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Flags of Victory Raised at the U. N.

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Front cover:

Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, ex-Portuguese colonies became the newest members of the United Nations on September 16th, 1975. The flags of the three independent nations were raised the following day. (Credit United Nations)

our collective

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OVERVIEW

ANGOLA

Today the blood of the Angolan people splashes across the tidy pages of my work; mocking reports of "a victory over colonialism"; demanding attention to the reality that the men and women who fought against the Portuguese colonialists for their freedom are fighting again: each other.

It is important to understand that this is not just a war of personalities, of old "tribal" jealousies or arrogant leaders. It is a war about the shape of the future. But it is also a war being fought because of the past.

If history tried its criminals, it would place Portuguese Colonialism in the dock, accused of deliberately preventing the development of national unity, of intentionally preventing the development of any national political process through which even profound political differences might be resolved. And alongside the Colonial Government would stand other accused, the foreign forces, totally alien to the people of Angola, who are deeply involved in maintaining the military capabilities of their chosen agents, not on behalf of the people, but in order to secure for themselves the benefits of the oil, the iron, the timber, the coffee, all the wealth of this potentially rich young country.

The struggle now going on in Angola is a very terrible one, its form imposed by forces other than the contestants. The price of any eventual victory will be tragically high. But the issues being contested are the most fundamental that can face a people—the nature and structure of their future society.

External supporters of the struggle for African freedom have frequently managed to avoid any serious examination of this question. The issue has been comfortably posed in simple terms—you are either for the liberation movements (often several exist in one country) or for the white supremacists and colonialists. This model is too simple. It ignores the possibility that a country may win its "freedom" (political independence) while the mass of the people remain poor and powerless. It is not enough to change the color of the exploiter, allowing the exploitation to thrive and grow. Preventing this requires both a clear view of a radically restructured society and a commitment to mobilizing the people in such a way that they will accept nothing less than fundamental change.

In the colonial situation this means that even while still fighting a war it is the responsibility of the liberation movement to develop structures which will ensure maximum popular participation and control in the political and economic life of the country. The people must be mobilized to "take back their history" into their own hands.

Using these principles as a reference point the "chaos" in Angola begins to assume more coherent patterns.

There are very fundamental differences between the contending liberation movements on these questions. The

FNLA has always openly avowed its support for a capitalist form of social organization. Its conservative political/economic program would establish a black ruled state in which foreign economic interests would be encouraged to exploit Angola's people and resources, so long as a small black elite was allowed a share in the spoils. FNLA is neither a popular nor a revolutionary movement. It has relied on a narrow ethnic base, has never attempted to generate a strong people's participation in the decision making of the movement or the liberated territory it controlled.

The nature and role of UNITA remains somewhat obscure. It has variously been accused of non-existence, of being a tool of the Portuguese, of the South Africans, of the Portuguese settlers. Its stated ideological positions are cautious—and sometimes ambivalent. Thus it apparently believes that foreign investment should be encouraged and protected, but there is also reference to some kind of socialism. It has always claimed independence from all outside forces—stressing its nature as a self-reliant Angolan movement. Its role in the coming months may reveal its true nature.

In contrast MPLA has a program that aims very deliberately at ending all exploitation, making Angola's resources work for the benefit of the Angolan people. It has organized in the towns and the countryside, setting out to break through ethnic barriers, seeking to mobilize the population to take active control of their lives. One of the most telling "accusations" against MPLA made in recent months is that the movement sought to arm the civilian population of Luanda when the people were under increasing attack (first from reactionary whites, later reportedly from FNLA troops). MPLA's slogan in recent months has been *Poder Popular*—people's power—and it has not sought to protect its own political control by making the population dependent on it for protection. It seems an index of MPLA's political ability to reach the people that it has greatly strengthened its position in the last few months—despite the fact that it was badly torn apart little more than a year ago by a split headed by Daniel Chipenda.

The intense differences between the movements has inevitably had international consequences. MPLA's radical stance has made it a movement feared both by Western oil and other financial interests and by the Governments that represent these interests. FNLA and UNITA are seen as far more reasonable and malleable—thus the aim of Western interests is to destroy MPLA. The strategy devised to implement that aim creates a further complexity in the situation as the Western powers, particularly the United States, seek to operate through an African agent—in this case Zaire.

Continued on page 35

President Samora Machel~

Message to the Nation~ June 25, 1975

Mozambican women,
Mozambican men,
Workers, peasants and fighters,
Compatriots,

At 00 hours today the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, a State born of our people's struggle for freedom and independence, which spanned many centuries, a State in which the power of the alliance of working

We wish first and foremost to recall the memory of our heroes—those who fell in the struggle against the foreign invaders, those who perished in the slaughter-houses of Portuguese colonialism, through deportation, the slave trade and forced labour, those who were condemned by colonial-fascism to slow death, family disintegration, spiritual disintegration and depersonalization.

We wish to honour the memory of all the glorious fighters who have fallen in the course of the armed



Posters of Machel, Mondlane and dos Santos were seen all over the country

Janet Hooper

people is being established in our country for the first time.

The profound historical significance of this moment in the life of our people cannot escape any Mozambican, or any citizen of any other country, whether free or still oppressed, and neither can the international dimension of this fact in relation to the community of nations, of which we are now becoming a full and integral part.

But it is not so much about the present we are living through, although exalting, which can be seen in our faces, houses and streets, and which exists even more profoundly in our consciousness, it is not so much about the present of happiness, enthusiasm and euphoria that we are going to speak. We wish, above all, to recall the past, so as to foresee and plan the future better.

struggle for national liberation and, before all else and to remind everyone, we cite the imperishable memory of the First President and founder of FRELIMO, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. Their blood laid the foundations for the new Mozambican nation which asserted itself in the course of those ten years in our zones of struggle and clandestine work, which already took on material form in our liberated areas and which, before it was transformed into the national reality we are celebrating today, was already alive in our consciousness.

We ask every Mozambican from the Rovuma to the Maputo to join us in observing a minute of silence in their memory.

The People's Republic of Mozambique is being born as the fruit of the Mozambican people's unshakable will and



Frelimo militant

iron determination to win back their freedom and enjoy the supreme and inalienable right of all peoples—national independence.

At this time when we are winning this independence, we must reflect on the reality which prevailed in the previous situation, under colonial domination.

Why did colonialism kill? Why did it seize, deport and massacre people? Why were our mothers and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilisation negated and Mozambicans arrested for the slightest show of patriotism? Why was alcoholism made widespread and prostitution and the disintegration of the family encouraged, why were whole families removed from their home regions and forced to abandon their ancestral lands, their cattle, houses and few possessions? Why did all this happen in many places in our country, as the unmistakable mark of the Portuguese colonialists? Could this have been a sadistic manifestation of the evil genius of a people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

Let us not deceive ourselves about this. Portuguese colonialism was the form that imperialist domination assumed in our country, the exploitation of a whole people and their resources by foreign capitalism, both Portuguese and from other countries. It was in order to exploit our labour power that thousands of Mozambicans were enslaved and taken to the coasts of the Americas, where the few who arrived were sold as commodities. It was in order to exploit our sweat that the colonial administrators seized us and sent us into forced labour.

It was in order to appropriate the wealth of our soil that entire regions were set aside for certain crops, such as cotton, which the people were forced to grow, dying of hunger while the big concessionary companies accumulated fabulous profits.

It was in order to plunder our sub-soil that the big multinationals were granted concessions and mining

facilities which they used to drain our country of its wealth.

It was in order to keep our people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried—in some cases, particularly in the urban areas, with some success—to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave mentality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our people. A man thus spiritually destroyed became a living corpse, a docile receptacle for the colonisers' way of thinking, acting and living.

Religion, and especially the Catholic church, was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, operating to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and to smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

This is the heritage we are reaping today—a heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only know that the expression "from the Rovuma to the Maputo" is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation.

It is an evil and noxious tree which we have not as yet uprooted; it is a leech which is still sucking our blood, weakening our resistance, ability and intelligence. It is a python which is today dressing itself in the skin of the very same victim that it would have swallowed yesterday.

We are not going to trace here the history of the events which comprised the national liberation process. But a recapitulation of the political process involved, albeit brief, is needed in order to understand the birth today of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the line that guides it. In Mozambican history, the fight for a revolutionary political line has been intrinsically bound up with the fight for unity.

The struggle to defend and consolidate unity, the driving force of the liberation struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralise and eliminate the manoeuvres of the enemy and of national opportunist and reactionary forces. This same struggle required a constant fight to clarify and develop FRELIMO's political line, especially as regards the definition of who is the enemy and the nature, methods and objectives of the fight.

The successive dividing lines that were drawn within FRELIMO and the process of cleansing our ranks which was established, revealed in practice that the contradictions which arose reflected antagonistic interests: the contradiction between the working masses and a handful of new exploiters who wanted to take the place of the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

By defining racism, regionalism and tribalism as enemies to be fought against, just like colonialism, the Central Committee meeting held in October 1966 deprived the opportunists of the chief instruments of their anti-people manoeuvres. The same meeting put an end to the contradiction between political militants and military militants by defining the struggle as a politico-military one, thus enabling the most vanguard elements to free themselves from the control of marginal reactionary elements. The historic decision to entrust the People's

Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique with creating the Women's Detachment—women's instrument in their historic struggle for emancipation—broadened the base of mass support for our struggle and brought new decisive forces into the revolutionary fight.

These ideological victories permitted the energetic advance of the liberation struggle, the destruction of substantial enemy forces, the expansion of the armed struggle to Tete Province, the transformation of the semi-liberated areas into areas free from the system of exploitation, and the beginning of the process of creating operational bases.

Our politico-military victories made Portuguese colonialism more desperate and increased the isolation of the strata among us with exploitative designs; the contradictions between the masses and the exploitative system became more marked.

In a desperate attempt to stave off their inevitable defeat, the colonialist and reactionary forces joined forces and launched an offensive of manoeuvres and crimes against the correct political line headed by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in the liberated areas of Niassa Province in June 1968, exposed and neutralised the reactionary forces and their ideas, enabling the broad masses to consolidate their unity behind FRELIMO's just and clear objectives.

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist force, started a process of physical liquidation of revolutionary militants and leaders, a process which culminated in the barbarous assassination of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane on 3 February 1969.

The assassination of the leader who embodied the national and revolutionary dimension of our struggle and the actual implementation of FRELIMO's line and practice, was aimed at decapitating the Mozambican revolution and enabling representatives of the new exploiting classes, faithful servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and resolutely supported by the fighters of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the most dedicated sons of the people, the revolutionary vanguard of FRELIMO, stood up against the forces of opportunism and reaction during the historic Central Committee meetings held in April 1969 and May 1970, and exposed, isolated, neutralised and eliminated the erroneous political line of the new exploiters.

This victory, which led to the cleansing of our ranks and the deepening of FRELIMO's ideology, created the conditions for transforming the armed struggle into a people's war—for going over from a liberation struggle to the higher phase of a people's democratic revolution.

The ideological transformations which took place led to new vigorous developments of the liberation struggle: the strategic defeat of colonialism in the period from May to September 1970 during Operation Gordian Knot, the smashing of the blockade of the Zambezi by the expansion of the armed struggle south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manica e Sofala front in June 1972.

It was from the time of the failure of the big Gordian Knot enemy operation that the irreversible deep-rooted and profoundly popular nature of the revolutionary

process led by FRELIMO was affirmed; and it was from that time that squalid Portuguese colonialism began to disintegrate at a giddy pace.

Neither the transformation of the colonial war into a colonial-imperialist war through the internationalisation of the aggression against our people nor the intensification of the plunder of our resources by the monopolies nor the most criminal strategic plans like the Cabora Bassa one, could halt the progress of our struggle and its progressive expansion to the whole country.

The attempt to intimidate our people by widespread terrorism including the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiryamu, Joao, Chowole and Inhaminga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had some room to manoeuvre thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some NATO members, began to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad, as evidenced by the expulsion of Portugal from one international organisation after another.

The watchword issued by the Central Committee in December 1972, calling for a general offensive on all fronts, hastened the collapse of the enemy.

It is obvious that the general offensive was not confined simply to stepping up large-scale battles; neither could it have been successful, even militarily, had it been reduced to this. In issuing the watchword calling for a general offensive on all fronts, the 1972 Central Committee meeting affirmed, first and foremost, the need for ideological unity. In other words, actual practice had shown that unity based solely on the negation of the enemy and the demand for independence was not enough. It was essential that unity be achieved on the basis of a clear and unequivocal definition of the principles of what we want to do, how we want to do it, and what kind of society we want to build. Above all, the principles asserted must be lived by and developed through consistent practice.

The struggle therefore spread. New fronts were opened and the ideological line gained strength in the liberated areas, establishing a clear dividing line in relation to the enemy-controlled zone. Sound foundations were laid for



School in the liberated zones



Mozambique Independence celebrations: Women formed a major contingent

people's democratic power.

It was a correct line combined with correct practice which led to the destruction and defeat of Portuguese colonialism and opened up a new phase in the Mozambican people's independence process which started with the Lusaka Agreement and has just ended with the proclamation of the complete national independence of Mozambique.

The task of the Transitional Government was essentially that of consolidating the power so arduously won, especially by extending popular mobilisation and making it more far-reaching. We congratulate the Transitional Government on the success it has achieved in its task of creating the conditions for people's power to be really extended and consolidated in our country.

We need to be conscious of the great difficulties we shall have to face as a result of the colonial situation, difficulties which the Transitional Government could obviously only partially tackle.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice throughout the country the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle.

To say "The People's Republic" is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say "The People's Republic" means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say "The People's Republic" is to say Independence; to say "The People's Republic" is to say Revolution.

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, or something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is always the organised form through which a class takes power in order to fulfill its interests. The colonial State, an instrument of domination and

exploitation by a foreign bourgeoisie and imperialism, has already been partially destroyed by the struggle. It must be replaced by a people's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique—a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

In the phase of people's democracy in which we are now engaged as a phase of the Mozambican revolutionary process, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of our State.

We need to be aware that the apparatus we are now inheriting is, in its nature, composition and methods, a profoundly retrograde and reactionary structure which has to be completely revolutionised in order to put it at the service of the masses.

There are other realities we also need to be profoundly conscious of: the fact that we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power, that the administrative, educational, health, judicial and other machinery still escapes our control.

The new battle is only beginning.

Against us are the exploiters and privileged, who will try to impede the revolutionary process with all the means available to them. We must not be deceived by the fact that the enemy are not now resorting to direct action. They are only weakened, not dead. Their methods will therefore become more treacherous. Right now we already have proof of this action, of infiltration, attempts to distort our line, and political opportunism.

Our unity will be an essential target of enemy activity. Unity, we continue to repeat, is not just a feeling or something abstract. Vital unity is sustained by a clear concept of our objectives and a precise understanding of the tasks for each moment. Unity implies drawing an ever firmer dividing line between us and the enemy, regardless of the form it may take.

Through practice and action, FRELIMO has asserted

itself as the leading force in our society. For this very reason, the masses, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, have quite spontaneously identified fully with FRELIMO's principles and fight.

This tremendous popular support has great potential and, properly channelled and structured, is an inexhaustible source of progress, an invincible force. At a time when the tasks of consolidating the power of the Worker-peasant alliance are a priority and when the new phase of national reconstruction is starting, it is essential that FRELIMO be in a position, structurally and organisationally, to carry through the giant tasks that face it.

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role—their leading role in the process of transformation which is now underway. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres, seasoned and forged in the process of the people's liberation war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party School.

The task of mobilising and organising the masses in the tough class struggle which is approaching can be entrusted only to cadres who have been put to the test of practice. One of the main bastions of the system of exploitation of man is the complex machinery we are inheriting as regards administration, the judiciary, education, health, etc. Irrespective of the goodwill and honesty of the people who make it up, this machinery was designed solely to serve foreign domination and the system of exploitation of man. It is therefore imperative for us to create a new mentality and way of seeing things, and to instill new methods in the people who are in it. This work can be done only if authentic representatives of the working class are in a position to assume their leading role.

These factors explain the reasons, some of the main reasons, why FRELIMO must remain the leading force in State structures.

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, forged and seasoned in the tough fight against imperialist aggression, and also in the fight against both old and new exploiters. The historical circumstances experienced by our people over the past decade have made the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique a great and inexhaustible store of revolutionary cadres.

By consistently raising the political and class consciousness of the fighters, consistently raising their educational, cultural and technical level, strengthening discipline in our ranks, reinforcing the feeling of internationalist duty, and educating the new generation of fighters in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, we shall always have a decisive force to defend our country, the revolution and the interests of the masses of the people.

Now as in the past, the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique are also a combat detachment on the fundamental fronts of production, study and mass mobilisation. Active participation on these fronts will enable the fighters to internalise the political dimension which will prepare them always to perform their patriotic and revolutionary duty.

The participation of women in the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, within the framework of the Women's Detachment, is imperative to the battle for women's emancipation, in the fight to involve women in the revolutionary process. Women's participation in work traditionally regarded as exclusively for men is a profoundly mobilising factor, a decisive factor establishing sexual equality in practice.

The Organisation of Mozambique Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with the crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfil its task, OMM must rely firmly and surely on the Women's Detachment, which is in practice the Mozambican women's vanguard.

The battle for women's emancipation is also an ideological battle against ideas which stem from decadent traditions and against the multiple attempts by the bourgeoisie to destroy the value of the fight for freedom. The fight is also an organisational one, a fight to establish structures among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women.

A greater number of democratic mass organisations, particularly for the youth and workers, need to come into being, after prior work by FRELIMO to organise those sectors.

At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic as a result of unbridled plunder, the financial conditions imposed by colonialism, and the disorganised exploitation of our resources.

It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector, of economic, social, educational, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government. Some of the problems to which priority will be given are solving the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, abandoned children, prostitution and banditry.

We must therefore draw up a national development policy, a correct policy on the use of our resources. The definition of the policy to be pursued is essential to establishing the priorities to be observed.

In establishing our development strategy, we must attach special value to what is our chief strength, the mobilisation and organisation of the people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular in the liberated areas. One need only compare the successes in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which people lived in the enemy concentration camps, despite the large sums spent on them. Therefore, we shall not seek solutions to our problems in miraculous palliatives coming from abroad, but we shall rely above all on our own forces, getting down to work with determination, with a clear programme and clear objectives.

In this respect, we should like to emphasise the role we continue to ascribe to the liberated areas—to FRELIMO's bases and centres—as a store and source of inspiration for our revolution. It is in these areas that the population has already been living long years outside colonial society and its vices, defects and corrosive influence. It is in our



Samora Machel (right) and Marcelino dos Santos embrace after the swearing in ceremony

centres and bases that a new and truly free generation is growing up, one which really deserves the name of *continuadores* (the continuers of the revolution).

Clearly, the creation of a new life in the liberated areas was not an accident or the automatic result of breaking off contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisation efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, the attempts of traditional forms to reassert themselves and the new exploiters.

It is important to remember this experience in order to prepare for the new phase. Anyone who visits our whole country can note the big problem posed by the scattered population and the difficulty, under these circumstances, for the Government to organise social, educational and health services—in short, to improve the living conditions of those people. Hence, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in the rural areas will be structured in revolutionary societies—in the final analysis in communal villages—where that people will have an organised life, developing production collectively on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge.

In accordance with available means and observing the principle of self-reliance, the State will give all possible help to these communal societies, encouraging them to multiply and develop.

In this way, it will be possible to provide the people with services which will really enable them to enjoy

greater well-being, especially by raising their technical and educational level, and by supplying water, electricity, health care and cultural activities.

Organising communal societies must be a priority in our activity, for both the Party and the State. The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain the best living and production conditions.

The fulfillment of the giant tasks that lie ahead of us implies achieving and consolidating unity. To be united it is not enough to state that one is united. It is necessary to wage a constant battle against all divisive situations and tendencies.

It is necessary to understand the grandeur, diversity and complexity of our country. Knowing this complexity means studying the divisiveness in our country and the ways of combating it.

Among the various vestiges of colonialism, Mozambican society has, to a very high degree, one typical form of discrimination: that based on racial and social groups.

In Mozambique we see parallel societies, taking the form of clubs set up on the basis of race or of greater or lesser pigmentation, which have no contact with one another apart from compulsory and superficial contact during their working hours.

This kind of social organisation abounds with superiority and inferiority complexes, with repressions and tensions.

It is imperative that all these specific peculiarities give way to real unity between Mozambicans. We do not know tribes, regions, races or religious beliefs. We know only Mozambicans who are equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution.

We should like also to devote our attention to the problem of the relations which have traditionally existed between the church, religion and the State and to state very clearly what these relations will be in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In the society we want to build, the State will be based on the principle that all change in society is a result of man's struggle on the fronts of class struggle, the fight for production and scientific innovation, and also the contradictions in natural phenomena.

Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial state transformed the faith of believers into a tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens, which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religion or appear to have links with any of them.

It is up to the State to ensure the freely exercised right of every citizen to believe or not believe. The mobilisation of the masses is a right and a duty won solely by FRELIMO through arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The close association of religious institutions with the machinery of aggression and domination over our people certainly does not give them any right today to demand something against which they have always fought.

The Mozambican people did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with peoples and countries sharing the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress.

This assertion does not stem just from feelings of gratitude although, on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades in arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African land, that the People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues.

Through our Comrade and friend President Mohamed Siad Barre, current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), we wish to hail all of independent Africa, our great and reliable rear base. Through his illustrious person as a revolutionary African militant, we wish to hail the political, moral, diplomatic, and material support of African countries and their consistent solidarity with our struggle.

We wish, in particular, to hail our brothers from Tanzania and Zambia who, without any hesitation or calculation of any kind, accepted all the risks involved in their position as our strategic base, who suffered loss of life and property because they did not compromise with colonialism and made their contribution to Africa's liberation.

Because our struggle was, correctly, a part of the common anti-imperialist fight, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up their posts in the great world front of revolutionary forces. It is within this context of political and ideological solidarity that we see our relations with the socialist countries as a liberated area of mankind where a new society is being built free from the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop and intensify its militant relations with all socialist countries, seeking to benefit from their experience, in so far as it is the common patrimony of mankind in the political, ideological, organisational, economic, social and cultural spheres.

In hailing the progressive forces we cannot fail to salute the Portuguese people, who were always our allies in the fight against colonial-fascism and with whom we have bonds of fraternal solidarity forged through our mutual help and reciprocal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of our two peoples.

Because our struggle never took on a racial character and because our people were always able to distinguish between the colonial-fascist regime and the Portuguese people, today we can extend a friendly hand to the Portuguese people, without any complexes of any kind. Thus we can build a future of friendship together, without hatred or feelings of revenge, on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the personality of each people.

Within the context of its policy of peace, friendship and solidarity with all peoples, the People's Republic of Mozambique wishes to establish healthy relations of international cooperation with all States, irrespective of their social regime, on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, absolute equality and mutual benefit.

These principles, however, do not permit us to sacrifice the true interests of the people to transitory historical circumstances. As has always been the case in the past, we shall not coexist with fascism and colonialism.

We attach great importance to developing our relations with the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are also victims of imperialist plunder and aggression.

We also consider it important to develop our relations with the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Holland, which were able to understand the justness of the anti-colonial cause.

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation, both international organisations which have served the cause of national liberation and peace.

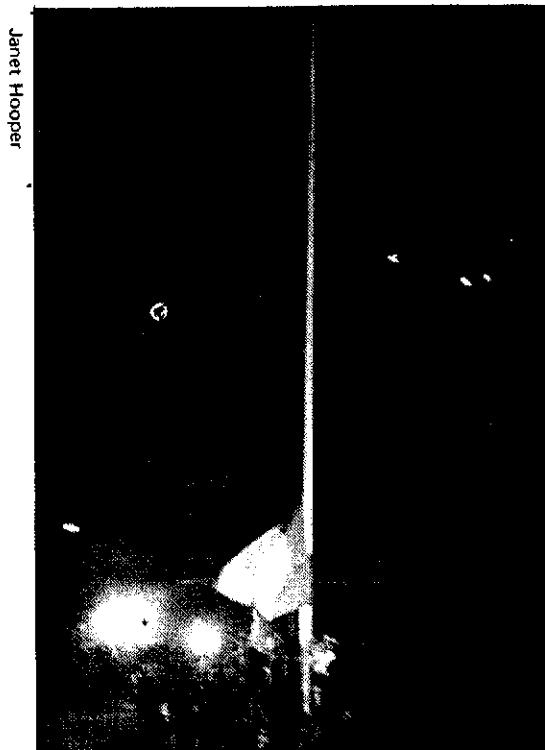
Mozambican women, Mozambican men.

We have won our independence by dint of our struggle, our sacrifices and our revolutionary consciousness.

We marched, struggled and died to defend the interests of the masses of the working people.

In starting out on this new path, illuminated by the heroism of our martyrs and guided by FRELIMO's political line, we have one unshakable certainty:

WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH! LONG LIVE FRELIMO! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...



Janet Hooper

The Portuguese flag being lowered for the last time

Interview With Luis Cabral

President, REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

The following interview was done by Richard Lobban, member of the Southern Africa Committee in Bissau on July 8, 1975. The interview was in French and was translated by Richard into English.

Southern Africa: What are the central themes of your development progress? What are your short-range and long-range goals?

Cabral: First of all, you know that the country is just coming out of a war. There is almost nothing, there is even a deficiency of roads. Now we must reconstruct the bridges that we have destroyed and we have to virtually reconstruct the majority of the roads. Food production was also not sufficient for the population of the country. Indeed, we only had half the food we needed. In sum, we are starting an independent country without any of the necessary infrastructure; even international communications were actually broken. The port of Bissau does not have the necessary facilities for receiving more than one boat at a time. Due to all of this, we have become realists. We must start with what we have in order to guarantee a stable life and start building a base for national progress.

For the moment we are giving the greatest priority to agriculture. There are no immediate or great changes in agriculture, but we will lead our people to work on the land as they know how. All of the people's farmlands must be returned to production. As you know, the Portuguese military authorities displaced thousands of people [from the countryside] to the urban areas where there was no land to work. All of these people were former farmers.

In this first stage we are going to aid these people to return to their villages and fields to resume cultivation. We realise that many countries might hesitate to face such a task. When we came to Bissau we put out an appeal to the refugees in other countries to come back home. We have already received some 40 thousand of these refugees. Now these people are situated in their former villages and in provisional barracks. Work began as soon as possible to prepare the earth for agriculture. Thus, this is our principle point, we want our people to produce their maximum this year. Our objective has been set to reach the pre-war level of production. This is very ambitious, certainly quite difficult, but it is not impossible. We have had aid from certain international organizations as well as from some African countries; aid such as bilateral assistance for seeds of which we have distributed a fair amount to peasants, refugees, and those displaced by the war. They are all making an effort after hearing our appeal; the people have shown a great will to produce.

So you could say that our present program is to produce what is necessary for food consumption, but parallel with this we envisage the creation of some small industrial units. These may absorb workers leaving a colonial war infrastructure, who are not presently employed now that the war is at its end. Of course it is good that some of these "war workers" are unemployed [laugh], but generally unemployment is not too bad. In

any case there are a certain number of people, more or less qualified, who we intend to employ in those industrial units that we will be building.

We shall also have the cooperation of certain Portuguese enterprises which were here before. These will be encouraged to make new investments and set up "mixed companies". They will help develop local agricultural products in a transformed fashion and will thereby help increase export earnings. But of course the creation of infrastructures is also important. For example we must have good roads as a basic factor for development. It is impossible to accomplish any big things without good roads linking the country. The port is in even worse condition. Before, only Portuguese boats came here; now we want to organize the systematic arrival and departure of ships so that one can leave as another arrives. Presently the situation is quite complicated and often boats must lie at anchor offshore. So this is also a priority problem.

We also need to install an administrative infrastructure. As you know, we liberated the greater portion of the country during the war and we have to extend and install the same structure in the urban areas as existed in the liberated zones. As a result we have a new sort of bureaucratic situation: there is much more paper work. But after all, we are only in our first year.

Southern Africa: But is it going well enough?

Cabral: Oh yes, it is going steadily, but we have only been at it for nine or ten months, that is hardly anytime at all. When we came to Bissau there was not even enough rice for the people. There were long lines. There was little fish or meat, but now things are normalized.

Southern Africa: Yes, I've been to shops and restaurants and have seen for myself. There is no problem.

Cabral: It's going step by step. We are not in a rush, after all it took fourteen years to liberate the country. [laugh]

Southern Africa: Perhaps you might comment a bit more about the principal difficulties you have to face and have had in the urban areas.

Cabral: We have had? Oh no! We always have some kind of problems! [laugh] For us in Bissau we have had to guarantee food to those people who lived in the urban zones occupied by the Portuguese forces, where as the former liberated zones had quite good production and enough food. But the food problem will be over after the first harvest. After that we hope that things will be much better.

There is also the problem of 'mental decolonization' of the urban areas. Eleven years of war have marked a whole generation living in the urban milieu. Honor has eroded to become opportunism and lying, vengeance, and reprisals. Those people who fled from our liberated zones were capable of killing a child on its mother's back and then amusing themselves at her suffering and expense, or cutting off someone's head and taking a photo. And so such people have marked the whole society. Now the people have confidence in the Party and the State and

they have regained dignity.

This is a principal problem for us but there are still others. For example, you were in the liberated zones during the war and saw the very great effort we made in health and education during that epoch. We have had remarkable successes in this domain and we sent our militants to become teachers and nurses. But now we have to have a budget to pay all of these people. In a sense these cultural and social activities created during the war are above the real economic capacity of the country. Nevertheless we must maintain and develop these activities. We are counting on international solidarity for some support and the present international context is quite favorable. There are many organizations which are quite interested in cultural development and the improvement of living conditions. In short we think that our efforts and international aid will enable us to maintain and develop those activities which were realized during the epoch of the national liberation struggle. These are some of the things we face and they will be resolved step by step.

Southern Africa: Well it is very clear that you have made a great start. This brings me to my next question. What type of foreign aid do you need most?

Cabral: Almost any type of aid. We still have the food deficiency which cannot be solved before the end of the year. Consequently there must be some aid to guarantee food during the period of cultivation. We need aid to improve the roads, for reconstructing bridges, and for building homes. As you have seen in the former liberated zones in the countryside there is hardly a solid house. We must build schools, rural dispensaries, we must reconstruct what we have destroyed during the war and build new things. But these items all require money, so a basic type of aid must be financial! [*Laugh.*]

After the 25th April [1974] when the negotiations (for the transfer of power) were almost complete, a French journalist told me that now we will loose our greatest freedom, the freedom not to have any money! [*Laugh.*] Yes, you see, in the conditions of the forest there was no need to have any money. The teacher in a school got his uniform and food, and medical treatment if he was sick. Ah yes, it was a very simple life. Now we must make a budget to pay each of the teachers at the end of the month!

Southern Africa: And now that Cape Verde is independent is there some sort of timetable for total unity? What form will it take? Something like Tanzania with Zanzibar?

Cabral: For us the program of unity can be said to have been forged during the struggle. It was done right here by Guineans and Cape Verdeans for the liberation of Cape Verde. Then after the independence of Guinea, after the 25th of April, possibilities emerged to do political work on Cape Verde. Some of our cadres left from Guinea-Bissau to begin their work over there. These were led by Pedro Pires, whom you know, Silvino da Luz and others who were able to develop the Party's activities in the islands. Unity was established on the basis of the single Party, the PAIGC, but also on the freely expressed will of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Here in Guinea-Bissau there is the National Assembly which has already adopted the constitution. In Cape Verde there is also a Popular National Assembly, the same structure as we have here. We are now in the process of constructing a commission for the Council of Unity in each National Assembly. The Council will be charged with the task of

forming the constitution of unity, which will, in turn, be submitted to the two Assemblies.

Southern Africa: Do you have a date for this?

Cabral: No, not yet, no date has been fixed. We must deal with the Cape Verdean constitution first, but it will be soon. We only want to do things which are sure and realistic, but maybe before the end of this year. The date depends upon the evolution of the situation and the resolution of certain problems here and there. Once each State has improved its situation, we shall then join the two Assemblies. The Party will supervise the activities of the two States. Secretary-General Aristides Pereira is the head of the Party and the President of Cape Verde. I am his Deputy and the President of the State Council in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Chico Mendes is Prime Minister here and Pedro Pires is Prime Minister there. Thus the cadres here and there are unified because they are of the same Party. However, the organic unity of the two States will come later once the Council of Unity has prepared the provisional constitution. So you see there is already ideological unity realized through the Party with its base in both States.

Southern Africa: In travelling in Guinea-Bissau I saw that there is ethnic diversity. With respect to this, I recall the theme of 'unity with diversity'. How is this being accomplished?

Cabral: Yes, there are many different ethnic groups here in Guinea-Bissau, but we are building a national consciousness. We also want to preserve the culture and personality of each ethnic group for the national interest of the country. This will be done on the basis of ethnic autonomy, but it is necessary that each individual will reach the level of national consciousness as we have done during that national liberation struggle. The idea of the nation came into being from the very first day of the struggle and we reached a very high level of consciousness in the former liberated zones. Now we must extend this to the rest of the country. At the same time we must guard certain particular aspects of each group to enrich the cultural wealth of the nation.

Southern Africa: In what ways have the roles for women been changed during the national liberation struggle?

Cabral: Well, you know, women have participated in the war on the basis of equality with men. The women have produced many heroines and they are in high leadership positions in the Party. But the emancipation of women is a long struggle. Nevertheless it is necessary to continue the struggle to help women attain national consciousness. The Party has defined complete equality between men and women and the State gives each the same opportunities. But women must struggle to benefit from these possibilities. The achievement of equality must be considered a conquest for women in the general framework of our national liberation struggle which is not yet finished and is continuing. As you know, by participating in the struggle, women have already played a great role and have won the respect and admiration of all of our people. And the position of the State is strengthened by granting these opportunities to the women.

Southern Africa: Finally, you might describe something of the process and problems of urbanization such as prostitution, drugs, housing, and migration.

Cabral: First of all, these problems are not very grave. It

is a fact that when we arrived in Bissau we found some drug traffic which had been introduced, in particular, by the Portuguese military. This has been destroyed—but not yet completely. In the National Assembly we have decided that the crime of drug traffic must be punished very severely, even including the death penalty. We are an underdeveloped and poor country—we can not allow such bad things because this will only retard our development. We must be very vigilant because some of the youth in the

city are attracted to these terrible things which have come from the developed countries which also face such problems. But these bad things became popular after those countries were already developed, but in the poor countries we can not tolerate such things as a brake to our development. They must be controlled. This is what we are trying to do here with the severe punishment for those who make their living by selling drugs and by corrupting and destroying our youth.

south africa

POLITICS

CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR BANTUSTANS

South Africa has decided to establish special "rehabilitation centers" for African offenders against the pass laws. The purpose, according to the Government, is "the reception, treatment and training of persons committed thereto." Only Africans will be committed, who need only to have been arrested (but not necessarily charged or convicted) for having failed to comply with influx regulations (the pass laws) or have been declared "idle and undesirable." The centers will be in homelands. According to the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Michiel Botha, Africans sent there need assistance. "They are not sent there as punishment." His deputy, Mr Punt Janson, described the institutions as "preventing derelicts, idlers and loafers from becoming hardened criminals. Our purpose is to rehabilitate them into being useful members of society."

From press reports, it seems that the main purpose of these detention centers is to 'reorientate' pass offenders by making them aware of "the necessity of the laws of South Africa", in other words, of forcing people to accept apartheid society as the best for the sake of South Africa.

The Government also claimed that the centers were being erected with the knowledge and consent of the bantustan leaders. However, bantustan chief Buthelezi of Kwazulu said he could not recall being informed about the scheme, while Mr. Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of Quaqua, said it was "the first time I have learnt of it." For Buthelezi, it was unfair of the Government "to dump these people in our laps when they are born and bred in the cities." (*Times*, London, July 23, 1975; *Financial Times*, London, July 28, 1975).

STUDENT ORGANISATION (SASO) TRIALS

Dozens of SASO members and supporters are at present in jails in South Africa, and the trial of nine members under the Terrorism Act, is still going on. SASO recently held its seventh general council conference "to prove that SASO is indestructible." In a press-statement SASO claimed that it was far from destroyed. "The fact that we have managed to organise a general council proves it. SASO is here to stay, as long as there is no change in the affairs of this country. This general council will continue to declare the same stand SASO has been propagating all these years."

In the continuing trial of SASO members, Mr Zitulele Cindi, 24, former secretary general of the Black Peoples' Convention told the Pretoria Supreme Court, "we are

charged with plotting violent revolution, but it is we who have been the victims of institutionalised violence." All nine refused to plead guilty of "being called a terrorist." Defence counsel, Mr Roy Allaway, informed the court that the accused believed that the charges against them were part of a strategy to eliminate independent Black opinion in South Africa. They believe that they are victims of a strategy to eliminate all Black opinion except that expressed by the homeland leaders and other Black supporters of the Government.

According to the Defence Counsel, the nine attempted to bring about social change by non-revolutionary means, with the eventual aim of presenting to the authorities a unified Black thought, in an attempt to bring about peaceful change. (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 5, Aug. 14, 1975)



Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the African National Congress

The O.A.U. Declares South Africa Illegal

At the OAU Ministerial Council meeting held in Kampala in July, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) began a campaign to have South Africa's status as an 'independent sovereign state' declared illegal within the world community. In this way, PAC hopes to expel South Africa from the United Nations and advance the concept of rule by the black majority in South Africa.

P.A.C. presented a 19-page document, "The P.A.C. Case Against the Racial South Africa's Legal International Status of Independent Sovereign State," which was accepted by the O.A.U. as an O.A.U. document. By February next year the 46 member states and foreign ministers would have worked out a final draft.

The document attacks the formation of the Union of South Africa by Britain in 1910 and maintains that South Africa is still legally a colony ruled by South African whites. "We hold that the granting of unilateral so-called independence to a white foreign minority by British colonialism was not an act of decolonization but rather a transfusion of colonial authority which took the form of dominion status for the white government."

We define white domination as a South African brand of colonialism. This is because at the present moment colonial authority over the African people is exercised by the white racist government which inherited British colonialism in 1910."

In its conclusion, the document argues that "the discriminatory laws in the statute book (of South Africa) are highly irregular in terms of international law and are therefore not binding either upon the oppressed people or the international community."

According to Gerald L'Ange, United Nations correspondent for the Johannesburg *Star*, "the plan unveiled at Kampala for challenging South Africa's international status may have serious implications for the Republic. For one thing, it could be used to justify armed force rather than peaceful pressure to change the political system, in the view of knowledgeable observers at the United Nations. It might also hamper South Africa's efforts to promote detente and dialogue with Black Africa."

At the United Nations, according to l'Ange, "analysts have gone more deeply into it. They see it as aimed at undermining the international recognition of South Africa as a legal—even if repressive—state. In this way it would erode the concept widely held in the UN and elsewhere that political change must be encouraged through the existing structure." (*New York Times*, July 28, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, August 2, 1975)

MATANZIMA INTOXICATED WITH INDEPENDENCE FOR TRANSKEI

Chief Matanzima is going ahead 'full-steam' with plans for an independent Transkei, even though it will be an independence controlled by Pretoria. The Chief now plans to have a form of Government based on that of South Africa (apartheid included? that's not clear for the moment. . . .). However, they also will have an army now, in agreement with South Africa. "Prior to independence, the South African army will accept full responsibility for all the running costs of the new military unit, and upon independence, all equipment will be handed over to the Transkei." On a note of complete docility, the Chief continued: "It is the final expression by the Republic of its complete confidence in our loyalty, our stability and in its own policy of separate development." What it really is, is South Africa's complete confidence that this unit

(which it really is) will be at the service of Chief Matanzima for continuing his repressive policies within the Transkei, a territory that has been under emergency rule since the early sixties.

Chief Matanzima is also becoming the chief spokesperson for South Africa's policy of separate development. In a BBC interview, the Chief was emphatic that "the Constitution of an independent Transkei will be drafted by the Transkeian people unlike other colonial states who were granted independence and their constitutions were drafted by the colonial power."

Other announcements made by the Transkeian Bantustan Chief, after a meeting with the South African Cabinet presided over by Mr Vorster, is that the independent Transkei will have a republican constitution, will remain in the rand currency area, and will join Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in the South African Customs Union. Agreement was also reached on the procedures for signing independence, the reorganizing of the Transkei Government Service and the position of South African and Transkei citizens living in each other's countries. The question of land jurisdiction and land issues was postponed until a later meeting.

In an interview with *Die Transvaler*, the Chief said he planned to contact other heads of African states on the question of detente, as well as about establishing diplomatic relations. "I am going to send some of my ministers to other black African States to put our case," he said, adding that similar moves would be made regarding European countries and America. On the question of a republican state, the rest of Africa was informed that "the new republic will never become a one party State because we are democratically orientated (sic) and have already seen too much of one-party states in the rest of Africa." The current Transkei Parliament, he added, will be dissolved "immediately after the independence celebrations (sic)" to request a mandate from the people for himself and his party. By the way, the date for independence is not finalised as yet!

On the economic level, the Chief informed a conference, devoted to "Investment Opportunities in South Africa," held in London during the week of July 11th and attended by delegates representing "45 leading European banks and companies from all over the world," that "my government's policy will be one of capitalism with a conscience," and that the political and economic 'stability' of the homelands gave "unparalleled opportunities for investors." In fact, according to the homeland Chief, the homelands were one of the safest investment opportunities anywhere, "especially for those countries requiring a new lease of life." The question is: who will have the benefit of a 'new lease of life', the African people or the companies!

There was rather a big stir lately in South Africa when the homeland Chief accepted a former leading member of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania into the burgeoning Transkeian diplomatic corps. Apparently though, the Chief's worry is that if ever Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress is freed, then difficulties will develop, for Mandela is a Xhosa and many Xhosas are languishing in jail who do not accept the balkanization of South Africa into miniature states that allows continual white supremacy through divide and rule as well as a source of cheap labour for the benefit of the few. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 5, 1975; *Comment & Opinion*, July 11, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 9, 1975; *Zambia Daily Mail*, August 1, 1975; *Times*, London, Aug. 12, 1975; *Financial Times*, London, Aug. 13, 1975)

NEW POLITICAL PARTY FORMED

The Progressive and Reform parties merged in Johannesburg on July 25 to form the South African Progressive Reform Party, under the leadership of Mr Colin Eglin, former leader of the Progressive Party. The National chairman of the new party is Mr Ray Swart and the chairman of the federal executive committee is Mr Harry Schwarz, who led the breakaway from the United Party to establish the Reform Party.

In his inaugural address to about 1400 delegates, Mr Eglin said that "the party is committed to strive for the establishment of an open society, one in which all citizens will have the right to associate with whom they wish and to the use of public amenities. Secondly, we believe in the elimination of discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex, and the creation of conditions in which equality of opportunity can be exercised. The third principle to which the party is committed is the protection of the religious, language and cultural heritages of the various groups forming the South African nation. The party recognises the existence of various religions, language and cultural heritages in South Africa, and regards them as being mutually enriching and it will protect these heritages.

"In the political field the party stands for the equitable sharing of political power by all citizens of our country with safeguards against domination and oppression of any race by another. . . . The Party believes that a federal system consisting of self-governing states linked through a rigid constitution, together with a Bill of Rights enforced by a powerful independent judiciary, is a system which can provide for the equitable sharing of power in South Africa and the protection of the rights of individuals and groups. The federation will consist of self-governing states and will include such homelands as have not chosen independence. The boundaries of the self-governing states will be redrawn taking into account group and other interests. Within each state one half of the seats allocated to that state will be voted for on the basis of proportional representation of the parties by all citizens who have basic literacy; the other half of the seats allocated to that state will be voted for on a constituency basis by voters who have the required level of educational achievement or who at any stage have been registered as Parliamentary voters. The required level of educational achievement will be the level of free compulsory education which is the party's policy that the state should provide or its vocational training equivalent."

According to Stanley Uys, "the new party expects to become the official Opposition by 1979 at the latest when the next general parliamentary elections are held. Its leaders believe the United Party has outlived its function and is disintegrating."

Apparently, the right-wing group of the United Party, in response to the formation of the new Party, is pleading for a coalition with Mr. Vorster's ruling Nationalist party.

In this respect, the commentary of the *Financial Mail* is pertinent, in that it believes that the "cold truth of the matter is that the parliamentary opposition—PRP, UP or both—is growing increasingly irrelevant to the rapidly unfolding political destiny of South Africa". The *Financial Mail* argues that "the forces that really count today are: (1) Afrikaner nationalism, the super-power of the subcontinent, which, because of the predominantly tribal nature of our politics, overwhelmingly prefers to entrust its destiny to John Vorster's National Party; (2) the newly confident governments of our larger Black neighbours,

who have guns and soldiers to spare, as well as some influential friends, especially in the East; (3) the as-yet fragmented but potentially potent internal Black power movement, which is best defined in its broadest terms to include the whole spectrum of Black opposition, from officially recognised leaders like Gatsha Buthelezi and Sonny Leon on the one hand to the unorganised proletariat (which demonstrated in Natal that it is undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with) on the other; and (4) the great powers of Europe and America—the U.S., England, France, Germany—who have immense investments in South Africa, and whose continued capital inflows are vital to the economy's continued growth. They are the ones who will be playing nearly all the strokes over the coming decade, and it would be foolish to delude ourselves into thinking otherwise. At best the UP and PRP will be ball boys." (*Guardian*, London, July 25; *Comment & Opinion*, August 1, 1975; *Financial Mail*, August 1, 1975)

AFRIKAANS WRITERS AND THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT:

In a three day conference in the Transvaal, thirty-one leading Afrikaans writers have decided to form an Afrikaans Literary Guild which will not only fight censorship but also reject the concept of Afrikaans as exclusively a white man's language. A young avant-garde writer, Mr. Jan Rabie, said: "We belong to a language of special branch police, teachers, politicians, bullies, and language festival men."

Rosa Keet, daughter of one of the most famous of Afrikaans poets, circulated a memorandum wondering whether Afrikaans writers should follow the example of Russian writers and "go underground"?

As its primary aim the Guild intends "promoting Afrikaans literature and opposing anything threatening the free existence of responsible Afrikaans literature". It will be open to groups and will strive for the promotion of Afrikaans as a multinational language. (*The London Guardian*, July 14, 1975; *Comment & Opinion*, July 18, 1975)

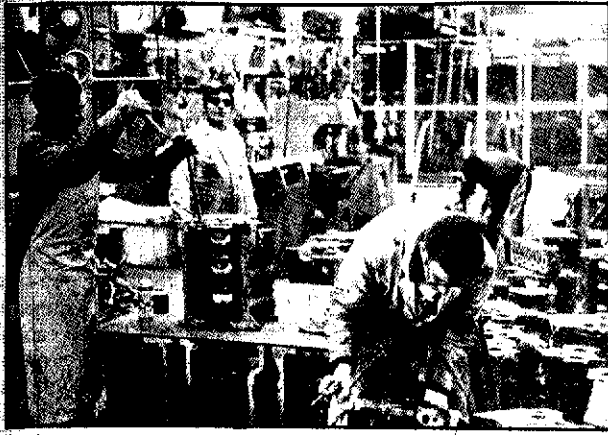
SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA:

At the recent national conference of the South African Council of Churches, John Rees, general secretary of the Council, said that "the future is with the Black man—and it is my call at this conference for the Black man to declare openly where he stands in regard to the future of the Whites in South Africa." In Rees' view Whites are fearful, because they realize that nationalism was a strong force and that inequity had to be redressed. Therefore, it was from the Whites that there had to be a surrender of material benefit. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 2, 1975)

SOUTH AFRICA ECONOMICS

BLACK ULCERS AND HEART ATTACKS

South Africa's need for more skilled black workers is constantly asserted by economists, some business men and white "progressives". At a recent Black Manpower Symposium (entitled the White Collar Explosion in Black South Africa) the demand for skilled Blacks in professional, managerial and technological positions was reiterated. The personnel manager of a large textile company berated the senior management in most corporations for failing to



Skilled black worker in industry

train and advance black workers. In a sad but honest commentary on the goal of "enlightened" South African businessmen, he said, "Unless we accept blacks as part and parcel of industrial society—expect them to get ulcers and heart attacks—we will never reach the stage where the black man feels his worth is appreciated." (*Daily Dispatch*, East London, July 22, 1975)

In the same vein, the South African Minister of Labor, Marais Viljoen, addressing the Institute of Personnel Management stated that government policy would not prevent Blacks from moving into better paying skilled jobs so long as it was done in an orderly fashion, after proper training, in line with increased productivity, and, of course, was done with the agreement of the trade unions and in a manner that does not "undermine" South Africa's social structure. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975)

Len Abrahamse, a leading businessman, speaking to the Durban Chamber of Commerce, emphasized that South African economic growth must create a larger middle class, and that there was an economic and political imperative to have "harmony . . . within our borders." "Our Black leaders of today are moderate men," Abrahamse commented, "The way we act now will decide whether we may expect the same moderation and patience from the next generation of educated, articulate non-Whites (sic)." (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975)

As part of the trend in urban areas to diminish some of the race differentials for the middle class, the Durban City Council has voted to pay white and Indian doctors "equal salaries" within a range of R7,740 (\$10,836) and R11,700 (\$16,380). No mention was made of black doctors, nor of where in the wage scale range most Indian doctors or Whites were placed. (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 22, 1975)

BLACK UNIONISM vs. THE OLD GUARD

There is a growing movement in South Africa to revive or recreate viable black unions in direct conflict to both conservative white unionism and the ineffectual liberal trade union tradition represented by the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). In Johannesburg a newly founded Black Glass and Allied Workers Union has challenged the claim by TUCSA Vice-President, Steve Scheepers, that there was already a black union in the glass works field. Scheepers stated that he founded such a union years ago, and the new union has disputed his contention. Each group is now working to register

workers in the Witwatersrand area. Management appears to prefer the TUCSA type approach. A glass industry spokesman said that Scheepers is a "respected trade unionist" and would be allowed in his factory. The new black union will face extremely difficult conditions in its organizing work. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975)

As a counter to the pressure of worker discontent and the movement for more trade union representation, the South African Government has supported the creation of works and liason committees, which are worker groups approved by the government and management. Minister of Labor Viljoen pointed out that 92 per cent of the 1973 and 1974 strikes occurred at plants where there were no such committees. The goal then is to create and manipulate such organs as a system of defusing worker power. Some 2,113 committees have been established in the last two years covering some 587,000 workers. The Government is now considering making the wage agreements worked out between management and the committees legally binding beginning in 1976. This would be another way to undermine attempts by new unions to bypass or alter the works committees system. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975. For more on the unions and the committee system see *Southern Africa*, April, June, 1975)

HOMELAND HOAX

While "homeland" leaders propagandize the glories of investment in the bantustans in the board rooms, back halls and cocktail circuits of Europe and North America, it appears that local black South African entrepreneurs are being discouraged from investing or expanding their businesses in South Africa. A Black businessman who wants to invest in a homeland must forfeit his or her local license for business in an urban area township and is forced to move to the "homeland" area. Is General Motors asked to leave Detroit if it invests in Kwazulu? Naturally the bantustan leaders, whose interests are generally aligned with other black bourgeoisie affected by this rule, have lobbied for an end to the "one man one business" rule. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi raised the issue at his meeting with Prime Minister Vorster last spring. He asked for a lifting of a number of restrictions on black capital growth. The old rules also prevent bantustan Africans from investing in the urban area. (*Sunday Express*, Johannesburg, April 13, 1975)

Thirteen African children, who had been working on a Natal farm, were hospitalized for suspected typhoid (six did have typhoid conditions confirmed). The children have explained that they were stolen from their homes in the Transkei without their parents' knowledge and kept on farms for starvation wages ranging from R 4 (\$5.60) to R13 (\$18.20) a month. Even some of the small wages the boys received were withheld to keep them from running away. The Bantu Affairs Administration is said to be investigating the child slave labor situation. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975) How many unheard of tales similar to this occur—typhoid brought this to the surface—What goes unnoticed?

MINING PROBLEMS CONTINUE

The South African mining industry is putting a lot of effort into preventing disruptions at the work place and overcoming its growing problem of rising costs and labor shortages. (see *Southern Africa*, February, May, June, July, 1975). New wage increases have been announced pushing the minimum wage up from R1.60 (\$2.24) per



Mineworkers train before entering the mines

shift to R2.20 (\$3.08) per shift, an increase of some 37 per cent. The raises have been dramatic in the industry considering that in June, 1972 the shift minimum wage was R.50 (\$.70). The industry has announced that increases and the entire new structure (wage differences between workers) will be explained carefully to the workers so that problems between workers will be lessened. The total monthly minimum will be R57.20 (\$80.08), plus room and board.

Fifty sociologists and psychologists have been hired recently by the Chamber of Mines research section to study mine labor conditions. They plan to use computers to study miners' attitudes, and to develop other projects including the use of closed circuit TV underground, the introduction of literacy classes during workers' free time, and other means of increasing worker incentive. The goal is both to attract more South African Blacks to the mines and to defuse the discontents which have contributed to mine disruptions. Other plans include changing the living conditions at the miners' hostels, and increasing the number of married quarters. The mining organizations are willing, it appears, to develop a stabilized (non-migrant) work force of up to 10 per cent of the total (380,000 workers), but the government will allow only up to 5 per cent. The present rate is 3 per cent. The mine companies explain that the nature of the work (short term, the working out of certain mines) means the continued dependence on migrant labor. Recruiting efforts have increased the number of South African Black miners to 30 per cent of the work force. The mining industry aims at resolving the long run shortage of workers by massive mechanization (most research money flows in this direction).

According to the President of the Chamber of Mines the industry is faced with huge rising costs, some 67 per cent increase over the past three years. Further trouble will occur if the price of gold bullion should decline, and for the non-gold mines (fluorspar, asbestos) the revenue/cost bind is even greater. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April

11, 1975; *Financial Gazette*, March 27, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975)

ONE MILLION TOURISTS-1980 GOAL-US LINKS TIGHTEN

The Minister of Tourism, S. J. M. Steyn, has called for an intensification of efforts to increase South Africa's tourist trade so that the goal of one million tourists per year can be reached by 1980 (over the next five years the number will have to increase some 66 per cent). At present tourists spend R200 million (\$280 million) in South Africa, obviously an important contribution to South Africa's foreign exchange. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975)

Holiday Inns, a prominent company in South Africa, plans to spend some R6 million (\$8.4 million) in expansion soon, including new inns at Benoni and Richards Bay. It will also buy 2,000 new Sony color TVs for its hotels. (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 25, 1975)

Tourists coming from the United States are going to increase as indicated by the plans of South African Airways to add a R19 million (\$26 million) "Baby Jumbo" Boeing jet to its New York-Johannesburg run in 1976. American Airlines, a domestic US carrier, plans to open a permanent office in Johannesburg, a move which was "noted with interest in South African travel circles." (*Daily Dispatch*, July 28, 1975)

The United States tourist industry is consistently providing key services, facilities, and investment to South Africa. It seems to readily ignore the gleaming neon "Whites Only" signs on the domestic side of Jan Smuts airport. Why not, when gleaming dollar signs appear in their eyes instead!

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT NOTES

Field International Corporation of Texas and a Hong Kong firm plan to buy over the next two years a R12 million (\$16.8 M.) marine oil drilling platform, the first of its kind built in South Africa with credit guarantees from the parastatal Industrial Development Corporation (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975)

Chemilite, a South African company which is involved in the purification of transformer oil, has sent representatives to the US to drum up business. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975)

Ford Motor Co. is proceeding with the implementation of its local content program in South Africa by spending R2.6 million (\$3.6 million) for a crackshaft facility. (*Star*, August 9, 1975)

Earl Butz, US Secretary of Agriculture, met in July with his South African counterpart Hendrik Schoeman, and agreed to exchange agricultural research. Schoeman was the first South African Minister to meet with one of President Ford's cabinet members. He also visited agricultural facilities and universities throughout the United States. "When it comes to food production, politics has no part to play", Butz is reported to have said. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975)

The *Financial Mail* of South Africa has determined that despite Polaroid corporation's much publicized attempts to change apartheid by humane investment and labor policies, the company has failed in two major goals. It has failed to train and advance Blacks during the last four years (there are no black executives) and it has not converted a great number of other firms to its program. Wages have improved considerably and Polaroid remains a large contributor to black educational schemes, although

not at its same frantic early pace. And of course Polaroid products are still used, if indirectly, for the pass book system. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, July 10, 1975)

Japan's Nissan corporation has increased its sales of Datsuns some 60 per cent in South Africa during the first half of 1975, and South Korea is going to purchase some R 600,000 (\$840,000) worth of mining equipment in South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975)

Despite newly announced limits on French arms sales to South Africa, overall trade between the two countries has increased by 23 per cent from 1973 to 1974. The French Minister of External Trade and other businessmen visited South Africa in April. The French plan to invest in a South African nuclear plant, satellite facilities, and a huge containerization project. (*X-Ray*, London, May/June, 1975)

EXTERNAL CAPITAL STILL NEEDED

"South Africa is all right so long as foreigners keep putting money in . . ." concluded the *Economist* in an article about South Africa's investment plans for the next decade. Finance Minister Owen Horwood, and other representatives of state organizations such as Railways and Harbors, have come to Europe over the last months to raise various forms of capital and loans. (*Economist*, London, July 19, 1975) One reported South African Development Program calls for capital investment of R37 billion (\$51.8 billion) up to 1979. Emphasis is placed on energy, communications, and mining projects. SANLAM Chairman Lens Wassenaar has stated that "economically and politically it is in our interest to supply a large part of the necessary capital ourselves." (*Financial Mail*, March 21, 1975) but other business elements are pushing for more foreign loans. The rules regulating these loans sought by South African companies were previously restricted for projects related only to the industrial and mining development of the country, but these rules may soon be loosened to enable wider borrowing. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975) Rand Bank Director, R.A. Setter, has estimated that 10 percent of the projected capital investment of R150,000 million (\$210,000 million) will have to come from foreign sources (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975) Thus regardless of the stated figures for investment over the next decade, foreign sources remain a key element.

The South African papers still carry stories of South Africa's continuing inflation, its dependency on international economic recovery, and the fear of future price, wage, and profit controls. The "economic recovery is still looking for a launching pad," stated the *Star* (August 2, 1975) after showing the failure of wholesale sales to increase in 1975.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE IAN SMITH REGIME OF RHODESIA

The South African Government's strategy on the Rhodesian question continues to be one of seeking to project an image of itself—as "pressuring" the Ian Smith regime into "accepting" "Black rule" in Rhodesia, while actually pursuing a policy designed primarily to safeguard the political and economic interests of the apartheid system. Besides providing African workers for South Africa's mines, Rhodesia has been maintained as a buffer zone to thwart the development of guerrilla warfare inside

South Africa.

Until recently the Ian Smith regime was a good guarantor of South Africa's security. However, the events of 1974—Mozambique's independence and the increasing military conflict inside Zimbabwe—have turned the Smith regime into a liability. South Africa fears that unless the growing guerrilla resistance in Zimbabwe is stopped and an accord reached with the African nationalists which would coopt them into oppressing their fellow Africans, the system of economic exploitation and political oppression will be overthrown. Thus Vorster is trying to "persuade" Smith to "negotiate" with the African nationalists. While Vorster is concerned with the long term survival of the South African regime, Smith is concerned with maintaining his personal power. The conflict between these two fascist politicians revolves around the issue that their particular interests no longer totally coincide. For Vorster the top priority is to restore Rhodesia's position as a military buffer zone—even if it means coopting a few members of the African elite into the Rhodesian political structure and undermining some of Smith's personal power.

Additionally Vorster's Rhodesian policy plays a part in South Africa's "detente" strategy. He hopes to use it to undermine the opposition of the independent African states to the continuation of the South African regime. Smith's obstinacy in seeking a "compromise" settlement with the African nationalists of Zimbabwe, according to South African opinion, constitutes the greatest stumbling block to achieving full scale "detente" between South Africa and independent Africa and the acceptance by these African states of the legitimacy of the current regime in South Africa. Thus, Vorster announced on August 1, 1975 that South Africa's paramilitary "police" would be "withdrawn" from Rhodesia. (*Guardian*, London, Aug. 2, 1975) (Of course we do not know how long these South African "police" will remain "withdrawn" once the guerrilla struggle in Zimbabwe intensifies and South Africa again feels militarily threatened.)

The South African press, English and Afrikaans, support Vorster's current Rhodesian strategy as the best one for the long term interests of the South African system. The *Star* writes that "the final withdrawal of South African Police units from Rhodesia should be seen not only as a further move along the tortuous road to detente but also as evidence of Mr. Vorster's increasing faith in his own political strength. . . . The withdrawal of the South African Police units is proving our goodwill to the Kaundas and the Nyereres. . . . It is a reminder to [Smith] . . . that detente must be a holistic concept to which he too has to be a party if Rhodesia is to play an effective role in the *development of a Southern African hegemony* in which all who live in the area will share in its potential prosperity." (Italics added) *Die Transvaler* comments that "in the new detente politics initiated by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, this South African [military] presence in Rhodesia was always a stumbling block. But one thing must be understood clearly: this withdrawal certainly does not mean a . . . change in South Africa's policies. . . . By withdrawing our police from Rhodesia, South Africa has indeed shown that it is serious about a Rhodesian settlement." The *Pretoria News* notes that "it [the military withdrawal] is correct . . . for Southern Africa, whose longterm interests lie in its own stability and that of its neighbours. . . . A refusal to withdraw its police . . . could have wrecked our [South Africa] detente bona fides and pitted us directly against



President Kaunda (left) and Prime Minister Vorster at Zimbabwe meeting

the Black Africa in which we are seeking acceptance." In *Die Vaderland* it was stated that "The way in which the Rhodesian situation has evolved has now made it quite clear why the police presence began to become an embarrassment for South Africa and could delay progress towards peace in Southern Africa." Additionally the *Sunday Tribune* observes that "by the withdrawal of the police contingent entirely from Rhodesian territory Mr Vorster is demonstrating in dramatic and meaningful style his good faith in the search for peace in South Africa. . . . The South African action will strengthen greatly the hands of the more moderate African heads of state and

widens the gap between the African doves and hawks." (*Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, Aug. 8, 1975)

SOUTH AFRICA AND UN SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM

At the July OAU summit meeting in Kampala, Uganda UN Secretary General Waldheim stated that "apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa is one of the most serious problems in Southern Africa" which violated the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the objectives of the UN and therefore "the world community and our respective organizations in particular have a responsibility to persist in redoubled efforts to induce the Government of South Africa to abandon this inhuman policy." He then additionally noted that he regretted that there has been an "absence of any improvement in the situation" in Namibia and that South Africa had failed to provide the UN Security Council with the assurances it had requested last December. (*Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, Aug. 8, 1975)

Even though Waldheim's criticism of South Africa's policies was very mild and diplomatic, the South African Government and press reacted with vehement anger. The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller was "shocked" and stated that "I wonder how Dr. Waldheim hopes to resolve the problems of the world when he is donning the uniform of a general at the head of his troops. We have always regarded the Secretary General as the servant of the United Nations—the charter which has as one of its main purposes the harmonising of the actions of nations in the attainment of the common end laid down by it." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug 2, 1975) Of course the irony of Dr. Muller's remarks is that the South African apartheid system—a police state based upon an extremely gross form of economic exploitation and political oppression, which has consistently used force to prevent the Black majority from gaining political power—violates every principle of the UN Charter.

namibia

TERRORISM ACT DETENTIONS

Nineteen Namibians were known to have been detained under terms of the South African occupation regime's Terrorism Act as of August 27. Ms. Cathleen Wood, the American wife of Bishop Richard Wood, who is visiting briefly with her parents in Arizona, obtained this information during a transatlantic phone call with the acting administrator of the Anglican Church in Namibia. Ms. Wood, Bishop Wood and their 30-month-old daughter, Rachel Ndimuwa, were expelled from the territory late in June by illegal occupation officials.

On August 26 an urgent message was transmitted from the Namibia National Convention (NNC), the five-organization umbrella group adamantly opposed to South African and minority rule, calling for United Nations and United States representation in the territory "to witness the deteriorating situation in Namibia". The message tells of suppression by South African Police and by followers of Herero Chief Clemens Kapuu, leader of the rival National Convention who is an adversary of the NNC and of the South West Africa People's Organization, Namibia's

principal political grouping and a member of NNC. The message lists a number of suppressive acts "which commenced on 16 August 1975" and demanded all political detainees be released before August 29 "or appear before the court and be tried" and says the South African government must protect all Namibians "or the NNC will be forced to take the law into its own hands and protect innocent Namibians".

The identities of ten of the 19 detainees have been established: they are prominent officials of both SWAPO and the South West Africa National Union (also an NNC member), teachers, students and a Lutheran pastor. Mr. Sam Shivute, regional secretary for SWAPO, and Mr. Reuben Hauwanga, publicity secretary, for the northern region of Namibia, were among them. So too was Mr. Axel Johannes, SWAPO's acting secretary-general for Namibia. Included are Mr. K. Kanguuehi, a teacher at Martin Luther High School and vice-president of SWANU, and the Rev. Kameeta, an outspoken Lutheran Church leader.

ASSASSINATION

Chief Filemon Elifas, chief minister of the Owambo "homeland" in northern Namibia, was assassinated Saturday night, August 16. The *Windhoek Advertiser* 'ISER of August 18 reports the 43-year-old ally of the South African regime was shot by a lone gunman near Ondangua. Commissioner Jannie de Wet, South Africa's proconsul in the area, said the chief was riddled from the belt to the armpit by bullets fired at close range and that spent shells appeared to have come from an automatic weapon. A nephew accompanying the bantustan leader was seriously wounded. Elifas was dead on arrival at the hospital at the Owambo administrative center of Oshakati.

South African Police reinforcements were flown in from South Africa (*Times*, New York, August 19, 1975). The same dispatch said migrant workers from Owambo at the Katutura township at Windhoek were jubilant and chanted "Kapuuo will be next". The August 18th *Advertiser* says there were shouts of "Elifas got what he wanted" and "Elifas was the one who received bribes from the Boers", and that at a meeting convened by leaders of the Damara people (the Damara Executive is a member of NNC) there was "no secret of their delight". Anglican Bishop-in-exile Colin Winter in London compared Chief Elifas to a quisling "those sad, pathetic little puppets who were prepared to wheeler-deal with Adolf Hitler" (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 23, 1975).

The *New York Times* on August 20, 1975, reported that South African policemen "had arrested at least seven officials" of SWAPO and that unconfirmed reports said Mr. Shivute and Mr. Hauwanga were among them. It is known independently that these two SWAPO officers were investigating last January's fraudulent elections in Owambo, the returns of which both Chief Elifas and the South African regime depend on to try and prove their rule as authentic.

The same *Times* article says Chief Kapuuo's bodyguards "arrested five SWAPO members in Katutura who were detained by the South African police. Kapuuo said he believed he was on a death list for assassination. Mr. David Meroro, national chairman of SWAPO, denied this assertion. Mr. Meroro sent a telegram of condolence to the family of Chief Elifas (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, August 22, 1975). Chief Elifas was given a state funeral.

Chief Elifas was widely hated. The public floggings of dissidents to Owambo rule and other acts of terror and intimidation, Elifas' support of South African Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster's "detente" policy and the chief's utterances favoring a separate Owambo (thus backing Pretoria's fragmentation scheme in Namibia) all ran counter to the manifest desire of the Namibian people for a unitary state free from minority and foreign rule.

Elifas was to have been a key figure in the South African-sponsored "constitutional conference" still set to start in Windhoek on September 1st. Vorster is relying on this conclave of black bantustan officials and representatives of the white minority to come up with a plan which will preserve Pretoria's political, military and economic stranglehold on the wealthy territory and at the same time nullify world pressure for an independent Namibia freely determined by all the people with the help of the United Nations.

Elifas and Vorster held a meeting early in August in Pretoria at which the chief minister asked for and received

greater powers (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 9, 1975). South African defense forces and police "would remain in Owambo as long as their presence was essential for law and order". Vorster promised to tighten travel restrictions over the Namibia-Angola border which forms Owambo's northern frontier. The *Star* lists a further intriguing commitment by Vorster: "For improved infrastructure, safeguards for the Ruacana water and hydro-electric project."



Chief Elifas, assassinated Chief Minister of Ovamboland

SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA

The *Washington Post's* Africa correspondent, David Ottaway, in a dispatch from Luanda in the August 24 issue, says that South Africa has sent troops from occupied Namibia into Angola "on the pretext of protecting a dam it is building on the Cunene River". Lisbon's *Diario de Noticias* first revealed the news in its August 12 issue, and the *Washington Post*, in reporting on a charge to the incursion by an MPLA official in Luanda, adds: "A spokesman in Pretoria for the South African defense force declined to comment on the charge."

The *New York Times* on August 29, 1975, runs a dispatch from Lisbon saying the Portuguese government has "reportedly decided to move troops to southern-most Angola to induce South African forces to move back across the border". The story said the South Africans had crossed the border two weeks before and that Portuguese and South African officials were discussing the matter in Windhoek.

The Ruacana dam complex on the Cunene River was initiated in 1969 with an agreement between the South African and the then Portuguese regimes "as a source of cheap water and power" (*South West Africa Survey 1974*, South African Department of Foreign Affairs). The development is aimed to avoid dependence on costly imported coal and fuel oil in the intense building up of and investment in Namibia by the Pretoria government and private South African and other foreign interests.

The Cunene River rises in central Angola, moves south to the Ruacana Falls where it turns westward to flow some 300 km—as the Namibia-Angola boundary—to empty into the Atlantic. There are two dams in Angola and a pumping station at Calueque, 40 km upriver from the Falls. That station, an irrigation canal to the Namibia

border and an interim power station at Ruacana are completed. Total expenditures for the initial stage of the grand scheme will run to almost \$200 million, including a power grid to Windhoek, there to connect with existing power lines. Contracts with the South West Africa Water and Electricity Commission have been signed by Windhoek and other municipalities and by the American-controlled Tsumeb Corporation.

The Windhoek *Advertiser* had reported on August 11, 1975, that it had learned that troops of the Angola liberation movement UNITA had apparently taken control at Calueque and that there was no danger to the Ruacana complex.

INFLUX FROM ANGOLA

Refugees from Angola, mostly white, are fleeing across the border into Namibia at an increasing rate as fighting in the former part of the Portuguese empire spreads southward. The South African Secretary for Social Welfare and Pensions announced the total number now in Namibia and in South Africa exceeds 13,000 (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, August 20, 1975). More keep coming and some are wandering in desert country below Ruacana

while others are sailing down Namibia's Skeleton Coast, for centuries a terror to navigators. South Africa is processing those fleeing, and have established three large camps in northern Namibia and one near Pretoria. Repatriation to Portugal by air has started (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 16, 1975). There is an unconfirmed report that male refugees are being recruited for mercenary service in Angola, probably for use by the FNLA movement.

ANOTHER TREMOR

Disconsolate reports from Windhoek tell of South African Airways plans to build a huge airport at Upington, just across the border from Namibia in South Africa's Cape Province, as an international flights stopping point. This would serve to refuel SAA 707's and 747's for the long haul to Europe, with an eye to loss of landing rights in Luanda and the possibility of the non-use of Strijdom international airport outside Windhoek. An official of SAA said "Strijdom would remain as long as South African Airways were provided with landing facilities" (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, August 22, 1975). •

zimbabwe

ZIMBABWEAN EXODUS: ARMY GROWS

Reports from Botswana and Mozambique indicate that hundreds of school-age youths are leaving Rhodesia to join the guerrilla forces. Pupils from Tegwani Training Institute, near Plumtree, six miles from the Botswana border, and from a secondary school in Gwanda, nearly 60 miles from the border are reported to have fled to Botswana. A dark to dawn curfew has been imposed along part of the border with Botswana to stop the flow of students out of the country. On July 5 a similar curfew was introduced along a 600 mile stretch of the border with Mozambique.

Two African teenagers, Raymond Kunaka and George Gunda, were killed while crossing into Mozambique to join the liberation army. They were from the Salvation Army school at Mazoe, 20 miles from Salisbury. Two other unidentified Zimbabweans were shot at the same time. Frelimo sources say that about 6000 young Zimbabweans have crossed into Mozambique. Many of these volunteers will be trained at bases in Mozambique where the ANC has established a second headquarters in Tete province. This will ease the logistics of the penetration of Zimbabwe from the east.

The Organization of African Unity Liberation Committee has allocated \$600,000 to the ANC, and an additional \$1.2 million is being spent in developing training camps in Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique. This preparation to intensify the armed struggle indicates that there is little hope among liberation movement leaders that the talks will reach an acceptable solution. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, Aug. 9, 1975; *Africa*, London, Aug. 1975)

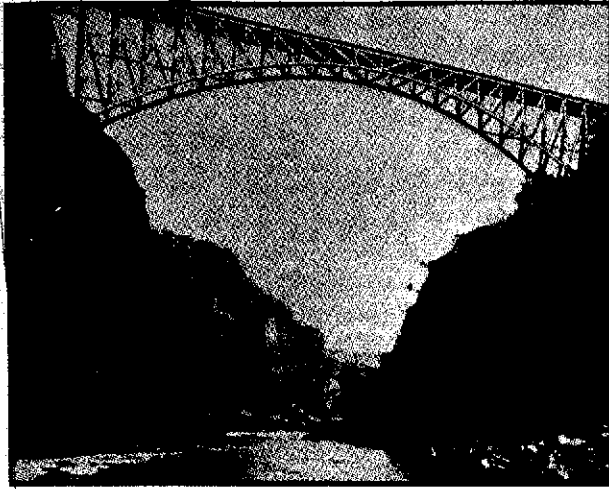
RIVER TALKS TAKE A BELLY FLOP

On August 26, an ANC delegation led by Bishop Muzorema met with Ian Smith and a Rhodesian Front delegation aboard a South African V.I.P. railway car at

mid-point on the bridge spanning the Zambezi River gorge between Victoria Falls (Rhodesia) and Livingstone (Zambia). Neither the bizarre location (chosen as a neutral place) nor the panoramic view enjoyed by the delegations helped the constitutional talks, which collapsed under the pressure of irreconcilable views that have long been apparent. Smith continues to insist on a conference inside Rhodesia, knowing full well that such talks are unacceptable to the ANC, and for very good reason. They are unacceptable because Smith refuses to grant amnesty to Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, in particular, Ndabingi Sithole and James Chikerema, who could not participate without such guarantee that they would not be arrested by the Rhodesian government the moment they stepped inside the country. It is difficult not to conclude that Smith, in setting impossible conditions for the continuation of talks, has intentionally sabotaged them, however much he and white Rhodesians want the world to believe that divisions within the ANC are to blame.

It was Smith's intention to use the failure of this latest meeting with African nationalists as an excuse to call a conference of the 16 black M.P.s in the white-dominated Rhodesian parliament and other conservative or moderate African leaders not connected with the ANC. He was in for a rude surprise. All 16 black M.P.s (eight tribally appointed and eight elected) announced that they would not take the place of the African National Council, which they stated was "the true voice of the African people" in the country. For now, anyway, Smith's blatant "divide and rule" tactic has failed.

The river talks, like previous attempts at a negotiated "settlement" between the Rhodesian white minority regime and African nationalist leaders, were notable primarily for the positive publicity achieved by South African Prime Minister John Vorster and President Kaunda of Zambia. Vorster in particular has everything to



Victoria Bridge linking Zimbabwe and Zambia where the conference was held

gain and nothing to lose by being touted as the dedicated dove of peace who is making "extraordinary diplomatic efforts" on behalf of his neighbor. This misplaced emphasis on Vorster's role (quite apart from the fact his own motives are seldom spelled out) tends to mask the complexities and harsh realities of the Rhodesian scene. Smith will not negotiate a settlement that has as its central feature a constitution which insures majority rule. For their part, the ANC has made it clear that any constitutional conference it attends must be designed to work out a concrete plan for majority rule. Militants who insist that guerrilla warfare must continue do so not because they wish more bloodshed, but because they know that Smith will not give up white minority power and privilege unless clearly forced by circumstances to do so. (*New York Times*, Aug. 16, 26, 27, 28, 1975)

AMERICANS FIGHT FOR SMITH

The death of John Coey, an American mercenary fighting for the white Rhodesians (see *Southern Africa*, Sept., 1975) brought public attention to the fact that Americans have been recruited to fight in Rhodesia. In July, Reuters carried a story about Thomas Blemling, a Pennsylvania veteran of the Vietnam war, who was in Rhodesia with a "private protection force" for white farmers. Blemling said that his organization, Military

Advice Command International, had a force of 300 experienced fighting men in the United States.

The U.S. recruiting effort was coordinated in Arvada, Colorado by "Colonel" Robert Brown, allegedly a former Green Beret. Publicity and information about service in the Rhodesian Army, Police, and the special mercenary command were sent to persons responding to a classified advertisement in a Spring, 1975 issue of *Shooting Times*, a gun-sportsman's magazine. Brown now publishes a new mercenary journal, *Soldier of Fortune*, whose first issue in summer 1975 features an account of Colonel Mike Hoare's mercenary command in South Africa, in Rhodesia, and, the intended targets, in Mozambique and Angola. Hoare became infamous for his mercenary exploits in the Republic of the Congo (Zaire) in the early 1960s. (*International Bulletin*, Berkeley, Aug. 1, 1975; *Shooting Times*, Arvada, Col., Spring, 1975)

RHODESIAN ECONOMY UNDER STRESS

Ten years after Rhodesia's illegal declaration of independence, the economic scene is worse than ever. Prices for minerals have declined and the value of sales of livestock and crops fell nearly ten per cent in the first five months of this year. Maize, which has been exported via Lourenco Marques, may be stockpiled because it is impossible for South Africa to handle the freight. Cotton had been exported through Mozambique too, but with this avenue closing, it will be difficult to export.

Layoffs of black workers, increased costs in staple foods and an acute national shortage of African housing (25,000 units short in Salisbury alone), all add up to a volatile situation.

Unemployed Africans are sent to Tribal Trust Lands where living conditions are deplorable. A company doctor says that the national average of "sub-nutrition" among black children in rural areas "seems to be about 40 per cent on some European farms and in the poorer Tribal Trust Lands it is 80-90 per cent." (*Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, June 6, 1975) •



Ian Smith (left) with other Rhodesian regime officials in the railroad

angola

REVIEW OF AUGUST EVENTS

By late August certain new developments have unfolded in the current struggle over Angola's future. Communications from the three movements and international reports focus on the following events: consolidation of MPLA military and popular control in the capital, in major port cities along the coast, and significant areas of the north, central and southeastern regions; the withdrawal of FNLA and UNITA troops and officers in the transitional Government from Luanda and retreat into their areas of former control; the announced takeover by the Portuguese authorities in Luanda of the governing responsibility of the country until independence; and finally the confirmed involvement of international forces, notably South African troops and US weaponry and an emerging policy of intervention.

Militarily the situation in Angola reflects the positions of the movements during the colonial war period before the Portuguese coup. MPLA is concentrated in the urban centers and along the coast, in the northwest and central, the southeast, and Cabinda enclave; FNLA forces primarily in the northeast along the Zaire border and extending down as far as Caxito, 15 miles north of Luanda, and UNITA holding the central and eastern highlands along the Benguela railway, with some influence in the south.

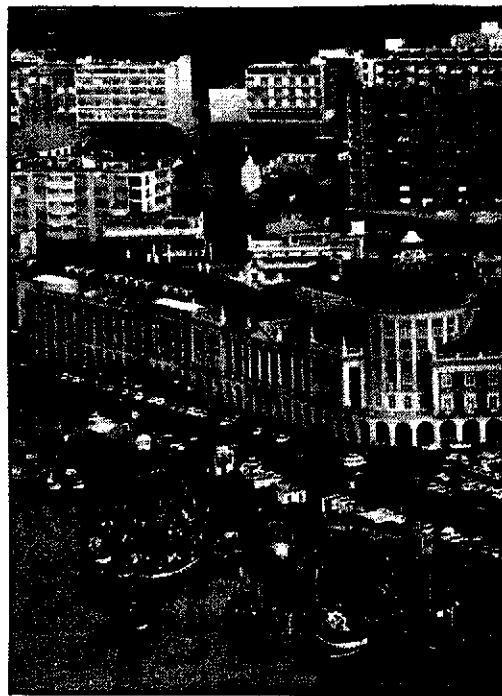
MPLA TAKES CONTROL OF LUANDA

After an intense 10-hour pitched battle involving all three movements, in early August FNLA and UNITA withdrew from the capital abandoning both military posts and political seats in the Transitional Government. While UNITA left with little resistance, FNLA was ordered out of Luanda by the Portuguese because their overflow of troops exceeded the number allowed in the capital by the Alvor agreements. In Luanda's Sacramento district alone 500 FNLA troops had to evacuate because they had turned the residences of ministers and secretaries of state into "veritable military barracks." Later 450 more FNLA troops were evacuated from the Sao Pedro da Barra fort 4 miles from the center of Luanda where they had been forced to take refuge from MPLA forces since early July.

With all FNLA and UNITA troops, appointed ministers, and secretaries of state gone from the capital, and civil servants abandoning their posts, MPLA has been left in predominant control of the city. Rumors have circulated outside Angola that the Popular Movement considered declaring a UDI before November because the absence of other movement representatives has left the transitional government in a state of paralysis, but MPLA President Neto firmly denied all such speculations, stating firmly "there will never be a UDI on the part of the MPLA" (August 11). By early September Luanda had returned to normal with the curfew lifted for the first time since the heavy fighting began months ago.

PORTUGUESE SUSPEND TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

Following the fighting of Mid-August, the Portuguese High Commissioner in Luanda declared that Portuguese



Luanda

authority was to be reinstated as the governing authority in the country until independence. All three movements denounced the move. And on August 28, the Portuguese temporarily suspended the 4-party agreement on Angolan independence stating that the Portuguese High Commissioner would assume all legislative powers granted in January to the Transitional Government. (*Star*, Johannesburg; *Jornal de Angola*, 28 August 1975)

FNLA POSITION

Despite FNLA's claim of having "at its disposal the strongest and most effective army of the three movements" (*O Seculo*, June 9, 1975) and calling for an "all-out war on the MPLA", its military prowess has yet to be demonstrated and becomes increasingly suspect when it explains its halt on overtaking Luanda for "military reasons." By the end of August however, FNLA had reasserted its threat to take over the city or simply encircle and isolate the capital until November (Reuter) with a 5,000-man army which even western reporters label an "invading army." (*New York Times*, September 1, 1975) The much-heralded takeover has yet to take place and raises questions concerning FNLA's failure to attack. FNLA spokesman explained the delay as "waiting for the Portuguese to remove their people from the ports and cities." In addition, FNLA troops must cross a strategically well-defended bridge before entering the city. To date FNLA forces have been unable to break through the MPLA units defending the bridge.

However recent reports of FNLA's acquisition of French Mirage jets from Zaire flown by Chinese pilot instructors has caused the MPLA to fear FNLA aerial bombing of strategic points around Luanda in the near future. As a result the MPLA has sent its first pilots to Eastern Europe for MIG jet training. (*New York Times*; *Washington Post News Service*, August 24, 1975)

UNITA ENTERS FIGHTING

Meanwhile in early August UNITA abandoned its "democratic elections policy" and formally entered the fighting, declaring war on the MPLA in the port towns of Nova Redonda and Lobito. This formal declaration comes despite earlier confirmed reports of UNITA troops fighting MPLA forces in May and June. (see *Southern Africa* Sept. issue) While denying any alliance or pact with the FNLA, local units of the two armies were nonetheless cooperating in their attacks on MPLA forces in Lobito and in Pereira de Eca, capital of Angola's southernmost province of Cunene. This cooperation with FNLA follows a Zaire Press Agency report that UNITA leader Savimbi arrived in Kinshasa on August 8 to continue talks begun in Kampala with Mobutu over the "situation in Angola", which Savimbi described as "very critical".

While it is reported that UNITA has driven MPLA out of the UNITA capital of Nova Lisboa, UNITA's military successes so far have been in joint ventures with the FNLA. Its greatest show of weakness was recently demonstrated when a column of about 200 UNITA soldiers retreated from Luanda giving up all arms and valuable headquarter documents to the MPLA practically without firing a shot. (WP Aug 24)

By August 30 however, a truce had been signed between UNITA and MPLA calling for a ceasefire and exchange of prisoners. Leaders of both movements were reportedly received by Portuguese President Costa Gomes. The MPLA view towards UNITA seems to be that despite its opportunistic leadership, it is a movement to be worked with because according to an MPLA spokesman, "its membership is Angolan." Thus MPLA feels it is important to work with UNITA towards the future independence of Angola. The indirect inference is that FNLA is regarded by the Popular Movement as a front of non-Angolans, primarily Zairois, and even more recently, foreign mercenaries. (Portuguese armed forces recently detained a French mercenary with the FNLA forces, "the only mercenary to be captured from among any of the three liberation movement armies", claimed the MPLA. The Frenchman was carrying identification papers issued by the ELNA (FNLA army) Chief of General Staff showing him to be an FNLA militant and commander of the Second Brigade.)

MPLA CONSOLIDATES CONTROL

As for the MPLA, the military picture appears brighter. On August 16, a Luanda radio broadcast of an MPLA communique claimed that the MPLA had taken complete control of Lobito and called on the people of Benguela province (the railway region formerly controlled by UNITA) to consolidate victory following the precedent already established in the provinces of Luanda, Cuanza Norte, Malanje, Lunda, Moxico, and Cuanza Sul. According to a more recent report MPLA continues to control most of the key 650-mile highway running from Luanda

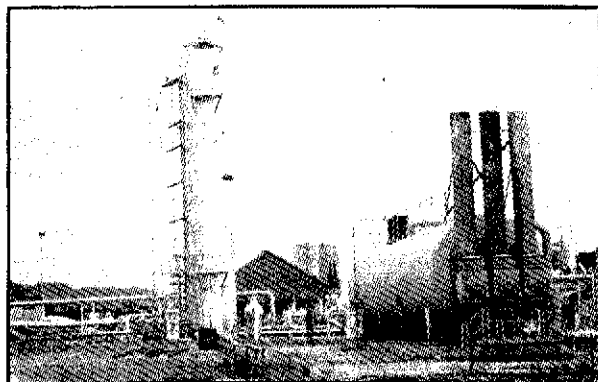
through northcentral Angola, as well as much of the diamond-producing fields in the east, and the strategically important enclave of Cabinda. (*WP News Service*, 24 August 1975) MPLA's recent victories and renewed military strength in the last six months of extreme test and endurance must in large part be attributed to the foundation of political education and popular support that was developed among the population during the 15 years of colonial war.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION

In the meantime while all three movements have opposed any outside force entering the conflict and recently all rejected an OAU proposal to send a 10,000 man peace-keeping force to Angola (*Reuter*, July 22, 1975), international troops and arms have nevertheless openly entered the fighting. The origin of each of the movements' arms has been stressed in most western reports, but recently the entrance of South African troops in southern Angola raises the war to a new level of international military involvement. (*Reuter*, 30 Aug. 1975) The presence of South African troops in the Cunene dam area was reported on August 28 by MPLA who claimed that South African mercenary troops had invaded Angola crossing over the border from Namibia and destroying a minor border post and a town 70 miles inland before continuing northward to Sa de Bandeira 150 miles inside Angola. The invading army reportedly included a number of Portuguese mercenaries recruited from PIDE, the former Portuguese Secret Police, and was using helicopters, armored cars, and tear gas. (*Reuter*, August 30, 1975) UNITA officials also confirm this report in a recent communique claiming that South African troops had entered Angola in the south and had killed a number of both MPLA and FNLA troops. (*Washington Post*, Aug. 31, 1975; *New York Times*, September 1, 1975)

US POLICY

Finally, the US government policy towards Angola is emerging as a policy of intervention. Speculation at this time is that recently appointed Under Secretary of State for Africa, has resigned, only three months after his stormy confirmation by the Senate. The primary reason for Davis' resignation seems to be either his inability or



Oil Refinery in Cabinda

reluctance to carry out an aggressive US policy toward Angola. Kissinger is said to strongly favor US intervention, while Davis, either for personal reasons—not wanting to get caught as the front man in another US intervention of a Third World country—or for political reasons—his low credibility with African officials and others in the diplomatic world having made it impossible for him to function effectively—can not comply. This development confirms suspicions that Kissinger wanted someone in Africa to carry out a policy similar to the one executed in Chile and now that Davis has declined to go along, he is being replaced. It also contradicts Kissinger's statements to the US Black Caucus in late August on US policy in Africa that intervention in Africa was not a possibility. Davis' replacement is said to be a former ambassador to Zaire.

Other reports suggest that intervention could and is taking several forms. First, the US airlift of Portuguese from Angola was agreed upon by the US only on the condition that Lisbon would install "a government that Washington could work with". Secondly, an MPLA press release reported that US Marines were flying Air Force

"Skymaster" transport planes carrying arms, munitions and heavy artillery from American bases in West Germany to the FNLA's Kinshasa base. Thirdly, the use of US-made armored vehicles carrying FNLA troops in northern Angola was reported in late July. The overall strategy appears aimed at eliminating the strong possibility of an independent Angola under the predominant influence of MPLA. Politically this has been the 15-year old strategy of the US throughout the colonial war phase in Angola. Militarily it is now becoming apparent in the 'pincer' strategy designed to enclose and isolate the MPLA on all sides, FNLA from the north, UNITA from the center, and now South Africa from the south. This is also consistent with the western-backed Zaire government's support for an independent Cabinda and with the efforts to stall the independence of Angola while the MPLA holds strategic positions and is gaining political strength among the population throughout the country.

The continued conflict over Angola's future can only serve to exacerbate the loss of Angolan lives and threaten genuine independence and the building of a new Angolan society.

The Struggle Continues

mozambique

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE: EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION (An Unofficial Translation From the Portuguese Prepared For *SOUTH-ERN AFRICA* by Angela Passaro)



Title 1: General Principles

article 1: The People's Republic of Mozambique, fruit of secular resistance and heroic and victorious struggle of the Mozambican people, under the direction of Frelimo against Portuguese colonial domination and imperialism, is a sovereign, independent and democratic State.

article 2: The People's Republic of Mozambique is a democratic popular State in which all democratic levels engage in the construction of a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man.

In the People's Republic of Mozambique the power belongs to the workers and peasants united and directed by Frelimo and trained by the organs of popular power.

article 3: The People's Republic of Mozambique is oriented by the political line defined by Frelimo, that is

the directing force of the State and society. Frelimo follows the basic political orientation of the State and directs and supervises the action of the political committees toward the goal of assuring political conformity of the State with the interests of the People.

article 4: The People's Republic of Mozambique has as the fundamental objectives:

- the elimination of colonial oppressive and exploitative structures, traditions and mentality;
- the extension and reinforcement of popular democratic power;
- the building of economic independence and promotion of cultural and social progress;
- the defense and consolidation of independence and national unity;
- the establishment and development of cooperation and friendly relations with other peoples and States;
- the continuation of struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

article 5: The People's Liberation Forces of Mozambique (FPLM), directed by Frelimo, being one of the essential elements of power of the State, has the fundamental responsibility of defense and consolidation of independence and national unity. At the same time, they are a production force and a politically mobilizing unit of the popular masses.

The action and development of the FPLM is in the political direction of Frelimo and is in strict alliance with the people.

The participation in the FPLM ... constitutes an honor and a sacred duty for all citizens of all sexes. . . .

The FPLM has as its Commander in Chief the President of Frelimo. . . .

article 6: The People's Republic of Mozambique, having agriculture as a base and industry as a decisive factor, directs its political economics in line with liquidating underdevelopment and the creation of conditions for the elevation of the life of the people. . . .

article 40: The following are the functions of the Popular Assembly. . .

a. To legislate basic questions relative to external and internal politics.

b. To approve the budget of the previous year (*ano findo*) and the general budget of the State and economic national plans.

c. To define the political bases of taxes.

d. To ratify and denounce international treaties and accords.

e. To approve the activity report of the Government.

f. To ratify the legislative acts of the Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly.

g. Concede amnesty.

h. Sanction the suspension of constitutional guarantees when martial law or a state of emergency is declared.

article 41:

article 42: The President of the Republic presides over the Popular Assembly.

The People's Assembly usually convenes twice a year, and when a meeting is required by the Central Committee of Frelimo; by the President of the Republic; by the Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly or by one third minus two members of the Popular Assembly.

article 43:

Chapter 2: Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly

article 44: The Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly is composed of fifteen members, elected by the Popular Assembly among its members under direction of the Central Committee of Frelimo.

article 45:

article 46:

Chapter 3: The President of the Republic

article 47: The President of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the President of Frelimo. The president of . . . Mozambique is the Chief of State. He symbolizes national unity and represents the nation in internal and international affairs.

article 48: The duties of the President include:

a. . . .

b. Creates ministers and defines their duties

c. Directs the activities of the Council of Ministers and presides over its meetings.

d. . . .

e. . . .

f. Appoints and dismisses the provincial governors.

g. Appoints and dismisses the governor and vice governor of the Bank of Mozambique.

h. Appoints and dismisses the Commandant General and the Vice Commandant of the Security Police of Mozambique.

i. Appoints and dismisses the rector of the University

j. . . .

k. Declares war. . . .

l. . . .

m. Accredits diplomatic representatives of other countries.

n. Appoints and dismisses diplomatic representatives of Mozambique to other countries.

o. . . .

p. Declares martial law or state of emergency.

article 49:

article 50:

article 51:

article 52: In case of death, renunciation or permanent incapacitation, the functions of the President will immediately be assumed by the Central Committee of Frelimo, who will appoint another President within the shortest amount of time possible.

Chapter 4: Ministry Council

article 53: The Ministry Council is composed of Ministers and Vice Ministers of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The Ministry Council is presided over by the President of the Republic.

article 54: The Ministry Council is responsible before the Popular Assembly for the realization of the internal and foreign politics of the State. . . .

The duties of the Ministry Council are:

a. To prepare the general plan of the State, the general budget of the State and execute them after approval from the Central Committee of Frelimo and Popular Assembly.

b. To prepare projects and decisions of law to be submitted to the Popular Assembly, the Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly or to the President of the Republic.

c. . . .

d. Direct and coordinate the activity of the Ministers and other units dependent on the Ministry Council.

e. Guarantee the rights and liberties of citizens.

Chapter 5: Administrative Organizations and Local Units of the State

article 55: . . . Mozambique is organized administrative-ly in provinces, districts and localities.

article 56:

article 57: The highest organ of the State in the province is the Provincial Government, presided over by the governor. The governor is the representative of the President and is answerable to Frelimo and the government for his or her activities.

article 58: Each province has a Provincial Assembly. The Provincial Assembly legislates exclusively over the interests of the province and participates in decisions regarding the province.

article 59:

article 60:

article 61:

Chapter 6: Judiciary Organization

Article 62: In . . . Mozambique, the judicial function will be exercised by tribunals, through the Popular Supreme Tribunal and two other tribunals determined by the judicial organization. Its composition and duties are fixed by law.

article 63: The Popular Supreme Tribunal will promote the uniform application of law for all tribunals in the service of the people of Mozambique, and will assure the execution of the Constitution, its laws and all legal norms of . . . Mozambique.

article 64:

article 65:

article 66:

Title 4: The Symbols of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique

article 7: . . . Work is a right and a duty for all citizens of both sexes, and constitutes the criteria for the distribution of the national wealth.

article 8: Land and its natural resources above and below the land and its territorial waters . . . are the property of the State. . . .

article 10: . . . The property of the State receives special protection. It's development and expansion is the responsibility of all organs of the State, social organizations and citizens.

article 11: The State encourages the peasants and individual workers to organize themselves in production collectives, whose development it [the State] supports and directs.

article 12: The State recognizes and guarantees private property.

article 13: The possession of private property has obligations. Private property cannot be used against the interests written in the Constitution.

Revenue and private property are subjected to progressive taxes, fixed according to social justice criteria.

article 14: Foreign capital can be authorized to operate within the spectrum of the political economy of the State.

article 15: The People's Republic of Mozambique . . . recognizes the struggle against illiteracy and obscurantism. . . .

article 16: The People's Republic of Mozambique organizes a health system that benefits all Mozambican people.

article 17: The emancipation of women constitutes one of the essential tasks of the State . . . in Mozambique all women are equal to men in all rights and duties, extending equality to all political, economic and social and cultural camps.

article 18: . . . The State encourages and promotes the initiative of youth in the reconstruction and defense of the country.

article 19: . . . complete separation between the State and religious institutions. . . . the activities of religious institutions should conform with the laws of the State.

article 20:

article 21: . . . Mozambique supports and is in solidarity with the struggle of others in their fight for national liberation.

article 22: The People's Republic of Mozambique consolidates and develops solidarity with other Socialist countries, its natural allies; and solidarity forged in the struggle for national independence.

The People's Republic of Mozambique establishes and develops friendly relations and cooperates with all democratic and progressive forces of the world.

article 23:

article 24: . . . The People's Republic of Mozambique defends the principle of transforming the Indian Ocean into a denuclearized zone. . . .

article 25: The People's Republic of Mozambique concedes the right of asylum to those foreigners persecuted because of their struggle for national and social liberation.

Title 2: The Rights and Fundamental Duties of Citizens

article 26: All citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique enjoy the same rights and are subjected to the same duties independent of their color, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, rank of instruction, social position and profession.

All acts with the goal of prejudice, creating divisions or situations of privilege because of color, race, sex ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, rank of instruction, social position or profession will be punished by the law.

article 27: In the People's Republic of Mozambique all citizens have the right and duty, under the Constitution, to participate in the process of creating and consolidating democracy, in all levels of the society and State.

In the realization of these objectives of the Constitution all citizens enjoy freedom of opinion, association and assembly.

article 28: All citizens . . . over 18 years of age have the right to be elected and to vote with the exception of those legally deprived of this right.

article 29:

article 30:

article 31: In . . . Mozambique each citizen has the right and duty to education and work. Combating the backward situation created by colonialism, the State promotes such conditions necessary in order to extend such rights to be enjoyed by every citizen.

article 32: All citizens have the right to assistance in case of incapacitation or old age. The State promotes the creation of units that guarantee the exercise of this right.

article 33: Individual rights are guaranteed by the State to all citizens of . . . Mozambique. These liberties include the inviolable right to domicile, privacy in correspondence that cannot be limited. . . .

. . . Mozambique the State guarantees citizens the freedom to practice or not to practice a religion.

article 34: The State assures special protection to those orphans and other dependents of Frelimo militants who died in the line of duty. This protection is extended to those mutilated or otherwise incapacitated during the liberation struggle.

article 35:

article 36: . . . The State severely punishes all acts of treason, subversion, sabotage, and, in general, those acts practiced against the objectives of Frelimo and against the popular revolutionary order.

Title 3: Organs of the State

Chapter 1: Popular Assembly

article 37: The Popular Assembly is the highest organ of the State in . . . Mozambique. The Popular Assembly is the highest legislative organ. . . . The following are members of the Assembly:

1. The members of the Central Committee of Frelimo.
2. The members of the Executive Committee of Frelimo.
3. The Ministers and Vice Ministers of the Government. . . .
4. The provincial governors.
5. Members chosen by the Central Committee of Frelimo on the staff of the Popular Liberation Forces of Mozambique.
6. Two representatives from each province of each democratic mass organization indicated by the Central Committee of Frelimo.
7. Members chosen by the Central Committee on the staff of Frelimo.
8. A maximum of ten capable citizens chosen by the Central Committee of Frelimo.

article 38:

article 39: . . . The first general elections will take place one year after the third Congress of Frelimo.

article 67: The symbols of the People's Republic of Mozambique are the flag, the emblem and the national anthem.

article 68: The National flag has five colors, four of which are separated by white bands and placed diagonally, separating the upper left angle. The colors, in order from top to bottom, represent:

Green—the riches of the soil of Mozambique.

Red—the secular resistance to colonialism, the national armed liberation struggle and revolution.

Black—the African continent

Yellow—the riches below the soil.

The color white expressed the justice of the struggle of the Mozambican people and the peace that the struggle aims to establish.

In the upper left hand corner is the emblem; composed of a cog wheel (symbol of the working class and industrial production) that encloses a book (which symbolizes education), on which is placed a gun and a hoe, in a criss-crossed fashion, symbols of defense and vigilance and the peasant class and agricultural production.

To the right, inside the cog wheel, is a red star, symbolizing international spirit and the Mozambican people.

article 69: The emblem of . . . Mozambique contains a book, a gun and hoe as central elements, placed on a map of Mozambique, representing, respectively: education, defense and vigilance, the peasant class and agricultural production.

Under the map is a symbol of the ocean.

In the center, is a rising sun, symbol of the revolution and the new life being built.

What determines this union is the cog wheel, symbolizing the working class and industry. . . .

Surrounding the cog wheel on the right and on the left respectively is a stalk of corn and a stem of sugar cane symbolizing agricultural wealth.

At the top, in the center, a red star symbolizes international spirit and the Mozambican Revolution.

On the bottom, is a red band with the inscription "Republica Popular de Moçambique".

Title 5: Final and Transitory Arrangements

article 70: . . . modification of the Constitution is the task of the Central Committee of Frelimo.

article 71: All legislation prior to the Constitution that is in contradiction of the latter is hereby revoked. Legislation prior to that of the Constitution that is not in contradiction with the latter will be maintained until modified or revoked.

article 72:

article 73: The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique enters in effect at 12 o'clock zero hours on the 25th day of June 1975.

Approved for acclamation by the Central Committee of the Liberation of Mozambique on the 20th day of June 1975.

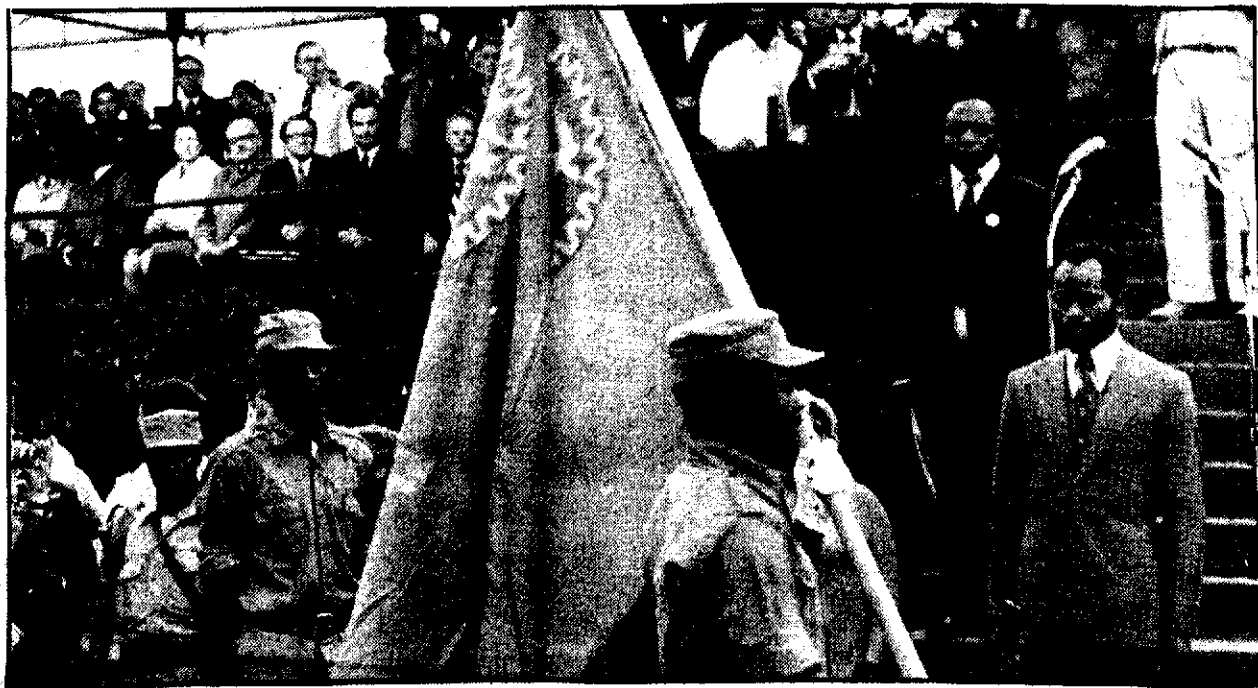
Published by Samora Moises Machel, President of Frelimo (A *Tribuna*, Lourenço Marques, July 4, 1975)

MOCUBA CONFERENCE OF DISTRICT COMMITTEES

The First National Meeting of the FRELIMO District Committees took place in Mocuba, Zambezia Province, from the 16 to the 21 of February, 1975. (see *Southern Africa* July, August '75).

Presiding over the meeting was Joaquim Chissano, member of the Central and Executive Committees of Frelimo and First Minister of the Transitional Government. With him was Armando Emilio Guebuza, National Political Commissar and members of the Central and

The new flag of Mozambique is marched before Samora Machel at the independence proclamation



Executive Committees.

This was the first free meeting in which the people, represented in 401 delegates of the 110 districts of the country, were able to meet together to discuss Mozambique's political future.

The final recommendations of the Conference were as follows:

a. International Solidarity:

Support all peoples struggling against oppression and international imperialism; particularly the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

b. Political Organization of the Masses

The Dynamizing Groups, with the aim of protecting the political line of Frelimo and of gaining efficiency, should be well intergrated with the Revolutionary discipline of the Party. The Groups, structured at the district and provincial levels in urban and rural areas, will aide in the growth of the political consciousness of the people so that the latter will be prepared to take over political and economic power for complete independence.

c. Revolutionary Vigilance:

Support and stimulate efforts against political and economic sabotage of reactionaries.

d. The Liberation of Women:

Engage and encourage all Mozambiquan women in the fight against all forms of oppression and exploitation. The woman is the dynamic force that moves her own liberation.

e. Mozambican Culture:

Create commissions to collect and study all the kinds of cultural manifestations. The commissions will study the life of the people before, during, and after colonialism; before and after the war of liberation; the destruction of colonialism and experiences gone through until the present moment.

Support national and international cultural exchange. (Recommendations translated from the Portuguese, *Tempo*, Lourenço Marques, June 25, 1975)

AGRICULTURE SEMINAR

The First National Agricultural Seminar took place in Marrupa, Niassa Province, from May 29 to June 3, 1975.

Marrupa was chosen as the site for the seminar because of its historical significance. Portuguese bases were situated there. Machel called Marrupa the "center of the creation of human crimes. . . . Marrupa will be converted into a center where the Mozambican people will meet to study; to create a new mentality."

About 700 delegates participated in the seminar. Among them were peasants, agricultural workers, members of the Popular Liberation Forces of Mozambique, and members of the Dynamizing Groups and technicians.

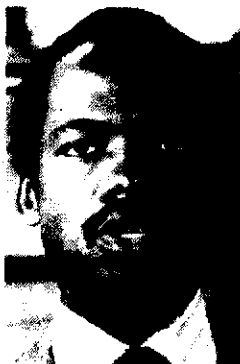
The meeting was presided over by the Minister of Economic Coordination of the Transitional Government, Mario Da Graca Machungo. With him were the Agricul-

council of ministers

Development and Economic Planning
Foreign Affairs
National Defence
The Interior
Information
The Presidency
Labour
Agriculture
Education and Culture
Health
Commerce and Industry
Transport and Communications
Justice
Works and Housing
Finance
Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Vice Minister of National Defence
and Chief of Staff

Marcelino dos Santos

Joaquim Chissano
Alberto Chipande
Armando Guebuza
Jorge Rebelo
Oscar Monteiro
Mariano Matsinhe
Joaquim Carvalho
Graca Simbine
Helder Martins
Mario Machongo
Jose Cabaco
Rui dos Santos Alves
Julio Carrilho
Solomao Munguane
Armando Pangane
Sabastiao Mabote



Joaquim Chissano:



Armando Guebuza



Sebastiao Mabote:



Alberto Chipande:

tural and Forestry State Vice Secretary, Jorge Tembe; three members of the Central Committee and Provincial Governors, Raimundo Pachininupa, Joao Pelembe, Pedro Jama; and another Provincial Governor, Cangela de Mendonca.

During the first part of the seminar, agrarian technicians gave reports concerning their respective provinces. These and all others who gave reports espoused the necessity and practicality of establishing social communals for the development of Mozambique and the political line of Frelimo.

Collective production will happen mainly through mutual help (individuals working each others' land) and cooperatives of all types in agricultural and fishing areas.

Another idea that came out of the seminar was that the uneven distribution of the population on the land is detrimental to political education; therefore, the people will be relocated into small villages where there is a good supply of water and the land is of good quality. (*A Tribuna*, Lourenço Marques, July 4, 1975)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The following is a translation of a speech made by Samora Machel published in the *Noticias* of June 25, 1975.

Mozambique will establish diplomatic relations with all countries of the world; less so with the reactionary ones. We will establish friendship and solidarity with all the people that supported us during our armed struggle.

We will also establish diplomatic relations with Portugal because the present government is a democratic one. We will also establish harmonious relations with the Portuguese people that supported us during our struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

We will continue to help the national liberation movements because we cannot develop our country while some forces of our body continue to be colonized.

Mozambique should be ready to support Zimbabwe in its struggle to get rid of the racist white minority government of Smith. We should be ready to support the Namibian struggle. We have to convince the world to liquidate apartheid.

Colonialism and Religion

From the beginning to the end of the colonial period, religion served as the perfect "foot in the door" technique for the colonialist. The missionaries were the first to arrive.

Through various chiefs, the missionaries learned of the economic situation in Mozambique. They studied the various ethnic groups, conflicts among them, and the tendency toward superstition, and then set out to convince them that the Portuguese were sent by God. They were successful with some and not so successful with others. But their presence only helped to divide the people.

A servile mentality was just what the Portuguese colonialist needed to exploit the people. The Christian religion was a prime factor in "filling the order."

The following is part of an unofficial translation of a speech made by President Samora Machel, on religion, published in the June 25, 1975 issue of the Lourenço Marques daily, *Noticias*:

.... If we want to produce and if we want to organize the people, we have to eliminate certain things. It's a new battle which we are going to undertake. First of all, we don't want the Catholic

Refugees who had been living in the Frelimo settlement at Tunduru in Tanzania returning to Mozambique



church to organize the people; the Muslims will not organize the people. Here, there is freedom to choose whether or not one wishes to be religious. That is an individual decision.

No church exists that is able to mobilize the people; that will work for the unity of the people; for national unity; that works to destroy tribalism, and that will, today, actively work to eliminate racist conflicts.

Only Frelimo will do that; no one else. Therefore, we do not want Islamic societies; Protestant societies; or Catholic societies in our country. We want a Mozambican society. A society of blacks and whites, but not based on color of skin. The struggle was organized and directed by Frelimo (not the Church).

No one is here to defend Protestantism, Islam, or Catholicism. We are here to defend Mozambique and execute the tasks of national reconstruction defined by Frelimo; individual tasks; familial tasks; collective tasks; tasks at the national, provincial, district and local levels defined by Frelimo.

No religious campaigning will be allowed. Only Frelimo will mobilize the people.

Before going to battle, the Portuguese soldiers were baptized and received holy communion and after went to kill. They massacred and watched massacres take place.

Therefore, there will be no privileges for any church in Mozambique. The only privileged will be the Mozambican people. . . .

Each of us will be able to choose whether or not one wants to be religious and to which religion one wishes to belong to. . . ."

END OF LAND RENT-HEALTH, LEGAL AND EDUCATIONAL SERVICES NATIONALIZED

In an article entitled "No Honeymoon for the Exploiters," Ole Gjerstad, of the Liberation Support Movement in Richmond, Canada, discussed Samora Machel's first major policy speech given on July 24 at Machava Stadium. The following is a synopsis.

On July 24, which is also Lourenço Marques day and a public holiday, Samora Machel in a speech to a crowd of more than 80,000 abolished land rent and declared that the State would take over all private medical, lawyers' and funeral services as well as private and missionary schools. This is a part of Frelimo's determined effort to make the social services that were once available to a few, available to all.

While the 95 per cent African crowd in the stadium cheered and applauded, doctors, lawyers, missionaries and others affected directly, sat stunned.

Many Portuguese had, of course, already left soon after the Lusaka Agreement in September, 1974. Those that remained adopted a wait and see attitude expecting gradual change. Now, they have few alternatives in continuing their privileged lives. Returning to Portugal is virtually out of the question. Rhodesia would only be a temporary haven. South Africa is only interested in those with particular skills.

The Whites who have been in Mozambique for generations have the attitude that "I will stay only if I'm not bothered."

Presently, the settlers are not exactly suffering. So far, the circulation of foreign currency is strictly controlled; the importation of private cars is restricted and certain luxury items have become more expensive. However, what is particularly taxing for the Whites is that the "master and servant" relationship that once prevailed is quickly dissolving.

"We must recognize that it will be no easy battle to unite the people," continued Samora, "to bring together men and women of various races. . . ." This aim cannot be achieved by proclamations and decrees, but only by collective labor. . . ; only by freely engaging ourselves in the tasks of national reconstruction can we eliminate racism."

Frelimo has made it known that it very much wants skilled workers and professionals to stay but it is not prepared to make major political concessions, even if their departure may cause other serious problems. The Cabinet's declaration makes it clear that "technical knowledge is considered secondary to political line and class consciousness." ●

guinea-bissau

AGRICULTURE THE PRIORITY

The August 1975 *Africa* magazine reported that "the People's Assembly of Guinea-Bissau met recently for the first time since the withdrawal of the Portuguese administration last September and adopted several important measures to streamline the economy of the country in accordance with the programme of the PAIGC, the ruling party. Primary among these was the nationalisation of land throughout the country; a decision that emphasises the Bissau government's principle that land is not for ownership, but for social use.

"However, the rights of present private owners of buildings and cultivated areas were endorsed by the new law. A new decree will be passed to fix procedures governing state concessions on such land. The Assembly

also decided that all property belonging to people who collaborated with the Portuguese during the colonial war, carried out political activities against the freedom fighters, and obtained possessions as a result of services rendered to the colonial power, will be seized by the state.

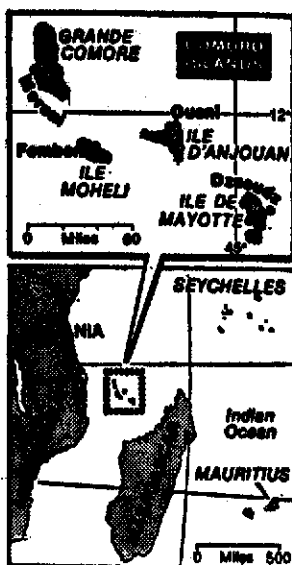
"Other measures taken by the Assembly include special benefits for all PAIGC war veterans; those who fought during the war will gain numerous advantages. Areas of Guinea-Bissau which were liberated during the war will receive recognition for their contribution to the struggle by being exempted from paying taxes for three years. Announcing this at Mores recently, President Luis Cabral said that the people in the liberated areas had made a tremendous contribution not only to the struggle but to regional development under extremely difficult conditions.

"The National Assembly also agreed to demobilise the administrative police, locally known as *Cipaios*, who are alleged to have taken an actively hostile line against the PAIGC during the colonial era. However, some who have been rehabilitated and integrated into the PAIGC will be transferred to work in other state institutions." ●

Indian Ocean Region

COMORO ISLANDS

by mark davis



On July 6th, the Indian Ocean archipelago, the Comoro Islands, declared its independence from France. This action was preceded by a 33-0 vote in favor of independence in the Comoran Chamber of Deputies.

The Comoros consist of four islands: Grande Comore, Moheli, Anjouan and Mayotte. The Comoros are among the poorest places in the world, with a population of 290,000 and a per capita income of \$100. France supplies the island with 80 per cent (\$35 mil.) of its budget.

The reason for the sudden unexpected break-away from France was that the French National Assembly was about to pass a measure that would have allowed Mayotte to stay French while giving the other three islands independence.

There were two motives for this action by the National Assembly. One was that in a recent plebiscite over 90 per cent of the islanders voted for independence, but 60 per cent of the residents of Mayotte (pop. 37,000) voted to stay with France. Most of the residents of Mayotte are Christian, while the rest of the islands are overwhelmingly Muslim. Thus the residents were afraid that they would be swallowed up by the rest of the nation. The French motive for keeping the island, according to some reports, is that they wanted to keep a place where they could build and run a base without interference from the country on whose land the base would be. This is supported by the fact that the French were recently kicked out of their base in northern Madagascar, and Mayotte is almost due west of this former base.

The presidency of Comoro was assumed by Ahmed Abdallah, a Muslim, who at the time was the richest man on the islands, controlling a long string of enterprises. He was by no means anti-French, having prospered under their rule. He was also very conservative, and thus no real threat to the West. It is possible, as *Afrique-Asie* suggests, that France let him take over in lieu of one of the more radical parties, MOLINACO (Movement For the National Independence of the Comoros) or PASOCO (Comoran Socialist Party).

After the independence declaration, France made no real effort to stop secession. The only move they made was to send some additional guards to Mayotte. This might have been because they felt comfortable with Abdallah as president, or because they might have been afraid of world opinion against them if they attacked the Comoros.

On August 3rd, while Abdallah was away from the capital city of Moroni, he was overthrown in a bloodless coup, led by Ali Soilah, leader of another opposition party called the National United Front. There was hardly any resistance to the coup. The move came after Abdallah had ordered that all French police forces on the island must leave immediately. Also the opposition had become perturbed by Abdullah's autocratic governing ways.

A triumvirate consisting of Soilah, Prince Said Mohammed Jaffar, leader of the Umma Party and Dr. Said Bacar Touqui, leader of the Comoro Popular Democratic Assembly Party, was set up. It is reported that Abdullah has fled and most of the leaders in the previous government into the north of Grand Comore, or to the mountain of Karthala.

The National Assembly has been abolished by the new government, and in its place a "provisional executive" has been set up. It has also called for the formation of a directorate to set up a new constitution. The directorate will include practically all the parties on the islands. The government has also proposed to Marcel Henry, Mayotte's leader, a federal solution based on the Canadian model, with Mayotte having the same status that Quebec does.

In regard to policy with France, the triumvirate has called for close connections with France. The French have shrugged off the coup as being an internal affair of the Comoros. However, French involvement under the surface has been very active. *Le Monde* and several African nations believe that France had helped engineer the coup because Abdallah was moving away from France too much, and too quickly.

Internationally, France has recognized the independence of all of the Comoros except Mayotte, while the OAU has recognized the independence of the whole archipelago.

(*Africa*, Sept. 1975, *New York Times*, July 7, Aug. 4, 1975, *Afrique-Asie*, July 28th, 1975, *West Africa*, Aug. 11, 1975)

neighbors

OUTSIDE AND INSIDE LESOTHO

The visit of Lesotho Foreign Minister Joseph Kotso-koane to Peking at the end of May represented a sharp departure from Prime Minister Jonathan's avowed determination not to deal with Communist countries and has aroused anxiety in South Africa and among ruling party and Catholic circles in Lesotho. The government may well ask the Chinese to aid the Oxbow water scheme (now called the Malibamatso River Scheme), which South Africa decided not to finance because of the price Lesotho wanted for its water. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 31, 1975)

Allen Pizzev of the *Star* (Johannesburg, June 7, 14, 1975) sees the shift as part of Prime Minister Jonathan's new and successful effort to get aid from the wealthy (Libya, Saudi Arabia, and "conscience-stricken" Western countries) by toeing a harder line against Pretoria, ending the image of "Vorster's stooge," and getting a good press in the Organization of African Unity. This has not meant any liberalization within, however. The Lesotho Mounted Police, some paramilitary units, a few chiefs and the Lebotho la Khotso ("Peace Corps") are, according to information from treason trials and opposition leaders, continuing to suppress dissent and deny services to those who refuse to follow the line of the Basotho National Party. One-party rule is virtually a reality. A few opposition voices, like that of MP Charles Mofeli of the United Democratic Party, can be heard in the country, but others have had to flee. Ntsu Mokhehle of the Basuto Congress Party, for example, is in exile in Zambia.



Ntsu Mokhehle, exiled BCP leader

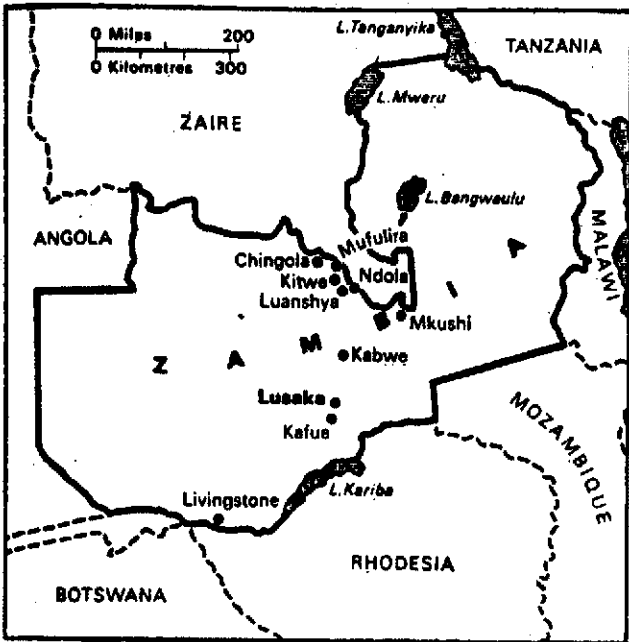
LABOR AND MANAGEMENT IN BOTSWANA'S MINES

The Selebi Pikwe copper-nickel mine, one of the center pieces of Botswana's anticipated economic development, has not progressed as rapidly as hoped. One main reason is the difficulty of organizing an effective labor force. Selebi Pikwe includes 340 expatriates (forty per cent from South Africa, forty per cent from Britain) and 2,664 Botswana employees. Of the latter group, there are eight grades of work and salary, ranging from \$56 a month for underground helpers (as opposed to \$126 in the South African mines) to \$462 a month for surveyors, ventilation and study officers. In an additional contrast with the South African situation, only about half of the local workers qualify for mine accommodation and many have relatives living with them. Although inflation is raging and about half of the African workers belong to the Botswana Mineworkers' Union, there has been little strike action and protest. All jobs below the rank of shift boss are in African hands, including the control of all gangs. The educational level of the African workers is low (42 per cent have no education and only 13 per cent go beyond Standard Seven), but many educational opportunities are being provided locally. Absenteeism and the turnover rate (38 per cent last year) are high. Part of the explanation is the difficulty in adjusting to an industrial work schedule. No worker is fired unless a detailed case can be presented against him.

The Botswana Government is proving to be a tough bargaining force in its negotiations and renegotiations with mining concerns, such as De Beers (over the highly profitable Orapa mine) and Bamangwato Concessions Limited (over the Makgadikgadi brine deposits). Investors blame a few socialist-inclined overseas advisors, but Mr. B. Gaolathe, the Secretary of Mines, insists that the policy is flexible and that mining and prospecting are proceeding apace. He says that the Government has a target rate of return which forms the basis for royalties, but that the amount of royalty may be shifted down or up depending on the fortunes of the operation. Many contracts, such as the Orapa one, include clauses calling for future negotiations. The Government is seeking investment in other sectors of the economy as well: leather, based on the extensive cattle industry; cement, for which all of the necessary ingredients are found locally; and agriculture and fertilizer, using local sulphur (from Selebi Pikwe) and potassium chloride (from Makgadikgadi). (*The Star*, Johannesburg, July 24, 1975)

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN ZAMBIA

A host of difficult economic problems, topped by the price of copper, has confronted Zambia with its worst crisis since independence. Dependent on copper for 90 per cent of its export earnings, Zambia stands to earn only half of its 1974 figure in copper this year, with little chance for improvement, given huge stockpiles and a sluggish world economy, in the next 12 to 18 months. Although the movement of copper out of the country improved somewhat in the spring of this year, thanks to improved conditions on the Benguela Railway and to a lower surcharge at the port at Dar es Salaam, the economy



is stagnant and suffering from a high rate of inflation. Zambia has saved nothing in the last three years and is running a balance of payments deficit of over \$100 million for the first five months of 1975. Imports now comprise half of the Gross Domestic Product, which has grown at a rate of only about one per cent annually since 1972, instead of the targeted 7.4 per cent. Food imports, in a nation that could be the breadbasket of the region, are up to over \$70 million a year. The cost of living for Zambians has increased 40 to 46 percent in the last three years, with soaring increases for wheat, mineral fuels, edible oils and fats and other goods. The conduct of the parastatal boards established by the Mulungushi and Matero Declarations of 1968 and 1969 has been abysmal. Salaries and other administrative costs have increased far faster than production. (*Africa*, August 1975; *Financial Mail*, May 2, 1975; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 9, 1975)

The first major changes announced this year were political. Prime Minister Mainza Chona relinquished his

position to take a junior post as Minister of Legal Affairs and Attorney General. His place was taken by Elijah Mudenda, former Central Committee member and an experienced politician of unswerving loyalty to the Party. Rupiah Banda, former Ambassador to the UN, took over the post of Foreign Minister from Vernon Mwaanga, who acquired the job of Vice-Chairman of the Rural Development Sub-Committee on the Central Committee. Ostensibly, this represents a promotion for Mwaanga, but some speculate that his political enemies wanted him out of the spotlight. Mudenda is Mwaanga's uncle, and both come from the same province as Mainza Chona. Anel Silungwe was named as the first Zambian Chief Justice and a number of other strong militants were named to the Central Committee, which is apparently to have an increasingly important role in the direction of Zambian affairs. (*Africa*, July 1975)

At the annual conference of the National Council of the ruling United National Independence Party at the end of June, President Kaunda announced a stunning series of economic reforms. All freehold land is to be converted into leaseholdings, usually for 100 years; the state will take over unutilized land immediately; the sale of land in towns ends immediately, as does all real estate activity, and the rental of private property will cease after 1978. Expatriates will no longer be able to obtain loans for home building. In an effort to develop the country's major potential resource of agriculture, agriculture students from colleges will be sent out to train the unemployed in farming techniques. Less than one per cent of Zambia's 292 million acres are under constant cultivation. In addition, the Government will end the importation of luxury foodstuffs, take over private hospitals and abolish fees, and take over or establish control of a number of enterprises of Lonrho. These include two newspapers, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Sunday Times*, the corporation which prints the papers, and a number of cinemas. Lonrho still has investments in the transport and other sectors of the economy. The state already controls the other main newspaper, the *Zambian Daily Mail*. In his six-hour speech, Kaunda called for an end to the growth of "two nations—the exploiters and the exploited," and said that "we have to behave as we are—a poor nation." (*Africa*, August 1975; *The Guardian*, July 1, 1975; *The Star*, Johannesburg, July 5, 1975; *Daily World*, New York City, July 17, 1975; *Muhammad Speaks*, Aug. 7, 1975) ■

OVERVIEW—continued from page 4

International power politics create some strange twists in the Angolan situation. Thus there is the ironic situation that while the United States has given and continues to give aid and military equipment to Zaire (which funnels significant military hardware straight on to Roberto Holden's (FNL) troops) those troops were apparently trained by instructors from the People's Republic of China, which has also provided FNL with some equipment.

MPLA on the other hand has been forced to rely heavily on Soviet military aid—while seeking, as did its allied organizations in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, FRELIMO and PAIGC, to maintain its own political independence.

It is not easy to untangle all the threads in the Angolan situation, impossible and foolhardy to attempt to gaze into the future. But an important guideline in the coming months should be the nature of the MPLA as a revolutionary movement. To remember that may help explain both the events and the reporting of those events as they are brought to us in the language of *Time* magazine and the *New York Times*. The survival of MPLA is perceived to be dangerous for the continued profit of US corporations. Support groups will need to intensify their vigilance to ensure that another genuine people's movement does not fall victim to the interests of the US and Western European power-brokers in the months to come.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

O.A.U.



President Nyerere of Tanzania (left) and President Machel of Mozambique

OAU HAS FULL AGENDA

Membership in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was brought to 46 nation states in July when three newly independent Portuguese territories (Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and the Cape Verde Islands) and one former French colony (the Comoro Islands) were admitted by acclamation. Forty-three nations were represented at some level, 19 by their heads of state, at the twelfth summit meeting held in Kampala in late July, while Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana boycotted the session. President Samora Machel of Mozambique also boycotted the meeting in opposition to the role played by Idi Amin of Uganda, both in his own country, and at the OAU (*Guardian*, U.K., July 22, 25, 1975)

Among the 22 resolutions deliberated the meeting were ones calling for economic sanctions against Israel and its suspension from the United Nations, the expulsion of South Africa and Rhodesia from the United Nations, an "intensification of armed struggle" against those regimes, and continued limited contacts with South Africa by bordering states such as Tanzania and Zambia. (*The Canadian Press and Events in Southern Africa*, Vol. 1, Issue 8)

African leaders seem to be divided over the issue of Idi Amin's ascendancy, some saying he will "rise to the occasion" and do a good job, others feeling he is unpredictable and erratic. But the first item of importance on the agenda was the issue of Afro-Arab cooperation, or the lack of it. Second was the question of Zimbabwe. A third item of great importance was the critical situation in Angola. Discussion focused on two basic issues: the first concerning Portugal's moves toward the establishment of an international peacekeeping force to stabilize Angola during the period after independence in November, and the second relating to an attempt to resolve the disputed status of the Cabinda enclave. (Both Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville favor a referendum in the territory to advance their respective claims on Cabinda's wealth of oil and hardwood.) (*The Guardian*, U.K., July 18, 1975) (See Angola section for more details.)

Despite widespread opposition to Idi Amin of Uganda by many African delegates at the summit, Amin's stand vis-a-vis Southern Africa appeared firm. He promised in an address at the conference to send Uganda-trained saboteurs to South Africa and Rhodesia to prepare the way for an armed invasion by OAU forces under his own



African leaders watch mock liberation of Cape Town on Lake Victoria's Bulungugwe island.

command. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975) According to the *International Bulletin* (August 1, 1975), when Amin staged a mock invasion of South Africa, most delegates respected his tough anti-apartheid approach, but few took his invasion threat seriously.

The *International Bulletin* also mentioned UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's apology to the conference that little has been done in the past year to win independence for Namibia, calling the veto last June by the US, France and Britain of a Security Council resolution calling for an international arms embargo against South Africa "a great disappointment."

Among the 22 resolutions deliberated at the meeting were ones calling for economic sanctions against Israel and its suspension from the United Nations, the expulsion of South Africa and Rhodesia from the United Nations, an "intensification of armed struggle" against those regimes, and continued limited contacts with South Africa by bordering states such as Tanzania and Zambia. (*The Canadian Press and Events in Southern Africa*, Vol. 1, Issue 8)

u.n.

MOZAMBIQUE, CAPE VERDE, SAO TOME TO JOIN U.N.

The Security Council has unanimously approved the applications for UN membership submitted by the newly independent governments of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tomé and Príncipe. The General Assembly is expected to vote overwhelmingly in favor of admission when it meets in the second half of September, and to give the new delegations the same kind of rousing welcome that it reserved for Guinea-Bissau last year. The presence of the three countries in the UN (which will raise total UN membership to 141) has been widely hailed as a crucial step in the struggle against colonialism and racial oppression.

SANCTIONS COMMITTEE AGAIN CONDEMNS US

On August 19, the Sanctions Committee (on the question of Rhodesia) issued a press release reporting on the latest violations of the UN-imposed sanctions against the illegal Smith régime. The US is again listed as the main offender, with 23 violations out of a total of 26 in the

first six months of the year. The Committee "once again expressed its deep concern at the continued violation by the United States Government of the sanctions provisions, . . . by its continuous importation of chrome ore, nickel and other materials from the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; and it appealed to the United States Government to take the appropriate and necessary measures and actions to terminate this flagrant violation." (UN press release SC/3643)

DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE MARKS FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF DECLARATION

On August 18, the Special Committee of 24 (on decolonization) held a solemn meeting to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration has provided the basic legal instrument for United Nations action in opposition to colonial rule and in support of the liberation movements both in Africa and elsewhere. At the end of the meeting, the Committee adopted a resolution which "reaffirmed the need to bring a swift and unconditional end to all forms of colonialism." Salim A. Salim, Ambassador of Tanzania and Chairman of the Committee, said that "the total collapse of colonialism and racism in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia was inevitable, and it was the duty of the United Nations to speed the day when all of Africa would be free." The Secretary-General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim, also addressed the meeting and declared that "decolonization must remain a priority item on the agenda of the United Nations." (UN press release WS/724)

APARTHEID COMMITTEE APPEALS FOR SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN DETAINEES

The Special Committee against Apartheid issued a statement in August expressing "its indignation and grave concern at the detention and persecution of large numbers of young Black leaders and other opponents of apartheid by the racist regime of South Africa." Referring to the recent detentions and trials of several young members of the South African Students Organization, the Black People's Convention, and several other "Black consciousness" groups, the Committee declared that "the actions of the racist Pretoria regime belie its protestations that it seeks peace. They show that the regime is obliged

constantly to escalate repression in its desperate effort to impose its criminal policy of apartheid. It has resorted to ruthless repression against the Black consciousness movement because this movement has frustrated its manoeuvres to divide the oppressed people of South Africa, exposed the fraud of Bantustans and other apartheid institutions, denounced the so-called leaders of these institutions, and called for an end to foreign investment in South Africa and a total isolation of the racist minority régime." The Committee called for demonstrations in solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa and for renewed efforts to strengthen the international boycott of South Africa and to support the liberation movements. (UN press release GA/AP/497)

AGENCIES AUGMENTING ANGOLA AIRLIFT

Increased warfare throughout Angola has caused United Nations agencies, especially the UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP), to step up their emergency assistance to refugees in the country. It was reported that Ox-Fam had supplied 10,000 blankets and had offered a donation of 10 tons of milk powder. The UNDRO and the Swiss Red Cross had also donated some 14,000 blankets, and food supplies had been airlifted by the World Food Programme and the UN Children's Fund. Reports from Luanda emphasize the need for continuing the airlift, as supplies not sent by air are subject to excessive delay. (UN press release IHA/239) ■

u.s. and southern africa

STATE REFUSES RELEASE OF ARMS EMBARGO GUIDELINES

The Department of State in August refused a request under the Freedom of Information Act for the current administrative guidelines of the US arms embargo against South Africa.

The request, made by the Washington Office on Africa, was denied on the grounds that the guidelines "contain information the disclosure of which could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security of the United States," which is a frequently cited exemption under the Freedom of Information Act.

The letter of request from Ted Lockwood, the Director of the Washington Office on Africa, asserted, however, that the release of the material would be in the public interest in light of the growing debate in Congress on the merits of the embargo policy. The letter stated further, "I venture to say that the South African Government knows more of the details of the arms embargo policy, from twelve years of experience, than do private American citizens."

The State Department did provide previously declassified arms embargo guidelines prepared in 1964 and 1968, although they refused to disclose unidentified documents "numbered for internal purposes 1, 2 and 3. . . ." It is assumed that these still-secret documents include weaker guidelines written after the relaxation of US opposition to apartheid following National Security Study Memorandum 39 (NSSM 39), prepared for President Nixon's Security Council in 1969. (see *Southern Africa*, February, 1975)

The Administration has denied that selection of Option 2 of NSSM 39 resulted in a loosening of the arms embargo, but available documents and the pattern of implementation since then tell a different story.

In a letter to President Nixon dated January 20, 1970, then National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger recommended the general outline of Option 2 and a specific

relaxation of the arms embargo. Tab B of that letter stated: "Recommendation: That you approve a relaxation of dual-use civilian/military items and a partial relaxation of military contacts. The decision would authorize only the sale of *non-lethal* equipment *intended* primarily for *civilian use*. . . ." (emphasis in the original)

In 1970, the US publicly announced that it would grant licenses for the sale of executive light aircraft to the South African military. Since 1970, exports of all light aircraft to South Africa has increased significantly in value: from \$96 million for the period 1967-69 to \$176 million for 1970-72. According to the new policy, it was apparently sufficient that the aircraft were *intended* for civilian use. As Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs David Newsom explained to the Africa Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on April 6, 1973:

"I do not argue . . . that these [civilian aircraft, computers, agricultural defoliants, and civilian electronic equipment] are unimportant to a country's ability to wage war or to maintain internal security. I do argue that in the face of problems in our own aerospace industry, in light of balance-of-payments problems, and in the face of severe competition from others the question of whether restraints shall be put on the sale of civilian items because of their possible use in support of a military effort is not an easy one."

The revelation of the South African Air Force's military use of US-made Cessna light aircraft for reconnaissance, aerial observation, radio relay and casualty evacuation along its borders provides a more recent example of lax enforcement of the US arms embargo policy.

The State Department claims to be investigating this report, made by Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa before the Senate Foreign Relations Africa Subcommittee in July. But so far they have failed to reveal even when and how licenses for the sale of 20



Members of the Congressional Black Caucus meeting with Kissinger

Cessnas to the South African Air Force were granted.

The State Department refusal, which will probably be contested in court, appears to be just one more effort to cover up evidence that would prove that the US has intentionally made closer military links with South Africa. (see *Southern Africa*, Sept. 1975; "Implementation of the US Arms Embargo, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, March 20, 22; April 6, 1973.)

BLACK CAUCUS MEETS WITH KISSINGER

Six members of the Congressional Black Caucus met with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on August 19 to discuss their dissatisfaction with administration policy toward Africa and propose alternatives. The two hour session was attended by Charles Rangel (D-NY), Charles Diggs (D-Mich), Ron Dellums (D-Calif), Parren Mitchell (D-Md), Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), and Walter Fauntroy (D-DC).

The Congressmen presented Kissinger with a 15-page statement representing the views of the entire caucus. "As Black Americans," the statement began, "we have a special interest in our government's policy toward Africa, and we firmly believe that in this period of global interdependence, the current policy toward Africa works against American interests." Three broad areas of policy which compromise US interests were listed: 1) the "lack of responsiveness" to African development needs; 2) support of minority rule in southern Africa, "public pronouncements notwithstanding;" and 3) the general disregard for Africa in major policy pronouncements.

The Caucus paper proceeded to make 21 specific policy recommendations. Several dealt with development needs, including proposals for a stabilization of price structures for primary commodities, more US and multilateral aid to black Africa, debt rescheduling, and a coherent food assistance plan. With regard to South Africa, the Caucus called for an end to the relaxation of

the US arms embargo which followed NSSM-39 in 1969, a review of military contacts between the two countries, and an end to nuclear cooperation and Exim financing of trade. On Rhodesia, the Caucus requested firm administration action to back repeal of the Byrd Amendment, and an investigation of the Rhodesian Information Office. On Namibia, the statement deplored the US June veto of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa due to the latter's failure to comply with UN resolutions. On Angola, the Representatives urged that the US support efforts to reunify the divided liberation movements, and otherwise adopt a "hands off" policy: "The US should not endorse or support any effort through official or private channels, i.e. Gulf Oil Corporation, to impair the territorial integrity of Angola. . . . America's long run interest in having access to Angola's oil resources dictates that our hands remain clean during this period of armed conflict." Finally, the Caucus noted the paucity of blacks at high levels in the State Department, and called for greater black input into policy decisions.

According to the *Washington Post*, Kissinger conceded at the meeting that the administration had no clear policy on Africa, and said he would clarify matters soon with what Rangel called "a major policy statement." He agreed to meet with the Caucus again in October to discuss specifics. A similar "major statement" was promised by Assistant Secretary Nathaniel Davis before the Senate Africa Subcommittee in July. Some sources hold that another National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) on southern Africa was prepared in 1974, but neither Kissinger, Davis, nor the Caucus made reference to such a study. According to one report, Kissinger preferred to speak more about black Africa than southern Africa at his meeting with the Black Caucus.

The most concrete response made by the Secretary of State dealt with the Byrd Amendment repeal. He said that President Ford would shortly begin lobbying personally for HR 1287, which would end Rhodesian chrome

shipments to the US in violation of UN sanctions.

Caucus members also raised the subject of the black US Ambassador to Tanzania, W. Beverly Carter. Carter is reportedly being considered for demotion because of his efforts to free three Americans and a Dutch woman from Zairian guerrillas; his negotiations broke US rules against dealing with "terrorists." Kissinger said he had made no decision, but called Carter "a very courageous man," and said he would do nothing "to impede his future career."

BLACK REPRESENTATIVES BACK ISRAEL IN UN

Ten of the seventeen members of the Congressional Black Caucus issued a statement August 1 which condemns Arab efforts to suspend Israel from the UN General Assembly this fall. It concludes that if Israel is suspended, "the US and many other nations will be forced to reassess the basis of their membership in the United Nations." The statement represents the views of the signers only, and is not an official position of the Black Caucus.

The document, drafted by Congressman Charles Rangel, notes "the similarities between the position of the people of Israel and that of the oppressed black peoples of South Africa." It states that both the state of Israel and southern Africa liberation movements seek the "right of self-determination and nationhood" for their respective peoples. The Representatives observed that "as we oppose the business interests whose political influence make US policy toward Africa dependent upon economic rather than moral considerations, we oppose the same interests who seek to weaken our support for Israel because of Arab oil."

The analogy is somewhat ironic in view of the warming relations between Israel and the white minority South African government. Israel recently designated South Africa a primary export target for the coming year. Senior Israeli military officers regularly visit South Africa to lecture their counterparts on modern warfare and counter-insurgency techniques. (*Habari*, Washington D.C., August 14; *Washington Post*, July 8)

Signers of the Israel support statement included Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (D-Calif.), William Clay (D-Mo.), Shirley Chisholm (D-NY), Cardiss Collins (D-III), Walter Fauntroy (D-DC), Harold Ford (D-Tenn), Barbara Jordan (D-Tex), Ralph Metcalfe (D-III), Charles Rangel (D-NY), and Andrew Young (D-Ga.).

In addition, six Caucus members [Burke, Ford, Metcalfe, Jordan, Robert Nix (D-Pa.), and Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.)] have joined 237 other House members in co-sponsoring a resolution which "strongly disapproves" of attempts to suspend or expel Israel; should such attempts succeed, the bill calls for US reassessment of its UN membership, "looking to its possible withdrawal from that body." Congressional feelings about the UN can directly affect legislation concerning US policy toward southern Africa. For example, anti-UN sentiment in Congress would jeopardize efforts (through repeal of the "Byrd Amendment") to restore US compliance with UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

Shortly after the August recess, the Black Caucus expects to consider another UN-related matter: the suspension—or expulsion—of South Africa.

action news and notes



EARL HINES TO TOUR SOUTH AFRICA

Earl 'Fatha' Hines is scheduled to tour major South African cities starting on November 27. The tour was arranged by South African Yango John while in New York.

Hines will lead a sextet which is also to include a black singer Marva Josie. Earl Hines and his group plan to go to South Africa after completing an engagement in London. "People have tried before to get me to go to South Africa, and I have always wanted to go," Hines is quoted to have said, "but it never seemed to work out until now." (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 15, 1975).

ASHE'S VIEW ON BOYCOTT CHALLENGED

Arthur Ashe has always contended that his travels to

South Africa for tennis matches have done more to break down the barriers of apartheid than would honoring the boycott of South Africa.

A recent publication of the Union of Black Journalists in South Africa stated that the Union had met with Ashe on each of his visits. The first time Ashe was told that his coming to South Africa did the Blacks there no good at all. But the meeting ending on a friendly note with Ashe expressing hope that things would change for the better.

On Ashe's second visit the meeting between Ashe and the Union was stormier according to the publication as the "black journalists made it clear that there was no progress until people like Ashe stopped supporting racial sport." (*Daily World*, New York, August 7, 1975)



Women of the African National Congress lead a demonstration in the late 1950's.

ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN PRAISED

The New York Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation sponsored a series of week-end events to mark South African Women's Day on August 9. Two main features included a picketline at the permanent South African Mission to the UN and a cultural program held at Brooklyn's New Muse-Community Museum. Black South African women were cited for their invaluable contributions to the struggle against apartheid. Speakers were Patricia Roberts and Tony Monteiro of NAIMSAL with poet Sophie Johnson and vocalist Karen Williams. Branda Jones of Freedomways magazine moderated. (Daily World, August 13, 1975).

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

LIBERATION SUPPORT ACTIONS AND CAMPAIGNS

Twenty-six agencies and organizations in New Zealand co-signed a cable to Frelimo in celebration of Mozambique's independence on June 25. Among them were the National Anti-Apartheid Committee, the Halt All Racist Tours Movement (HART), the Student Christian Movement, the National Council of Churches, the National Youth Council, and the Student Teachers Association of New Zealand.

The cable of solidarity and support also announced that South African Freedom Day (June 26) would be marked by a series of local actions throughout all major New Zealand cities, aimed at isolating the South African apartheid regime. Some of the campaigns announced include economic, sporting, and diplomatic contacts.

Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement is gearing up for major actions in the fall relating to Zimbabwe, including pickets at Rhodesia House, a vivid presence at the Trades Union Congress in Blackpool Sept. 1-5, and leafletting and lobbying at the Labour Party Conference Sept. 29 on behalf of supporting sanctions against Rhodesia. (Anti-Apartheid Movement Newsletter, July 1975)

The Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa held a Mozambique Independence celebration on June 25, while two of its members attended the celebrations in Mozambique at Frelimo's invitation. (Toronto Committee Minutes, July 17, 1975)

The Welsh Hockey Association is moving ahead with its plan to make a tour of South Africa this August, raising a dispute between Neil Kinnock, Labour MP (who is against the tour), and Minister for Sport Dennis Howell. (*The Guardian*, U.K., July 30, 1975)

Several African countries have threatened to withdraw from the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF) if South Africa is not expelled from the body. Seven Western powers, led by the US, told the meeting they were "sick and tired of politics in world tennis" and they threatened to scuttle the competition if any nation was expelled for political reasons. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 5, 1975) According to the *Weekend Argus* (Johannesburg, July 5, 1975), international tennis officials were still unsure whether India and Mexico would make good their threat to withdraw from the 1976 Davis Cup now that South Africa is in it.

While the West German Government was inviting a delegation from SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) to Bonn to discuss the Namibian question, (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 26, 1975) the Gabonese Government placed a quarter-page ad in *The Guardian* (July 21, 1975) laying out its stand vis-a-vis Southern Africa: (1) that it lays prime responsibility for settling the Rhodesian question on Great Britain's doorstep, that Gabon supports economic sanctions against Rhodesia, that Gabon supports South Africa's liberation struggle, and that it unalterably opposes dialogue with South Africa.

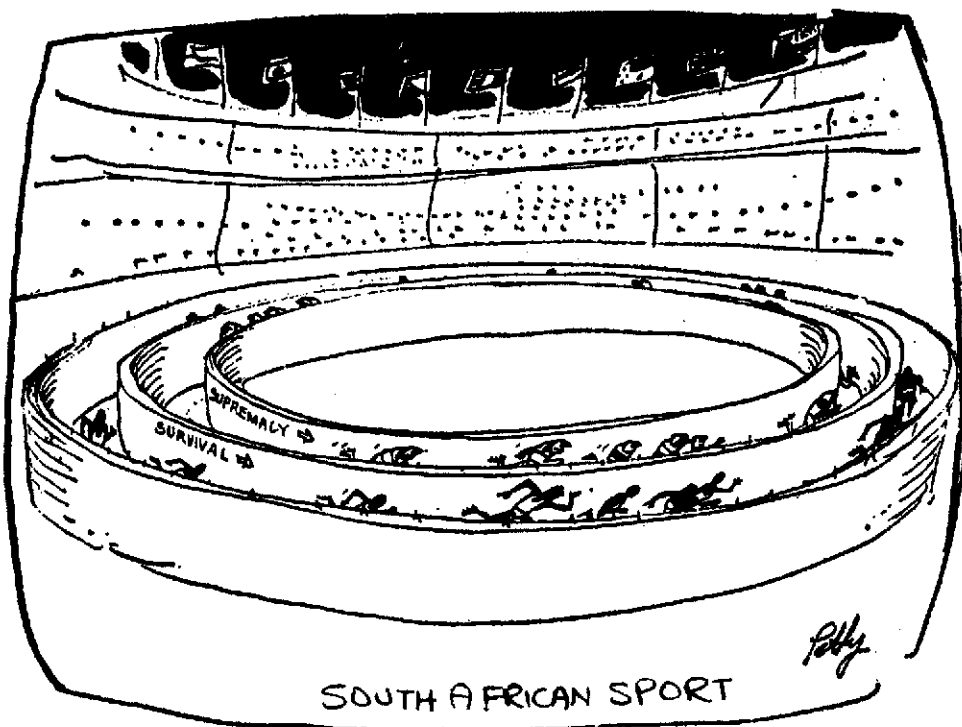
SPORTS

According to the *Guardian*, the Prime Minister of New Zealand sought to persuade the New Zealand Rugby Union to cancel its proposed tour of South Africa next year, but the Rugby Union said that the tour would go ahead. Although the New Zealand Government has an official stand supporting a sport boycott of South Africa, it does not stand in the way of New Zealanders travelling wherever they wish. (*The Guardian*, U.K., July 29, 1975) However, the Johannesburg *Star* (July 26, 1975) says that the team will not tour South Africa, but a Springbok team will visit New Zealand instead—provided New Zealand's

Labour Government is defeated in November.

In response to the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), which is trying to prevent the Mr. World contest being held in Pretoria in November, Canada's Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Allan J.

Maceachen, wrote saying that the Canadian Government "will neither support nor assist the Canadian Amateur Body-building Association or any individuals who intend to take part in the competition." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 9, 1975) ◊



books and pamphlets received

Carl Widstrand, ed., *Multi-national Firms in Africa*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1975. Paperback, Skr. 60:-.

Said Hamdun & Noël King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*. London: Rex Collings, 1975. paperback, c.\$5.00.

René Gardi, *Indigenous African Architecture*, English Trans. Sigrid MacRae. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1973. Hard cover, \$32.00

South African Labour Bulletin, Vol. 2, No., 1, May-June, 1975. Published by the Institute for Industrial Education, 4 Central Ct., 125 Gale Street, Durban, S.A. 10 issue per year. Write for overseas rates.

correction:

Our review of Lars Rudebeck's *Guinea-Bissau: A Study of Political Mobilization* in the September issue should have contained a credit to *Africa Today*, publishers of the original version. We apologize to *Africa Today* for this oversight.

... update ...

MPLA WINS DECISIVE ANGOLA VICTORIES

Five key African leaders, including President Kaunda of Zambia, President Nyerere of Tanzania and President Machel of Mozambique, have launched an effort to negotiate a cease-fire among Angola's three warring liberation movements. The ultimate aim of the talks is to reconstruct the coalition transitional government that administered Angola until August.

Since the demise of that government, the MPLA has won a series of decisive victories over rival forces, securing control of the southern ports of Lobito and Mocamedes, as well as the capital city of Luanda. It also re-took the strategic town of Caxito from the National Front (FNLA), which pushed MPLA out in July.

Both UNITA and the National Front, however, say they are determined to win back lost territory, and few observers are predicting a negotiated end to the fighting by November 11, the date set for formal independence.

Fears of a long and bloody civil war were raised by the recent appearance in Angola of both white and black mercenary soldiers. The largest group, reported by Radio South Africa to number about 600, is said to be moving against MPLA forces in the north. MPLA claims that another large group of mercenaries is operating in the south of Angola, near the border with Namibia.

TOP U.S. OFFICIAL WILL QUIT STATE AFRICA POST

A State Department source says that Nathaniel Davis will resign as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs after serving only five months in office—possibly because of a difference with Secretary Kissinger over U.S. policy towards Angola.

Davis was allegedly hesitant to go along with Kissinger's plans to intervene in Angola to protect U.S. interests there, the Cabinda operations of Gulf Oil Company.

NAMIBIA CONFERENCE STIRS CRITICISM

South Africa is calling last month's Constitutional Conference in neighboring Namibia an unprecedented success, but the meeting was strongly attacked by the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia and other opponents of South African rule there.

Pretoria called the conference to counter criticism of its administration of the former German colony. Representatives of eleven ethnic groups were invited, but the territory's political organizations were excluded.

One of those groups, SWAPO, says the conference merely proves the need to continue the struggle against South African rule. Speaking in London, SWAPO representative Peter Katjavivi denounced the Windhoek talks and said the entire SWAPO executive inside Namibia was imprisoned before the conference.

SOUTH AFRICA WINS FRIENDS IN BONN, ABIDJAN

Demonstrators protesting the arrival in West Germany last month of South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Mulder now have further cause for complaint.

According to unconfirmed reports, the South African and German governments have agreed to expand their co-

operation in the nuclear field. A West German corporation, STEAG, is to study South Africa's state-owned nuclear enrichment capability, with a view towards constructing a joint enrichment plant.

West German sources say Bonn will demand certain safeguards from South Africa, similar to those contained in a recent German-Brazilian agreement.

In another diplomatic coup for South Africa last month, Pretoria officials entertained Ivory Coast Information Minister Laurent Donafologo for two weeks, and were blessed for their efforts with his endorsement of South Africa's "development" policies in the Bantustans, and the concept of "dialogue."

LEADERSHIP QUARREL SPLITS ZIMBABWE ANC

Nationalist leaders in Zimbabwe remain deeply divided on the question of leadership for the African National Council.

ANC Chairman, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, has expelled former ZAPU chief Joshua Nkomo from the council for holding an illegal meeting of the ANC executive committee, while Muzorewa was away on a fund-raising tour in Europe. Nkomo and his supporters allegedly called the meeting as part of a plan to replace Bishop Muzorewa with Nkomo in the top ANC post.

While in Europe, Muzorewa announced the appointment of Ndabaningi Sithole as head of the Zimbabwe Liberation Council, the external wing of the ANC.

Sithole has been working from offices in Lusaka, where it is rumored that Zambian officials are growing increasingly impatient with exiled Zimbabwean leaders and have threatened to expel them.

FRENCH ROLE ALLEGED IN ANGOLA WAR

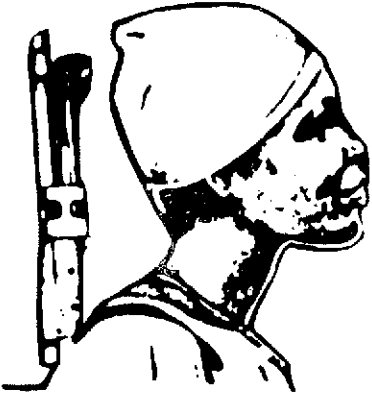
West Africa magazine reports that France has given a loan of more than \$2 million to the pro-Western Angolan National Front (FNLA), which is currently suffering setbacks in its bid for power. France has also allegedly promised to support secessionists in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

Following French President Giscard D'Estaing's recent visit to Kinshasa, it was reported that Zaire will expand its purchases of French arms, and tighten relations with Paris.

(A similar warming-up is expected in US-Zaire relations. The Ford Administration is working hard to gain Congressional approval for a new \$60 million aid package for Zaire, according to informed sources.)

MOZAMBIQUE/BRITISH TIES MAY AFFECT RHODESIA

Great Britain and Mozambique have established diplomatic relations at the Embassy level, it was announced in London last month. The maintenance of friendly ties between the two countries is sure to be important in future negotiations between Britain and Mozambique over the issue of sanctions against Rhodesia. At last year's Commonwealth Conference Britain promised to help compensate Mozambique for a loss of revenues, should it close its borders to Rhodesian rail traffic.



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