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"Jolly Rogers and the Rhodesian Rebels"

Secretary of State William Rogers recently made a tour of right-wing African states and Zambia. It was characterized by the public negativism of America's African policy. The only positive statement made was that there would be less money for African aid.

But just south of Zambia, Mr. Rogers' most southern stop, our old incorrigibles, the Rhodesian Rebels, were preparing to put a new label on their racist tyranny. Rhodesia was to formally become a Republic and with it strip away the last fantasy of any connection with Britain.

The formality of the Republic placed the United States in a dilemma. The U.S. Consulate in Salisbury has remained open throughout the rebellion. Strong pressure was exerted by Britain and several African states. They wanted the mission withdrawn. The Smith gang wanted it to remain open, for if the U.S. mission stayed, several other missions would stay and produce the tactical diplomatic victory desired by the racists.

Rumor has it that complications arose. Two C.I.A. agents, Gallaher and Nicholson, were convicted of spying on the sanctions-busting operations of the regime. Sentenced to prison terms, both men were suddenly released. Rebel Premier Smith muttered something about a deal of great importance to the country, which surely meant that the Consulate was to stay open.

Then to the surprise of many, Mr. Rogers' men decided to close the Consulate. They were followed by Italy, Holland and France, and finally on March 16, Switzerland (leaving only South Africa, Portugal and Greece with Consulates in Rhodesia). Maybe the African trip taught Mr. Rogers a trick or two. And Mr. Smith too.

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Black and White in Rhodesia

| POPULATION |
| White | 0.24 mil. |
| Black | 4.5 mil. |

| PARLIAMENT |
| White | 50 Seats |
| Black | 16 Seats |
**SHARPEVILLE & AFTER**

**Sharpeville.** March 21, 1960. Sixty-nine Africans shot dead by police, hundreds injured and thousands arrested.

**Sharpeville.** Symbol of the violence and racism of white South Africa. Symbol of the violent truth.

**Inside South Africa.** In the Republic of South Africa the white 19% of the population has total political and economic control over the 81% African, Asian and Colored (people of mixed descent) majority. They also control 100% of the land, 87% of which is to be occupied by whites only. The remaining land (containing virtually none of the country’s extraordinary natural resources) is “reserved” for the 13 million Africans who comprise a cheap labor pool for white-owned industry and agriculture. The average per capita income of Africans is only 10% that of whites.

One main pillar of this system of apartheid (the forced inequality of racial groups) is the PASS LAWS. Every African is required to carry a pass (reference) book in order to work, move about, or live anywhere. Failure to produce a pass book on demand is a criminal offence which results in imprisonment and fines for half a million Africans every year. It is the pass system which enables the white government to control the black majority with police state efficiency. To Africans the pass is a “badge of slavery.”

**The Sharpeville Massacre.**

“Let us not labor under the illusion that Sharpeville was something new. For fifty years the rule of white governments in South Africa has been a rule of violence.” (black South African nationalist)

The pass laws became the focus of protest in 1960 for a newly-formed African party, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), an offshoot of the older African National Congress (ANC). The PAC leader, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, sent out the call to action:

“Sons and daughters of the soil, on Monday, March 21, 1960 we launch our Positive Decisive Action against the Pass Laws... Are we still prepared to be citizens—men and women in a democratic non-racial South Africa? How long shall we be called Bantu, Native, Non-European, Non-White, or stinking Kaffir in our own fatherland? ...How long shall we rot physically, spiritually and morally? How long shall we be a rightless, voteless and voiceless 11,000,000 in our fatherland?”

The PAC plan was to mobilize the African people to march and to assemble at police stations without their passes, thus inviting arrest. This was to be supported by a general work stoppage. If successful the jails would be full, the labor force would be cut, and the government would have to reconsider its policies. The protest was to be non-violent. Sobukwe said, “Our people must be taught NOW and CONTINUOUSLY THAT IN THIS CAMPAIGN we are going to observe ABSOLUTE NON-VIOLENCE... We are leading the vital, breathing and dynamic youth of our land. We are leading that youth, NOT TO DEATH BUT TO LIFE ABUNDANT.”

More than a quarter million people responded to the call for civil disobedience throughout the country. At Sharpeville, an African “location” 30 miles south of Johannesburg, some 5,000 Africans massed at the police station on the morning of March 21. Some people came thinking that they would hear some announcements related to an earlier police incident where tear gas and some shooting had occurred; others expecting a statement concerning passes. It was not an angry mob, but more like a celebration. There is no evidence that the police ever tried to find out why the crowd had gathered or had asked them to disperse. In mid-morning South African Airforce Sabre Jets buzzed the crowd, and the police, now 300 in number, formed a line between the police station and a low wire fence surrounding the area. Some had automatic weapons which they were told to load. Five Saracen armored trucks moved into the crowd. The demonstration leaders asked the crowd to keep away from the fence. Several PAC leaders were arrested when the Special Branch (Secret Police) came into the area. The crowd was noisy but not violent. Then without warning, the police opened fire. When it was all over 40 seconds later,
Africans were dead, 180 were wounded. The dead included 8 women and 10 children. The South African Government was quick to claim that the police had been charged by an angry mob, but Dr. John Friedman, Senior District Surgeon, later testified that 70% of the victims were SHOT IN THE BACK. Eyewitness reports cite that the Africans had no weapons.

Africans defied the pass laws and refused to work throughout cities in South Africa. Shootings occurred elsewhere as well. As demonstrations and marches continued, there was panic in the land. Foreign investors began a rush to withdraw capital fearing further troubles, and South Africa's gold and foreign reserves dropped considerably. But the revolution did not come. The passive resistance campaign was brutally suppressed. After the Sharpeville massacre the police went on arresting Africans, even some wounded and recovering in hospitals. In Nyanga, near Cape Town, the police were turned loose for four days with orders to whip every male African. "For sheer sadism," wrote Canadian correspondent Norman Phillips, "the closest comparison to what happened at Nyanga was when the Gestapo sealed off the Warsaw ghetto and began to annihilate it." The government soon declared a State of Emergency and on April 18 it banned the two major African movements, the PAC and the ANC, as unlawful organizations.

Sharpeville marks a time when some believed that positive change was imminent in South Africa. Why did this not occur? During the early 1960's after the Sharpeville debacle, the country underwent a severe financial crisis. But key international and American financiers did not lose confidence in the profitability of white racism. Thus the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, First National City Bank and others, including Charles W. Engelhard, the largest American exploiter in South Africa, extended credit and loans thereby putting the South African economy back on its feet. During these years also the consortium of U.S. banks, led by Chase Manhattan, renewed a $40 million revolving credit loan for the South African Government, and General Motors bought full-page ads in the Johannesburg papers expressing confidence in South Africa.

The police were encouraged to use physical torture (electric, water) and mental torture (indefinite solitary confinement). Between 1963 and 1965 thousands of activists were jailed. Some had been informed on by the international community expresses horror at Sharpeville; American businesses expressed confidence, and objections were brushed aside by claims that U.S. business was really breaking down apartheid.

Repression in South Africa After Sharpeville

The popular claim of U.S. business that U.S. support, economic or political, has moderated apartheid has no basis. During the last decade, U.S. investment in South Africa has grown to about $800 million and more than 1,000 American companies are now located there. In that same period, the government has instigated more repressive measures so that today South Africa is a worse police state than it was in 1960.

Following the panic of 1960, the government launched a brutal campaign of persecution, spearheaded by the then Minister of Justice who had been interred during World War II for pro-Nazi sympathies, and who is the present Prime Minister, B. J. Vorster. The campaign aimed to crush all African political opposition. Detention without trial, house arrest, censorship, restrictions on movement and assembly, bombings—these were the legislative measures sanctioned by white South Africa. At the same time the last vestiges of non-white representation in government were ended, and the "Bantustan" theory of separate African tribal homelands both implemented and redefined to make black South Africans aliens in their own country.
clever spy system created by the government; others committed suicide or were murdered by the police. Probably the most decisive trial of the period was held at Rivonia when the leadership of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The South African Government now claims that all is peaceful, that the Africans have been won over and that they happily accept apartheid. The blatant untruth of this assertion can be documented in many ways. Inside South Africa there continues to be evidence, in spite of all the police have done, of an active political underground. Trials of alleged party members have occurred in the latter part of the 1960's, the final one of the decade being that of 22 Africans indicted under the Terrorism Act and alleged to be ANC members (see article B. under Inside South Africa below). The Terrorism Act itself was created as late as 1967. Under this act persons can be detained indefinitely without trial. Terrorism is defined so broadly that it enables the government to "legally" arrest anyone it chooses. For example, any act which has the effect of "embarrassing the administration of the affairs of the State" can be defined as an act of terrorism. The minimum sentence is five years; the maximum is death.

"Peaceful" states do not have to enact Terrorism Laws. But South Africa, with the world's highest annual execution rate, can hardly be called peaceful. Police in peaceful states do not automatically use dogs for crowd control or shoot down laborers over a minor dispute. But in South Africa every day brings news of greater and greater repression. Every day also brings news that South Africa, through her growing economic power, is moving to control surrounding nations. She has already incorporated South West Africa in defiance of the U.N. and has South African troops helping Rhodesian whites and the neighboring Portuguese. But every day also brings news that the struggle for liberation advances.

The Struggle for Liberation

"Outwardly things may go on in South Africa much as before. Visitors may find a booming economy, the white minority may seem secure in their privileged position for any foreseeable future, some urban Africans may have a higher living standard than formerly. But all this ought not to deceive anybody. The fact is that for the first time both sides in the racial struggle in South Africa are now committed to violence; the white minority to preserve the status quo; the non-white majority to change: change from a society dominated by apartheid to one that is non-racial in character."

(Bishop Ambrose Reeves)

White South Africa has made peaceful protest futile and impossible. It has done everything in its power, a power bolstered by European and American capital and allies, to crush African resistance. But total suppression of the liberation struggle has failed.

On one front, the African National Congress has united forces with the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), and since August, 1967, has joined in guerrilla action against troops on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) soil. Within South Africa itself evidence of PAC and ANC activities continue. (See January and February issues of this newsletter.) In the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) the armed struggle has provided new victories with the elimination of Portuguese control from vast territories now governed by liberated African peoples. Military warfare has also begun in northern Namibia (South West Africa) against South African troops.

PAMPHLET DESCRIBING SHARPEVILLE
Available from the UCM
Southern Africa Committee
10¢
(with picture)

The fight for freedom and self-determination will continue. Oliver Tambo, Acting President General of the ANC, said:

"We fight for a South Africa in which there will be no racial discrimination, no inequalities based on color, creed, or race; a non-racial democracy which recognizes the essential equality between man and man... The power of government will rest in the hands of the majority of the people regardless of considerations of race. But our
first and immediate task is to win over the power to rule our country as it should be ruled, that is, to replace the regime which consists of a White minority with a people's government enjoying the mandate from all the people.

Future Sharpevilles and International Action

Ultimate change in Southern Africa will come as the struggle of the people develops. Sharpeville as a symbol of white violence still exists. The African struggle is naturally influenced by the role of international supporters of the South African regime. At this point the United States prefers vested economic interests based on exploitation to self-determination. These interests mean U.S. political and/or military support for South Africa; and for all these reasons we must act in solidarity with the growing struggle against injustice.

The world community at the United Nations has chosen March 21 as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the U.N. General Assembly has requested "all States to commemorate...21 March...in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa." An appeal by the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid called on States to contribute food, clothes, medicines, educational materials, and monies to liberation organizations; help the movements to disseminate information on their legitimate struggle, and provide travel documents, employment and educational opportunities to refugees from South Africa. The United States Government fulfills none of these requests, but the American people can and must help in certain ways, both related to the liberation struggle and to exposing U.S. government and business collaboration with South Africa.

How You Can Help

1. BECOME INFORMED AND INFORM OTHERS. Write to the following groups for further information about Southern Africa:
   - American Committee on Africa
     164 Madison Avenue
     New York, N.Y. 10016
   - Africa Research Group
     P.O. Box 213
     Cambridge, Mass. 02138
   - U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid
     Room 3580
     United Nations, New York 10017

2. SUPPORT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. Send funds directly to the movements or via the Africa Defense and Aid Fund of the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Clothes, books, and other goods are also needed. A list of speakers from the liberation movements is also available from the ACOA.

3. BEGIN PUBLIC INFORMATION AND ACTION CAMPAIGN. For information related to American corporate activity in South Africa; universities or community models for action; and other materials, write to the above groups.

How a Discussion with Amilcar Cabral

P. A. I. G. C.

(Summary of a discussion on Feb. 23, 1970, staff and friends of the American Committee on Africa, in New York City with Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC.)

Mr. Cabral needs no translator whatsoever; he is an articulate, expressive, and impressive person, with rare gifts of personality and commitment. His hour-long chat seemed to last only 10 minutes. Cabral stressed that the struggle in Guinea-Bissau is an indigenous one, a struggle grounded in the realities of the country.

The following is a general outline of what he said, though not exhaustive and not a direct quotation:

The struggle began in 1961 with sabotage. We began our fight a bit early, but that was done purposely to support the struggle initiated in Angola. Part of the difficulty was the lack of mountainous areas in GB (Guinea-Bissau), and the necessity of using the forests. This was initially difficult because many of our people regarded the forests as sacred and not a place where a man should go. This has been overcome now, however...

There were many cultural and/or religious
aspects that were contrary to a guerrilla struggle, such as the place of woman in the society. Also, the Portuguese had convinced many people they were not indigenous (the Africans, that is). We had no facilities to produce weapons. Thus the process of the struggle has had to develop from the realities of the country...

Our strategy has been centrifugal—starting from the center of the country and working towards the borders, relying always on the peasants. We did not start in the cities as they did in Algeria, because we knew European strategies would not work for us, such as strikes, demonstrations, etc...

Six months after the beginning of the fighting, the Portuguese Minister of Defense stated that the guerrillas controlled 15% of the country. The very next day he was asked to rescind his statement, and to say instead that it was merely a small rebellion, now under control by the Portuguese. They have continued to release occasional similar statements, but now we control 60% of the country, and they won't fool the world much longer...

There was also never any specific "decision" to include women in the struggle. It came about out of the struggle itself, very naturally. Since 1962 women have held high positions both in our political and our military organisation. In this one decade we have passed two centuries so far as the role of woman is concerned. It is now required that if a village committee consists of 3, 1 must be a woman; if it consists of 5, 2 must be women. The size of the village committees depends on the size of the village...

In 1964 we held the first Congress inside the country. Zones were created, all being responsible to the top leadership. There are three major zones of fighting: North, South and East. As soon as an area is liberated, a Popular Militia is created to enforce the security and protection of the liberated zones. The Popular Militias are composed of 80% women...

Now we have a Regular Army (Army Corps), a Council of War (7 people from the Central Committee of the Party, including the Secretary General of the Party who serves as President of the Council of War). We have a Commander or Commandant of each military front, each of whom have some autonomy, but who are largely responsible to the Council of War.

There is a permanent delegation from the Central Committee on each front, consisting of 3 people. Each Army Corps has a Commandante and a Political Commisar. The Popular Militia is linked to the political organisation of the party also...

Each region also has a committee, with an officer for various divisions: political, security, education, civil and administrative, health, supplies, and the Popular Militia.

In answering questions, Mr. Cabral expanded many of his preceding comments. When asked about the economy of Guinea in the liberated zones, he said that the process of building new economic systems is to be a long one. The utilization of land traditionally within the country has been on a communal basis and this is true in liberated areas. Production has increased, cooperation is greater, and a few new structures, such as cooperatives, are beginning. The people must depend on the barter system at this time, and can only sell skins, bee's wax, and lighter weight goods to Guinea (C.) and Senegal. But that the economy of GB has changed because of the success of the revolution is clear because while more rice is being grown in the liberated areas than ever before, the Portuguese now have to import rice to feed the people still under their control. It seems that nowadays the Portuguese import guns and foodstuffs and export only blown up trucks!

When asked why the Portuguese bothered to hold on to GB given its lack of mineral resources and its smallness, Cabral stated that he believed that the Portuguese were "prisoners" of their own ties and their own provincial theory. The theory that the colonies were provinces, integral parts of Portugal, would be dispelled if there was independence granted in GB. In addition, the Portuguese had to defend their total imperialist aims in Africa, and could not afford to be defeated by anti-imperialists.

Speaking on the state of the Portuguese Army, Cabral mentioned that there were 14,000 defectors/deserters per year. Thirty Portuguese soldiers have deserted from the Army in Guinea-Bissau. He saw some positive changes occurring within Portugal, particularly among student and church individuals.
Discussing Portugal's strategy, Mr. Cabral said that the wars had made Portugal accelerate education for Africans and that the Portuguese were made to act with "respect" towards Africans unlike before. Also the government is building mosques for the Muslim population and sending individuals for the hadj to Mecca. Yet the truth of this policy is that the bombing, the napalm, the attempts to set up fortified hamlets continue, to the point that the Portuguese are viewed in fact as terrorists, who kill the people. To illustrate how the Africans are beginning to appreciate the PAIGC, Cabral said: There was a time when an African woman went into a store, she had to give way and wait till all Europeans were served. Now the European shopkeepers call our African women "Madam." They serve African women immediately these days. When the shopkeeper serves our women, they always say: "Jarama PAIGC." This means "Thanks to the Party." Our people realise that whenever their lot has been bettered, it is thanks to the Party.

With regard to the necessity of violence Cabral described briefly the nature of Portuguese colonialism: that Guinea cannot be called underdeveloped since it is not developed at all. That when the PAIGC began its fight illiteracy was 99.7%, etc. That colonial domination is a condition of violence and can be removed by violence only. That one is a fool not to take up arms against an armed man and that you cannot fight a gun with a stick.

When asked about the determination of PAIGC to hold on to Cape Verde, Cabral spoke seriously about the absolute unanimity of the struggle on the mainland in GB and that on the offshore islands. The linkages between these two areas are those of history, of blood, and complementary economies. But also he said that strategically the non-independent and African-controlled Cape Verde would be a continual threat to all of the independent Africa, and that in particular the fact that the islands are back up positions for the Portuguese airforce now shows their potential importance. Since the inception of the struggle the two areas have been united, and offers of independence for the mainland alone are meaningless.

There have been stories that PAIGC has troops training in Senegal and that this is the reason for Portuguese incursions into Senegal to bomb Senegalese villages. Mr. Cabral said that there were no PAIGC troops in Senegal.

Reflecting on the role of U.S. corporations in his country, Cabral said that Standard Oil (ESSO) has negotiated a concession in the area of the Bissagos Isles and set up an American installation on Caravel Isle. The PAIGC very clearly sees this cooperation with Portuguese colonialism and militarism as detrimental to its own aims. When told by an American that the company would be the "first" to welcome a new independent Guinea-Cape Verde, Cabral commented that more likely the "first" in this case would probably be the "last"—would not in fact be there. He mentioned that German-Dutch Bauxite interests in Boe region of Guinea have been lost and that the companies have left the region.

Cabral was asked about the significance of the Portuguese Navy in the struggle in Guinea, considering that the U.S. has acknowledged that it trains Portuguese naval personnel in this country. Cabral stressed that given the importance of Cape Verde and the other islands, it should be obvious that the Navy and naval strategy is significant. In addition, his country's coast line is a series of estuaries and rivers so deep that a 10,000-ton boat can go into GB for about 150 kilometers. The Portuguese bombard the shore from boats (pocket destroyers), supply their camps by boat, and have armed boats to protect the islands and the coast. So the training of the navy in the U.S. is specifically for the colonial war.

When asked what Americans could do to help the people of Guinea-Bissau in their struggle Cabral said first that there was no doubt that the PAIGC would eventually win. If Americans wanted to help, they could of course send medicines, textbooks, etc. But most important the U.S. should cease its support of NATO, through which Portugal is supplied the weapons it uses to kill the people of Guinea-Bissau.
THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

Portugal and Southern Africa: Brief Notes

Dr. Salgado Zenha, a lawyer and prominent opposition member, who ran as a Socialist candidate in the October election was arrested in Lisbon Feb. 21 when he appeared for a demonstration against Portugal's colonial wars in Africa. The authorities had banned the demonstration which had been publicized primarily at Lisbon University (N.Y. Times, 2/26/70).

The Portuguese information services report that in the first six months of 1969 20 million escudos of processed lobster was exported from Mozambique, mostly to the U.S., and that between March and September 1969, 3.7 million crates of oranges were exported from Mozambique, primarily to Belgium, Holland, Britain, and Portugal.

Premier Caetano's New Year Message in reviewing the past year referred to the "constant preoccupation and prolonged efforts compelled by the defense of the sacred portions of Portugal in Africa" against terrorism which he says is provoked by foreign interests who keep the rebels well-supplied with modern weapons and money. He cites not only the Communist countries as outside abettors of terrorism but also "bad neighbors" who ignore or disrespect the rules of international relations by "harboring bandits" and letting terrorists train and have headquarters there. Caetano finds it particularly impudent that the "bad neighbors" complain to the United Nations about violation of their territory by Portuguese armed forces, and that the United Nations supports them instead of Portugal.

African Development for Dec. 1969 reports that a feasibility study for an air ferry between Luanda in Angola and Nacala in northern Mozambique and Lourenco Marques in southern Mozambique has been completed by a South African firm. If established it would airlift both cargo and passengers.

"Gulf Oil has commissioned a giant drilling platform for work off the Mozambique coast between Sofala and Mambone, about 20 miles offshore." Sunray Mozambique Oil is also doing offshore drilling and three other concession-holders will start drilling soon. (From African Development, Dec. 1969)

An article in Atlas (Feb. 1970) reprinted from TA KUNG FAO in Hong Kong cites the fact that "South Africa and West Germany are carrying out common research, development, and production on atomic and chemical weapons." Portugal has also become a participant because Angola and Mozambique are good sources of raw materials needed for nuclear development and because Portugal has given West Germany base rights in Portugal where future nuclear arms could be stored outside Germany (international treaty forbids West Germany to possess or research such weapons).

Bonn and Pretoria pay Portugal well and help defend Portuguese colonialism in Africa, opening the possibility of nuclear aid to Portugal if deemed necessary in the future.

Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique

Look for a new book, Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle, by Amilcar Cabral, published in Great Britain by Stage 1, 21 Theobalds Road, London WC 1, England. Cost 9 shillings. It is the first compilation of Cabral's speeches and articles and includes as well the PAIGC Party Program.

The San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle of Feb. 1, 1970 reports that U.S. State Dept. officials back from Nigeria speculate that "sitting on a mountain of now-surplus arms, Nigeria may allot enough weapons to rebels in Portuguese Guinea to end the 10-year-old war against the continent's last colonial master." Portugal had provided Biafra with the bulk of its arms.

The Cleveland Plaindealer (2/27/70) reported an explosion at the Cabora-Bassa Dam site. Details are not known.

Marvine Howe of the New York Times staff reported from Angola Feb. 1, 1970 that "Portuguese military sources say there has been
a reduction in the activity of guerrillas belonging to the Union of Angolan Peoples (UPA) based in Kinshasa, Congo. On the other hand, the rival nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) continues to be active in the southeastern region bordering Zambia and is said to be infiltrating increasingly north and westward.

"Guerrilla strength is estimated at 7,000 men in the east and the same number in the north. Government forces are reported to number about 55,000."

The article also reports the discovery by the Portuguese of "what is alleged to be an organization of support for the guerrillas," kept silent officially because it contradicts the Portuguese claim that the "guerrilla movements are solely foreign-inspired and without any local Angolan support."

Some 60 black and mulatto Angolans have been arrested, since Oct. 1969, "accused of giving material support to the rebels... The arrests were mostly of African intellectuals, students, civil servants and even some servicemen... some shoemakers and tailors were also arrested on charges of having furnished boots and clothing to the guerrillas." They have not yet been brought to any form of trial.

Miscellaneous Action re Portuguese Colonies

Dambusters Mobilization Committee, 211 Ladbroke Grove, London W10 is organizing around the issue of the construction of the Cabora-Bassa Dam in Mozambique, aiming particularly at Barclays DCO, Anglo-American and GEC-English Electric as part of a "campaign to arouse the public, to defeat any attempt to involve Britain in the dam, to expose and attack key collaborator corporations, and to cooperate with similar efforts in Europe and America."

* * * *

The International Student Movement for the United Nations, 3 rue de Varembe, 1202 Geneva, has available a 6-page mimeographed pamphlet "The Cabora Bassa Scheme," which gives the history and extent of the project, lists specific international involvements, and shows the implications for Portuguese colonialism and further entrenchment of the white minority regimes of southern Africa.

* * * *

Madison, Wis. Feb. 26 - The African Students Union, the Black Council, and the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa mobilized about 200 people, took over the auditorium and forced the cancellation of the showing of a Portuguese government film "Portugal Today" advertised in advance as about "Portugal and its overseas provinces."

In a protest letter to the chairman of the Luso-Brazilian Center which sponsored the film, the groups said "the territories that the Portuguese refuse to let go in Africa are not 'overseas provinces'... but colonies retained only by force, by suppression of political dissent, and indiscriminate slaughter of Africans... For you to accept and disseminate the propaganda of a Fascist regime does service neither to the people of Africa nor to the people of Portugal, and only serves to discredit the genuine contributions to culture made by people speaking the Portuguese language... You neglect the fact that since 1961 Portugal has been vainly trying to suppress the struggles of the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau... Portugal still refuses even to consider the possibility that the peoples of her African colonies might determine their own destinies. And your support helps to conceal from the American people the aid the American government and American business give to Portugal in this struggle against the people of Africa...

We regret that a university institute would lend itself to the Portuguese propaganda effort. It is a disservice to truth, and a disservice to the peoples now fighting for their liberation, against Portuguese colonial rule."

After the chairman of the Luso-Brazilian center cancelled the film, an alternate program discussing Portuguese colonialism was given by the protestors and money collected for the liberation movements.
South Africa's Mines

Mines (mostly gold and diamond) in South Africa have long been a focus of attention, largely because of their importance to the economy, but also because of the human problems they create and propagate: discrimination in wages, inhumane hiring and working conditions for the Africans, forced separation of African families—the list is endless.

Recently the mines have come to the world's attention again. The N.Y. Times has reported two recent incidents of note. On Jan. 16 it informed us of the dismissal of 400 African workers by the Star Diamond Mine in the Orange Free State—supposedly "in an attempt to break a diamond-stealing racket." The men were replaced by Mozambicans in the hope that their language difference would eliminate any possible collusion or association.

The Times of Feb. 24 reports a mine incident just outside Johannesburg where about 150 African miners "began a war dance and started to hurl stones." Thirty-five police quickly dispersed them by opening fire and wounding four of the dancing Africans. It will be interesting to see if there are more such incidents, and what, if any, effect they might have on the gold price. Feb. 1970 is the time when U.S. Steel has before it the option to increase its interest in a new gold find in Prieska from 15 to 30%. In return, U.S. Steel would have to put up over $12 million for the development of this and other fields. If U.S. Steel exercises its option, the participants in this venture will be Anglo-Transvaal - 35.7%; Middle Wits - 31.3%; and U.S. Steel - 30%. (Financial Times, 11/3/69). Anglo, by the way, now controls the world's largest supplier of precious metals - Engelhard Hanovia (and with it Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation). Mr. Charles Engelhard (of New Jersey) will continue to have a substantial holding in Hanovia (of which he is chairman), as well as remaining as an executive director of Anglo American. (N.Y. Times, 12/24/69 and 12/27/69).

There is a rising importance on the mining of other minerals than gold, however, and they now represent 42% of 1968's mineral production in South Africa (Financial Times, 11/24/69). It is claimed that South Africa has the world's largest chrome reserves, and copper now ranks second only to gold in production value. Platinum is increasing in importance also, valued at around $50 million in 1968. Along with South West Africa's pirated uranium, South Africa looks to a bright future in minerals.

U.S. Diplomat Encourages South Africa's Imperialism

Mr. B. Blankenheimer, Commercial Officer of the U.S. Consulate in South Africa, recently said to the Executives' Association in Johannesburg:

"South Africa, with its technology, with its skilled manpower, can be the industrial workshop of the continent, and I feel that South African economic ties with Africa must inevitably expand." (Johannesburg Star, 1/24/70)

Mr. Blankenheimer must be aware that if South Africa relates to any African nation, it can only be as white master to non-white slave or servant. Witness her relationship to her own "African nations" (tribes of people within South Africa)—who are herded as so many cattle from the gristmills (mines, kitchens, etc.) to the fields (reserves and townships) according to the white master's need for their labor.

His lack of concern for black Africa is further evident when he stated:

"We Americans, perhaps in the first blush of the independence movement in Africa, expected too much of these newly independent countries, in the sense that they just did not react in the way that we had expected them to. Perhaps now, we are getting a reverse action. We now tend to see these new states as inherently unstable, and we begin to question whether, in fact, they were ready for their independence from colonial rule." (Johannesburg Star, 1/24/70)
Oil and Southern Africa

South Africa has so far found no major oil fields of her own, and is still dependent for 85% of its power needs on cheap coal—which she converts at a great cost at the Sasolburg plant. South Africa pins much hope on recent offshore searches off Namibia's coast.

The Portuguese are quite prepared to help their South African friends, who have a 25% stake in Angola's Cabinda oil field. It is estimated that production from Cabinda should rise eventually as high as 20 million tons a year. Recent news is that Portugal has granted concessions in the Mozambique Zambezi delta to a South African-French-German consortium in which Anglo American gets a 40% share. Angola has an astonishing oil production figure of around 3150,000 barrels per day in 1969. Production began in the Angolan Cabinda field in 1968, under the majority control of U.S. Gulf Oil. (African Development, Aug. 1969)

U.S. Firms in South Africa

Dave Cowart and Cavell Outlaw of Morrison, Inc., a large U.S. catering firm, have recently returned from a trip to South Africa where they were "deeply impressed." As Cowart explained, "South Africa is stable and booming—and a lot like the U.S." Morrison, Inc. has 8,000 employees in the U.S., 5,000 of them are black. Thus the two southern executives feel that they "know the set-up" they will face in South Africa. (Financial Mail, 11/7/69)

Meanwhile South Africa's tire industry is expanding, the biggest company involved being U.S. Firestone, which is to build a new $11.2 million factory close to an African 'homeland' near Brits, west of Pretoria. The company will also extend its existing Port Elizabeth plant. Goodyear, located in the Eastern Cape, will also undertake an $3.2 million program.

Such expansion and increased investment is especially interesting in light of South Africa's laws prohibiting foreign (or domestic) industries to expand unless (1) if the plant is in a "white area" its increased employment will be white; or (2) the expansion is in a "border area." This law may be the reason why so many companies find they must recruit employees abroad, since their personnel demands cannot be met by non-whites by law, and cannot be met by South African whites because of scarcity. Note the following advertisements found in various newspapers:

A. CHALMERS AND COMPANY (PTY.) LIMITED.

VACANCY

MANAGER FOR THE TRANSPORT MANUFACTURING DIVISION

Applications for this position at our Rosburg factory in Durban are invited from European men who have served an apprenticeship in the engineering trade, or have had drawing office experience. A sound knowledge of the manufacture and design of truck bodies and trailers is essential.

Applicants should have the ability to control staff, good customer approach and the ability to prepare tenders and quotations.

Salary will be commensurate with experience and ability but will not be less than R4,000 p.a.

Contributory pension and Medical Aid schemes are in operation.

Written applications, in confidence, should be addressed to:

The Manager,
P.O. Box 45,
Rosburg,
Durban.

Sunday Times 1/18/70

Mobil

TRUCK DRIVERS

Vacancies exist in Durban and Natal for experienced European Heavy Duty Truck Drivers. Applicants should be between the ages of 25 and 35 and have at least three years' heavy duty truck driving experience.

Possession of Junior Certificate will be a recommendation. Participation in excellent Pension and Medical Aid Schemes is a condition of employment.

Written applications, giving full details, should be addressed to:

EMPLOYEE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT,
P.O. BOX 136, DURBAN.

9981/777A18

Daily News 1/16/70
CANTEEN SUPERVISOR
European lady required to supervise Canteen at our new premises in Isando. Initially Canteen will provide facilities for approximately 60 people. We offer: Attractive starting salary. Annual Bonus. Five-day week. Pension Fund. Medical Aid Scheme.
Successful applicant will be required to start work approximately 15th April, 1970. Apply in own handwriting, giving details of education, experience, marital status etc., to: Personnel, Tote (Pty.) Ltd., P.O. Box 7779, Johannesburg.

Rand Daily Mail 1/16/70

South Africa Expands Economic Ties With Mauritius and Madagascar
On 15th March a Mauritian trade delegation headed by two cabinet ministers flew to South Africa to negotiate commercial agreements. It was the first official contact between the two countries since Mauritius received its independence from Britain in 1968. The main purpose of the visit was to negotiate a new export quota for the island's tea and boost tourism to Mauritius. (Johannesburg Star, 2/7/70)

Active trade is also being promoted between South Africa and Madagascar. A new company, Inserco, has been formed by the French Bank group in association with the French-South African Trade Development Corporation and other French interests. Inserco will promote South African trade with all French-speaking African territories, especially Madagascar. (News from South Africa, 2/18/70)

Zambia Disengages
President Kenneth Kaunda reported to the Zambian Parliament that some of Zambia's efforts to disengage from the southern African economic stranglehold were succeeding. He announced plans to improve communications with independent African nations, and mentioned that TANZAM railway. From the other end it is reported that Rhodesia and South Africa have begun to harrass Zambians even more and that Malawians were being used to replace Zambian workers in those countries. A Zambian after 23 years of working in South Africa reported that whites "hated" Zambians.

U.S. Businessmen Should Invest in S.A.
American businessmen should put more money into industrial projects in South Africa's fast-growing and soundly based economy. That is the message that Professor Edward Bursk, editor of the "Harvard Business Review," will take home with him when he returns to America after an 18-day study tour of the country. Professor Bursk said in Johannesburg in late February that the South African economy appeared far stronger and far more stable than it did on his last visit, five years ago.

(News From South Africa, 3/6/70)

INSIDE RHODESIA
The whole nasty Rhodesian affair ended just as everyone knew it would the day Britain decided to use half measures--with a victory for the white racists. With a mere stroke of the pen following a plebescite of 80,000 people in a population of 2,000,000, what was once a dominion with responsible government owing allegiance to the British Crown was replaced by a Republic owing allegiance to itself. The course of events that began with UDI and was left to pick up its own momentum culminated with the declaration of a Republic. A true government of the white supremacists, by the white supremacists, and now, for the white supremacists.

The U.S. Government announced withdrawal of their Salisbury Consulate to placate their African friends. (New York Times, 3/19/70)

While almost simultaneously the U.S. used the veto for the first time on the Security Council of the United Nations to put down the Asian-African bloc resolution that would have condemned Britain for not using force to overthrow the white-minority government of Rhodesia. (New York Times, 3/18/70)

The Cape Times, in a typical show of white solidarity, commented editorially:
"We in South Africa, who also believe that a viable and stable society can be built on a foundation of the total effective political power being the exclusive privilege of a racial minority, can only hope that Rhodesia will continue to prosper." (3/3/70)

The Minister of Local Government, Mr. Mark
Partridge, told the House on Feb. 13 that the Government intends to introduce the controversial Property-Owners (Residential Protection) Bill early in the life of the new Parliament. When asked by a member of the house whether he intended evicting persons of a race other than the majority in a residential area who had bought property after the intention of the proposed legislation was first made known in 1967, Mr. Partridge replied, "yes." It was very clear from the debate that followed that although Rhodesia cannot yet "boast" of the intricate provisions of the abhorrent race classification laws of South Africa, that clearly the Government plans to sharply lay down guidelines to prevent racial mixing. (Rhodesia Herald, 3/13/70)

British Troops Joining Rhodesian Army

The Rhodesia Herald reported that British troops are eagerly joining Rhodesia's Special Air Service (SAS) where their salary is being doubled or even tripled because of their wide experience (1/17/70). In respect of this matter, Zimbabwe News noted that the SAS (consisting of helicopter squadrons and low-flying aircraft) was reported to be made up of French veterans of the Algerian campaign, British, South African and former Congo mercenaries. A British Ministry of Defense Official was quoted to have said of the development: "No one is really worried unless there is the prospect that Englishmen might have to fight one another." (1/13/70)

Can Get Along With a Little Help From My Friends

The President of the Rhodesian Tobacco Association visited the capital of Angola in December and presented a gift of 300,000 cigarettes to the Portuguese soldiers. A message, written in Portuguese, was enclosed in each pack: "This is an offer from Rhodesian tobacco growers and dealers who wish you the best and beg to stress the friendly links between Portugal and Rhodesia."

The Fate of the Twenty-Two

Southern Africa has carried continual news of 22 Africans charged with being members of the banned African National Congress, under the Suppression of Communism Act. The trial has taken an unexpected and odious turn, which caused the New York Times of Feb. 25, 1970 to editorialize:

"Again South African 'Justice'."

"In its treatment of 22 blacks charged with working for the banned African National Congress, South Africa seems determined to outdo even its own appalling record for 'legal' cruelty and hypocrisy. The prosecution in Pretoria was having deep trouble making a case against the defendants under the Suppression of Communism Act, so it abruptly dropped the charges."

"The judge told the accused they had been found not guilty, but even while they were rejoicing in the Supreme Court at this unexpected turn they were rearrested under the Terrorism Act, then hauled back to prison. Now they can be held indefinitely without charge--incommunicado, with no right to counsel, no habeas corpus, no bail--as they were before being charged last October."

"The prosecution was obviously embarrassed by two things: One was the triviality of its own 'evidence against the defendants. The other was the persistence of Justice Simon Bekker, rare in South African courtrooms nowadays, in inquiring into the pretrial treatment of state witnesses, some of whom had also been detained for months under the provisions of the Terrorism Act."
"Nomyamise Madikizela, twenty, held in solitary for six months, told the court how police had threatened her with ten years in prison if she refused to testify against her sister, Mrs. Nelson Mandela, wife of the leader of the African National Congress, now serving a life term. A young Indian woman refused to give evidence against Mrs. Mandela and another defendant, even though she was kept in solitary for six months and interrogated constantly for five days while forced to remain on her feet.

"The prosecution's strategy seems clear. It will simply hold the defendants under the Terrorism Act until more 'evidence' can be obtained or concocted by the bestial methods that have become a hallmark of South African 'justice.'

"In addition to being charged with furthering Communism, the defendants were accused of having 'encouraged feelings of hostility between the races.' It would be hard to conjure up a more effective weapon than South Africa's warped concept of 'justice' for advancing Communism and racial hostility in that country and beyond."

South African Press Threatened

Newspaper editors have been warned not to publish articles dealing with the activities of the Security Police. "Failure to heed this warning would bring 'substantial penalties.' The way in which the ban was issued makes observers fear that it even applies to debate in Parliament."

New York Times, 2/23/70

Double Talk on African Homeland Development

Dr. P. J. Riekert, chairman of the Economic Advisory Council and economic advisor to the Prime Minister, spoke on economic development in the African Homelands, saying that the annual economic growth rate in the Homelands in the 1960's was double what it was in the 1950's. He predicted similar "growth" to continue. However, over the past twenty years, the average annual rate of growth has been about 3.5%. If price increases are taken into account--about 2%--it is clear that there has been no substantial increase in real terms over the whole period and that Dr. Riekert is engaging in double talk.

Further, to simply keep the population stable, to keep the number of "Africans temporarily absent from the homelands constant," border industries have to be increased to a minimum of 17%. This minimum has not been reached. The Government claims growth in the development of the Homelands, but given the bare minimum needed to make separate development any kind of just reality, essentially nothing has been accomplished. (Johannesburg Star, 1/31/70)

Crude Oil Discovered

The Southern Oil Exploration Corporation (SOEKOR) has announced the discovery of crude oil near Somerset East in the Cape. The find at Colchester is the second firm indication that there is oil near or off the southern coastline. While only a few gallons of oil have been recovered and not much hope is held that the hole will ever be commercially useful, the discovery is quite significant. It will undoubtedly be a major stimulus to the continued search for oil and is being used as proof to justify that search. (Johannesburg Star, 2/11/70)

South Africa May Buy Gunboat

South Africa is negotiating to buy 3 missile-firing gunboats from France, French shipbuilders disclosed. South Africa's Defense Minister, Pieter Botha, is to visit the shipyards in Cherbourg this month on the proposed purchase of the 25-ton gunboat. South Africa is one of France's largest arms buyers. In recent years, South Africa has bought Mirage fighter-bombers from France, and the two countries have jointly developed ground-to-air Cactus missile launching systems. (N.Y. Times, 3/19/70)

The Death Penalty

As more and more doubt is being cast on the 'justice' meted out by South Africa's courts, it is frightening to study South Africa's record of executions. Three major facts stand out. First, the number of executions has increased dramatically over the past twenty years. Between 1911 and 1947, the execution frequency was about once every two weeks. Today an execution is performed on the average of once every third day.

Secondly, the percentage of condemned men who are pardoned has dropped sharply. The
available statistics indicated that in the years 1923-34 some 66% were pardoned while in the years 1959-64 only 27% were pardoned.

Finally, the range of capital offences has widened considerably over the past ten years. The death penalty, by hanging, can be imposed not only for murder and treason, but also for robbery or housebreaking with aggravating circumstances, sabotage which is defined very broadly, child stealing and kidnapping, and terrorism, which is also widely defined. (Johannesburg Star, 2/11/70)

The Danger of Forced Labor
The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, now being reviewed in Parliament, has two clauses in it which amount to forced labor. One gives the Government the power to remove "endorsed-out" Africans to a Bantustan and to detain them there and make them "perform such labor as may be prescribed." This is to prevent them from returning to the cities, but its implications for forced labor are clear.

The other clause gives the Government power to stop any individual African from doing any particular work for any particular employer. This, it was explained, was to "weed out African typists, receptionists and counter assistants in white businesses." This later power could force Africans back to the Bantustans where they could be made to work under the first clause. (Johannesburg Star, 2/11/70)

THE STUPIDITY OF JOB RESERVATION
"Non-whites may not wash white latrines, except during their construction, or within 60 days of their completion. While non-whites may not paint doors and windows they may paint roofs and gutters..." (Johannesburg Star, 1/31/70)

WARNING ON GOLD: (Quote)
"South Africa will have to solve its labour shortage and find an alternative to gold as a source of foreign exchange, within the next decade, if prosperity is to be maintained." Dr. Jan. S. Marais, Chairman of Trust Bank. (Johannesburg Star, 2/11/70)

ROGERS TAKES A SAFARI

The most important aspect of Secretary of State Rogers' 10-country, 15-day tour of Africa is whether or not it will lead to any change in the U.S. policy towards Southern Africa. From all early indications it will not.

It is not as if the Secretary has ignored southern Africa. His speeches and public talks with African officials have been full of the same cliches the U.S. has used for years to diplomatically side-step the fact that they actually do provide crucial financial and military support to the white governments of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal (for its colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea).

In Ethiopia, in one of his first important speeches, Rogers outlined the four principles to serve as the basis for U.S. African policy—opposition to "systems based on racial discrimination" was the first principle mentioned. In copper-rich Zambia, where the government of President Kenneth Kaunda officially recognizes many of the black liberation movements fighting in southern Africa, Rogers, once again, officially deplored "governments based on racial discrimination anywhere in the world..." These are of course empty words and really represent no departure from official U.S. policy—opposition to "systems based on racial discrimination" was the first principle mentioned. In copper-rich Zambia, where the government of President Kenneth Kaunda officially recognizes many of the black liberation movements fighting in southern Africa, Rogers, once again, officially deplored "governments based on racial discrimination anywhere in the world..." These are of course empty words and really represent no departure from official U.S. policy of the past. Rogers, however, felt compelled to hedge even these.

In Kenya, when asked about the possibility of U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa, he said that the U.S. would consider only practical steps in such international problems and refused to discuss the matter further. Back in Zambia, after having again mouthed sympathy for the struggles for freedom going on in southern Africa, Rogers happened to add that "we (the U.S.) do not believe that violence is the answer." Such hypocrisy makes him a worthy successor to Dean Rusk.

Perhaps the clearest indication of how little the U.S. plans to change its policy came when President Kaunda of Zambia publicly pressed Rogers to close the Consulate
General's office that the U.S. has maintained in Rhodesia. (This office apparently has been used by the CIA to collect economic information on Rhodesia. See past issues for details.) Kaunda argued that the office constitutes unofficial recognition of the government of Ian Smith. This recognition has been severely criticized by Britain and other allies of the U.S. Rogers would not comment on the request. (The office has since been closed; see pl3, this issue.)

Shortly before leaving for Africa, Rogers summarized U.S. policy objectives in Africa as follows: "...our policy goals are short-term; a commitment to the protection and promotion of American interests on the African continent. We shall revise this policy only under crisis conditions." (Guardian, 2/4 and 2/18/70)

Regarding the situation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the Working Group observed that mass killing of suspected opponents of the regime continued unabated, and called on Portugal to observe the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. It concluded that "the most inhuman form of forced labor prevails in the Portuguese colonies in Africa." Finally, it called for the abolition of the system under which African producers were compelled to sell their produce to a buyer designated by the Portuguese authorities.

Later in its session, the Working Group adopted its report on infringements of trade union rights in southern Africa.

Regarding South Africa, the Group concluded that certain legislation proposed in 1969 represented "yet another retrogressive step in the white-controlled Government's attempts to suppress the rights of the African worker." It said normal safety measures were not applied for African miners, while compensation for mine accidents was inadequate. It added that the system of African reserves was perpetuated by requiring those living in reserves to seek employment through a Labour Bureau rather than in the open market.

Concerning Namibia, the Group stated that evidence which it had received indicated that South African forces had resorted to "indiscriminate firing" in villages suspected of harboring freedom fighters. It recommended that South Africa be called on to desist forthwith from extending to Namibia the system of "Bantustans", or "national homelands."

It concluded that, with the passage of time and in the absence of United Nations intervention, South Africa's occupation of Namibia was resulting in ever-increasing hardship to the non-white population as well as the total suppression of human rights in the Territory. Therefore, it "strongly" recommended urgent action by the United Nations to end South Africa's occupation of Namibia. It also urged condemnation of the trial of 8 Namibians held in Windhoek last year.

NATO COUNTRIES STUDY SOUTH AFRICA'S AIR DEFENSE MISSILE SYSTEM

NATO countries are studying South Africa's air defense missile system, Cactus, following French proposals that this mobile defense system against low-flying jets should be considered by NATO countries. (Tempo, 10/11/69)
SWAPO Congress in Tanzania

The Dar es Salaam home service broadcast the following report on Jan. 7:

"The South-West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO, of Namibia has reaffirmed that the armed struggle was the only effective way to bring about liberation of Namibia, and that the Namibian people have already accepted the armed revolution as inevitable in the struggle for self-determination and national independence.

The congress denounced the apartheid policy being practised by the South African regime and its illegal occupation of Namibia. It condemned the Western powers, especially the U.S., France, Britain, West Germany and Japan for their military, economic and political support for and instigation of the fascist regime of South Africa to commit crimes against people in southern Africa... The movement also called on the United Nations to recognize SWAPO as the only true representative movement in Namibia, and to give direct material and moral support to the movement to carry out armed revolution in the territory.

Closing a consultative congress of SWAPO held in Tanzania, the Tanga Regional Commissioner, Mr. Waziri Juma, called on Namibian freedom fighters and the entire Namibian people to turn every premise in Namibia into a battleground to fight and get rid of the enemy. He emphasized that if every African refused totally to side or to cooperate with imperialists and colonialists, Africa would record even greater successes in its common struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

New Copper Mine

A new copper mine, involving an investment of about 5 million Rand ($7 million), is to be established near Windhoek in Namibia (formerly South West Africa)... According to Mr. A. Pugsley, chairman of the Falconbridge South West Africa Company, the mine is to be developed in conjunction with the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa and financed by the Falconbridge Nickel Mines of Canada. Production is expected to start in July 1971; the mine will treat 50,000 tons of ore per month.

Correction

The Ad Hoc Committee set up by the U.N. Security Council to study the problem of Namibia is to submit recommendations by April 30 rather than by June 1, as reported in the Feb. issue of Southern Africa.
was gunned down. ZAPU reports that three Rhodesian soldiers were killed in a clash southwest of Salisbury.

The Rhodesian Defense Minister, Howman, announced on TV that the "terrorists" were using weapons similar to those used by the Communist forces in Vietnam. He disclosed that Rhodesia had some trouble obtaining modern weaponry because of sanctions. (Times of Zambia, 1/29/70)

ZAPU is engaged in widening the warfront within Zimbabwe, as evidenced by the Jan. war reports. According to the Zimbabwe Review, Malawi has sent troops to fight alongside those of Ian Smith. The ZAPU Journal alleged that when Malawi troops were in the process of hunting down the ZAPU guerrillas, they ran into white Rhodesian troops and mistakenly began firing at each other. The journal condemns Dr. Banda for "serving his paymasters" of white Rhodesia. (Zambia Mail, 1/27/70) It is obvious that the Smith regime is unable and has been unable since the beginning of the armed struggle in 1966-67 to combat the freedom fighters. A report in the Rand Daily Mail (12/15/70) reports that the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Muller, praised the role of the South African police in Rhodesia in preventing the infiltration of "terrorists" from the north. A Salisbury Radio Report carried in Spotlight on South Africa (1/12/70) a broadcast of Dec. 12 in which Rhodesian Defense Minister Howman sent a message to South Africa stating that Rhodesia would "continue to hold the boundary in the common defence of all Southern Africa." Howman accepted a front end loading tractor at an Army headquarters ceremony which was a gift from the South Africa-Rhodesia Association for the Rhodesian Corps of Engineers. Germiston (South Africa) contributed £1,000 to the Army headquarters' schools for troops on the border of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Times of Zambia reported that Africans resident in Zambia are now being interrogated if they enter into Rhodesia to see their families. Formerly Africans carrying British passports to get into Zambia and UDI passports to enter Rhodesia could manage to move back and forth. But with the intensified struggle the Rhodesian police authorities are interrogating all such people, most of whom work in Zambia; and parents in Bulawayo have warned their sons to stop entering Rhodesia for fear of being detained. ZAPU Comments on the Struggle

ZAPU ascertains that the Smith regime was trying to involve innocent Zambia in a bluff by accusing her of harboring and helping guerrillas. "Our fighting forces are inside the country. They always have been, and will continue to be until freedom is won." (Times of Zambia) And in another article, quoted in Spotlight on South Africa: "We call upon every Zimbabwean to bevr in mind that there is a sacred national duty to be done by us all, irrespective of what we do for our living or where we live... We have not yet entered the most painful stage of our struggle; that phase is coming. If some of us would wish to be hesitant and treacherous at this rather preparatory stage, what will they do when the flow of blood and the sound of steel meeting steel will have become the order of the day?" ZAPU stated that the duty of free Zimbabwe lies squarely on the heads of Zimbabweans and that they cannot blame anybody but themselves to liberate their country. (Jan. 19, 1970.)

MEETINGS

On Feb. 18 at Moshi, in northern Tanzania, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity met. The committee members include Algeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Ethiopia, U.A.R., Guinea, Zambia, Tanzania, Somalia, Nigeria, Sudan and Mali. Nigeria refused to attend because of Tanzania's recognition of Hafra. Representatives from all movements recognized by the OAU would attend. A delegate, commenting on the meeting, said: "We have indicated through the Lusaka Manifesto that we would like to talk, not fight with the white regimes. But their apparent rejection of that document means we have to fight." The liberation movements receive monetary aid through the OAU Liberation Committee, and allocations would have been decided upon at the meeting, in addition to recommendations to be made to the OAU foreign minister's meeting in late February. (Zambia Mail, 2/17/70)
ZAPU-ANC Strategy Meeting
The African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union held a joint meeting of their National Executive Committees on January 16 in Lusaka, Zambia. Decisions were taken "to intensify the struggle for national liberation on the basis of their programs. A very close scrutiny of the machinery was made to ensure an effective coordination of the political, military strategy of the alliance; to work out details of an efficient and regular exchange of information ... and to work for a deeper commitment to the alliance by the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa." The meeting also reaffirmed the necessity for broadening cooperation with "authentic legitimate revolutionary movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and Namibia." (Spotlight on South Africa, 2/2/70)

Brief News Reports on Fighting
Portuguese military communique reported that in Angola, between Jan. 18-25, 4 Portuguese soldiers had been killed and 18 had been wounded in fights with Africans, while 11 guerrillas had been killed. In Guinea (Bissau) the communique contended that villages are continually harassed by freedom fighters from Senegal and Guinea (Conakry). It reported the death of 2 Portuguese and 2 guerrillas during the same time period. (Zambia Mail, 1/31/70)

FRELIMO representative in Zambia, Mariano Matusinha, said that the Portuguese were causing discontent in Mozambique by withdrawing health and educational facilities from areas where there was evidence of the freedom fighters' presence. (Zambia Mail, 2/19/70)

A Reuters release carries a story quoted from the New China News Agency about the Angolan movement, UNITA. Today, it says, the party has 3,000 armed guerrillas when in 1966 it started with only 11 fighters, 1 machine gun and 2 rifles (plus bows and arrows). (Times of Zambia, 2/7/70)

SP R O T

Ashe Testifies Before House Subcommittee
Ashe advocated that the U.S. not retaliate with an eye-for-an-eye vindictiveness in response to South Africa's denial of his application for a visa to participate in the South African Open tennis championships. But Congressman Charles Diggs was not so easily put off; he advocated that the State Department refuse to allow South African golfer, Gary Player, for example, to enter the country to compete. Benjamin Rosenthal urged that Ashe testify to the effect that athletes should be speaking out on political issues.

The article concluded with the following suggestion:
"South Africa is likely to pay for denying entry to Ashe. George Gowen, counsel of the U.S. Lawn Tennis Association, said that a meeting of Davis Cup member nations in March is expected to bar South Africa from the international competition." (Washington Post, 2/5/70)

SINISTER GOINGS-ON IN BOTSWANA
A recent story in the Guardian (2/4/70) reveals the kind of close cooperation which probably exists between the South African police of all the former high commission territories. The story describes the experience of a Botswana politician who was taken across the border into South Africa, interrogated and tortured last autumn shortly before an election in which he was planning to run. Mr. Frank Modise, 41, a former secretary of the Botswana National Front Party, was taken from his home-town in Botswana to the border where South African police were waiting. He was later taken to Pretoria, tortured and questioned about his contacts with the ANC. Modise denied the accusations, admitting only to have taken statements from Africans after riots in which a number of people had died. He also admitted that he had given lodging to refugees from South Africa. On Dec. 9, he was released in South Africa near the Botswana border. Once he got to Botswana, Modise went underground until arrangements could be made for him to go to England, where he is now living.
The scale of the continuing African clash with White authority is reflected in the prosecutions for pass offences. For the year 1967-68, there were 693,661 such offences, or an average of 1,900 a day. (Johannesburg Star, 2/14/70)

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

From: Liberation Support Movement (at any of 3 addresses)
   2. Report of the MPLA to the U.N. Committee on Decolonization, May 1969 .25
   3. "Message to Companions in the Struggle," MPLA President Agostinho Neto (presented over Radio Tanzania, June 1968) .30
   5. "Interview on Angola - with MPLA Eastern Regional Commander, Spartacus Monimambu" (parts of this interview appeared in the Guardian). .30
   6. "Interview with Daniel Chipenda", member of the MPLA Central Committee. Taped and edited by LSM, Sept. 1969. .25
   7. "The Organization of Angolan Women", OMA, the women's arm of MPLA, an interview with OMA Chairwoman Maria Carlos/taped by Dick Vestbro, Oct. 1969 .10
   8. "With the Guerrillas in Angola", complete version of an April, 1969 Ramparts article by LSM International Liaison Secretary, Don Barnett .30
   9. "Eastern Regional Conference of the MPLA", complete version of the Guardian article by Roy Harvey/Chairman LSM/Seattle Branch .10
   10. "Dr. Americo Boavida, heroic son of the Angolan People", (a tribute and interview with the fallen leader) "MPLA Medical Assistance Services" .25
   11. "Rape of a Colony: Angola, Portugal, and Imperialism", LSM pamphlet of U.N. documentation of foreign investment and NATO involvement in Angola .10
   13. Liberation Support Movement (a history and prospectus) .10
   14. "Victory is Certain!" (35mm black/white film strip; over 50 photos of MPLA in the Eastern Region. Text on the history and progress of MPLA. 4.00
Southern Africa Committee
University Christian Movement
Room 752
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