not organise everywhere; we recognised differences in the levels of political consciousness and understanding of people in different parts of the country. The unfolding of the armed struggle is a process but, of course, the minimum basis must be there. If you want to set on fire a big area of grass, what you have to do is to make sure that at least part of this grass is in an inflammable condition and at the same time ensure that the drying of the rest has already started. So when you start the fire you are sure that it will spread to parts which, in the meanwhile, are being dried. If we had waited for everybody to be ready to undertake armed struggle, we would never have started.

*Slovo:* What about the theory of the Foco based on the simple proposition that where people are oppressed and, objectively speaking, there is only one way out, the successful injection of a foco will trigger off nationwide support for the armed struggle? From what you have told me, this is not the way in which you proceeded because the beginnings of armed activities were combined with the preparation of minimum conditions, both political and military, throughout wide areas of the rest of the country.

*Dos Santos:* Yes that is correct. I would add that the armed struggle is a unique instrument. We do not consider mechanically that everywhere, in all countries, armed struggle is the only instrument for independence. No, what is important is for each people to be able to determine for themselves what instrument of struggle will enable them to reach independence. The armed struggle can only be launched when the conditions

are ripe for it. Even now for us the basic problem is a political one. Political consciousness is the base. So just to start an armed struggle does not mean you will obtain independence.

*Slovo:* Which brings me to the next question. In the case of Guine Bissau, Cabral said that the political and military leadership of the struggle is one—it is the political leadership: "our fighters are defined as armed activists". Is this FRELIMO's approach? And have there been any special problems in making sure that the political side is in fact in the leadership and stands at the head?

*Dos Santos:* There are different tasks thrown up by the struggle. There is military action, organisation, health activities, work in the field of education and so on. But all are being taken in one direction under one orientation defined by our political line.

*Slovo:* But who controls the army?

*Dos Santos:* The Central Committee of our Party. The army is also part of the Party. We approach the problem of the relationships between the army and the Party in a way which should apply not only at this stage of guerrilla war but even after independence. What is our basic approach? We must aim to achieve a situation in which armed activists are essentially no different from other activists; from people who are nurses, teachers, workers, peasants; people who are all carrying out tasks which are linked to the one aim based on one political line. Of course, I do not say that there are no problems, and your question relates really to the way FRELIMO is trying to overcome the problems. We inherited the political groups which existed in Mozambique and we had to develop them and national organisation with a clear orientation... How did we combine political and military activity?

Those who remained in Mozambique concentrated on mobilisation, organising the people in a general political sense. But they also had concrete tasks in connection with the armed struggle; to store food for the time the war started, to organise the structures which would link up with the guerrillas, etc. Of course problems arose. Even though both the military and political structures were working for the same aim, the main tasks of the internal groups had now to be expressed in relation to the fundamentally altered character of our struggle with its primary emphasis on military activity. Those structures inside which up to then had been concentrating on general political mobilisation, now had to adjust to the additional role of becoming an integral part of armed activity and those who had not had special training were not as well equipped to solve some of the political problems created by our armed activities. For example, problems like the necessary measures required for the defence of the population against bombs etc., where to establish medical centres, where to establish a school, how to organise production—should we go on producing the same things or should we change; those who were in the guerrilla groups were given specialist training in these fields whereas those who were inside the country all the time were not able to acquire this knowledge. Differences appeared in the level of consciousness of the realities. Those who had remained inside were the leaders—of the structure, of the Party and were leading the population.



Popular Mobilization in Liberated Mozambique

When these new problems emerged the population expected the answers from them. They could give no answers. When the people began looking to those in the guerrilla sector for the answers, a certain amount of unhealthy competitiveness developed. We unfortunately were not able to foresee that this would be a problem. And when we began to understand this problem we took a number of measures including the giving of military training to all our internal cadres. So we have achieved the position where all our activities are carried out by people with both political consciousness and military training. And the artificial division between the military and the political structures began to fade. . . .

*Slovo:* Now in a broad struggle such as yours it is, of course, in the first place necessary to reach the stage where people's consciousness becomes national rather than tribal or regional. Has this first battle been won in Mozambique? Or are there still some relics of tribalism or regionalism?

*Dos Santos:* I would say firstly that we have not completely won the battle against tribalism. I could not say that in the future we will never have a case of tribalism but we are confident that FRELIMO as an organization has the capability to win any challenge that will be made by tribalism. Any action based on tribalism will be defeated. The main conditions for its successful rejection are present. On the general point of whether we have already moulded a nation in the true sense of the world, I want to say that a nation is based on concrete realities. And the most important reality in the present stage in Mozambique is the fight against Portuguese Colonialism. It is our common fight against our common oppressor which plays an outstanding role in creating a national bond between all the diverse groups and cultures; secondly the common action to begin building a new society in the liberated areas also plays an important role in stimulating a national consciousness. To build a nation you have in the first place to build economic realities of which everyone will instinctively feel they are a part. At the level of regional economic subsistence, at the level of an economy based primarily on agriculture at its lowest level, it is difficult for people to relate to one another

in a truly national sense, in the sense of even sharing a common economy and all the social links which this creates. So I would say that national economic development is an essential part of the continuing process of building a nation . . .

*Slavo:* Even while this ideological battle which you have described to make people think nationally rather than tribally or regionally, is going on, is there an awareness in FRELIMO of some of the limitations of national consciousness itself especially from the point of view of the future mozambique? For example, Fanon says that national consciousness has its pitfalls and limitations and one of these is that it very often goes no further than the desire by some groups to occupy the privileged positions of the oppressor. The other limitation of nationalism of which Fanon speaks is that it can degenerate into racialism. Is there in FRELIMO an awareness at least at the top levels of the limitations of purely national consciousness?

*Dos Santos:* When we talk of limitations we mean there is an aim that in certain situations cannot be fulfilled. If, for example, we are talking of revolution and not just formal national independence, one could say that nationalism and a nationalist struggle have limitations. Of course, within almost every national movement there are different types of nationalism. There is the elementary, primary one—what is called primitive nationalism. But there is also revolutionary nationalism. Some people who take part in the struggle for independence do so not to realise or to satisfy the interests of the people as a whole but to satisfy the interests of a small group. They have a specific ideology which in general has a bourgeois-national framework. In other words within a nationalist movement there can be two general types of ideology—one which is bourgeois and one which is revolutionary. So when we speak about the limitations of national consciousness we mean limitation by those who use the ideology of bourgeois nationalism to prevent liberation from moving on to the revolution. Naturally there are people who are sincere but who lack the knowledge, ideology, political awareness and do not see beyond the very first stages of removing the foreign oppressors from their monopoly of power. But such people when they take part in the struggle soon enough realize the narrowness of their approach. But also there are some who deliberately use tribalism and racism. So, in truth, nationalism is not just one concept. Within it there are two ideologies, and the limitations relate to the aims of the reactionary one. For example, in our struggle, to continue to have racist attitudes is a sign of reactionary ideology which we fight because it is an ideology against the interests of the whole nation. So I would say that it is not a question of pitfalls or limitations but of the characteristics of some types of nationalism.

*Slavo:* But it is correct to say that you are at the moment fighting a broad national struggle the basic aim of which is independence, sovereignty of the people, expelling foreign domination so that the people (in the broadest sense of the word) control their own destiny and so on. Now is there not therefore a danger that, unless you at this stage define more clearly what you mean by true national liberation and the content of national consciousness, you will include under your umbrella all sorts of elements who will agree in general with your policy of getting rid of a foreign-oppressor but when it comes to the question of real independence (as

you and I might understand it) would not agree? Therefore is there not a need to define the ideology of revolution and national liberation more precisely than generalities about independence and getting rid of the foreign oppressor?

*Dos Santos:* I agree that this is absolutely necessary but I would like to add that the struggle for independence is a process with a number of phases which the revolutionary must recognise. . . .

At the beginning in FRELIMO the general aim was to fight colonialism and to many colonialism just means white people. But with the unfolding of the struggle it became clearer that colonialists were not such simple entities. When we faced colonialism in real struggle, we faced the army, the police, the administration; these were the expressions of colonialism. And after that we could go further and say: "Ah, but these are just instruments of something else—of economic interests." And it also became clearer that these economic interests were not only the interests of some white people but could also be the interests of some Black people. There were indeed some white people not linked with these interests. So at each stage and as the struggle progressed one should be able to give greater clarity to the main aim, to define the enemy more scientifically; to define the liberation forces with greater precision—in other words to develop one's ideology, and a more advanced political line. In our case the necessity to define a revolutionary ideology with greater precision emerged when we started to build the liberated areas, to engage ourselves in national reconstruction. As always, the task of building a society economically poses the problem of the type of production and distribution, and especially who is going to benefit from what the society produces. This life process also raises much more sharply than in the classroom the deeper question of the type of ideology to embrace. So to summarise, there comes a stage when it becomes clear why everybody in the nation should accept the idea that the main aim of the struggle is to advance the interests of the working people. In the field or organising the people we follow collectivistic ways as is the case, for example, with our co-operative movement in the liberated areas. We must also realise that it is not only the enemy who stands in the way of this co-operative effort but even some Black people who act against the general interest of the struggle. But what must be done is to conduct the struggle in such a way that if such people desert this will be no more than an individual person running away and will not be the cause of any significant split.

#### WHO ARE THE DEFECTORS?

*Slavo:* Well, talking about that, there have been a number of defections of people like Kavandame, Simango, Gwenjero and Marupe, are these individuals part of the impure element which the revolution's progress rejects or do they represent some more basic class interests in the purely anti-colonial phase of the struggle?

*Dos Santos:* In practice these were individual defections. But one should say that they represent group interests too—the natural attitudes of certain types of social groups. Let us consider the people you mention. Gwenjero was a priest; Marupa was a man from a university and Simango also a priest. Marupa and



Simango had responsibilities in FRELIMO. If we look for a compartment for these people we could say perhaps that they represent different elements of the petty bourgeoisie. Kavandame is a slightly different case. He was a man with individual economic interests. In the past he had people working for him, etc. One could say he was a small planter. It is clear that his main aim was always to establish a system in Mozambique which would favour him—a capitalist system. Gwenjero, Marupa and Simango were not taking these positions openly along those lines but they were driven by a desire for individual political power, by a bourgeois ideology and a desire to build a

capitalist type system. In fact Kavandame and Simango defected from the organisation at about the same time and Kavandame could without difficulty accept Simango as a political leader because the type of economic system he supported was acceptable. So I would say that the desertions were individual acts but their attitudes reflected those of a class. Kavandame was a small capitalist. The others are petty bourgeoisie who are interested in political power and are ready to impose a system to represent the material interests of the capitalists. (to be continued)

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# SOUTH AFRICA

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## SASO LEADER KILLED BY LETTER BOMB

On February 1, Abraham Tiro was killed by a letter bomb. Tiro was, until August 1973, the acting Secretary General of the South African Students' Organization (SASO). In connection with the mass banning of black leaders in South Africa in August and September, 1973, Tiro and four of his SASO colleagues escaped to Botswana prior to receiving their banning orders. He then became President of the Southern African Students' Movement (SASM), which was formed by the student organizations of South Africa, Rhodesia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Malawi, and Zambia, and was working in that capacity at the time of his death.

Mr. Tiro has been in the public light since 1972 when a speech he made at Turfloop, the Transvaal tribal university he attended, caused him to be expelled and sparked student demonstrations on campuses throughout South Africa. His organization has strongly rejected participation in the Government's separate development institutions, and has advocated a policy of black unity to join Africans, Coloureds and Asians in a common struggle against the white oppressor. SASO has also advocated the withdrawal of foreign economic investment from South Africa.

The details of Tiro's death illustrate the way in which the South African Government goes after its enemies. One of the organizations which has supported both SASO and the new SASM is the International University Exchange Fund which is located in Geneva. The IUEF has been in regular correspondence with Mr. Tiro, in South Africa and Botswana. The letter bomb which caused Mr. Tiro's death was mailed in Switzerland and carried as its sender the name of the IUEF and its director. The IUEF has issued a warning to all those with whom it corresponds that it has been used in this way, and that caution should be taken in the event of the appearance of suspicious looking mail. (International University Exchange Fund, Postbox 348, 1211 Geneva 11, Switzerland, Release, Feb. 11, 1974).

Government spokesmen in South Africa are denying all responsibility for Tiro's death. An Afrikaans newspaper went so far as to print a story saying Tiro died while working with explosives. A top level police spokesman in Botswana called this story "absolute rubbish." South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller has formally



Slain South African Abraham Tiro

objected to a Botswana Government report to the United Nations which implied that South Africa was responsible.

In a separate case involving SASO members, the Security Police have been charged with assault of prisoners. Jole Paile and two other SASO members are being held in Pretoria while awaiting trial. Paile has accused the police of beating him in prison. He and Michael Somo and Puso Khotsokane have been charged with assaulting three African policemen and robbing one of them in a Pretoria township last November. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 26, Feb. 9, 16, 1974).

### **POLICE CHARGED WITH ASSAULT 137 TIMES**

The allegation by a member of SASO that he was beaten by police is not an isolated incident. During 1973 there were 137 cases of alleged assault by members of the police force. Five of these were settled out of court for \$1,800; 39 were dismissed and 93 are still pending.

This information was given in the House of Assembly by Minister of Police S.L. Muller in answer to questions by Helen Suzman, Progressive Party M.P. Muller refused to tell her the number of people who were detained under the Terrorism Act, saying that it was not in the public interest to disclose that information. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 16, 1974).

### **ANC MAN KILLED BY LETTER BOMB**

John Dube, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, was killed in an explosion on opening a book parcel bomb addressed to him at the Liberation Center, Lusaka, Zambia. Two other members of ANC were seriously injured and two COREMO (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) people were slightly hurt.

The center is used as an administrative base by liberation groups and is controlled by the Zambian Ministry of Defense. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 13, 1974)

### **NEW LEGISLATION TO SUPPRESS ALL OPPOSITION**

As the Schlebusch Commission completes its work and trials go on in Pretoria of those who refused to testify before it, the focus of action has moved to Parliament in Cape Town. The Schlebusch Commission was founded in 1972 to investigate the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, and the National Union of South African Students. Leaders in all three organizations have refused to cooperate with the Commission and are facing fines and/or short prison terms.

Now, however, Prime Minister John Vorster has placed legislation before Parliament that could destroy the organizations by cutting off their funds. All three receive major funding, as much as 75%, from outside South Africa. According to the proposed legislation, any organization considered by the State President to be engaged in politics with aid from abroad can be declared an "affected organization." Affected organizations can be forbidden from receiving funds from overseas. The penalties for violating the prohibition are a fine as large as \$30,000 and/or ten years imprisonment. The key clause in the legislation appears to be that concerning engagement in politics, and politics is not defined.

Before an organization can be declared "affected" an investigation of that organization must be carried out and the report reviewed by the Minister of Justice. Organizations do not have to be notified that they are being investigated. Anyone who hinders such an investigation will be subject to a year in prison and a fine of \$8,400.

This legislation appears to be step number two codifying the intent of the Schlebusch Commission to intimidate internal opposition. In future, such a commission would probably have powers that the present one lacked. And the report of the Commission is complete and available if the Government wanted to use it against the three organizations named.

In addition, The Riotous Assemblies Act is being amended to give blanket authority to magistrates to ban

all meetings, even those formerly considered lawful. At present the Act applies only to meetings of 12 or more people. The new regulations would apply to any meeting of two or more people. (*New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1974).

According to the *London Observer*, one of the reasons that the Government is attacking the Christian Institute is that unlike most other liberal bodies it has come to terms with "black consciousness" and has encouraged the growth of autonomous black organizations. The chief example of this is its help to the black separatist churches, numbering some 3,000, which represent one of the strongest expressions of black consciousness in the Republic.

In addition, the publication of the reports of SPRO-CAS (Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society) which was sponsored by the Christian Institute, has angered the Government. The Reports undermine Government propaganda in relation to almost every significant Government program. Most of the reports have been banned because of this, and are now being distributed clandestinely around the country. (*London Observer* Jan. 20, 1974).

It is to be expected that all this proposed legislation will become law, since the Nationalists have a significant majority in Parliament. When that happens, the level of oppression will increase, and information about that oppression will be far more difficult to attain.

### **"PETTY APARTHEID" ON THE WAY OUT?**

A campaign to eliminate the barriers of "petty apartheid" has been launched in three major cities in South Africa. In Cape Town, Mayor David Bloomberg, recently declared that he would intervene with organizations responsible for unnecessary "Whites only" signs on park benches and bus shelters, separate queues for Whites and Blacks and other such examples of segregation. A similar campaign has been launched in Pietermaritzburg.

Mr. J.F. Oberholzer, the leader of the United Party in the Johannesburg City Council has announced that all parks, museums, libraries, art galleries and the zoo would be open to all races. The Council would do away with separate services for the various races, such as separation in departments where accounts are paid. The Council would encourage restaurants to provide better facilities for Blacks in the city, and "stern action" would be taken against owners of buildings which had separate elevators for Blacks and Whites. The Council would also make an attempt to enable Africans to buy their own homes in the urban townships. However, the ban on home ownership is a cornerstone of the apartheid policy which categorises all Africans in "white South Africa" as "temporary sojourners."

The three city councils involved are controlled by supporters of the United Party which wants to do away with the more crude aspects of apartheid, aspects which tend to exacerbate racial tension in the urban areas. In the interest of economic efficiency, the United Party would like to stabilize the urban Africans by giving them a measure of security in home ownership.

The movement has already incurred government criticism and the South African Prime Minister Vorster has warned that the government will step in if the result is what he termed "racial friction."

Pretoria, where the council is in the hands of the ruling Nationalist Party, could face embarrassing racial incidents



Painting Over "White Only" Bench in Johannesburg

over its law banning Blacks from its parks. A number of black African delegates will be attending an international Moral Rearmament assembly in Pretoria in April. Although the council has recommended that the by-law be permanently scrapped, the Transvaal administrator who has the final say has indicated that a decision will take months. This means that the black delegates will either have to keep out of the parks or risk arrest. (London, *Guardian*, Feb. 1, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 26, 1974; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 31, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, Jan. 14, 1974).

#### MANGOPE OVERSEAS

Following the trend set by Chief Buthelezi of Zululand, Chief Mangope of Bophuthatswana, the Tswana Bantustan, visited West Germany at the beginning of December to ask for more investment in South Africa. He said that if West Germany withdrew its investments it would be Africans who suffered most. South Africa, he said, required "revolutionary evolution". He was generally supportive of foreign business practices, blaming unrest in South Africa rather than the poor wages paid to workers.

These visits are the result of a change of attitude by the South African Government which now sees advocacy of dialogue between South Africans and black Bantustan Ministers as a powerful new weapon against critics overseas. In the last three years, six Bantustan leaders have made 14 trips overseas and four to other countries in Africa. Britain and the U.S. have had most visits, followed by West Germany and Switzerland. By far the greatest

number of trips have been by Buthelezi. He has been abroad seven times in the last three years and in 1973 visited the U.S. twice, (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Feb. 1974)

#### BANTUSTAN LEADERS BACK FEDERAL POLICY

Buthelezi has once again captured the headlines in South Africa by speaking out in support of a Federal policy as a solution to South Africa's racial dilemma. Delivering the Alfred and Winifred Hoernle Memorial Lecture at the annual general meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations at the University of Cape Town, he said that the Vorster Government's policy of "separate development" is irreversible and that all political parties should accept its basic outlines. He stressed, however, that the Bantustan concept should be adapted to provide a Federal solution acceptable to Blacks and Whites. Essential to the operation was meaningful dialogue, consultations between Whites and Blacks on details of the boundaries of states, on powers, functions, and the way in which the Bantustan policy was implemented. He envisaged three types of states within the Federation: those in which the interests of Whites were paramount, those in which the interests of one or the other of the Black ethnic groups were paramount, and those which consisted of special multiracial areas in which no particular group interests dominated. The stumbling block, he said, was whether the Federal Parliament should be under white or black control, but this problem could be shelved for several generations.

He was joined a day later by Chief Lucas Mangope who also emphasized the reality of the Bantustan concept. He sharply reprovved people abroad who criticized the strategies of the African leaders. Together with Buthelezi he rejected violence as a means to change the situation. They rejected also any idea of the Bantustans being independent and then being pushed aside from the rest of the country.

Also present in Cape Town at the time were three Transvaal Bantustan leaders; Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, Professor H. Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu and Chief W. Mota of South Sotho. After an informal discussion with Buthelezi and Mangope the five leaders have decided to discuss the issues on which they reached agreement at last year's historic "Black Summit." Chief Mangope said that the issues that they hoped to discuss included:

- 1) the urgent need for more land for the Bantustans, increasing the allocations in the 1936 Bantu Trust and Land Act;
- 2) increased development aid for the Bantustans;
- 3) the elimination of discrimination; and
- 4) the creation of equal opportunities for people of all races in South Africa.

The three Transvaal leaders commented that they would guarantee white property rights under consolidation. Professor Ntsanwisi said he would entrench such rights in a Bill of Rights.

In apparent opposition to the trend among the Bantustan leaders to accept some sort of Federal solution, Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei has decided to request independence soon. This decision came as a surprise because in the past the chief has said that his people would have to be given more land before they would accept autonomy. Land demand has been a major



Chief E. M. Mangope,  
Bophuthswana



Chief M. G. Buthelezi,  
KwaZulu

point of contention between Matanzima and the Government. Matanzima now wants to approach the Ciskei Bantustan about possible unity with the Transkei before seeking independence. (*Africa News*, Durham, Feb. 14, 1974, *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 19, 1974, *Guardian*, London, Jan. 18, 1974)

#### UP AGAINST THE LAW "Bandwagon"—A Newsletter For Banned People

A newsletter written exclusively for the more than 300 South Africans of all races banned under the Suppression of Communism Act is now being produced in Cape Town. The first issue of "Bandwagon" came out in January. It is being compiled by an ad hoc committee consisting of Rev. Theo Kotze, Cape director of the Christian Institute, Mr. James Polley of the extra-mural studies department at the University of Cape Town, and Ms. Nikki Westcott and Mr. Ivor Shapiro of SPRO-CAS. According to the committee's statement in the first issue, "Bandwagon" is "humanitarian" rather than "political" and is aimed at keeping banned people "in touch with what others on the banned-wagon are doing . . ." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

#### A Banning and an Exclusion

Journalist Don Mattera, whose November banning prevented him from attending a meeting he had arranged for visiting U.S. tennis star Arthur Ashe, will remain banned until Oct. 31, 1978. He was recently denied a passport to attend a conference in Nigeria. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

Prohibited from entering South Africa is Dutch academic Dr. Johannes Feddema. His exclusion has been labelled "short-sighted" by the South African Council of Churches (SACC). A strong opponent of the World Council of Churches' campaign against investment in South Africa, Dr. Feddema had intended to discuss methods of countering the campaign with the Christian Institute and the SACC. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 12, 1974)

#### Forty-two People Hanged in South Africa in 1973

Legal academics in South Africa who believe that the death penalty should be abolished or imposed only in the most serious cases see a favorable trend in the fact that 42 people were hanged in 1973, compared with 46 in 1972 and 76 in 1971. They are also encouraged by the number of reprieves granted in 1973—22 as compared with 12 in 1972. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 5, 1974)

## SOUTH AFRICAN CENSORSHIP

### Ban on Afrikaans Novel Stirs Controversy

The January banning of Andre' Brink's new novel, *Kennis van die aand* (*Knowledge of the Night*), has aroused South Africa's usually complacent Afrikaans academic and literary communities to new heights of indignation. Described by one Afrikaner reviewer as a "fierce and uncompromising indictment of white repression," Brink's book is the first Afrikaans novel ever banned. It has received high praise from leading critics, and at least two Afrikaans newspapers urged the government to halt the banning orders when rumors of them began to circulate late in January. At the same time, the writers' organization Afrikaanse Skrywerskring began to collect money to finance a Supreme Court appeal of the banning.

Mr. Brink, long an outspoken critic of apartheid, said that the idea for the book developed in 1963 when political troubles led to widespread police raids and the arrest of some of his friends. Explained Brink, "I tried to present in human terms what this country is doing to people." Ironically, Brink's statement of purpose fits in nicely with Dr. Hennie Terblanche's stated objection that "every page was evil." However Terblanche, who led a campaign to persuade people and organizations to lodge official complaints about the book with the Publications Control Board, did not have the evil of South Africa's system of apartheid in mind. Rather, he cited fifty sex acts between the novel's central figure, a Coloured playwright, Josef Malan, and his white lover, Jessica Thompson. (*New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1974)

A Johannesburg *Star* writer, who admits he doesn't count the number of sexual encounters in the books he reads, described the novel as a panoramic view of the 300 year history of South Africa's Coloured people as seen through biographical flashbacks to Malan's ancestors. Their lives are filled with tragedy and humiliations inflicted by Whites. Josef's "embattled" life, while different in details, assumes the same tortured shape. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)

Brink, who is now working on an English translation of his novel, reacted to the banning with a warning to the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Mulder, that he had underestimated the "verligte outcry" the banning had caused. By early February, more than \$7,500 had already been raised by individuals and groups determined to fight the ban, and blackmarket copies of the novel were selling for \$140 each.

Meanwhile, dissident Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach, who praised the manuscript version he had read, expressed his concern for Brink, his family, and his publisher, but saw the banning as a "watershed" for South African literature which on the whole was a "good thing" in terms of its repercussions on young Afrikaans authors. "The book reflects a South African reality," stated Breytenbach, "but the Government does not want the people to know about it. The ban indicates an absolute panic and clearly shows the climate of fear and repression." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)

Breytenbach, who was refused permission to reside in South Africa with his Vietnamese wife, lives in Paris and is regarded as a strong contender for this year's coveted Hertzog Prize for poetry. Whether a man who has called Afrikaans a "bastard language" and has referred to young Afrikanerdom as "weak-kneed" receives the prize from

the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie, may indicate just how "verligte" the Afrikaans intellectual community has become, and whether, in fact, a watershed has actually been reached. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)

#### Commission Recommends More Power For Censors

Controversy over the banning of Brink's novel notwithstanding, the Commission of Inquiry into the Publications and Entertainments Amendment Bill has placed recommendations before the House of Assembly which call for the abolition of the existing right of appeal to the courts against Publication Control Board (PCB) decisions. In general, the majority report submitted by the nationalist members of the Commission recommends replacing the PCB with a three-tier system which includes a set of committees, a directorate and a special appeal board appointed by the State President. Other majority report recommendations include the tightening of control over films, a new system of age restrictions for films, consultation with Coloured and Indian representatives regarding certain films, the closing of existing loopholes and the tightening up of the entire system.

United Party Commission members issued a separate minority report which called the decision to abolish the right of appeal "a most pernicious measure and a damaging blow to the rule of law in South Africa." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)

#### Mulder Labels South African Press "Undisciplined"

With all indications pointing to new Government legislation to control the press, Minister of Information Connie Mulder returned from his January trip to the U.S.A. with high praise for its "totally free" press and criticism for the "very undisciplined" press in South Africa. Interviewed on the government South African Broadcasting Corp. program "Weekend Newsroom," Mulder said that he believed in press freedom as he'd seen it in the U.S., but added in reference to South Africa that "when Press freedom becomes licence, then . . . a responsible Government has a duty to take a look at it and act if necessary." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)

Responding to Mulder's "insinuation," the *Rand Daily Mail* (Feb. 1, 1974) observed that the Nationalist Government would never tolerate newspaper investigations like the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate Scandal, and pointed out that Mulder was being "inconsistent" in accepting the role of U.S. newspapers while simultaneously denouncing the South African Press "for trying to keep such a critical eye on government here."

In other press-related developments, chief of the United Press International network in Johannesburg, Mike Keats, praised the South African press as being the only "true free press" on the African continent. The Australian-born journalist made his remarks prior to departing for a new assignment in Beirut after six years in Johannesburg. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)

One organization which is apparently satisfied with its press treatment is the South African Defense Forces (SADF). Brigadier Cyrus Smith, Director of Army Public Relations, called news coverage of South African defense matters "positive and responsible." According to Smith, of all Government departments, the SADF receives the most positive coverage. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974)



Urban African No to Bantustans

## ECONOMICS

### FOUR TRADE UNIONISTS BANNED—TUCSA REFUSES TO JOIN PROTEST

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has refused to participate in a protest meeting against the banning of four white trade unionists who worked with African factory workers in Natal. The 25,000 member Garment Workers' Union of the Natal area has withdrawn from TUCSA as a result of the refusal.

The four young unionists, who were all banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act, are Jeanette Cunningham Brown, Halton Cheadle, David Davis, and David Hempton. The men were restricted to their Durham homes on weekends and holidays and Ms. Cunningham Brown was restricted to her parents home in Pietermaritzburg. None may enter a factory, African township, hostel or tribal trust land, educational institution or harbor. In common with all banned people, they may not be quoted.

Harriet Bolton, National Secretary of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union for which two of the banned people worked, warned TUCSA that her union and others will join the walkout of Trade Union Council membership. Eventually she hopes an organization of unions independent of TUCSA can be formed.

TUCSA has circulated to all its affiliated unions a statement defending its refusal to participate in the protest meeting. It was a regional, rather than a national action, according to the council's leadership, and TUCSA must act nationally. Further, it only takes action in a trade union context, and the national Union of South African Students as well as the Kwazulu government were part of the protest. Finally, the council said, it was doubtful whether protesting the bannings could serve any useful purpose.

This latest TUCSA refusal to act in solidarity with workers will certainly increase criticism of the organization. The group has been torn over the question of affiliation of African unions since its 1967 conference voted to exclude all non-registered—and therefore African—trade unions. TUCSA's subsequent policy has vacillated on the question of the unionization of African workers.

As African factory workers have grown more and more militant in recent months, the Trade Union Council has made overtures to keep African organizing under its wing,

but its attitudes are clearly out of step with the growing consciousness of South Africa's black proletariat. Its criticism of the banning protests is another step in its isolation. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 2, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 23, 1974; and *Rand Daily Mail*, Feb. 2, 1974)

### IMPORTANT STUDY OF SOWETO RESIDENTS BY U.S. FIRM

According to a recent study carried out in Johannesburg's Soweto township, black South Africans overwhelmingly oppose the Bantustan concept in both theory and practice.

The survey, known as the "Soweto Township Study," was conducted by the Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc. on behalf of 29 South African, U.S. and multinational firms doing business in South Africa. Research from Quadrant International, a South African subsidiary of Interpublic, conducted interviews in more than 800 households over a period of one year.

The purpose of the study was to determine long term marketing possibilities among South Africa's urban black population. And while the interviewers concentrated on life style, consumer habits and purchasing power of Soweto residents, the Interpublic study concluded with a comprehensive profile of political, sociological and racial attitudes within the township.

Next to "nearly universal" opposition to the Bantustan concept, Soweto residents were most dissatisfied by what they called "economic discrimination," mainly in the form of unequal pay and jobs reserved for Whites, and the quality of education provided for Blacks, which one respondent called "grossly inferior."

When asked whether they thought conditions for black South Africans were changing, 42% said things were the same, 33% said conditions were getting better, and 25% said conditions were getting worse.

The last category, those who thought conditions were getting worse, contained the largest numbers of students and young people. Of this group, the study observed, "it would be naive simply to ignore the existence of very strong feelings of frustration, futility and despair which could pave the way for radicalism."

On the lighter side, many Soweto residents cited the increase in multi-racial sports activities in South Africa as a sign of improving relations between the races.

All specific information about buying habits of black South Africans was kept secret by Interpublic and its clients. However, a number of general economic observations were released, and these tended to contradict the South African government position that black South Africans were better off economically than any other Blacks on the continent. Speaking to this point, the Interpublic study said, in part:

"It is not the absolute, but the relative situation of the individual which determines his degree of satisfaction... He finds himself surrounded by luxury of which he has no part... it is the Whites who set the standards... It is in this light that we have to evaluate the black South African's position."

The "Soweto Township Study," prepared by the largest advertising chain in the world, an American-owned multinational, concludes with this post script:

"The Black assessment of the present situation is critical, but realistic. Blacks are pushing against the limitations imposed on them, and they are pushing hard.

They definitely expect changes in the future, but it appears they are willing to cooperate. Radicalism seems at present to be restricted to a very few." (All quotations and data based on reports on the Voice of America, African Service, Feb. 21 and 23, 1974)

The Interpublic Group of Companies, which conducted the study, is a U.S. firm listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Besides Quadrant International, the group's wholly-owned South African subsidiary, which actually carried out the study, Interpublic is currently negotiating the purchase of Grant Advertising, an important Johannesburg public relations firm.

Charles Mittelstadt, an Interpublic official, told AFRICA NEWS that his company had been preparing to undertake the study for nearly four years. Interpublic sees South Africa as an important place. He said, "and as the Bantus (sic) emerge as a marketing force, which they most decidedly are, it becomes in our business terribly important to know how to reach them." (Telephone interview, March 1, 1974)

### LIFTING OF U.S. INVESTMENT CURBS MAY BRING LARGE INCREASE IN FUNDS TO SA

The February announcement that the Nixon administration was lifting restrictions on U.S. investment abroad may lead to a major increase in U.S. funds flowing to South Africa. That is the opinion of at least one important American investment analyst.

When the investment controls were established at the beginning of 1968, there were three classifications of countries. The controls, which were designed to help the sagging American balance of payments, restricted most drastically investment in the developed economies, such as those of Western Europe. South Africa was included in this category, although countries like Australia and Greece were placed in a middle classification. Ken Owen, Washington correspondent for the *Star*, says the action was a deliberate slap at South Africa. (*Star*, Feb. 9, 1974).

The results were felt in South Africa. In 1968 and 1969, new investment (excluding re-investment) by U.S. subsidiaries fell to \$6 million a year—from \$35 million in 1967. But, in 1970, there was an upsurge in \$44 million.

The easing of the restrictions may bring new interest in South African investment by U.S. firms. George Friedensohn, an investment analyst who was scheduled to visit the Republic in March, foresees such a trend. On February 15, a large group of U.S. investors, arrived in South Africa for a visit arranged by the Investment Analysts Society of Southern Africa. (*South African Digest*, Feb. 15, 1974)

### SOUTH AFRICAN COMPUTER INDUSTRY GROWS—U.S. FIRMS GIVE LEADING HAND

A recent study has shown that in 1973, the South African computer industry enjoyed great growth—an increase of 26% in the number of digital computers installed in the country. The study, based on questionnaires to the nation's 473 computer-owning firms, was conducted by the monthly business magazine *Management* (December, 1973). About half the 473 users replied to *Managements'* survey, and with information from various other sources the magazine placed the total number of units at 660, compared with 524 in 1972.

The U.S. computer giant, International Business Machines (IBM) dominates that South African market.



The number of IBM machines in use grew from just over 200 in 1972 to 254 in 1973, maintaining IBM's 38% of the market.

Although U.S. firms dominate the international computer industry, IBM's largest competitor in South Africa is a British company—International Computers Limited (ICL). ICL, with about a quarter of the market, supplied the equipment which the government uses for the modernized African passbook system.

National Cash Register and Burroughs each accounted for just over ten per cent of the units in the survey. NCR had more computers in use, but Burroughs is thought to have a larger stake measured by value.

The remainder of the field is shared by two other U.S. corporations, Univac and Computer Data Co., plus two German firms, Siemens and Nixdorf.

The survey revealed additional government business for IBM. A study conducted by two Southern Africa Committee members for the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches in 1972 found that 25 per cent of IBM (South Africa)'s business involves sales or rentals of equipment to departments or agencies of the white government.

*Management's* latest data shows that IBM computers are still in use with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, a government body coordinating all research (including military) in the country. A number of government departments are again listed: Education, Inland Revenue, Interior, Prisons, Social Welfare, Water Affairs, plus some new ones—Finance, Health, and Statistics.

The government owned corporations running the airline, railways, and broadcasting service, as well as the Bureau of Standards and Weather Bureau also own or rent IBM computers. Such American subsidiaries as Caterpillar, Firestone, Mobil, and ITT are among IBM's South African customers.

Perhaps, most significantly, the Department of Defense is listed as using a 360/50 unit and two 360/40's. In addition, there is a 360/40 at the Simonstown Naval Base. IBM officials told the National Council of Churches that these units are used only for administrative purposes and not for any military applications. Did they remember to tell the South African Defense Department?

## XEROX CHAIRMAN VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

Another company contributing important and "uniquely American" technology to South Africa is the Xerox Corporation. During February, Xerox board chairman, Peter McColough, visited the apartheid republic and met with Prime Minister Vorster.

In an interview with Radio South Africa, McColough said his company had been criticized by American shareholders, primarily from church organizations, for its South African investments.

"My answer is, I don't necessarily agree with the laws of South Africa, but we think that this does not mean we should withdraw," he told the interviewer. "We feel that here in South Africa our company follows very progressive philosophies and policies." (*South African Panorama*, Feb. 14, 1974, broadcast at 8:00 pm EDT).

In 1973, Xerox issued "A Progress Report" on its involvement in South Africa. The document, more notable for what it excludes than for what is reported, fails to justify McColough's progressive claim.

Although the company has, over the last five years, increased by five percent the proportion of its work force that is Black (22% in 1973), the job structure is very heavily weighted according to the normal racial pattern. There are only 5 Asian employees and no Coloured or African workers above the level of clerk. In fact, 88 per cent of the firm's African work force of 64 people were in the bottom 5 job categories (there are 16 categories given). Eight of the Africans were in categories whose average wage is below the Minimum Effective Level for Johannesburg—the amount required to maintain a family at survival level over a long period of time. Twenty-four of the African workers were in a category where the average pay was only \$13 higher than the M.E.L.

Xerox's South African operation is called Rank Xerox (Pty.) Ltd., and is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the London firm with the same name. Xerox owns about 75 per cent of the British company.

## ITT-BUILT CABLE LINK SEVERED BY FISHING TRAWLER

The telecommunications link which ITT Corporation provided South Africa was disrupted twice during February. The first break in the Cape Town-to-Lisbon submarine cable occurred when a fishing trawler tangled the large wire in its nets.

As a result, corporate executives were hampered in their communications with Europe and North America; and the South African Post Office, which runs the country's telephone system, lost millions in much-needed revenues.

The undersea cable, which was built by an ITT subsidiary, Standard Telephone and Cables, links South Africa's telephone and telegraph system directly with Europe. The cable is maintained by South Atlantic Cable Company, jointly owned by the South African government (2/3) and another ITT subsidiary.

The trans-Atlantic cable has 360 speech channels, of which about 130 are currently used. Each speech channel is capable of handling 22 telex or telegraph circuits in place of a speech transmission.

While the cable was severed, South Africa had to depend on two high-frequency radio transmitters to conduct overseas business transactions. Prior to the cable link, the radio was the only means of trans-Atlantic

instant communication, but it is subject to substantial fluctuation in quality.

By 1976, South Africa will have a satellite earth station near Pretoria and will link up to the Atlantic Intelsat IV-A satellite. This connection will be used not only for telephone and telegraph, but also for the country's television system, which is expected to begin operation about the same time. Later that year, the country will hook up to the Indian ocean satellite. (*To the Point*, Johannesburg, Feb. 8, 1974; and *Financial Mail*, Telecommunications Survey, June 29, 1973, Radio South Africa, February 19, 1974)

### CAR PLANT IN CAPE TOWN STRUCK—AMERICAN MOTORS INCREASES SA INVOLVEMENT

All 2000 African workers at the Motor Assemblies plant in Cape Town walked off the job on February 13 to

demand a significant pay increase. The workers, who make an average of \$33 per week, wanted their pay doubled. They rejected an earlier offer of a \$3 increase. (*Guardian*, London, Feb. 14, 1974). The settlement reached was believed to be considerable more than the \$3 figure.

Motor Assemblies produces Toyotas, Mazdas, and American Motors products. The company is controlled by Wesco Investments, an South African financial grouping which also owns Toyota South Africa and controls American Motors South Africa.

American Motors South Africa is consolidating its position in South Africa by taking over the assembly and sale of Jeep vehicles. The Jeep franchise had previously been handled by the Hugh Parker Company. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Oct. 8, 1973, cited in *African Update*, Jan-Feb, 1974)

# namibia

### SWAPO YOUTH LEADER SAYS ARRESTS WILL NOT STOP INDEPENDENCE MOVE

"Freedom This Year" is the slogan of the SWAPO Youth League's campaign for independence in Namibia. And despite police harassment, the group says it will not abandon its goal.

The vice-chairman of the organization's Youth League, Shindabih Mashalaleh has issued a militant statement following last week's arrest of 10 SWAPO leaders. "The police will have to jail the whole of Namibia to break us," he said. Sixteen SWAPO leaders have been arrested subject to hard labor or conceivably the death penalty under the Terrorism Act.

Mashalaleh says new leaders will be elected each time the police round up the old ones, and promised a public rally in the near future, "with or without permission." Since black Namibians must be granted government permission before holding meetings, all SWAPO rallies are illegal and often end in mass arrests.

More than 313 men and women have been taken into custody since January, but last week's round-up of leaders is the most serious threat to SWAPO thus far. (*Africa News*, Durham, Feb 28, 1974)



Sam Nujoma, President der SWAPO

## "IMPRISONMENT WONT DETER OUR STRUGGLE" - SWAPO

WINDHOEK: Imprisonment under the Act on Terrorism or the Act on Sabotage will not deter South West Africa's Blacks from continuing the 'struggle'. This blunt statement was made yesterday by a young Black leader, one of the latest to have mushroomed in the past few weeks since Police action has deprived the Swapo Movement of its leadership.

Speaking was Mr Tuli Hivelluh, the movement's latest secretary-cum-liaison officer, a fierce, bony man who in a sweeping gesture explains that the organisation's leadership has not been wiped out by the ten arrests under the Act on Terrorism.

Prison, he said, was nothing and he himself was ready to face it. So were his colleagues. It did

not matter whether they too were locked up because there "were many more" to take their place. He emphasised that there was no assistance from abroad, but a liaison exists between the office-bearers here and those in exile.

A new campaign was about to be launched he said, adding on being questioned, that in his opinion violence would not be a part of it. The new proposed political action was not only to be confined to Windhoek but also to Walvis Bay, to Owambo and other places in South West Africa.

In this new political offensive there was common ground between his movement and other Black political organisations who had associated themselves with the aims of Swapo, he said. (See report on the full interview in this edition).



## EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY NEW UN COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA, SEAN MACBRIDE

I have just taken up duty as the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. I regarded it as essential to come in the first instance to Lusaka to consult with the Zambian authorities and the leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization.

We have to break new ground in this struggle for Namibia, so that the world and also South Africa will understand that neither the African people nor the United Nations are prepared to tolerate the continued illegal occupation of Namibia. Efforts to engage in a dialogue with the South African Government not only failed but showed up the intransigence of the South African Government. This has made the United Nations more conscious than ever of its obligation to fulfil the commitment the United Nations solemnly undertook in 1966.

While I am speaking to you today there are dark clouds overhanging Namibia. The South African authorities have reneged on the promises they gave to the Secretary-General in writing. There would be, they had said, no impediments to political activity, but their deeds have been different. All the known leaders of SWAPO are now being charged or detained without trial. Hundreds of other Namibians are daily brought to court and sentenced on flimsy charges arising from the application of the so-called pass law.

The intention of the South African authorities is clear—no political activity is to be allowed in the

Territory. Not only is it the intention of the South Africans to prevent the people of Namibia from expressing politically their desire for complete independence but they are, as all oppressive colonial dictatorships, seeking to sow terror among the people they misrule.

One feature of the present worsening situation in Namibia which is worrying is the failure of the press and media in many parts of the world to inform public opinion adequately of the repression which is taking place and of the attempts which are being made to suppress the South West Africa People's Organization.

The international press must not allow the South African authorities to cajole it into accepting what amounts to a conspiracy of silence. The financial and strategic influence of South Africa in the Western world is only too well known but the international press will not allow these considerations to silence it in the face of injustice.

Today's oppression and how to cope with it is one thing. But there must be also a long-term programme for an independent united Namibia, and the cadres to make that a reality must be organized and trained. It is not going to be easy, but the Namibians have the necessary courage and determination, and the international community will give them their full support. (Given in Lusaka, Zambia, Feb. 19, 1974) UN Press Release NAM/98)



# Zimbabwe



ZANU Militants

## WAR IN ZIMBABWE

### Guerilla Mobility Improves, Smith Regime Reacts

It is clear that Zimbabwe's freedom fighters can now maintain themselves for weeks at a time far from their bases in Tanzania and Zambia. Moreover, there is no

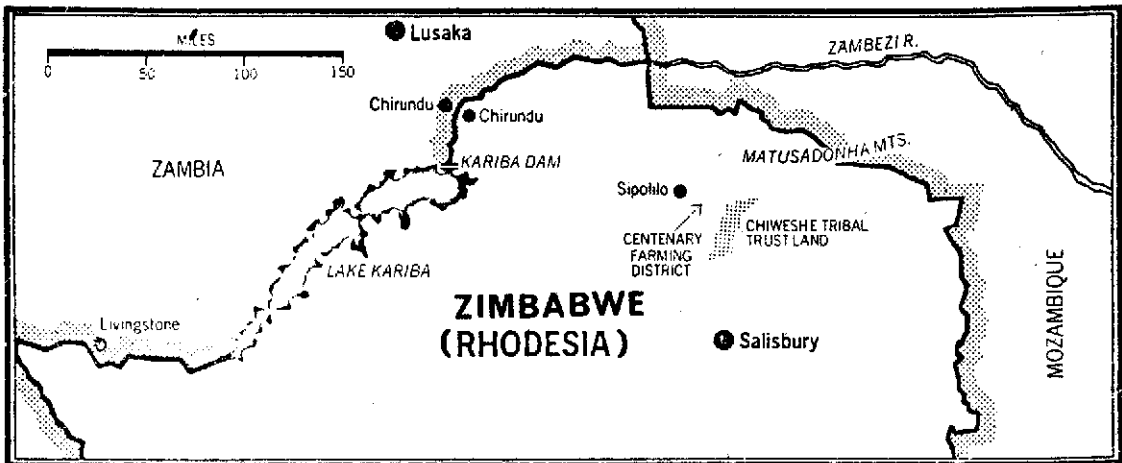
doubt that guerillas can easily make their way into Rhodesia with increasingly sophisticated weapons, including Soviet-made AK47 automatic rifles, RPG2 rockets and heavy land mines. As they are operating in very small groups, they suffer few casualties if intercepted. In recent months, a Rhodesia National Parks Truck traveling near Chirundu and a passenger train on the Umfali-Beira line have been landmined. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 26, Feb. 2, 1974; *Guardian*, UK Jan. 22, 1974)

### "No-Go" Free-Fire Zone Created

Not surprisingly, the Smith regime has moved to counter these developments. The Rhodesia-Mozambique border where guerillas have entered Rhodesia is being fenced, and flame-throwers and bulldozers are being used to strip an area 10 miles wide and 200 miles long of cover. Rhodesian forces have moved 8000 people from their homes in the "no-go" area to "transit camps" far from the border. The creation of a depopulated "no-go" zone will allow security forces to shoot anyone found in the area on sight.

### Forced Labor

In addition, Smith has been given emergency powers to recruit residents of the northeastern parts of Rhodesia for forced labor "in the interest of public security." Those eligible for compulsory work would be between the ages of 12 and 60, and include both sexes. They would be paid



**Arena of Zimbabwe Guerrilla Action**

a fixed wage. Authorities in that area are given power to control food supplies and moveable property to prevent their falling into guerilla hands. District Commissioners have been given authority to deal summarily with those found guilty of saying or doing anything which engenders feelings of hostility towards them or exposes them to contempt, ridicule or disesteem. Punishment would be a maximum fine of \$79 or a whipping of eight strokes.

**Army Buildup**

The Smith regime has also announced a doubling of the draft call and recruitment of a second African Battalion. The statement said that the army is now on the offensive, not the defensive, and more men were needed. In addition, at least 500 white farmers attended a meeting in Marandellas to be briefed by officials and police on preparations for increased guerilla activities. Farmers were warned to keep strict watch for African "strangers."

In February, Rhodesian security forces reported killing "five terrorists," bringing the total to 214 since December, 1972.



**Rhodesian Troops on Patrol**

**South African Assistance**

Finally, South African security forces are increasingly active in Rhodesia, and South Africa is supplying Smith's army with 7.62 mm rifles, trucks and possibly armored cars. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1974; *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1974; *Washington Post*, Jan. 27, 1974; *Guardian*, UK, Feb. 8, 1974)

**AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL NEWS**

**Muzorewa in Malawi**

Bishop Muzorewa, head of the ANC, was recently re-issued traveling papers to attend the United Methodist Church conference scheduled to be held in Malawi. President Banda has not allowed the conference to begin because, he said, his approval was not sought until the last minute, and Malawi's hospitality was being taken for granted. The group was originally to have met in Rhodesia, but a United Methodist Church representative from the New York office changed the venue. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb 2, 1974)

It was speculated that Bishop Muzorewa would meet British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, in Malawi to discuss the deadlocked settlement question, but the Bishop returned to Salisbury when the conference was canceled. (*Guardian*, UK, Jan. 30, 1974)



**Muzorewa**

### Youth Representative on Hunger Strike

Zebediah Silongomah, the ANC youth representative from the Rhodesian Midlands, is being treated in Lusaka for wounds sustained during electric shock torture while he was a prisoner in Rhodesia. He arrived in Zambia and sought a British passport, but the British High Commission has refused to grant him one because he cannot prove he is Rhodesian. The youth is on a hunger strike until the High Commission comes to terms. (*Times of Zambia*, Jan. 9, 1974)

Zimbabwean students at the University of Zambia have also protested the British High Commission's refusal (*Times of Zambia*, Jan. 17, 1974)

### Is The ANC Close To "Settlement" With Smith?

The Zimbabwe African National Union issued a statement in January blasting Bishop Muzorewa for his reported claim that some kind of a settlement with Smith is feasible. ZANU said the British Government is desperate to find a way to legitimize Rhodesia and Muzorewa is their man... "educated, articulate, and to crown it all extremely religious, pacifist, and professed opponent of anything that smacks of revolution." (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan. 16, 1974)

The reference to Muzorewa's claim is his statement to South African journalists that an agreement could be reached "with a little good-will from Prime Minister Ian Smith." A report in Johannesburg said it was understood that Muzorewa had so far negotiated 12 major concessions from Smith. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan 14, 1974). The report said these included the acceptance of the ANC as the official opposition in Parliament; further Parliament seats for Africans at the earliest opportunity; the appointment of Africans on a commission to investigate racial discrimination; and more land being made available for Africans. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* said the Bishop conceded the demand for one-man-one-vote franchise for the present. (*Times of Zambia*, Jan 14, 1974)

Edson Sithole, publicity secretary for ANC denied reports that Muzorewa claimed progress in negotiations with Smith. Sithole said ANC would never accept a settlement which would be unacceptable to the African population. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan 15, 1974). Bishop Muzorewa reiterated that no significant progress had been made in talks with Smith. "The real significance of this whole thing is that there was some contact between the two sides." (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan. 18, 1974) Sithole also reported that between 30 and 50 ANC executive members are now under arrest in Rhodesia. (*Washington Post*, Jan 28, 1974)

### U.S. Role?

In any apparently related development, John Hutchinson, a visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University, returned from Rhodesia saying that both the ANC and the Smith government would welcome an indirect role by the US in a settlement of the Rhodesian question. Smith and Muzorewa both thought that the US could break the current impasse by an expression of interest. Smith said, "We would welcome a statement by the United States that it would support an agreement in Rhodesia ratified by Britain" and that "it would welcome Rhodesia's return to legality." State Department officials reacted coolly. One official reiterated that this is solely Britain's responsibility.

The US closed its consulate in Salisbury in March, 1970. (*The Washington Post*, Feb 5, 1974; see also Hutchinson's article, *New York Times*, op.ed. page, March 2, 1974)

### INTERNAL RHODESIA NEWS Rhodesian Foreign Exchange Up

Figures released in Salisbury show total earnings from mineral exports were R\$180 million for the first ten months of 1973, compared to R\$171 for all of 1972. (*To the Point*, Johannesburg, Feb 8, 1974)

### Catholics Called Subversive

The Rhodesian Government has accused Roman Catholic missionaries in the Gwelo area of subversive and immoral behavior. Eight Swiss missionaries have been denied entry into Rhodesia. *Moto*, the weekly newspaper owned by the Catholic diocese of Gwelo is considered anti-government. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 26, 1974)

The Rhodesian Front Congress of 1972 passed a resolution asking that no further residence permits be issued "to enable aliens to operate as missionaries, particularly in Tribal Trust Lands, where outright subversion is frequently hidden under a cloak of religion." (*Guardian*, UK, Jan 24, 1974)

### Catholic Bishops Gain Support

In a "Message for the Holy Year" Catholic Bishops in Rhodesia have called for constitutional reform and abolition of racial discrimination. Their statement has received support from the Rhodesia Party, the Centre Party, and the African National Council. Rhodesia Party chairman said his party praised the bishops for their courage "at a time when most intelligent Rhodesians have fallen strangely silent under a Government which has assumed the power of arrest without trial, deportation without appeal, and party control of the state communication media." (*Guardian*, UK, Jan. 22, 1974)

### Emigration Peaks; Immigration Campaign Continues

Rhodesia had a net loss of 460 white people in December, 1973, one of the highest figures since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. (*Guardian*, UK, Jan. 30, 1974)

Meanwhile, the "Settlers '74" campaign continues in hopes of attracting Whites to Rhodesia. The press in Ghana and Tanzania have condemned the plan, as has Bishop Muzorewa of the ANC. The ANC said only the riff-raff who cannot find employment at home would come to Rhodesia to settle. (*Sunday Times of Zambia*, Jan. 20, 1974)

Smith has said the new immigrants will be exempt from the military draft for the first five years. (*Africa News*, Durham, Feb. 14, 1974)

A London Bureau of a Salisbury newspaper reports that a steady stream of calls comes in requesting information on immigration to Rhodesia. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 19, 1974)

### Petrol Rationed

February 1st was the beginning of petrol rationing in Rhodesia. "Minister of Commerce" Mussett said the government was doing its best to meet the petrol needs of tourists. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan. 24, 1974)

### Chipunza Forms Party

Chad Chipunza, former parliamentary secretary during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has formed the African Progressive Party. The party supports settlement with Britain, possibly on the 1971 proposals. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan. 25, 1974)

### Students Allowed To Sit For Exams

Sixty nine of the 119 University students restricted from the campus by the Rhodesian Government last year have been given permission to return to the campus to take their exams. The restriction orders will be re-imposed after the exams. (*Guardian*, UK, Jan 16, 1974)

### Chisango Dies

Kenneth Chisango, a detainee of the Smith Government, died after a long coma. He failed to gain permission to go to Britain for medical treatment which he requested while he was in Gwelo prison. Fellow prisoners smuggled a letter out which said Chisango was not given proper attention. He was refused a better diet recommended by doctors when they examined him and diagnosed cirrhosis of the liver. International Defence and Aid are asking the Red Cross to investigate the death. The smuggled letter said Chisango's illness, like that of many others, was caused by "unhealthy and inhuman conditions" of the prison. (*Guardian*, UK, Jan 2, 1974)

### EXTERNAL RHODESIA NEWS

#### International Congress of African Studies

Hasu Patel, Rhodesian delegate to the Third Annual International Congress of African Studies, held in Addis Ababa, 9-19 December, was barred from attendance, in line with the UN stand on participation in international conferences by the white-ruled African states.

The conference took an unprecedented stand by passing a resolution supporting liberation movements in Southern Africa and welcoming the birth of Guinea Bissau as an independent nation. These resolutions were passed in spite of opposition by Western intellectuals who felt that academics should not take political stands. (*Zimbabwe News*, Lusaka, December, 1973)

#### Kaunda Offers Plan

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said Britain must solve the Rhodesia problem, and he offered the following plan to Sir Alec Douglas Home when he was in Lusaka recently.

1. Tighten economic sanctions against Rhodesia, including stricter regulation of telecommunications, postal services, passports, and immigration.
2. Removal of South African soldiers in Rhodesia.
3. A call by Britain on Portugal and South Africa to stop interfering in Rhodesia's internal affairs. (*Washington Post*, Feb. 5, 1974)

### Habeas Corpus Appeal

A test case that could establish the right of all Rhodesians to unrestricted entry into Britain as long as UDI lasts is to be heard in the High Court in London. Solomon Mlambo, aged 20, in detention at Heathrow airport since December 23 and due for deportation, is seeking a writ of *habeas corpus*. Mlambo walked out of Rhodesia through Botswana and arrived in Britain to seek a place in college. Exiled Rhodesian Africans believe that if he succeeds in getting the writ, the British Government will no longer be able to impose entry restrictions on Rhodesians. (*Observer*, London, Jan 20, 1974)

### Boeing Sale Action

The United States Government has taken action against a Swiss firm involved in the sale of three American Boeing jets to Rhodesia in violation of sanctions. The company has lost a license which had permitted them to buy planes or spare parts from US companies, and it may be barred from US markets altogether. The sale amounted to \$ 3 million—one of the biggest anti-sanctions transactions. (*Washington Post*, Jan 25, 1974)

### U.S. SANCTIONS BUSTING REACHES RECORD HIGH

Official figures from Washington reveal that U.S. imports from Rhodesia reached a record high during 1973. Rhodesian exports to the U.S. last year earned the illegal regime a much-needed \$30 million. In 1965, before the country became the object of international sanctions, the U.S. bought \$10 million from the central African territory. After the UN adopted sanctions, official U.S. trade with Rhodesia dropped to near zero. But, in 1973, the first full trade year after the U.S. Congress voted to allow imports of Rhodesian minerals, the Rhodesians sold \$30 million in exports to this country. (*Star* Feb. 2, 1974)

The \$30 million figure represents an important contribution to the economic strength of the white minority regime. Rhodesia's economy has been hard hit by the Arab oil boycott and the rising expenses of fighting an escalating guerrilla war. Earnings from exports to the U.S. may represent seven to ten per cent of Rhodesia's total exports in 1973.

Imports of nickel cathodes comprise the largest segment of American purchases—\$11.6 million for the year. High-carbon ferrochrome earned the Rhodesians \$10.1 million, while low-carbon ferrochrome brought in \$3.3 million.

The figures reveal the hypocrisy of the major argument used to push for passage of the so-called Byrd Amendment: the critical U.S. need for chrome ore and its dangerous dependence on the Soviet Union for these imports. In 1973, the U.S. imported only \$2 million worth of chrome ore from Rhodesia. U.S. usage of Soviet ore has not declined since 1971.

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# STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

## angola

### ON THE BATTLE FRONT

MPLA issued a report recently in Dar es Salaam on the movement's military operations during 1973. The report shows substantial increases in successes in the period from October to December as compared to the April-September period when the movement was resolving internal difficulties.

The report claims the MPLA put 900 enemy troops out of action, 35 percent of these casualties being inflicted in the last quarter of the year.

A break in military activity between the second and third quarters resulted from "intense political activity in our movement in discovering, pursuing and neutralizing all vestiges of enemy subversion in our midst," the report said.

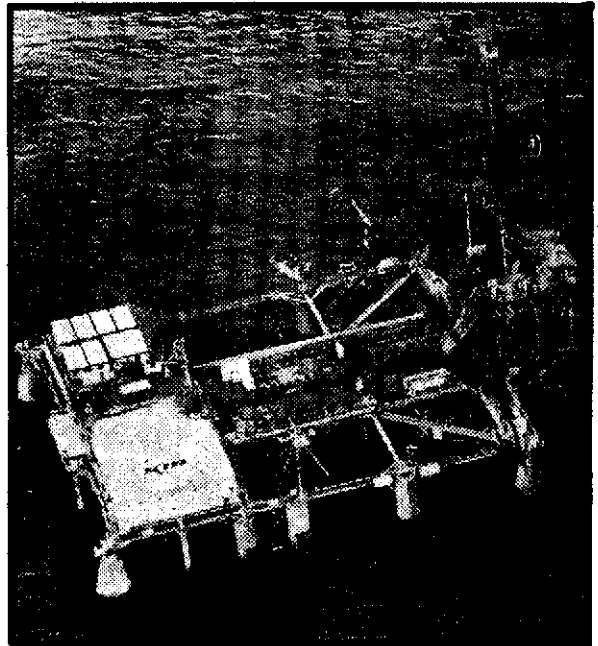
MPLA said it carried out only 89 operations of all types during 1973 which compares unfavorably with a number of 231 in 1972. However, the number of enemy dead reported is 66 more than in 1972. A breakdown of military operations is as follows: 14 attacks on barracks, 41 ambushes, 34 large scale mine operations, 491 Angolans freed, 321 weapons captured, 3600 rounds of ammunition captured. MPLA also points out that 1973 saw masses of workers "marching down the streets of Luanda [Angola's capital] demanding higher wages. The working class, organized and strengthened, has gone into action and will bring further victories." (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 24, 1974)

### STRIKES MARK SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF MPLA STRUGGLE

On December 10, 1973 the MPLA marked its 17th year of struggle, commencing on Dec. 10, 1956. MPLA claimed responsibility for a two week wave of strikes and mass demonstrations that hit the Angolan capital of Luanda during December. The MPLA communique said thousands of Angolan workers were involved in clashes with Portuguese security forces. The demonstrations resulted in hundreds of arrests by the Portuguese. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 8, 1973, MPLA communique on 17th anniversary of struggle)

### ANGOLA AND THE OIL 'CRISIS'

Angola exports 7.5 million tons of crude oil and refines another 1 million tons of oil each year, making it the fifth oil producer in Africa after Libya, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt. With the oil "crisis" in the west and the imposition of oil embargoes by the Mid-East oil producers on western European nations and the U.S., an increased amount of attention has been focussed on Angola. In Cabinda, the Portuguese Gulf Oil enclave near Zaire, production increased in 1973 from 140,000 barrels a day in 1972 to



Off-shore Drilling in Angola

160,000 barrels. A considerable amount of Cabinda's output goes to the U.S. and until recently Portugal depended almost totally on Persian Gulf crude. Now with Portugal facing a total boycott of Arab oil, Portugal has begun importing approximately one fifth of Angola's output. The Arab oil boycott results from the U.S. use of the Portuguese Azores Base for arms shipments to Israel during the October war. (See *Southern Africa*, January, 1974)

There have been rumors of vast new oil discoveries along the Cabinda coastline, but this has been vigorously denied by Gulf Oil. The London Sunday *Observer*, which first reported the big oil find off the coast of Cabinda, said the discovery was not made public because of political problems involving anti-colonialist forces in the area. "The total size of the field is still a closely guarded secret, but oil industry sources believe it may be very large," the *Observer* said.

The Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil, had been under attack by Dutch socialists, but when the Arab boycott began to affect the major oil refineries at Rotterdam, the Dutch Government began to soft-pedal its objections to dealing with Portuguese colonialism. Oil from Portuguese Cabinda has been moving to Rotterdam

despite official secrecy. The Dutch may have also relented about buying coffee from Angola. (*Africa Confidential*, London, Jan. 18, 1974; *Washington Star-News*, (U.S.), Nov. 26, 1973; *Boston Herald American*, Jan. 1, 1974)

### MOBUTU, LIBERATOR OF ANGOLA?

Current reports from French sources say that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko could be planning to help Holden Roberto and the FNLA to step up the war in the north of Angola and the Cabinda district. The intention could be to proclaim Angolan "independence," like the recent declaration in Guinea-Bissau. According to some reports, Pres. Mobutu might be toying with the idea of "liberating" Cabinda with the help of Congo-Brazzaville, although most observers see this as unlikely. In any case, the importance of oil-rich Cabinda would lead to almost certain imperialist intervention to quash any such plans. (*Africa Confidential*, London, Jan. 18, 1974)

### MPLA ATTENDS MOSCOW PEACE CONFERENCE

One hundred and twenty international organizations with over 1100 representatives of national movements attended the Moscow Peace Conference in October 1973. Delegates from the MPLA and its women's division, the OMA (Organization of Angolan Women) were present, the latter being part of the Women's International Democratic Federation's delegation. (*OMA Quarterly*, No. 4, 1973)

### MPLA MEDICAL PROGRAM EXPANDED

The MPLA Medical Service Assistance program (SAM) is expanding its services on all fronts, most recently in Cuando Cubango province of Angola. SAM, which is thoroughly integrated with the MPLA military forces, is increasing its number of dispensaries and is stepping up its educational programs in hygiene. For the most part, however, SAM is pre-occupied with the war-wounded, according to the MPLA report. (*Vitoria ou Morte*, MPLA, Aug.-Oct., 1973)



MPLA's Medical Program SAM

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ANGOLA?

Between 1974 and 1976 the Portuguese are undertaking a road-tarring program in Angola involving more than 2000 miles of Angola's internal road network. Two main roads slated for the program include the road from

Luanda to Novo Redondo which will link coastal areas with the capital city, and the other main road is from Luanda to eastern Texiera de Sousa allowing for greater access to the interior. This roadbuilding project has profound military and economic implications.

The Governor General of Angola has signed a contract to develop the port facilities of Cabinda in order to attract larger ships. The projet will cost 320,000 centos (\$12 million) and is being financed by the Portuguese. (*Marches Tropicaux*, France, Jan. 25, 1974; Feb. 1, 1974)

Two Boeing 727's have been acquired by the TAA (Air Transport of Angola) and recently 2 "Friendship 27's" were also purchased. The planes are used for internal service in Angola and for international flights to Windhoek, South Africa, and Sao Tome Island. (*Correia Portuguesa*, Canada, Dec. 15, 1973)

### PEKING STRENGTHENS TIES WITH FNLA

After an 18-day visit to Peking in December 1973, Holden Roberto, president of the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) has announced that the interest and understanding shown for the FNLA by Peking has "raised our spirits." Aid from China will help to intensify the struggle for the Angolan people said Roberto. The Chinese-Angolan accords were apparently formulated without any conditions.

On January 8, 1974 the Chinese Ambassador in Kinshasa gave a dinner in honor of Holden Roberto and he reaffirmed Peking's support of Angola's "liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism." (*Washington Post*, Jan. 9, 1974; *Le Monde*, Dec. 26, 1973).

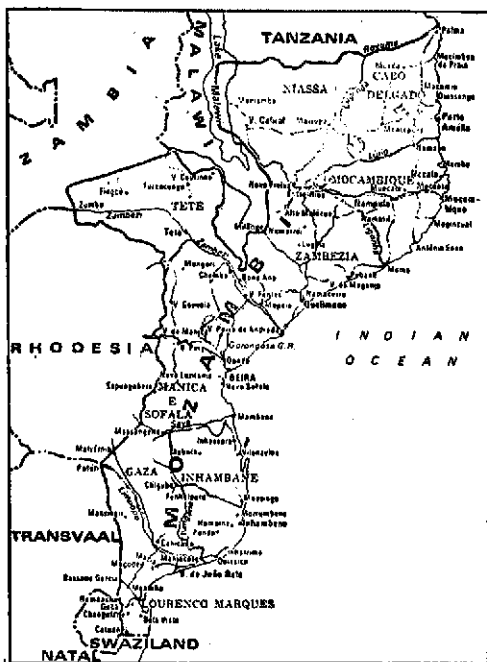
FNLA military reports indicate that 70 Portuguese soldiers were killed in operations carried out in northern Angola during the first half of December, 1973. The war communique issued from Dar es Salaam said that garrisons were attacked and ambushes laid against enemy convoys in the Kwilu-Futa, Portugalia, Ambrizete, Ucuu, Carmona and Lucala areas. A convoy of 12 trucks leaving Ucuu for Lucala was destroyed and three helicopters and two reconnaissance planes were shot down. In all these operations the FNLA lost nine freedom fighters. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 20, 1973)

## mozambique

### THE STATE OF THE WAR

#### Railway Attacks

There is a new dimension in Frelimo's war for liberation. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) has launched numerous attacks on the major railway lines running through Manica e Sofala province, an area several hundred kilometres from all earlier military operations. The new offensive was launched on New Year's eve 1974, when at least three trains were derailed. The Portuguese Government has officially confirmed the mining of two trains, a mixed passenger and goods train on the Beira to Salisbury line approximately 36 miles from the Zimbabwe border and a mail train just south of the Malawi border on the Beira-Malawi line. Good sources report that the breakdown train was also fired upon and derailed in the former incident, causing the death of a Portuguese army captain. (See *Southern Africa*, February,



1974) Since then, attacks have occurred on both lines. On the Beira to Salisbury railroad, a train was mined on January 16 claiming the life of one African railroad worker. Then on February 1, another train was mined near the Zimbabwe border. At this time two Portuguese railway men were killed. On the Beira to Malawi line, a train was mined on January 12 approximately 10 kilometres south of Inhaminga—150 kilometres from Beira. And on February 2, six rail tankers were derailed by explosives 80 miles north of Beira. As a result of these new attacks, over 30 thousand tons of rail cargo is being held up in Mozambican ports. These rail lines are vastly important, especially to landlocked Zimbabwe to which the Beira-Salisbury rail link is the main transportation route to the outside world. The Smith regime is beginning to relocate people away from the border towns and areas surrounding the railroad. Railroads, however, are becoming more important to everyone with the advent of the current fuel shortage. (*Australian Tribune*, Jan. 22-28, 1974; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 6, 1974; *Sunday News*, Tanzania, Jan. 6, 1974; *The Times*, U.K., Feb. 4, 1974; *The Times of Zambia*, Jan. 22, 1974; *Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan. 17, 1974)

#### On the Battlefield

The battles continue to rage in the contested areas of Mozambique. According to an official report released in December from FRELIMO headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, during the period from August to November, 70 enemy soldiers were killed, 6 Portuguese posts and concentration camps were attacked, and 12 vehicles were destroyed in the colony. Also, a number of sabotage operations and ambushes were launched in the zones of Mague, Macumbura, Nyamarongo, Manje, Mafigo, Chissita, Cabora Bassa, Chamanguere, Chizome, and Zobwe. Two planes (one a bomber) were downed in Niassa Province on September 25 and October 17. On December 11, a helicopter which had landed to unload troops, was machine-gunned and later destroyed. In that incident two G-3 automatic rifles, ammunition, military maps and

documents were captured. The Nhauri concentration camp in the Sabeta region was attacked on December 7, at which time seven Portuguese soldiers were taken prisoner, with three G-3 automatic rifles, 14 Mausers and 15 magazines of ammunition captured. One source also reports that due to attacks in September and October against the Portuguese posts of Chiafa, Luatize and an unnamed one the Maniamba-Mbandeze Road, the enemy post of Ngazebo has been abandoned.

In an action on November 11, Portuguese soldiers flown in by helicopter, raided a hospital at Mocojo in Cabo Delgado and murdered or wounded many of the patients. On the other side, FRELIMO attacks in the same province from October to December 19 numbered 11, according to official reports from the Dar es Salaam headquarters. They put 80 enemy soldiers out of action and 10 vehicles destroyed. The posts and concentration camps included in these actions were Palma, Mueda, Xixano, Namlude, Ntandora, N'gapa, Nkumango and Sagal. Furthermore, on October 13, five small boats were sunk on Lake Nangade killing ten Portuguese soldiers. (*Daily Nation*, Tanzania, Nov. 1, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 27, 1973, Dec. 12 and 29, 1973, and Jan. 1 and 5, 1974.

#### Portuguese React To Frelimo Activity

The Portuguese Government is showing definite signs that it is feeling the effects of the war for liberation in Mozambique, which has been stepped up in the past several months. The President of the Department of Medicine at the University of Lourenco-Marques announced in November that it soon may have to end lectures, due to a shortage of available doctors. This has come about as the direct result of the conscription of 30 doctors into the military who previously filled the needs of the institution. Furthermore, since the beginning of the new railway attacks, reinforcements have begun to flow into the area, hoping to safeguard the lines. General Francisco Costa Gomes former commander-in-chief of Angola, has been moved to Mozambique.

An intense nervousness is also being manifested by the white settler population. After the latest railway attack and the death of Senhora Maria Jose Dias in the Manica area, many white farmers sent a cable to Caetano and Da Silva Cunha, the Minister of Defense, complaining against the Portuguese army. They made it clear that they felt they were not receiving enough protection against the advances of FRELIMO. Then in Beira beginning on January 18, there were 3 days of rioting by thousands of white colonists proclaiming the same attitude. During the tense action, 8 demonstrators and 1 soldier were hurt in a volley of shots from Portuguese troops. (*Expresso*, Portugal, Nov. 24, 1973; *The Portuguese Times*, January 31, 1974; *Sunday Times of Zambia*, Jan. 20, 1974; *The Times of Zambia*, Jan. 21, 1974)

#### SOMALIA WELCOMES MACHEL

Samora Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front, paid a visit to Somalia late in December where he was received with honors usually accorded to visiting Heads of State. He remained there for four days, accompanied by four other members of FRELIMO. The event is extremely significant because it is the first time that the country has bestowed such an honor upon a liberation movement leader. Mr. Machel, who recently visited the Mozambican provinces of Tete and Cabo

Delgado on foot, was scheduled to talk with President Mohamed Siad Barre and other government leaders, and travel to various places in Somalia such as revolutionary youth centers and a crash agricultural program. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 28, 1973 and Jan. 1, 1974)

### TANZANIA AIDS FRELIMO

Tanzania is continuing to play an important role in the struggle against Portugal in Mozambique. The blood donor program which was begun in Dar-es-Salaam 6 weeks ago (See *Southern Africa*, March 1974) has recently saved the lives of ten Mozambicans. Blood plasma was flown from Dar-es-Salaam to a FRELIMO hospital in Mtwara, where the patients (four children, two women and four men) who had been wounded by Portuguese forces in Cabo Delgado province, were being treated.

Another type of support which FRELIMO is receiving from Tanzania is coming from a group of 4,974 Mozambican refugees at Lundo Settlement in the Mbinga District, Rumvuma Region. This group of people which has received aid from the United Nations Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the Lutheran World Federation and the Tanzanian government, are now a quite self-sufficient unit with the annual per capita income stated as Shs 1,000/- for the first three quarters of 1973. Most of the refugees consider the settlement a temporary home, hoping to be able to return to their homeland when liberation from the Portuguese is a reality. In support of that day, they have donated 24 bags of maize, cassava and paddy to the FRELIMO fighters in 1973.

A monetary contribution has also been presented to FRELIMO, of 5,823/20, by the Tanu Youth League and was collected from youths all over the country, as a climax to a "Liberation Week" at the University of Dar es Salaam. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 24, 1973 and Dec. 10, 1974; *Sunday Post*, Tanzania, Nov. 11, 1973)

### PORTUGUESE PSYCHOLOGICAL TACTICS

In an "act of justice" more than 400 political prisoners have been freed by the Portuguese in Mozambique during mid-December. Most of them had previously been involved with FRELIMO, but had not been included in a recent amnesty decree from Lisbon. Supposedly, they were at the point where they could comfortably "reenter" normal society.

Regardless of this "generous" action, one sees a view of the Cahaba prison from the inside, through the eyes of Fathers Martin Hernandez and Alfonso Valverde Leon. The priests had been held since 1971, on charges of subversion which meant aiding FRELIMO, and revealed that the rehabilitation techniques of the Portuguese in Mozambique included solitary confinement, torture and starvation. At least one suicide took place there during their two year term. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 27, 1973 and Dec. 10, 1973; *Sunday Nation*, Tanzania, Dec. 9, 1973)

### THE MASSACRES: THE STORY CONTINUES

Since the revelation of Portuguese massacres in Mozambique (See *Southern Africa*, March 1974), the Portuguese Government has come to realize that it can no longer deny such charges. The outcry against the actions has been very noticeable, resounding from as far away as Rome. A book has been published in London on the subject, written by Father Hastings who ultimately was responsible for carrying news of the massacres to the

notice of the world. The United Nations General Assembly has voted to begin an inquiry into the whole affair. The Portuguese authorities have begun to announce tales of massacres supposedly perpetrated on the Mozambican population by FRELIMO. The mouthpiece for these reports has, with repeated regularity, been the South African Press Association. Some of the towns and villages mentioned are Nhacambo, Marara and Chiridze in Tete province, plus Biaque and another unnamed village in the Ancuabe area in Cabo Delgado province. Most, if not all of the villages concerned were fortified villages akin to the strategic hamlets set up in Vietnam. A representative of the London based Committee For The Freedom of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, was sceptical of the reports. He stated that the village of Nhacambo seemed to be under FRELIMO control before the raid. The people had reportedly been hiding in underground shelters, during the attack. The only need which the spokesman saw for such places in such a habitat, was as "air raid shelters for the protection against Portuguese planes," not for protection from FRELIMO. (*The Guardian*, U.K., Jan. 7, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1973; *The Times*, London, Dec. 14, 1973; *The Times of Zambia*, Jan. 15, 1974; *The Daily Mail*, Zambia, Jan. 12, 1974)

### MOZAMBICAN JOURNALS FACE SUSPENSION

Three journals—*Voz de Mocambique*, *Tempo* and *Noticias* (the largest newspaper in Mozambique) face varying terms of suspension after being convicted of "infractions of the law." Appeals will be made after the convictions are confirmed. (*Financial Times*, U.K., November 30, 1973)

### ECONOMICS AND MOZAMBIQUE

The economy of Mozambique is moving in several directions. Foreign capital investment of new and greater proportions is becoming a reality. The worldwide paper shortage has led to the formation of a coalition of Portuguese, French and Canadian interests, which has been exploring the possibility of building a pulp processing plant in the colony. The group, headed by the Commercial Bank of Angola, expects investments to go as high as high as \$135 million. The plant may earn some \$35 million in foreign exchange, a rise of 15 per cent for Mozambique. The U.S. Government Export-Import Bank has announced a loan of \$1.8 million to enable Mozambique to buy American products needed to set up a tire factory in Lourenco-Marques. CODAUTO, the representative in Mozambique for British Leyland vehicles, has begun to assemble the bodies for Land Rovers locally. The Commercial and Industrial Cashew Company is planning to rebuild its plant in Nacala. A contract for that purpose has been signed with the Sturvant Engineering Company Ltd. of London, for \$1.75 million. Output is forecasted as 35,000 tons per year. Furthermore, a loan of 10 million escudos has been set up through the Banco Brasil and local banks, for the purchase of 2 shrimp prawners by a Mozambican fishing company. Construction of a thermal power unit substation has been proposed by the Mozambique Water and Power Authority, for Monapo. It will link the stations of Nampula and Nacala at a cost of 100 million escudos.

Oil is making noteworthy news in Mozambique. The American Hunt International Company has asked for an



extension of its oil prospection license and has resumed prospecting at the mouth of the Zambezi River. The New York Kilroy Company has applied to the colonial authorities for the rights to prospect along the coast of Mozambique. On another side, as part of the Arab oil embargo to Portugal, a tanker loaded with Saudi Arabian oil and bound for the Lourenco-Marques refinery, was kept from leaving its home port on the Persian Gulf. But the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company has apparently agreed to help meet Mozambique's oil needs. Gasoline and gas oil rationing, however, was announced in mid-November, following a series of talks between the oil companies and the government on the worldwide oil crisis. Those owning vehicles, outside of public transport, taxis, fire brigades, doctors, nurses and emergency vehicles, could only purchase 20 litres per vehicle a week. Gas stations were to be closed on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. Speed limits of 48 miles per hour were to be posted, also. *African Development*, U.K., Dec. 1973; *Expresso*, Portugal, Oct. 20, 1973; *Noticias*, Mozambique, Nov. 9, 1973; *Newsweek*, U.S., Nov. 26, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Nov. 11, 1973; *Provincia*, Angola, Nov. 9, 1973; *Star Weekly*, Johannesburg, Nov. 24, 1973, Dec. 1, 1973; radio reports—Lourenco-Marques, in Portuguese, at 1030 mt. Nov. 13, 1973.)

### MORE U.S. AIRPLANES FOR MOZAMBIQUE

Two U.S. firms have recently concluded multi-million dollar transactions involving the sale of "civilian" aircraft to Portuguese authorities in Mozambique.

Bell Aircraft Corporation of the U.S. concluded a deal worth nearly \$3 million to supply 12 helicopters to the Mozambique government. The planes are to be assembled in Mozambique and "distributed among civilian Government departments." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 9, 1974) The U.S. Government allows export of such equipment, despite an arms embargo against the Portuguese African war effort, because it argues that they have no military application. However, some experts charge that they are easily used to dispense herbicides—an important element of the anti-guerrilla campaign—and can be adapted for other military uses.

Another firm, the giant Boeing Corporation, announced several months ago the sale of a 737 jet airliner to D.E.T.A. Airlines of Mozambique. The plane was delivered on October 31, 1973, for an undisclosed price. A similar sale to Canada at the same time netted \$6.5 million for Boeing. (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 5, 1973) Jetliners previously supplied to Portuguese airlines have been used to transport troops from Europe to the African war arena.



## portugal

### GAS, PRICES RISE

The cost of living rose sharply in Portugal in 1973, as inflation grew at an alarming rate, estimated to be anywhere between 10 and 20 per cent.

Despite claims of neutrality in the Middle East issue, the fact that Portugal allowed the Azores to be used as a stopover in the recent airlift, prompted Arab oil-producing countries to suspend supplies to Portugal. As a result, the price of gasoline increased in February from \$1.45 to \$2.13 a gallon for premium and from \$1.30 to \$1.84 for regular, according to a UPI report. There was also an increase in the price of fuel oil and bottled gas. Newspapers now cost 2.50 escudos, as compared to 1.50 before.

In the first nine months of 1973, the cost of living rose 15%. The European average for the same period was 8 per cent. (*Novos Rumos*, Newark, Oct. 15, 1973; *Expresso*, Lisbon, Dec. 1, 1973; *Times*, London, Feb. 4, 1974)

### FRIENDS OR ENEMIES?

International support for the Portuguese Government is largely responsible for internal repression, and external aggression against the colonies.

Besides military and economic aid given by the U.S., in recent months other developments occurred that attest to this international support. Armored vehicles manufactured in Brazil for possible use in Africa have been shipped to Portugal. Military attaches from the U.S.

South Africa, Brazil, Spain, Switzerland, France, Venezuela, Britain, Italy, and W. Germany, have been received in Lisbon. The former S. A. military attache, Colonel Doon Janes Mortimer, was given a high decoration by the Portuguese Minister for National Defense, who incidentally is a former minister of the "overseas territories."

It was announced that Holiday Inn has reached agreement with Portuguese contractors and authorities for the construction of a hotel in Lisbon, not far from the site destined for the new Hilton Hotel. A commercial mission of six American industrial conglomerates was to arrive in Lisbon on February 27 to study improvement of Portuguese port facilities. Banco Pinto e Sotto Mayor that helps Portugal play its sub-imperialist role opened an office in San Francisco in early February.

Surprisingly, given the support of Scandinavia to the liberation movements, Fred Olsen Company, a Norwegian firm, applied for a license to dig for oil in an area off the coast of Quelimane, 200 miles north of Beira, Mozambique. In increasing numbers the Swedes are moving to Portugal, where they practically control the clothing industry. (*Expresso*, Lisbon, Dec. 1, 1973; *Correio Portugues*, Toronto, Dec. 15, 1973; *Portuguese Times*, Newark, Feb. 14, 1974)

### THE THREE MARIAS

Portuguese authorities now regret that they ever arrested and prosecuted the authors of the "New Portuguese Letters".

The book is a collection of letters, poems, and essays written as a protest against the situation of women in Portugal (see *Southern Africa*, Jan. 1974). World-wide reaction to the imprisonment of the authors and publisher of the book infuriated the Lisbon authorities, as it drew attention to the problems of the colonial wars and emigration. As was pointed out in a conference at Harvard University on February 21, one of the letters is written to a Portuguese deserter by his fiancée, and another is the lament of a young wife, forced to be a premature widow by her husband's emigration to France, where he seeks a better life. Both blame their unhappiness on the existing social conditions of the country.

The trial is expected to be over by April, but a harsh sentence is unlikely, as Portuguese authorities attempt to calm down a controversy they wish they had never stirred. (*Observer*, London, Feb. 10, 1974)

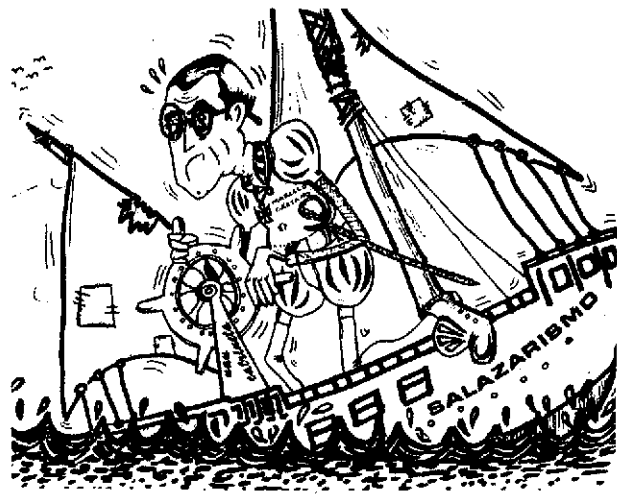
### SPINOLA PROMOTED

Last January, monocled General Antonio Sebastiao Ribeiro de Spinoia assumed the newly-created position of deputy chief of staff for all Portuguese armed forces. This may explain the persistent talk from Lisbon of an attempted coup d'etat against Prime Minister Caetano.

A potential Caetano-Spinoia alliance has alarmed right-wing military leaders in Portugal that a gradual pull-back from Africa may be expected. Just as the right-wing OAS sought to assassinate De Gaulle when he began moves to the independence of Algeria, so too may the equivalent sector in Portuguese politics seek to prevent an end to Portuguese colonialism.

Some "liberal" bankers and industrialists are said to be moving in support of Caetano-Spinoia who are rumored to have already held some preliminary exploratory talks with the Soviet Union interests.

One possibility for the Republic of Guinea-Bissau could be an in place cease-fire to halt further bloodshed,



An Uneasy Ship of State

then withdrawal from Portuguese positions and granting of independence. The Portuguese position in Mozambique is being bothered by a new FRELIMO offensive, while a lack of unity in Angola makes their position somewhat less weak. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 12, and Jan. 19, 1974)

### A BASE AND A PORT

There is little doubt that an agreement extending the use of the Lajes base by United States forces will soon be reached.

Portuguese Ambassador Joao Hall Themido declared that no abnormal differences had arisen in the negotiations so far. The old contract expired on February 3, but American presence is automatically prolonged by a six-month grace period. That should give Washington and Lisbon enough time to bargain for conditions that best suit both countries' military and political interests.

In Washington, Themido suggested that Nacala, a northern port city in Mozambique, "could be the most important harbor in Africa" and "large enough to accommodate the entire US Sixth Fleet". This veiled invitation seems to imply that Portugal would be more than happy to play host to an American fleet in one of its colonies, thus gaining even more direct support from the US.

Meanwhile, back in Portugal, conservative newspapers and a rightist member of the National Assembly from the Azores are pressuring the government not to renew the agreements under present conditions, which included financial assistance in the area of \$436 million. They are demanding a firmer commitment—read more military aid—on the part of the US for Portugal's colonial stand. (*Washington Post*, Nov. 14, 1973; *Washington Star-News*, Jan. 26, 1974; *CFM News and Notes*, Jan. 1974; *Portuguese Times*, Feb. 14, 1974)

### VISIT PROTESTED

During his visit to Britain in January, Veiga Simao, the Portuguese Minister of Education and a former colonialist, had often to exit via emergency doors and could only make sporadic appearances at undisclosed locations. He was repeatedly jeered by students protesting his presence in Britain.

In a moment of candor, Simao conceded that the

books used in elementary schools were "definitely bad" and would have to be replaced because it features a picture of a youth in uniform saluting in the fascist fashion. (*Times*, London, Jan. 25, 1974; *Portuguese Times*, Newark, Feb. 21, 1974)

# republic of guinea-bissau

## ON THE BATTLE FRONT

The war for national liberation continues with a great number of military engagements.

In the NORTH front attacks on the Bula road on December 3 resulted in the destruction of two armored cars and the death of several colonial soldiers. On the Cuntima-Jumbembem road a truck was attacked on December 9 with the death of 17 soldiers. On December 14 Mansoa was attacked and on December 16 Biambi was protected from assault by enemy soldiers. On December 27 an important ambush on the Mansoa-Mansaba road led to the destruction of six vehicles and 14 dead with many wounded.

Two Portuguese river vessels were sunk on the Farim river on January 5. There were no survivors. In the central north at Oio the Portuguese tried to infiltrate the Cubontche zone but were repulsed with 12 dead, and 2 60mm mortars and 7 G-3 automatic rifles left behind. The enemy ranks also suffered 12 dead on January 8 in a bombardment of the entrenched camp at S. Domingos.

In the SOUTH front activity was particularly intense, especially near the fortified bases of the enemy. The base at Gadamael continued to be under siege and installations and a howitzer were reported destroyed in attacks on December 12, 17, and 20. In the northern portion of the South Front in the S. Joao sector mines killed many enemy soldiers on December 13. Cubumbam and Tchuque on the right bank of the Cumbidja river were attacked on the ninth and fifteenth of December, respectively, and many dead and wounded were reported. Also on December 15 the fortified post of Cameconde, near Cacine on the left bank of the Cacine river was heavily attacked by PAIGC artillery and armed forces. From December 16-18 other engagements in the Cadique-Iemberem area led to 39 killed and two GMC trucks destroyed.



Abandoned Portuguese Equipment in Guinea-Bissau

In the course of the week between December 22-29 major combat was launched by a Portuguese column in the Cubucare sector in order to try to reoccupy certain zones. Enemy soldiers were put into the field with helicopters. The invasion was preceded by intense aerial bombardment. A large area including Catchamba, Socubol, Cafatache, Daresalam and the Cafine-Iemberem road was contested. The local militia and regular army put up fierce resistance and 74 enemy were left on the ground. In their retreat the Portuguese burned villages and crops.

On January 7, 1974 the Portuguese lost their 25th Fiat G-91 fighter jet. This NATO aircraft crashed in the Balana sector in the south on the Cumbidja river northwest of Bedanda. This makes the 35th aircraft downed by the PAIGC since March 1973.

In the EAST front attacks on the Buruntuma-Camadjababa road destroyed three Bulldozers and 2 GMC trucks. Twenty-two soldiers were killed in this ambush on December 19. Elsewhere in the East, at Dulombi, more than 10 enemy troops were killed on December 21 during attacks on that fortified base. Heavy artillery attacks on January 4, 1974, focused on Pitche, Canquelifa and Buruntuma. On the same day another GMC truck and 8 soldiers were wiped out on the Pitche-Canquelifa road and a Portuguese patrol was crushed only one kilometer from Pitche.

For the year 1973, the PAIGC has reported a minimum of well over 1,000 Portuguese deaths. This figure is derived from actual body counts and does not include the enemy dead who were removed from the battlefield or those killed, but not seen during artillery bombardments. (*PAIGC Communiques*, December 27, 1973; January 3, 1974; January 11, 1974; *Daily Nation*, Tanzania, Oct. 25, 1973; Nov. 14, 1973; January 1, 1974)

## REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND THE SOVIET UNION

From November 19-24, 1973 PAIGC President Luis Cabral, brother of the fallen Secretary General Amilcar Cabral, visited the Soviet Union. This was the first official visit of the head of state of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (RGB) outside of Africa. President Cabral was received by Soviet President Podgorny. The occasion marked two months since the declaration of state on September 24, 1973. Flags from RGB were displayed on the streets and at the airport. The Soviet Union stated that it will continue to offer assistance to the Guinean patriots.

Cabral said "we are constantly aware of the fraternal presence of the Soviet Union." At the present, relations between the two nations have reached the level of diplomatic mission exchange. (*The Washington Afro-American*, Dec. 29, 1973; *Temps Nouveaux*, USSR, Nov. 1973; *Soviet Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1973)

## RGB AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In earlier reports, *Southern Africa* indicated that the government of Australia might recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This report has now been officially denied by the Whitlam government although it did abstain on a vote to admit the new nation to the FAO. (See UN section) The Portuguese have denounced RGB's admission to FAO as "unfortunate and illegal." Similarly the Portuguese Foreign Ministry has said that the UN decision to bar any Africans from Portugal's UN delegation is "illegal and absurd." It is believed that RGB will seek UN admission in the coming General Assembly.

The United Nations' commitment to the Republic of

Guinea-Bissau has been expressed recently in the decision to print 60,000 math books for the use of the PAIGC. The UN will also publish a history text on Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, "the first to give an account of current events in this territory." The United Nations will continue its support of the Institute of Friendship refugee center in Conakry and give aid for training primary school teachers.

A representative for Secretary of State Kissinger responded to a resolution passed by the African Studies Association by saying that the U.S. will not recognize Guinea-B. Nevertheless speculation continues about the possibility of a "two-track policy" with recognition for Guinea-B and money to the Portuguese for the Azores bases. Basically there is no good solution for the US and it is likely that State Department officials are waiting until the Middle East situation becomes clarified. But with flagging US credibility in Africa it is not impossible that the US could abstain at the UN when the Republic of Guinea-Bissau seeks admission.

The Angola Comite of Holland has taken out five full-page newspaper ads calling on the Dutch Government to recognize RGB. In the Lower House in the Dutch Parliament a large majority of representatives have asked the government to establish a joint move for recognition by several Western European powers. Meanwhile, early in February a PAIGC delegation was received by the Dutch Foreign Minister and by the Minister for Foreign Aid and Development. In talks in the Hague it was indicated that the Dutch Ambassador to Liberia will maintain "regular contacts" with the PAIGC. This significant event is tantamount to diplomatic recognition by Holland, the first Western European nation to reach this point.

The Angola Comite and the Mondlane Foundation of Holland have sought to raise \$36,000 for the January 20, 1974 anniversary of the Cabral assassination.

The Finnish Social Democrats have also called on their government to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Representatives of Guinea-Conakry have been very active

in Europe in support of their neighboring nation's attempt for wider recognition.

In Africa RGB now participates in WAEC (the West African Economic Community) as a member state. (*Tribune*, Australia, Dec. 10, 1973; *UNESCO Courier*, Nov. 1973; *ASA Newsletter*, Jan. 1974; *The Sun*, Baltimore, Nov. 25, 1973; *Trouw*, Holland, Nov. 23, Dec. 6, 1973; *Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden, Nov. 30, 1973; *Le Monde*, Jan. 6, 1974; *Africa Research Bulletin*, Jan. 14, 1974; *24 Heures*, Switzerland, January 29, 1974; *Espresso*, Dec. 22, 1973; *Guardian*, UK, Feb. 8, 1974)

#### THE PORTUGUESE ATTEMPT DEVELOPMENT

The Military Governor of Guinea-Bissau, General Betencourt Rodrigues has recently announced the new budget to the 17-member legislative assembly in Bissau. The budget of 270 million escudos (\$10.4 million) for fiscal 1973-74 represents a significant decline over the 1972 budget figure of 358 million escudos (\$14.3 million). General Rodrigues announced this six year program in his capacity as Assembly Chairman.

In the Cape Verde islands development of the deep-water port facility on Praia continues with the budgeting of about 68 million escudos (\$2.6 million) for fiscal 1974. Bids will soon be accepted for these funds which represent the greatest financial commitment since 1969. Although there are five major ports in the islands there is only one other major facility which is at Mindelo on Sao Vicente. A temporary expansion of the Praia facility was completed in August 1973 at 4 million escudos (\$160,000). The expansion project is designed to increase the importance of Praia as a coal and petroleum bunkering station for ships to South America. The Portuguese understand that the Western support will increase as the importance and utility of the Cape Verdean ports also increases. (Luanda in Portuguese, Nov. 10, 1973, 1200 gm; *African Development*, London, Dec. 1973; U.N. Document A/AC.109/L.844)

## SPECIAL: Secret South African Visit Portends New US/SA Strategy

### MILITARY AND ECONOMIC GAINS SOUGHT

One stop on the South African Minister's recent visit to the U.S. was carefully kept from public view—a trip to the Pentagon. The Southern Africa Committee has learned that Dr. Cornelius Mulder, who spent two weeks in the United States in January, called on an important Defense Department official responsible for international security affairs.

Dr. Mulder, an influential politician often mentioned as the likely successor to Prime Minister Vorster, managed to see a number of highly-placed Americans. In Congress, he met Senate Minority leader Hugh Scott, House Majority leader Tip O'Neil, Senate Minority whip Robert Griffin, and was hosted at a reception by Rep. Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He also had contact with Sen. Harry Byrd (author of the Byrd Amendment which allowed importation of Rhodesian minerals), and two influential conservative Republicans—Senator John Tower of Texas and Governor Ronald Reagan of California.



Mulder (left) Next to Governor Reagan

The Mulder visit is part of South Africa's propaganda campaign against liberation struggles in the African sub-continent.

The growing effort to sell South Africa to the Western world is the work of the young, ambitious Eschel Rhoodie, a friend of Information Minister Connie Mulder. In September, 1972, Mulder engineered a Cabinet decision to appoint Rhoodie to a post in the information department.

In the last sixteen months Rhoodie has turned the department upside down with such innovations as a data transmission service to connect him instantaneously with all nineteen of the department's foreign offices. He has increased the number of foreign representatives by a third and begun a year-long course for training information officials.

The early part of the Minister's trip was cloaked in secrecy, apparently to forestall demonstrations or cancellations but after he met and talked with Vice-President Gerald Ford, South Africa lifted its official blanket of silence. Still, some visits were downplayed publicly. An information official traveling with Mulder told the Southern Africa Committee that the Minister had met with black opinion makers, including Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley, but Bradley's office indignantly denied it. Mulder also apparently met with other Blacks, as yet unnamed.

#### **Mulder meets with Pentagon official**

Most significant and most clandestine was Mulder's visit to the Defense Department. The Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ told the Southern Africa Committee of the visit, and SAC was able to learn from a Pentagon official that Mulder met with Vice Admiral Ray Peet on January 24th.

The Mulder/Peet talk may be a signal of U.S. policy trends in two areas: growing U.S.-South African co-operation in the Indian Ocean, and further violation of the U.S. arms embargo against South Africa.

Peet is Deputy Assistant Secretary in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (ISA)—sometimes referred to as the "Pentagon's State Department." As the post of Assistant Secretary is currently vacant, Peet is the ISA's senior official. Among the ISA's responsibilities are the development and coordination of Defense Department policies in international politico/military and foreign economic affairs. Indian Ocean strategy is planned and developed in the office.

The fact that the ambitious and influential South African Information Minister gained the ear of the senior ISA official takes on special significance in light of growing U.S. preoccupation with the Indian Ocean area. Historically, the Ocean had figured little in U.S. strategic planning—"near the bottom of the list of American priorities" according to a Defense Department spokesman in 1970.

#### **Indian Ocean strategy and South Africa**

But in March, 1973, the U.S. opened a communications center on the tiny British-controlled island of Diego Garcia in the middle of the Ocean. Seven months later the U.S. sent an aircraft carrier and five destroyers into the area from their stations in the Western Pacific. And in January of this year, the Pentagon announced plans for constructing a \$20 million air and naval support facility on Diego Garcia.

This heightened interest in Indian Ocean affairs will certainly bring South Africa more fully into the thinking of American strategists like Admiral Peet. A 1970 School of Naval Warfare research team—including 5 Navy officers and an Air Force Colonel—reached a conclusion which may soon closely resemble U.S. policy. Proposing a multinational naval presence in the area the group suggested that "the Navy of the Republic of South Africa should be invited to participate even though political differences are to be anticipated, (since) (t)his state possesses the only strong maritime force in Southern Africa."

Co-operation on some levels is already apparent. The South African Navy recently opened a \$21 million communications complex—buried in a mountain near Capetown and designed to withstand nuclear or bacteriological warfare. The facility is reportedly capable of accurately charting ship movements as far away as the Antarctic, Latin America, and the Bay of Bengal. An article in the authoritative *Armed Forces Journal International* says the silvermine facility "can flash these ship plottings to war rooms in the U.S. and U.K. in seconds," and that Western powers have received from South Africans useful data on the activities of Soviet and Chinese naval vessels in the Indian Ocean.

If the International Security Affairs staff endorse a policy of greater cooperation with the white regime, ISA will soon be in a strong position to influence policy-making in that direction. According to the *New York Times'* Pentagon reporter, Leslie Gelb, Defense Secretary Schlesinger plans "to restore the Office of International Security Affairs to the influential role it played in the 60's"—after a five-year period of reduced status.

Gelb reported on February 9 that Schlesinger has decided to fill the vacant post of Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs by appointing Paul Nitze, a hawkish Democrat who supports a strong Pentagon role in foreign policy formulation.

ISA is responsible for negotiating and monitoring agreements with foreign countries and international organizations on military facilities, operating rights, and related matters. It also occupies a central position in the national security apparatus, since it screens all formal incoming and outgoing Pentagon communications.

The U.S. approach to the Indian Ocean—which is ISA's concern—has brought sharp protests from several nations in the Indian Ocean region who want to avoid big-power confrontation in that area. It also goes against the expressed will of the United Nations General Assembly, which in 1971, and again in 1972 and 1973, overwhelmingly passed resolutions designating the Ocean a "zone of peace."

Besides coordinating defense strategy, Peet has another task. As head of the Defense Secretary Assistance Agency (DSAA), he coordinates military aid, including sales of military hardware and excess equipment. DSAA also serves as a liaison between U.S. industry and foreign buyers of military equipment and services.

Since 1963 the United States has declared itself in compliance with United Nations resolutions against arms sales to South Africa. However, several millions of dollars of communications equipment is exported to South Africa each year, and since 1970 the Nixon administration has allowed the aviation industry to sell South Africa aircraft it declared "non-military." Mulder's talk with Peet may result in increased shipments under the guise of

non-military equipment.

### South Africa's Publicity Drive

While South Africans exult over the public relations success of Mulder's U.S. visit, Information Secretary Rhoodie is not resting on his laurels. He plans more ad campaigns of the sort that are already stirring attention in Europe and North America with their unapologetic presentation of South Africa's case. An example of the publicity thrust from industry for which Rhoodie pleads came recently from the Trust Bank, which late last year published large advertisements in European and American newspapers.

Arguing against economic sanctions, the ads quote a government-appointed "Bantustan" chief, L.M. Mangope saying economic sanctions from abroad make him shudder. "We, the black people," he says, "will be the first to suffer." By coincidence or design, the advertisement ran in Washington, D.C. the same day the U.S. Senate voted on implementing U.N. sanctions against the rebel regime in Rhodesia.

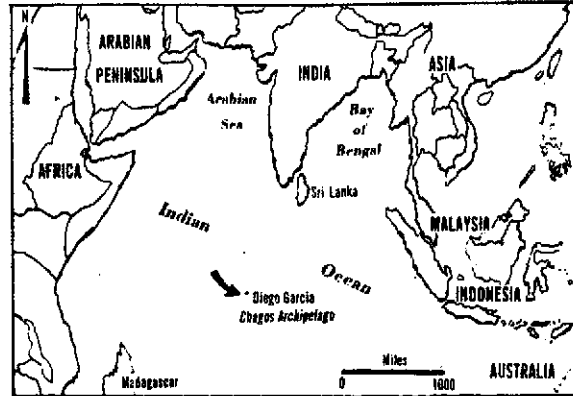
It is not surprising that the Trust Bank should be one of the first South African businesses to take up Rhoodie's challenge that private industry should "defend the free enterprise system." With its flashy American-style business techniques, the Bank has shaken up the conservative financial community that is a legacy of British colonialism in South Africa, and has proven that Afrikaner capitalism has come of age.

But the Trust Bank's ads were only the spearhead of a movement among South African supporters abroad. In the last months a mysterious British-based group called the Club of Ten has been increasingly active in pro-propaganda work. The Club was formed by one of the few members whose identity is known, retired Judge Gerald Sparrow.

After a 1972 visit to South Africa paid for by South African Airways, Sparrow wrote a book called "Not What I Expected," praising the country and its white government. He also intends to bring out a magazine, which he will edit, dealing with South African issues. Financial backers for the venture, says the judge, are "private supporters."

The Club of Ten, which now numbers far more than ten members, is said to be made up primarily of South African and European businessmen. Most dramatic of the Club's activities to date has been the publication in European and U.S. newspapers of full-page ads against

"terrorists and communists" operating in Southern Africa. Attempting to gain support at the United Nations, one ad asks how other countries would like their internal problems dealt with internationally. It mentions Algerians in France, American Indians in the U.S., and foreign workers in Holland, Germany, and Britain.



### Summary

More difficult to combat than public propaganda are the veiled diplomatic negotiations represented by Mulder's trip. The United States has already shown its disregard for U.N. resolutions proclaiming the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace," as well as for the protests of nations bordering the Ocean, from Tanzania to Bangladesh. It has also demonstrated its willingness to listen to the South African point of view.

Increased American presence and interest in the Indian Ocean will certainly please the South African government. Dr. Mulder, whose political standing must have been quite enhanced by the successes of his recent trip, will by now have shared at the highest level impressions of his talks with Ford, Peet and others.

Mulder and his Cabinet colleagues will be hoping for greater, if secret, sympathy and support from U.S. policy-makers. Whether "Connie" Mulder was successful will only become evident in time. (F.Y.I. *Southern Africa Committee*, Durham, Feb. 14, 1974)

# U.S. & southern africa

## EXIMBANK TO AID SALE OF TWELVE MORE GE LOCOMOTIVES TO ANGOLA

The Export-Import Bank announced on February 4 that it had authorized a direct loan of some \$2 million to the Benguela Railway in Lobito to finance 45 per cent of the U.S. costs of a sale of twelve General Electric

locomotives to Angola and guaranteed a loan in an equal amount from the Chase Manhattan Bank.

An almost identical transaction except for the number of locomotives was announced by Ex-Im on March 14, 1972. Counting the ten diesel locomotives financed two years ago, the Benguela railroad now has twenty-two diesels for its modernization program.

## SUGAR ACT HEARINGS GET UNDERWAY

The House Agriculture Committee commenced hearings on February 19 on the renewal of the Sugar Act. The bill as filed simply undertakes to continue the present act as written for an additional period of five years. The present quota of sugar for South Africa amounts to some 60,000 tons. It remains to be seen whether anti-apartheid forces will undertake a fight to strip the quota from the bill.

In 1971, Congressman Charles Diggs attempted to open the bill to an amendment from the floor so as to end South Africa's quota but the House upheld the "closed rule" imposed by the Rules Committee. The Rules Committee is more liberal now and closed rule is not so often invoked. Furthermore, some consumer groups may be ready for an attempt to defeat the protectionist aspects of the bill so as to bring down the cost of sugar, now almost double what it was a year ago on the world market.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE MAY CONSIDER SANCTIONS RESTORATION IN MARCH

Chairman Thomas Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has told constituents that the committee will probably take up H. R. 8005, the repeal of the Byrd Amendment, in the first or second week of March.

The Latrobe Steel Co. and the Washington Steel Co. have sent a delegation of steel workers to see Congressmen Morgan, Gaydos and Dent imploring them not to restore sanctions for fear that they will lose their jobs. The steel workers met later with Jack Sheehan, national United Steelworkers legislative director, who made a careful exposition of the national position upholding sanctions. Sheehan feels strongly that jobs are in fact not at stake in the booming industry and that sanctions are a necessity

for social justice. *American Metals Market*, a trade journal of the ferrous metal industry, has lambasted Sheehan and given prominent space to the local steelworkers' visit to Dent.

Morgan, who is from a conservative steel, glass and coal-mining district in the rural southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, is non-committal about the sanctions bill. Some proponents of the bill fear that unless progressive forces from Morgan's district can be heard from soon, or unless Secretary Kissinger can change his mind, Morgan's neutrality or silent opposition will mean that the bill will have a hard time winning the votes of Democratic moderates, who are essential to total success in the House, even though it has the votes to pass the Committee.

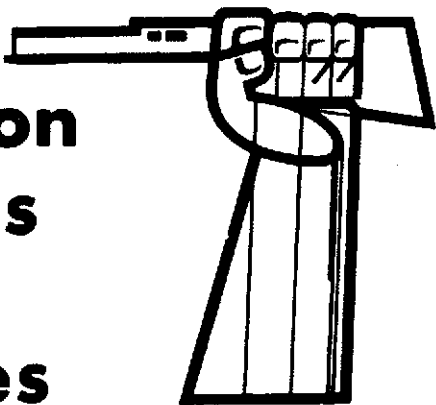
John Dent of the 21st Pennsylvania district, a powerful labor spokesman, is actively lobbying for the stainless steel industry's interests. Arguments being used tend to revolve around stale allegations that the Soviet Union is importing Rhodesian material and fears that the U. S. may lose access to ferrochrome or chrome essential to the making of stainless steel.

Congressman Diggs has called a briefing for black groups and media representatives for February 27 to kick off a national drive for sanctions restoration as a first priority on the black agenda for Africa. Many congressmen are reporting a remarkable upsurge of interest in the issue not only from black groups but from a variety of student and church groups across the country.

## SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE APPROVES DONALD EASUM TO BE NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the nomination of Donald B. Easum to be the new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, replacing David Newsom, on February 26. The Senate is expected to confirm the appointment in routine fashion before mid-March.

# action news and notes



## ECONOMIC LONGSHOREMEN BOYCOTT

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Executive Committee voted at a recent meeting in Miami to uphold United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia and to continue to refuse to have its members unload any

goods from that country. This resolution by the top decision making body of the union will be useful ammunition for local unions desiring to implement the boycott of Rhodesian goods.

In Philadelphia a group has formed called the Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian Imports (c/o S. White, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102). It has published a pamphlet on Rhodesia and sanctions, citing particularly the import of Rhodesian asbestos into the Philadelphia area and the dangers involved for workers handling the product (including various forms of cancer). On March 3, a big rally is planned at the National Maritime Union in Baltimore aimed at organizing the boycott of the Farrell Line ship, *African Sun* which is again carrying Rhodesian metals. Speakers at the rally will include representatives of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union); MAD (Militant Action Dockers), Congressman Parren Mitchell and Maryland Delegate Kenneth Webster, Phillip Berrigan, and William Booth of ACOA.

On February 15, 200 demonstrators from various California Bay Area groups picketed a Dutch ship carrying South African and Mozambican goods at 7:30 A.M. Called together by the Bay Area Committee on Southern Africa

and the Bay Area Liberation Support Movement, the demonstration resulted in 75 dock workers refusing to unload the cargo. The action supported an International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union resolution on stopping trade with South Africa, and was held in solidarity with the East Coast longshoremen who have refused to unload Rhodesian goods. (*Guardian*, New York, February 27, 1974)

Picketers chanted such slogans as "African Workers Fight for Unions, Don't Cross the Picket Line." Workers remained firm after their decision not to unload the ship "Kyoto" (carrying Mozambican cashews, South African asbestos, wax and fruit juices) even though it meant loss of a day's pay. A Bay Area LSM Newsletter explained: "The action was significant because unlike the East and Gulf Coast actions where Rhodesian chromium was boycotted, the longshoremen could not cite Federal law as a justification for their refusal to work. The company could have instituted proceedings against them individually but instead backed down from a confrontation and called off work on the ship for the day." (*Bay Area LSM Newsletter*, Issue No. 2, March, 1974)

#### **MASSACHUSETTS BLACK CAUCUS PRESENTS ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN BILLS**

The Black Caucus members of the Massachusetts State Legislature have presented a comprehensive package of bills calling for an end to the state's purchase of all goods from Southern Africa, the termination of the unloading of all cargo from those countries, and the prohibition of Massachusetts' firms (such as Gillette, Polaroid, Norton Co., Kendall) from receiving tax credits for taxes paid in Southern Africa. They also asked that Sharpeville Day, March 21, be commemorated as a State holiday with educational activities. The legislative ideas were offered by Representative Mel King during "Afro-American History Week" during which Governor Francis Sargent had expressed his concern for Afro-American interests. If the Massachusetts-South African tax credit bill passes it will cost the companies almost \$7 million. (*The Boston Globe*, Feb. 12, 1974)

#### **WASHINGTON, D.C. SCHOOL BOARD TO LOOK AT SOUTH AFRICAN CONTRACTS**

"This matter is perhaps 10 times as important as what we do about holidays . . .," stated one black member of the black majority school board of Washington, D.C. when discussing whether or not the schools should purchase supplies from U.S. firms doing business in South Africa. After investigation it was discovered that the board does \$700,000 worth of business with some 61 companies (including McGraw Hill, Johnson and Johnson, Ford) involved in South Africa. The issue arose after someone connected the proposal for a student identification system with the fact that Polaroid Corporation which would make the I.D. cards was the target of a nationwide boycott because of its role in South Africa. The D.C. School Superintendent was asked to look into the issue and she presented a memorandum which stated that it was virtually impossible to cut all links with all firms which were doing business in South Africa, but that what was important was that students became more aware and conscious of the economic and political workings in this country. The Board tabled her recommendation and sent the issue to a smaller committee which is pledged to

bring it up again. The 10 member board seems from the news report to be generally sympathetic toward the issue, some members recommending immediate action against the 61 firms, others calling for more selective boycotting of some of the more important companies, and one member suggesting that the community be involved in whatever decision is made including public boycotts. (*Washington Post*, Feb. 9, 1974)

### **POLITICAL**

#### **DEMONSTRATION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AMBASSADOR**

The Hoosiers for Peace group organized a demonstration during a luncheon held at the Indianapolis Hilton for the South African Ambassador to the U.S., J.S. Botha. The group also distributed a press release aimed at encouraging the press to question the diplomat about conditions in South Africa, U.S. relations, and corporate involvement. The protest was held on February 21 in Indianapolis, Indiana. (Hoosiers for Peace Press Release).

#### **MEMORIAL RITES FOR ZIMBABWEAN**

Ruwa Chiri, a well-known Zimbabwean Pan-Africanist, organizer and publicist (editor of the Chicago based *Afrika Must Unite*) died in New York City in February. His body was found on the city subway tracks at 110th Street. The circumstances surrounding his death are not known and there is little or no information coming from the police. A memorial service was held on February 17 at International House in New York. His body was flown back to Zimbabwe.

A similar Bira (Shona memorial service) was held in Chicago. For more information write: United Afrikans for One Motherland International, P.O. Box 17509, Chicago, Ill. 60617.

#### **PHILADELPHIA INTERNATIONAL HOUSE CANCELS PORTUGAL HONOR**

The International House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania had planned to honor Portugal at its annual ball, but after various pressures, Portugal will no longer be the lauded guest of honor.

#### **CONGRESSMAN DIGGS VISITS SYRACUSE**

House Africa Chairman and activist, Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Michigan) spoke at Syracuse University before a crowd of 200 on February 7. He gave the Fifth Annual Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lecture, and strongly condemned U.S. policy towards South Africa and Portugal, also calling for an end to tax credits for businesses functioning in Southern Africa and more U.S. aid to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The petition to support the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was circulated, and Diggs also appeared on TV with some local paper coverage. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Program of Eastern African Studies, the Syracuse Afro-American Students and the Committee on Southern African Liberation. The latter group had a campus literature table and has been active for some time. For information write, Committee on Southern African Liberation, c/o D. Ellis, 119 College Place Syracuse, New York 13210.

#### **MORE CABRAL COMMEMORATIONS**

Near the anniversary date of the assassination of



Amaral Cabral, there were a number of meetings (see *Southern Africa*, March, 1974). In addition to those previously reported, there was a meeting in Washington D.C. sponsored by the National Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with Africa where a Mozambican spoke. The crowd also heard Gollar Butcher from the House Subcommittee on Africa and a union representative from Drug and Hospital Workers. A Soviet-made film on Guinea-Bissau was shown as well. In Dayton, Ohio, two PAIGC spokesmen attended a meeting, and a local person spoke about Dayton area involvement in Southern African oppression including Wright-Patterson Air Force base training for Portuguese pilots and the South African involvement of National Cash Register company. (*Daily World*, Feb. 13, 1974).

## LIBERATION SUPPORT

### NEW LSM GROUP FORMED IN EAST

The Medical Aid for Southern Africa group (P.O. Box 365, Hopewell Junction, New York, 12533) sent two tons of clothing to MPLA (of Angola) in January, following an earlier shipment of medical supplies. In a letter, it announced that MASA will now function as the East Coast Unit of the Liberation Support Movement and tie in with LSM projects, such as a FRELIMO SURPLUS MATERIALS PROJECT' (*Letter from MASA*, Feb. 4, 1973).

### NEW YORK MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR ROBERT MWELI RESHA

South African freedom songs closed the March 1 memorial service held at New York's Church Center to the U.N. for Robert Mwelil Resha. Known as 'Robbie' to all his friends and comrades, Resha was a central leader in the liberation struggle of South Africa. With the altar draped in the black, gold, and green of his movement, the African National Congress, the service commemorated the spirit and life of Robbie with tributes, poetry and song. Speakers included Mr. Thami Mhlambiso, Representative to the U.N. and North America from the ANC; a representative of H.E. Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid; Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab, Representative to the U.N. and North

America for SWAPO (Namibia); Mr. Ahmed Oucif, First Secretary of the Algerian Mission to the U.N., H.E. Mr. Raleigh Edmond Jackson, Guyanese Ambassador and President of the U.N. Council for Namibia; Judge William Booth of ACOA, and Dr. Isaac Bivens of the United Methodist Church. The Scripture was read by Reverend Christopher Ntete; poetry by South African Dennis Brutus, and music by Veronic Britton and Frederick Douglas Kirkpatrick. The following bibliography of Robbie was enclosed with the service program:

Robbie was born in Bolotwe, Queenstown, South Africa. As a young man he worked in the mines in Johannesburg. A fine athlete, he later was sports editor for *New Age* and *The World*. A long time member of the African National Congress, he was, at the time of his death, a member of the National Executive Committee. Since 1969, Robbie was on the National Secretariat of the ANC External Mission, the Director UN-North American-European Affairs. Robbie may best be remembered for his role in leading the African resistance to the government's removal of Africans from Sofia Town. A defendant in the 1956-61 treason trials, his speech as National Deputy Volunteer in Chief (ANC) was used as a prime exhibit by the prosecution. Robbie is survived by his wife Maggie Resha who is General Secretary of the All Africa Women's Conference based in Algiers, Algeria, and two daughters.

Tribute was also paid to two recently slain South Africans, Abraham Tiro of the South African Student Organization and John Dube, Deputy Rep. of the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, both killed by letter packages.

Robbie died in London on December 7 after a short but severe illness and was laid to rest there. The Southern Africa Committee joins in the memorial to Robert Mwelil Resha, to all known and unknown fighters for freedom, and to all who know that we must continue in the struggle in knowledge that lives are never lost in futility but in fulfillment.

# the united nations



### SANCTIONS COMMITTEE REPORTS ON RHODESIA

The U.N. Sanctions Committee set up to oversee the implementation of the UN embargo against the illegal government in Rhodesia reported on its activities from December 16, 1972 to December 15, 1973. During this period the committee investigated 37 suspected violations and considered 42 new cases brought to its attention. The latter included 18 involving the importation of Rhodesian chrome, nickel and other materials into the US. Under the Byrd Amendment such imports into the US have been allowed on strategic grounds despite the sanctions

imposed by the UN in 1966. The Senate has recently taken action towards repealing the Byrd Amendment, an action welcomed by the committee in its report. (*Daily Mail*, Zambia, Jan. 16, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Jan. 16, 1974)

On another sanctions issue, a resolution calling on states to refuse passports and visas for travel to Rhodesia, was adopted in the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee by 93 votes to 4, with 20 countries abstaining. The United States cast its negative vote along with Britain, France and Portugal. By 100 votes to 3, with 13 abstentions, the committee adopted another resolution, again calling on Britain to convene a constitutional conference on Rhodesia, to expel South African forces from the country and bring about a repeal of discriminatory legislation and of restrictions on political activity. Britain, the US and Portugal voted negative. The first resolution included a condemnation of the US for importing chrome and of Britain for not removing the illegal Smith government. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Nov. 24, 1973)

The Sanctions Committee has continued to urge the extension of sanctions to cover South Africa and Portugal.

#### **GUINEA-BISSAU FULL MEMBER OF FAO**

Guinea-Bissau, since proclaiming its independence of Portugal last September, has widened its recognition in the United Nations. On Nov. 27, 1973 it was admitted as a full member of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). The vote was 66-59 with 20 abstentions. This move followed its recognition by the General Assembly early in November by a vote of 93-7 with 30 abstentions. The negative vote included the US, Portugal, Brazil, Spain, South Africa and Greece and Britain. Guinea-Bissau cannot be admitted to full membership in the UN unless supported by the US and Britain in the Security Council which must approve new member states. Since its proclamation of independence on Sept. 24, 70 states have accorded Guinea-Bissau diplomatic recognition. Britain maintains that Guinea-Bissau cannot be recognized since the nationalist movement controls two-thirds of the country but not the major towns and is, according to its criteria, not in effective control of the country. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the US has another reason for not wishing to offend Portugal at this time, since Portugal was the only NATO ally which allowed the US to refuel its planes at its bases during the airlift of arms to Israel. (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 7, 1973; *New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1973; *Tanzania Daily News*, Nov. 27, 1973)

An editorial in the *Gazette* called upon Canada to extend diplomatic recognition to Guinea-Bissau as have the USSR, China and India, and urged the Canadian Government to give consideration to claims of independence in Angola and Mozambique. Canada abstained on the General Assembly resolution of recognition. (*Gazette*, Canada, Nov. 8, 1973)

#### **UN DECLARES PORTUGAL DOES NOT REPRESENT ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE & GUINEA-BISSAU**

The General Assembly, in a vote on Dec. 17, 1973, declared that Portugal's UN delegation does not represent those areas of Africa which Portugal claims are an integral part of its territory. The vote was 94-14 with 21 abstentions. The move was prompted because 4 of the 22 members of Portugal's delegation are listed as coming from African territories and the Assembly's credentials committee had a week prior accepted the credentials in their entirety. An earlier move in October had challenged the credentials of the South African delegation. (*Washington Star-News*, Dec. 18, 1973; *Daily News*, Tanzania, Dec. 19, 1973)

#### **UN MISSION TO INVESTIGATE PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES**

The General Assembly nominated a five-nation team to investigate alleged atrocities against Africans in Mozambique, first reported by missionaries there. East Germany, Honduras, Ireland, Madagascar and Nepal were named by GA President Benites to visit Mozambique to establish the facts. The establishment of the mission on Dec. 13, 1973 followed a resolution introduced in the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee which was promptly rejected by the Portuguese permanent representative to the UN. (*Daily Nation*, Tanzania, Dec. 14, 1973, *Times*, U.K., Nov. 8, 1973)

#### **WALDHEIM AWAITS SOUTH AFRICA MOVE ON NAMIBIA**

Since the United Nations voted to end talks with South Africa on the future of Namibia (South West Africa) in a Security Council resolution of Dec. 11, 1973, Sec. Gen. Waldheim has said that if Pretoria produced new proposals they would be studied by the UN. At a press conference in New York, Dr. Waldheim replied to questions concerning his interpretation of the Security Council's resolution, saying that he had not made concrete proposals to the Council because the reaction he got from the South African Government "was not in line with the position of the Security Council."

In the meantime, following the discontinuation of the talks, Mr. Sean McBride, who was appointed by the General Assembly as the UN Commissioner for Namibia, took up his post early in January, 1974. Mr. McBride is a former Foreign Minister of Ireland and succeeds Mr. Agha Abdul Hamid, who was Commissioner since 1969, and who was criticized for not being energetic enough. Mr. McBride is chairman of Amnesty International and is reported to have been the choice of the Africa members of the UN. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 22, 1973, Jan. 19, 1973, & Feb. 2, 1974)

#### **APARTHEID COMMITTEE ELECTS OFFICERS FOR 1974**

The Special Committee on Apartheid elected at its Jan. 14, 1973 meeting H.E. Mr. Eustace E. Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) and H.E. Mr. Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukraine) as the Committee's two vice-chairmen, and Mr. Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines) as Rapporteur. H.E. Mr. Edwin O. Ogbu (Nigeria) was re-elected as the Committee's Chairman on January 5.

The Committee was informed that 250 African workers had been arrested by the South African police following a mass walk-out of more than 10,000 African employees, protesting starvation wages, at 11 cotton mills in Durban. The Lusaka-based South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Peace Council (WPC) have all urged protest by UN organs. The strikes ended with wage increases ranging from 40 cents to one rand per week and a promise of further increases. The arrested strikers' fines were paid by the Garment Workers' Union.

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## **books**

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James Barber, *South Africa's Foreign Policy 1945-1970*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973. \$14.50.

Donald Denoon, *A Grand Illusion. The Failure of Imperial Policy in the Transvaal Colony During the Period of Reconstruction 1900-1905*. London: Longman, 1973. \$10.50.

Of the two books reviewed here, the Barber volume is undoubtedly of greater interest to most readers of *Southern Africa*, as it deals with the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy since World War II. Like foreign policies anywhere, South Africa's has been designed to

promote what its rulers regard as the national interest. What distinguishes South Africa from most other countries, then, is not the purpose of its foreign policy, but the fact that white supremacy and its benefits are the national overriding interests which must be protected and promoted. This fact has presented some problems for South Africa in dealing with a post-war world that has practically unanimously (if in some cases hypocritically) denounced the racist doctrine of white supremacy. Yet as Barber's book illustrates, the diplomatic pressure which South Africa has experienced has not been accompanied by serious economic pressure; hence the apparent anomaly of a country whose internal policies are universally abhorred enjoying one of the fastest economic growth rates in the world.

Using a chronological format, Barber examines South Africa's foreign policy in four stages. In Part I, he deals with the period 1945-8 and Smuts' fantasy of a world in which South Africa will join with its "natural" white allies in the West to play a leading role. Part II covers the years 1948-59, with the Nationalist Party coming to power to confront the realities of U.N. hostility, African independence movements, and internal pressures from the "non-white" majority requiring increasingly harsh legislation at home. It was during this period that virulent anti-communism was introduced as an extremely successful opiate of the white Southern African mentality.

In Part III, the years 1960-6 are called "Years of Crisis and Doubt," brought on by Sharpeville and the international response to it, withdrawal from the Commonwealth, and the achievement of independence and majority rule everywhere in Africa save the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and South Africa. Yet in Part IV, we find that these years gave way to what Barber calls the "Years of Confidence" (1966-70), during which South Africa not only managed to transform itself into a formidable military power with an expanded and increasingly diversified economy, but also managed to solidify both its Bantustan policy and its relations with Portuguese and Rhodesian white minority rulers to form a determined Southern African bloc against change.

Needless to say, both South Africa's military might and economic strength have been advanced without sacrificing the central goal of white supremacy, and despite the fact that South African diplomacy (including an "outward policy" toward and calls for "dialogue" with Black Africa and attempts to acquire formal military alliances with western powers) has been largely unsuccessful. They have been advanced primarily as a result of continuing trade with (and hence support from) older economic partners such as the U.S. and Britain, and increasingly successful trade relations with Japan, West Germany, Italy and France. Indeed, France's role in enabling South Africa to develop a strong and self-sufficient military capacity and in providing a cover for "back-door" trade and investment in certain Black African countries does not receive sufficient attention in Barber's study.

Donald Denoon directs our attention to the death throes of British imperialism in the Transvaal during the period of "reconstruction," 1900-05. The abundance of detail he provides on the role, viewpoint (and more often than not, personality) of virtually every white individual, organization and interest group involved in the severing of the imperial connection reflects an enormous research effort. But it may prove tedious going for all but the most

dedicated students of imperial collapse; and one cannot help but wonder at all the energy expended on a description of five years of British miscalculations in the Transvaal.

Apart from citing that African withdrawal of labor was responsible for the short-lived policy of importing Chinese workers, Denoon's book shares with Barber's a general neglect of attitudes, opinion, actions and reactions of South Africa's "non-white" majority. Both authors acknowledge this deficiency in their respective introductions, but both would undoubtedly argue (as Barber specifically does) that their books are about policy-making and power, and therefore about whites. When Barber does refer to African pressure, he relies far too uncritically upon Richard Gibson's *African Liberation Movements* to leave one comfortable with his analysis of current and potential pressures on South Africa from that source.

While Barber's book warrants attention and consideration, it should be pointed out that a recent article by Colin and Margaret Legum, "South Africa in the Contemporary World" (*Issue*, Vol. III, No. 3) covers much the same territory in a briefer yet more probing and analytical way, and of course, provides more recent information.

A final point derived from the Denoon study should be mentioned. One of the most persistent half-truths about South African history has always been the belief that the important "race" conflict until 1948 was not between whites and "non-whites" but between Boer and Briton. As Denoon's book shows, the Afrikaners and British living in the Transvaal at the turn of the century shared a common general conception of the place Africans and other "non-whites" in the economy and society that had far more bearing on South Africa's future than the differences dividing them. To fail to understand this is to fail to understand South African politics today.

## resources

**NO PINTCHA** (Forward), the Battle Cry of the PAIGC is the title of the new publication of the PAIGC COMMITTEE USA I.P.O. Box M-365, New Bedford, Mass. 02744. The first issue (Volume I - January, 1974) contains information on the Committee, which sees itself relating to the large Cape Verdean community in the U.S. as well as to other groups; PAIGC communiques; political news on the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, an article on the economy of the Cape Verde Islands up to 1962, and one on the composition and nature of the Cape Verdean community here. The aim of NO PINTCHA is to publish news on the struggle as well as to present "historical and cultural" aspects of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde. A number of articles are in Portuguese as well as in English.

**SUN OF OUR FREEDOM - The Independence of Guinea-Bissau.** The Chicago Area Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (CCLAMG) has produced a comprehensive collation of materials on Guinea-Bissau in a new 36-page booklet. It contains history, information on the PAIGC including political developments, education, health, legal, economic systems, poetry and proverbs; quotes from militants of PAIGC; the status of women; maps and photos. Only 40 cents each (25 cents each for more than 10) (Add 20 cents for postage for single copy, 10% for bulk orders; 20% if outside the U.S.A.). Write to CCLAMG, 2546 N. Halsted, Chicago, Illinois, 60614.

**D and A NEWS:** The International Defense and Aid for Southern Africa has just begun to send out a newsletter (no. 1, 14 pgs) containing articles on many aspects of Southern Africa, as well as specifically oriented material for the work of IDAFSA (such as a partial list of prisoners in South Africa; prisoner education in Zimbabwe). IDAFSA distributes the London produced Information Manual on Southern Africa as well as the very good booklets produced by the Fund. For more information on its work and publications, write: IDAFSA, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Rm. 201, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.



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