

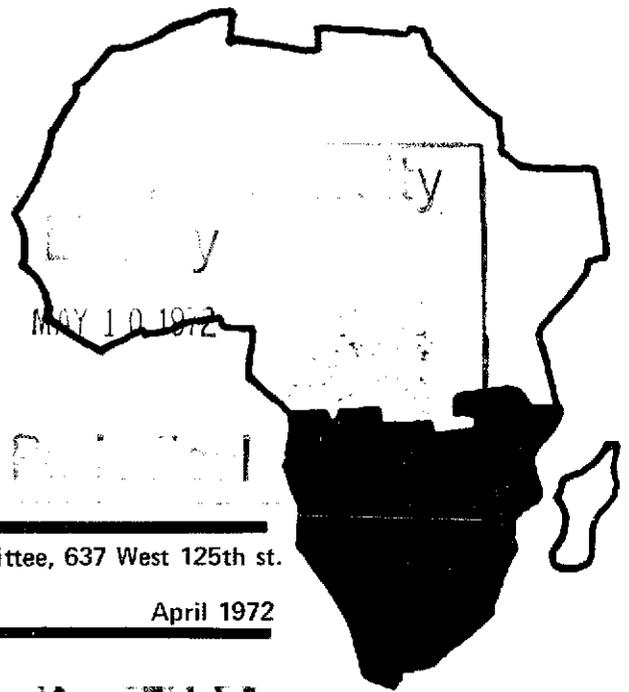
SOUTHERN AFRICA

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in this issue

"A LUTA CONTINUA"

A special feature on the FRELIMO struggle told by a recent visitor to the liberated areas of Mozambique, Robert Van Lierop.

Summaries of military events in the Portuguese territories.

A Reprint on the Cunene Dam scheme.

(All photographs for the special feature are by Robert F. Van Lierop. All rights reserved.)

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FEATURE ARTICLE



(Left to right) Howard Fuller, translator and FRELIMO militant Cornelio, author Robert F. Van Lierop, and Robert Fletcher inside liberated Mozambique.

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INTRODUCTION:

A Luta Continua

"A Luta Continue" (The Struggle Continues) is a film, photographic and written treatment of the armed struggle being waged by the people of Mozambique against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. Mozambique is strategically situated in southeastern Africa and has been the scene of a vital liberation struggle in southern and colonized Africa. It borders on Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

In spite of its own economic backwardness and high rate of illiteracy, Portugal maintains, in Africa, the world's largest colonial empire. Portugal has continuously defied United Nations resolutions and international public opinion by maintaining a colonial presence in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. Presently the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) has liberated one-fourth of the countryside and there are over one million people (out of a total population of almost eight million) living in the liberated areas. As the United States has done in Southeast Asia, the Portuguese are maintaining a large expeditionary force in an effort to thwart the Mozambican freedom fighters. The Portuguese have also received combat assistance from South African (three battalions of which are based near the proposed Cabora Bassa hydroelectric scheme) and Rhodesian troops.

This revolutionary struggle, which commenced on Sept. 25, 1964, takes on added significance because Southern Africa is the last bastion of a completely discredited way of living. Portugal has been able to sustain her war efforts with the assistance of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the NATO alliance (through which the United States has played a crucial role in denying the legitimate aspirations of the African people). A continuation of the present trends can only lead to further involvement by the western powers, particularly the United States, and directly involve America in another

war similar to that in Viet Nam. Every effort should be made to curtail present United States support for Portugal, South Africa, and Rhodesia before it is too late.

In this connection, an Afro-American journalistic crew entered Mozambique at the end of August, 1971 and spent six weeks traveling with a column from the FRELIMO army. They lived, marched, ate, and slept with the popular forces and the local population throughout that period. They traveled in a region that is noted for its mountains, rivers, and rugged terrain. The purpose of this journey was to observe, experience, film, photograph, and record as many aspects of the struggle as possible.

The crew consisted of Robert Fletcher, a freelance photographer (cameraman and still photographer), and Robert Van Lierop, an attorney (sound-man, still photographer, and writer). Howard Fuller, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C. and a member of the board of directors of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, journeyed part of the way with the column. The project was independently financed and all materials will be distributed with the object of informing the American public of the presently existing situation in Mozambique.

In order to distribute these materials and educate the American public as to the present situation in Mozambique, Fletcher and Van Lierop will be available to speak to various groups, meetings, etc. The film is in the process of being edited and will be ready for distribution shortly. While in Mozambique they took approximately 4,000 still photographs, most of which were color slides, and they will be able to make a slide presentation that will vividly depict the actual situation that exists in the liberated areas of Mozambique.

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(In the above Introduction and the following narrative which is excerpted from a diary soon to be published, Robert Van Lierop relates some of his experiences during the six weeks spent with FRELIMO inside Mozambique.)

by Robert Van Lierop

THURSDAY, Sept. 9, 1971

On Thursday, Sept. 9, we rose at 0530 for breakfast of tea, crackers, and two pieces of cassava—one baked and the other boiled [cassava or manioca is the root of a tree. It resembles a sweet potato in appearance and is very starchy]. Our work has been going very well. Up to this point I feel that we have succeeded in capturing with our cameras and recorders many of the little things that go into making this revolution. One of those "little" things that is really a critical element in the manner in which everyone relates in a warm and comradely way. We have seen by living example the total mobilization and integration of every man, woman, and child as an equal participant in this struggle.

While we were out filming a FRELIMO patrol moving through the bush, a bird made a call of nature on my hand. Cornelio [our translator, who is a FRELIMO militant and who accompanied us throughout our journey] tells me that this means good luck. I certainly hoped so as any number of things can happen in making a film of this sort.

For lunch we had soup, ugali [a corn or cassava meal prepared to a very thick consistency], and hash, plus bananas. It was delicious. And immediately after lunch we continued working. Later in the afternoon the National Political Commisar [Armando Guebuza] held a meeting with members of the guerrilla army. This was a lengthy meeting and, as is usually the case, it addressed itself to ideological as well as military matters. These meetings are extremely important because they also serve as a vehicle for discussion of any personal problems that might arise.

In order to wage this type of struggle the people must have a great deal of confidence in each other and must understand and appreciate each other's capabilities. Therefore, no matter how long it may take, all problems, feelings, and attitudes are brought out at meetings such as this and there is a collective confrontation and resolution of any potential problems or difficulties. All inhibitions are broken down and the frank and open discussions forge even tighter bonds of unity among all of the people in the liberated areas. Under these conditions one learns a great deal about other people and about oneself.

Dinner was chicken and rice and some pieces of antelope meat (shot by one of the comrades earlier in the day). After dinner the political meetings continued into the night.

FRIDAY, Sept. 10, 1971

It was slightly warmer when we woke on Friday, Sept. 10 as a result of some early morning showers. For breakfast we had tea with sweet potatoes and some antelope meat. Once again we had an excellent morning of work and broke for a delicious lunch of ugali, chicken, antelope meat, and two bananas. An ominous note intruded, however, when it was announced on the radio that Kamuzu Banda [President of Malawi, a client state of South Africa, and a proponent of "dialogue" with the racist regimes of Southern Africa] would visit the Portuguese-controlled areas of Mozambique later in the month.

In the evening we could hear the happy sounds of people singing and dancing. Dinner was rice and antelope meat. After dinner the singing and dancing continued for a while and then political meetings continued by lamplight.

It was comparatively warm that night and I woke up in a sweat on Saturday morning.



Life goes on almost normally in the liberated areas of Mozambique. (All photos by Robert F. Van Lierop.)

SATURDAY, Sept. 11, 1971

I did not feel well at all—indigestion, weakness, and a congested throat. We rose at 0530 and I really felt weak. The indigestion is beating hell out of me.

I gave Armando a list of possible interviewees. He told me that we could send some film and tapes back to the border for safekeeping. I sent back my notes up to this point, as well as 23 rolls of movie film and approximately 26 rolls of still film.

Breakfast was tea and crackers plus two bananas. After breakfast Armando and I discussed the weather—gray and overcast, bad for filming—and he suggested we stay at the base today. I asked about doing interviews even though I really didn't feel well.

Armando and I sat talking for a few minutes. Our conversation was interrupted at approximately 0800 by noise and activity in the camp. Soon I could hear the helicopters that were the cause for the alarm. Five enemy helicopters flew overhead.

I grabbed my fishing vest (which was always fully loaded with equipment and emergency supplies), my cassette tape recorder, and camera and moved out of the camp with everyone else. I stopped to go for Bob Fletcher but was told that he was already gone. Howard Fuller was with Cornelio and I. The FRELIMO troops rushed to their preassigned positions. Some laid an ambush for the enemy. Some came to protect us. And others grabbed the equipment, including the exposed film, etc., which never got a chance to go to the border. One comrade took the small box of film and tape and notes that I was carrying

so I could move easier. At one point I was amazed to see another comrade moving very rapidly while carrying not only his weapon and pack but also our very heavy Nagra tape recorder. Under the circumstances this act was a tremendous statement of strength, organization, discipline, and confidence.

We spread out rapidly and headed for a nearby river. By now the choppers were making passes overhead, raking the area with machine-gun fire and dropping grenades. This tactic is designed to keep FRELIMO's forces preoccupied so that the enemy could land troops nearby.

At one point our position became very precarious. We were huddled near a river when another flight of helicopters flew in low from the opposite direction, raking the area with machine-gun fire. On the other side of the river was an open area where the enemy could land troops and thereby cut off our advance. So we moved out as fast as we could. All illnesses, aches, pains, other problems, etc. were forgotten as we ran through the heavy, heavy bush with our hearts pounding rapidly. We ran from cover to cover, and in many instances, dove for the bush as the enemy tried to spot us.

Some of the comrades answered with small arms fire and I kept wishing they could shoot those French and American-built helicopters down, or at least get one of them. Cornelio (despite my protests) threw himself across my body to protect me from a stray bullet or grenade. I helped a couple of the comrades scramble to cover but most of the time they looked after us and, I might add, very professionally too.



Political education class of Centro Piloto Mondlane, which is a boarding school in liberated Niassa province. All people in the liberated areas receive regular political education. (Photo by Robert F. Van Lierop)

It was amazing to see the speed and precision with which the camp was evacuated and documents and equipment safeguarded. Cornelio then told me that Bob was behind us while we were moving out. I then became concerned and made inquiries, and learned that he was OK. That was a relief. In fact, I learned that he was busy shooting footage of the helicopters overhead and of our own comrades responding with small arms fire. It was good to know that he was "on the case."

Soon we reached a clump of banana trees and crawled under them for cover. Meanwhile, I recorded as many sounds of the battle as I could and tried to take still photos simultaneously. This is when we could have really used an extra person in our crew.

Eventually we reached another clump of trees (I continuously give thanks for the existence of the dense foliage). At this spot our relief was short-lived as a fighter-bomber made a few passes overhead, strafing an area nearby. We covered ourselves as best we could so the pilot could not see us and we then started to march out. I took some pictures of the plane as it made its runs. I hoped they would turn out well and that Bob got some good footage.

We marched behind our ambush lines (in case the enemy landed troops), crossed a river and climbed a mountain near where we could find food. We estimated approximately one dozen choppers in the attack.

We reached the resting spot at 1130 and remained on the alert. What a day for me to have woken up with indigestion! As my stomach growled its displeasure I could hear mortar fire in the distance.

This is the only way that the enemy can hurt the people of Mozambique. He can concentrate his troops and use air power, but he cannot meet FRELIMO on its own terms. I kept wondering whether our side was not handicapped by our presence and the need to protect us and the equipment. I knew the answer, but I also know what the comrades' response would have been to that question.

Luckily, Cornelio had recovered from his illness. I hoped that I did not catch whatever it was that he had and that I would be OK too.

FRELIMO's discipline had indeed gotten us this far. We laid down to rest and at 1400 had some cassava and then, miracle of miracles, some cookies, sardines, and orange-flavored fizzies with water. Even though my stomach was bad, I ate for strength, for who knows what we might face.

At 1420, Bob, Soares, and others turned up. All of them were in one piece, which was a cause for rejoicing, and Bob was carrying the camera, which made us very happy.

We now knew that the enemy had landed some troops in this zone. But eventually they would have to march out, and that is when FRELIMO would ambush them.

At 1615 we moved out to the command post (somewhere in the woods). We had to recross a dam built by villagers to catch fish. It was made from logs and it took a while to cross again. At the C.P. we met Armando, Bonifacio, Odallah, and the others. Everyone embraced and was ecstatic to see, touch, and feel our comrades in one piece and unharmed. Shortly after our arrival, an enemy fighter-bomber flew overhead. All of us lay still and the plane dropped six bombs and made three strafing runs nearby.

It was possible that the enemy was near by. We didn't know. So it would be a night of light sleep. We didn't know how many troops the helicopters ferried in as they made repeated trips. The enemy's objectives are to disrupt the progress, organization, and normality of life in the liberated areas. To do this he will burn the villages, the shambas, and the peoples' food reserves. In addition, all schools, hospitals, nurseries, and other institutions of national reconstruction are targets of the enemy.



A FRELIMO "responsible" pointing to crops destroyed by the Portuguese.



A guerrilla patrol passing through fields destroyed by the Portuguese.



Debris and equipment left behind by the Portuguese when they were routed by FRELIMO militants.



A meeting of members of the women's detachment. Even during the enemy offensive, many meetings are held to raise political consciousness of the various components of the struggle. Portugal has not been able to disrupt this very important function of constant in-put by members of FRELIMO.

Just two days previously, the soldiers have been discussing the progress they had made as evidenced by the enemy's use of new tactics (e.g., helicopter assaults have been occurring in this region since June). Civilians were there with us at the C.P. mixed in with the soldiers. This is a true peoples' war. I had no idea where my gear was, but I hoped I would find some more paper, tape, and film.

We ate dinner (red beans and rice) in the dark and turned in right after eating. It was impossible to tell what time it was because it was dark and we could not use any light at all. We had to sleep on the ground and because I had no blanket (my knapsack still being elsewhere), Bonifacio made a double bed with his ground cloth, sharing two blankets with me. It was cold and we washed our feet. But the bed was quite comfortable and the stars beautiful.

SUNDAY, Sept. 12, 1971

It is Sunday, morning and I should have slept well; however, I tossed and turned all night long because of my stomach. It turns out that I have diarrhea from eating too much raw cassava with Cornelio. Bonifacio told me that the same thing happened to him once last year. The comrades gave me some pills but I am still weak.

It rained (showers) this morning. This attack points up some of the enemy's military weaknesses. Ever since earlier this year, the helicopter has been the only way in which they can enter the liberated areas and, as in Southeast Asia, it shows how only air power keeps the invading forces in a position to disrupt life in the liberated areas. My only regret is that I ate that cassava at the wrong time and now I must bear the consequences.

We rose at 0500 and by 0600 we broke camp, recrossed the dam, and returned to the spot we were at yesterday evening. The ground was still wet and the sky

was gray and cloudy. As we moved out we could hear the sound of gunfire and mortars as the Portuguese ran into the first of many FRELIMO ambushes.

As the comrades took up positions on the mountain, Armando mentioned that we were seeing more than any non-Mozambican had seen so far. I concur and feel privileged to participate in the making of history.

It rained all morning long. All of us were soaked to the skin. Too bad we can't locate our ponchos. We really need them now. It was a very cold and hard-driving rain that absolutely chilled and soaked us to the bone. One good thing is that it means the enemy won't get air support while it lasts.

We built a small lean-to that held about eight or nine of us, but it was still wet and cold. Some water was boiled (on a day like this the smoke won't rise) and I washed my hands and face with Armando and Bonifacio. I found the hot water to be a welcome relief. Armando and Bonifacio even stood out in the rain and combed their hair. Bonifacio, in particular, was very funny—singing and calling me to come out and join him. It was worth noting that even under these conditions our comrades refuse to be anything but optimistic and unintimidated by adverse conditions. We also had some hot tea that turned out to be another very welcome relief.

Around noon it stopped raining but the skies remained gray and threatening. We went to the very dense area where the fires were and warmed up and dried off. After drying off by the fire we returned to our little spot for lunch (rice with small bits of fish).

Just before lunch we heard a Portuguese helicopter and fighter escort pass overhead. They could have been taking out dead and wounded or bringing food for their troops who are where we were the other day (and could have been again but for our schedule and the lack of sun, in which case we would have caught hell) and who are

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surrounded by FRELIMO troops. So far we have news of one comrade being wounded in the leg.

After drying off we ate at 1500 and right after that Maria discussed the exploitation of women by men in traditional Mozambican society and under colonialism. She sees the solution for women as being strictly in the context of the national revolution. When I asked her if she was familiar with the Western-style women's movement, Maria said she was not. It seemed to me she was talking about something unique and peculiar to the women of Africa. That the women there see their liberation only within the total context of their people's liberation. After a few general questions, Armando continued the meeting with all of us and discussed how women have traditionally been used to teach attitudes of male superiority. I thought of the example of black women in the South in the United States being used to teach such attitudes to white children.

Later in the day Mponda came to see us. He brought us some gazelle meat. The animal had been killed yesterday, and his children had left this amount of meat for him. But he thought it better to give it to his friends. He defined this as the true meaning of friendship.

For dinner I ate only some gazelle meat, passing up the boiled cassava (even though when cooked it is OK, I decided to starve my stomach into submission). On the radio we heard that Khrushchev had died. We had the same sleeping arrangements as the night before. The ground was cold and damp from the rain but my stomach felt much better so I was able to sleep well.

MONDAY, Sept. 13, 1971

We rose at 0530 on Monday. I had a very good night's sleep. This morning it was slightly warmer than it was yesterday morning, and my stomach felt much better. I am certain that I won't get any more diarrhea as I will just be more careful about the amount of raw cassava that I

eat. Getting it this time was not only unnecessary but also grossly inconvenient. I wonder why it was my turn to get it right before we were attacked (smile). Oh well, it doesn't really matter. I feel great now. The sky is gray and overcast again today and it looks like more rain, which will again be bad for the enemy.

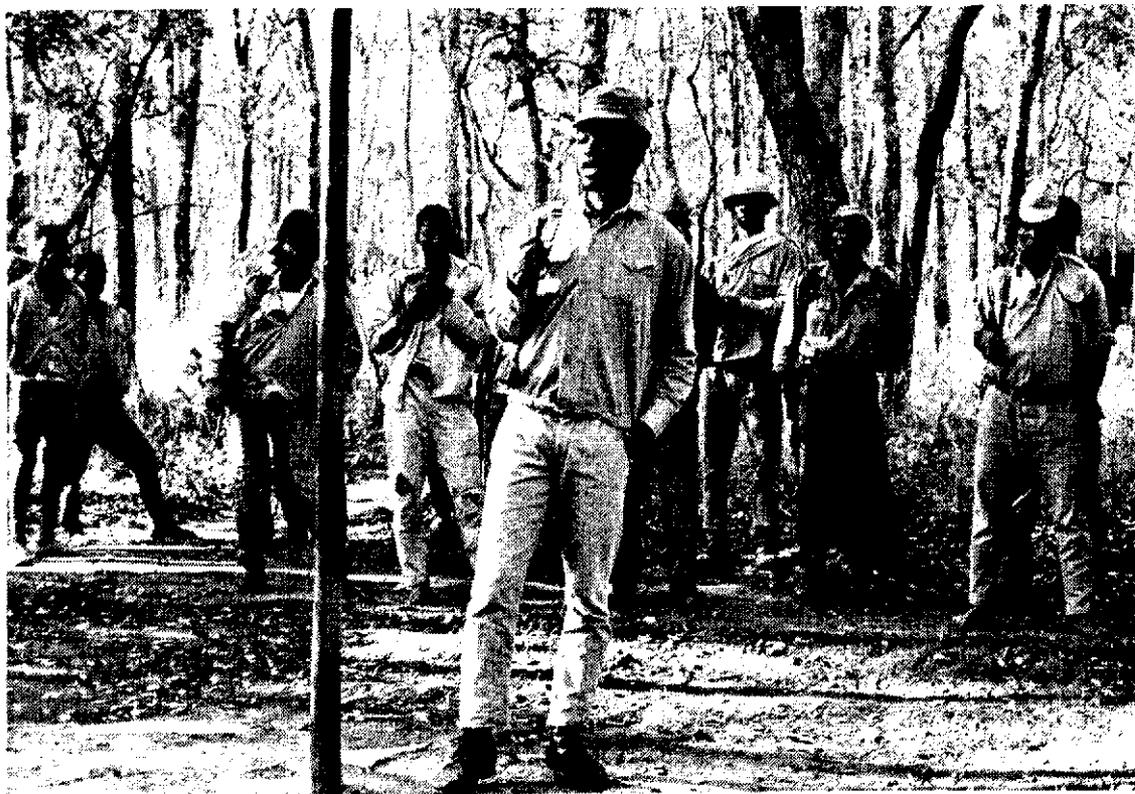
At 0815 Kumbe and a couple of other comrades made it to the mountain that has now become a FRELIMO stronghold. It was good to see them and they were joyfully greeted, and all of us again recounted our various experiences. At approximately 1100 a reconnaissance plane passed overhead. Late in the morning the sun came out. Armando told me he is hoping that the enemy has not found out about this mountain yet. Bombs would be the big threat because it is not conducive to a helicopter assault and the enemy would never be able to drive us out.

We had lunch (soup and rice) and relaxed. Chiviti and I built a lean-to. We listened to the radio and passed the time performing other camp chores.

The comrades suspect that the enemy may have launched a full-scale offensive in this region. Throughout the afternoon (not continuously but at irregular intervals) we could hear the drone of enemy aircraft in the vicinity. At approximately 1600 we heard more helicopters. Earlier in the day we could hear mortar fire so perhaps this IS shaping up as a concerted enemy drive.

Late in the afternoon I was able to bathe and wash my underwear in boiling hot water provided by FRELIMO. Even during this situation they are able to function with a high degree of normality. It felt so good to bathe. I am still amazed that we are as comfortable as we are under these circumstances. The comrades do work miracles.

Dinner consisted of boiled cassava and chicken. The enemy would be unhappy to know that he can't starve us out. It was warmer than it has been when we went to sleep.



Ceremony commemorating the 7th anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle in Mozambique on September 25, 1964 in Niassa Province on September 25, 1971.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

AFTERMATH OF OCTOBER RAIDS

Sixteen people are still in detention, following raids by the Security Police in October, 1971. Exact reports are difficult to obtain, and the following statistics have been culled from South African press reports:

1. Total detained	61
2. Still detained	16
3. Charged	5
4. Tried	0
5. Others raided	126
6. Grand Total raided and/or detained	187

Four of those charged are accused of violating the Suppression of Communism Act. A fifth person, Quentin Jacobson, is to face trial on March 20 under the Terrorism Act.

Efforts still continue to discover the truth about the death of Ahmed Timol who allegedly "fell" from the tenth floor of police headquarters. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972) There have been reports that Timol was tortured. His fingernails are said to have been ripped out. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party M.P., has demanded a judicial commission of inquiry into the number of people in South Africa who have died while detained by police. The Minister of Police, in answer to her questioning, has reported that 42 people died during 1971 while in police detention. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972)

LAND A KEY PROBLEM IN BANTUSTAN DEVELOPMENT

The South African Government and the Government of the Transkei, the most developed of the eight Bantustans, have reached a deadlock over the Transkei's demand for more land. Chief Minister of the Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima, has an 1884 map which he is using as the basis of his rights to increased land, specifically the white enclave of Port St. Johns and white areas in the districts of Maclear, Matatiele, Umzimkulu, and Mount Currie. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 19, 1972) The South African Government is prepared to buy only outstanding land envisaged by the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, which does not include the areas Matanzima demands.

The Chief Minister said the Transkei would not ask for its independence until the land issue was resolved, thus clearly implying the land issue would become increasingly a source of friction between the two. "If we get independence at this stage, we cannot get land which we think should form part of the Transkei," Matanzima said. (Guardian, London, Feb. 10, 1972)

Zululand also has a major land problem. It consists at present of 29 scattered areas. The government's aim is to consolidate it into three or four territories. This would mean the biggest upheaval Natal has known, with hundreds of white farmers, and hundreds of thousands of Africans being shifted from their land. Initial steps have been taken, but it is expected that the move will not be completed for 10 or 15 years. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972)

POLICY FOR URBAN AFRICANS CONFUSED

In spite of protestations that Africans are to look to the homelands for their future, the government seems to be acknowledging that Africans must be treated more humanely in the cities if "trouble is not to erupt." The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. Koornhof, in introducing the second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, said, "It is necessary to ensure that the Bantu working in the white areas is a happy and contented person." He spoke of the need for good water supplies, roads, bus service, etc., admitting the lack in all these areas at present. He also stated that Africans may have their wives with them in urban areas more frequently than previously. This apparent shift has been attacked by the opposition. "There has been such a change in Government policy that nobody knows now what the real object of the Government is—whether to attract the African to the urban areas or to the homelands." (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972)

FOUR ORGANIZATIONS UNDER INVESTIGATION

Prime Minister Vorster announced that a Parliamentary Select Committee will investigate the affairs of the Institute of Race Relations, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Christian Institute, and the University Christian Movement (UCM). Representatives of all four organizations have said that they have nothing to hide. They accused the government of avoiding the real issues—the inquiry into the death of Ahmed Timol, and the situation in Ovamboland, Namibia—by investigating them. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

In spite of criticism, Vorster says he is determined to investigate the goals, activities, sources of income, and associate bodies of the organizations. The United Party was urged not to participate in the probe, and thus give support to it. However, the United Party has agreed to be involved.

The four organizations under "study" have some overlapping concerns, but also important distinctions. NUSAS, formed in 1924, plays a part in the lives of about 27,000 students through affiliated Students' Representative Councils. The organization's liberal stance flows from its constitution which lays down that ALL South Africans must be allowed to participate (regardless of race!).

The UCM, founded in 1967, has the highest proportion of black members—more than 70%. Many of these it gained when NUSAS withdrew from the black campuses. Its membership is about 1,000. It concentrates on black theology, white theology, and literacy programs.

The Institute of Race Relations, founded in 1929, has strived to work for "peace, goodwill, and practical cooperation" between South Africa's various peoples. It does this through fact-finding research, publications, conferences, etc.

The Christian Institute is an ecumenical organization which seeks to promote Christian unity as a bridge across the barriers of race, culture, and denomination. It was founded in 1963. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972)

INSIDE NAMIBIA



STATE OF EMERGENCY

Since South Africa's Prime Minister B. J. Vorster denied that the situation in Namibia was a "major issue," ten Ovambos were killed in ten days. According to Mr. P. Pelsler, South Africa's Minister of Justice, police have learned of even more plots to kill government supporting chiefs and headmen; to burn down police stations; and to attack whites in the remote village of Odonga. Exactly what is going on in Namibia is hard to ascertain as there is a virtual news blackout and it seems a state of emergency exists. Meetings of more than five people cannot be held without a permit. Arrested persons will not be able to see a lawyer without government permission. Government and road transport services to the area have been suspended.

Ovambos have clashed with the police patrols, the former seemingly armed with bows and arrows. Bishop Colin Winter has made serious allegations about police action itself provoking the kind of trouble the South African government is anxious to put down.

THE STRIKE CONTINUES

Of the 13,000 Ovambos who went on strike, only a few thousand have returned to work after the "settlement" between the chiefs, South African government officials, and employers. According to Mr. J. J. Badenhorst, the Divisional Inspector of Labor, the newly arrived workers were being difficult. "They did not like their employers," he said. He urged employers to give workers a realistic wage to discourage them from moving from job to job. At Otjiwarango 52 newly recruited Ovambo workers went on strike. After negotiations all but 11 returned to work. The 11 men worked for the

Municipality that had refused to raise their wages. These men were being sent back to Ovamboland. There is still deep dissatisfaction with working conditions. The root cause remains: the migratory labor system, whereby even under the new agreement workers cannot take their families with them when they go to work in the white south.

ACTIVITY ON THE NAMIBIAN/ANGOLAN BORDER

Trouble among Ovambo tribesmen spilled over from Namibia into the Cunene district of south Angola. Reports of "subversion and even terrorism" sent the Governor General, Col. Rebocho Vaz, to Cunene to assess the situation.

Although African liberation movements have been active in Angola for 11 years, action has seldom been seen on the Namibian border. Unrest is centered around settlements right on the Angola/Namibia border. Activity on the border could mean cooperation between the Angolan liberation movements and the striking Ovambos against the concentrated forces of Portugal and South Africa on each side of the border. Concern for the unrest is heightened by the Cunene River Power and Irrigation scheme (see reprint this issue), a joint South African/Portuguese undertaking of proportions equivalent to those of the controversial Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique. Work on the Cunene dam has just begun.

WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT WITHDRAWS SUPPORT FROM NAMIBIAN URANIUM SEARCH

The West German government has withdrawn its financial support for uranium prospecting in Namibia; 75% of the German share of the prospecting costs were borne by the federal government. Rio Tinto Zinc, a British firm, had collaborated with Urangesellschaft MBH in Frankfurt in the operation. There has been strong criticism both in West Germany and from some African countries about the West German government's support for the project.

JUDGE WILLIAM BOOTH'S NAMIBIA VISIT

Judge William Booth (black judge and former Human Rights Commissioner of New York City) has come out strongly in favor of U.S. withdrawal from South Africa following his visit to Namibia as an observer for the International Commission of Jurists of a trial of striking Namibian mineworkers.

On his return to New York in March, Judge Booth said that economic pressure was the only way to induce change in South Africa, and U.S. companies should be made to realize that investment there is risky because of the smoldering situation.

Booth said that during his stay he was visited late at night by four people who told him they had seen people in Ovamboland being shot in the back, scooped up and buried. They had also heard screams coming from the jails there. Truckloads of prisoners were being brought to the jails which were so full that the people were kept outside, 20 to a truck, because there was not enough room inside. News given out that the strike had ended was untrue. About 3,000 workers had signed up and returned to work, but once they were in Windhoek employers had reneged on their promises and had offered workers only half the agreed wages. The workers left. The workers say they will continue their struggle until the system is changed.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

MONDLANE ASSASSINATION REPORTED SOLVED

The Observer (London, Feb. 6, 1972) reported that Scotland Yard and Japanese security police working through INTERPOL were able to trace the source of the materials used in the bomb that killed the first FRELIMO president on Feb. 3, 1969, Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. The goods originated in Japan and were part of a consignment to Lourenco Marques. Batteries from the same consignment were part of two other bombs sent later (and defused) to other FRELIMO leaders. The bombs are believed to have been assembled by PIDE (the Portuguese secret police) inside Mozambique, carried by agents to Tanzania, and put into the FRELIMO mail. Prime suspect is Lazaro Kavandame, now defected to the Portuguese.



Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane, FRELIMO

FRELIMO MILITARY REPORT

FRELIMO communiques in January and February reported October-November activity. In Cabo Delgado, activity included attacks on the post at Nangololo and two enemy positions between Miteda and Muidumbe, in the zone of Nachipingu; 15 major ambushes in which two lorries were destroyed and many prisoners freed; and 23 major sabotage operations in 14 zones. Total Portuguese reported killed in these activities were about 215. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Jan. 25, 1972; Standard, Tanzania, Jan. 15, 1972) In Niassa Province (October-December) FRELIMO killed more than 80 enemy soldiers, destroyed

more than 24 vehicles, wrecked 3 bridges, and blew up a troop train. Especially important was the destruction of the Macaloge post on Dec. 23, which had been considered impenetrable by the Portuguese. It included a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers, an administrative center, a garrison of more than 600 soldiers, the base for a road construction company, and was the control point for one of the Portuguese "protected villages." (Standard, Tanzania, Feb. 19, 1972) In October-November in Tete Province FRELIMO reported attacks on five enemy posts and camps, destruction of a fuel depot, 19 major ambushes (three of which were on the Zambezi River), and 25 sabotage operations that sunk five boats, destroyed 26 vehicles and 3 trains. Ninety Portuguese soldiers were reported killed in these activities. (Sunday News, Tanzania, Feb. 13, 1972)

Public press reports the following activity since December also: Jan. 7: FRELIMO guerrillas "set alight" a 15-ton truck owned by Swift Transport Services of Rhodesia. It is the fourth vehicle owned by that company to be destroyed on the Rhodesia-Malawi road. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972) Jan. 2: a FRELIMO landmine derailed a train between Moatize and Tete. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972) The Star also reports FRELIMO shot down a Portuguese helicopter in Cabo Delgado and that the Portuguese admit losing 13 dead and 17 seriously wounded from Nov. 1-Dec. 21 in the Tete district. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972) And on Feb. 10, FRELIMO committed what is considered "the worst act of sabotage since the liberation front declared Cabora Bassa its principal target." They blew up a truck of explosives, killing nine and injuring five, on the road between the Cabora Bassa dam site and the city of Tete. It is significant that the Portuguese military headquarters in Nampula announced that the "guerrillas had won the 'complicity' of part of the population to carry out their action" since the Portuguese have claimed to be supported by the populations which they "protect." (New York Times, Jan. 20, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

PORTUGUESE SAY CABORA BASSA STAGE ONE COMPLETE

First phase work which the Portuguese say has been completed on the Cabora Bassa dam included hard-topping of roads in the Cabora Bassa area, resettling local populations away from the damsite, and the drilling of two diversion tunnels into the rock faces of the gorge. Stage two will be the building of the concrete dam wall now that the water is diverted. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

OIL FIND IN MOZAMBIQUE DENIED

The reported (see March SOUTHERN AFRICA) oil strike of Beira has been denied by the companies involved there in prospecting. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972; Provincia, Angola, Jan. 12, 1972)

FIRESTONE APPLIES FOR LICENSE TO BUILD MOZAMBIQUE PLANT

The U.S. Firestone Tire Co. has applied for a license to build a plant in Mozambique that would produce about 1,000 tires a day and would begin production in 1973-74. (Standard, Tanzania, Jan. 22, 1972)

ANGOLANS OPEN WAR FRONT AT NAMIBIA BORDER

On Feb. 16, 1972 the MPLA announced the opening of a new military front in the south of Angola near the Cunene River hydroelectric and irrigation project which Portugal and South Africa are constructing (see Reprint, this issue). Mr. Daniel Chipenda, who made the announcement, said, "Our people there are a fighting people—they were the last in Angola to surrender to the colonialists. They have a strong national consciousness. . . . We (of MPLA) have to make it more and more possible for them to intensify and develop the struggle."

Activity by both Africans and Portuguese and South Africans had already been happening in the area since early December, in concert with the strike in Namibia. Ovamboland (the home of many of the strikers) is divided by a fenced border between Namibia and Angola, which

the people have traditionally resented and had in fact begun to tear down. According to MPLA, Portuguese troops were sent to the Namibia side of the border to help South African troops on Dec. 11. In January, the Ovambo population of Hongoena post in Angola rebelled and attacked the African militiamen in the service of the Portuguese. South Africa sent two helicopters full of police to assist Portugal in protecting the traditional chiefs of the area who sided with the Portuguese. Ovambos on both sides of the border then began cutting fences, burning cattle vaccination stations and villages. Both South African and Portuguese troops engaged the people in fighting on Jan. 18 and 19. (Standard, Tanzania, Feb. 17 and 19, 1972; Guardian, London, Jan. 24, 1972)

Reports indicated great concern by both Lisbon and Pretoria at the increase of activity in southern Angola, which they attributed to Angolan liberation movements. The Governor General of Angola, Col. Rebocho-Vaz, had flown to the area to assess the situation. Portuguese sources also revealed increased "rebel activity" throughout Angola, especially in the eastern regions during the same period of January-February, 1972. (Financial Times, London, Feb. 8 and 14, 1972; New York Times, Feb. 12, 1972)

M.P.L.A. SELF-RELIANCE SCHEMES

Boavida Quidado, a Canadian journalist who has just returned from Angola, reports that MPLA has begun several schemes to expand self-reliance, including training in motor mechanics and radio telecommunications, and manufacture of shirts and short pants. MPLA has also accelerated the training of medical teams, plans to produce its own text books in four major languages, and has expanded the "people's stores" where barter is used. (Times of Zambia, Jan. 10, 1972)

PORTUGUESE DESERTERS IN ANGOLA

In 1971 MPLA reports that several hundred "Portuguese" soldiers of African origin and a dozen "European" Portuguese soldiers, including two officers, defected in Angola. (Standard, Tanzania, Jan. 13, 1972)

MPLA MILITARY PROGRESS

Summarizing activity from January to October, 1971, MPLA reports 480 enemy soldiers killed and 793 wounded, 20 Portuguese barracks attacked, of which two were evacuated and two completely destroyed. There were 38 ambushes, 46 mining incidents, 17 vehicles and 3 bridges destroyed, 2 helicopters shot down, and 2 boats sunk. 655 Angolans were set free and a large amount of ammunition and weapons captured, including five 350Kg. bombs. (Guerrilheiro, London, No. 8; Standard, Tanzania, Feb. 4, 1972)

PORTUGUESE ARMY PLANE SHOT DOWN IN ANGOLA

MPLA guerrillas report shooting down a Portuguese army plane with 12 people aboard while it was spraying "poisonous matter" on the river Luele in Cuando region on Jan. 4, 1972. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Jan. 19, 1972)

ANGOLA SEEKS NEW COFFEE MARKETS FOR COFFEE SURPLUS

The Angolan Commerce service will free up 50% of the currency obtained in certain new coffee markets for import purposes as an effort to encourage exporters to seek those new markets. The markets desired include: Formosa, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Kuwait, Lesotho, Malawi, Muscat and Oman, Poland, Korea, Rumania, Somalia, Sudan, USSR, and Zambia. (Marches Tropic., France, Jan. 21, 1972)



THREE AFROAMERICANS TRAVEL WITH FRELIMO ARMY COLUMN

Owusu Sadaukai, Robert Van Lierop, and Robert Fletcher, a journalistic and filmmaking crew, entered Mozambique at the end of August, 1971 and spent six weeks travelling with a column from the FRELIMO army. They lived with the popular forces and the local population throughout that period in a region of rugged terrain. The purpose of the journey was to observe and record and experience as many aspects of the struggle as possible, preparing a film, still photographs, and slides. (See Box.)

PORTUGAL'S ALLIES

The Tanzanian Standard of Feb. 7, 1972 cited a British Financial Times story as saying that the U.K. Ambassador to Portugal, in a letter to the President of the British-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, affirmed that Britain is "ready and willing to provide facilities similar to those provided by the U.S. Government"; a reference to the Export-Import bank credit, worth \$436 million, provided to Portugal by the U.S. in December, 1971.

MPLA CABINDA ACTIVITY

Jan. 15, 1972 MPLA guerrillas attacked the Portuguese post at Landana in Cabinda, killing 12, wounding 6, and capturing 3. (Standard, Tanzania, Jan. 14, 1972)

PAIGC MILITARY REPORT

In September to November, 1971 PAIGC staged more than 40 ambushes, and more than 70 ambushes on Portuguese camps. On Nov. 26 they attacked Bafata with artillery, and on Nov. 30 attacked three other towns simultaneously. (Guerrilheiro, Jan.-Feb. 1972).

In December, 1971 PAIGC reports shooting down two aircraft, destroying 23 enemy vehicles, and two motorboats. (Radio Conakry, Jan. 18, 1972)

AMILCAR CABRAL VISITS FINLAND

Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of PAIGC, visited Finland Oct. 19-22, 1971 where he met with Dr. Kekkonen, the President of Finland, with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and with a variety of other governmental, organizational, and private people. He explained the situation in Guinea-Bissau; received substantial contributions from several sources, and arranged for increased aid programs. (Memorandum: Committee for Amilcar Cabral's Visit to Finland)

BOMBS EXPLODE IN BISSAU

In the night of Feb. 4-5, bombs exploded in Bissau, the capital city of Guinea-Bissau. One near a petrol warehouse was extinguished before it reached the gasoline. The Portuguese credit the A.R.A. (Armed Revolutionary Action) with the bombing. (Diario de Noticias, Portugal, Feb. 6, 1972)

PORTUGUESE LOSE PLANE IN GUINEA

Guinea (Conakry) shot down another Portuguese plane at Koundara on February 21, 1972. (Le Monde, Paris, Feb. 25, 1972)

NEW INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON LIBERATED MOZAMBIQUE. SLIDES, A NEW FILM, SPEAKERS.

In August and September, 1971 two Afro-American journalists and filmmakers entered liberated northern Mozambique where they spent six weeks living and marching with the people. Robert Fletcher and Robert Van Lierop have vivid visual and verbal portraits to paint of life in Mozambique. For information about speaking engagements, slide presentations, and reserving a new film ("A Luta Continua") to be ready this spring) contact COMMITTEE FOR A FREE MOZAMBIQUE, 616 West 116th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.



SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNALIST DETAILS PORTUGUESE AIR POWER IN GUINEA

Al J. Venter, writing in the Air Enthusiast (London, Feb. 2, 1972) details exactly the kind of planes and weapons the Portuguese are using in Guinea-Bissau as well as the style and particular problems of the Portuguese. Of particular interest is his information that on a number of occasions, beginning in 1971, Bissau has been overflown by MIG-17 aircraft based in Conakry and flown by Nigerians, resulting in blackout and air-raid drills now in Bissau. He also clearly shows how important the new American-made Boeing planes sold to Portugal are in overcoming the major Portuguese problem of transport. Although he favors the Portuguese, Venter sees no future for them in Guinea-Bissau, indicating Portugal is really just "sitting tight in her various camps, towns, and villages," but that she should manage to survive "with the usual aid from her Western friends."

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

RHODESIAN CHROME

Tony Geraghty in the Sunday Times (London, Jan. 30, 1972) revealed that lobbying for a break in the sanctions against Rhodesian chrome began at least as early as Feb. 16, 1971 at a meeting between officials of the federal government and the chrome industry (represented by L. G. Bliss, chairman of Foote Mineral, and Mrs. Margaret Cox-Sullivan, a "political consultant" for Union Carbide). The lobby, led by Senator and newspaper baron Harry Byrd, Jr. and supported by Sen. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) and Dean Acheson, maintained a "low profile" and only informal coordination, and focused its attention on the State Department. The lobbyists concealed the fact that the Office of Emergency Preparedness had declared that after Feb. 7, 1970 the U.S. stockpile of chrome would cover only defense needs or 10% of annual imports, which could be met for 46 years without further importation. Great Britain was aware of the impending pro-Rhodesian legislation as it developed in the fall, but only asked the State Department to do anything about it far too late.

DIGGS' VISA

The South African government, in spite of a still valid visa, refused entry to South Africa and Namibia for Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.). The Rhodesian government of Ian Smith also refused his entry. His fellow representatives, Charles Whalen and James Harvey, both white, declined to go to Salisbury in solidarity with Diggs, although they received their permit. (Guardian, London, Jan. 11, 1972)

THE LUSAKA CONFERENCE

The eight U.S. Congressmen (2 Senators, including Adlai Stevenson [D-Ill.], 6 Representatives, including four blacks) returned from the conference with African representatives visibly disturbed by African anger at U.S. favoritism for the white regimes of Southern Africa, reflected particularly by the Azores agreement and the lifting of sanctions on Rhodesia. They said they would press for changes in American policy. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972) Shocked American officials in Washington are trying to clarify a statement attributed to Rep. Diggs (D-Mich.) in Lusaka about the "possible fire-bombing of the General Motors plant in Port Elizabeth." The actual text of Diggs' statement is not yet available, but one official termed the comment "disgraceful." And Ford Foundation, as the main financial sponsor of the conference, is deeply embarrassed by the reference to a General Motors plant. (Star, Jan. 29, 1972)

SENATE VOTE TO CURB SECRET PACTS

By a vote of 81 to 0, the Senate approved Senator Case's bill requiring the executive branch to submit all international agreements to Congress for its information. Secret agreements would go to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The White House did not oppose the bill and may be hoping that the House will defeat the measure. The bill was a response to such executive agreements as the recent Azores Pact with the Portuguese. (New York Times, Feb. 17, 1972)

U.S. POLICY AND THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

Top-level Washington officials are following Southern African events with renewed interest after the African

"NO" to the British-Rhodesian settlement plan, the Ovambo workers' strike, and the indications that Chiefs Buthelezj and Matanzima have real constituency and some independent authority. This represents a change from earlier assumptions placing a low priority on potential African initiative in the area. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972) In his "State of the World" address, President Nixon rejected more clearly than ever before any American responsibility to participate in the fight for change in Southern Africa, and instead emphasized the potential for change within the area. He did say in reference to Namibia that "we seek to encourage peaceful ways of realizing and protecting the rights of the people" there. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972). George Bush, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., told an airport news conference in Lagos that the U.S. does not consider itself to be on the defense in Africa, but to be making a positive contribution to African development. He explained the abstention on the Rhodesian vote at the Addis Ababa Security Council meeting in terms of the "objectionable clause" calling for the recall of the Pearce Commission. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 19, 1972)

BLACK AMERICANS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Twenty-seven Black American teachers, administrators, and foundation representatives met for three days at Barranquitas, Puerto Rico to outline steps by which Blacks could have more influence on U.S. policy toward Africa, especially Southern Africa. The group included Robert Brown, John Henrik Clark, Johnette Cole, Adelaide Cromwell, Leonard Jeffries, Tilden Lemelle, Herschelle Sullivan Challenor, Inez Reid, Hugh Smythe, Haskell Ward, James Joseph, and James Turner. Senator Edward Brooke (D-Mass.) was not able to attend but sent a paper urging more "pressure here at home." (New York Times, Feb. 13, 1972)

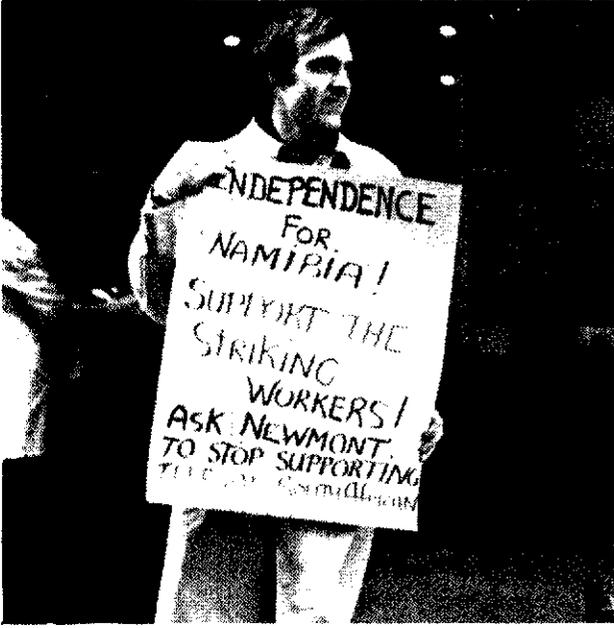
NATO AND SOUTH AFRICA

Representatives of a NATO committee charged to determine "whether there is a communist threat on NATO's southern flank" are scheduled to visit the Simonstown naval base, South Africa, in March or April and to "explore the possibility of incorporating South Africa in the NATO alliance." This emerged from a Cape Town government newspaper report which quoted the chairman of the committee, Canadian M.P. Kenneth Robinson, in a telephone interview. A NATO spokesman in Brussels denied reports that the committee was investigating the possibility of incorporating South Africa in the organization. (Guardian, London, Jan. 21, 1972)

ERIC LINCOLN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Professor Eric Lincoln of Union Theological Seminary in New York gave a paper entitled "Black Identity in the United States" at a workshop at the Abe Bailey Institute for Interracial Studies at the University of Cape Town. Lincoln was the only Black at the workshop and later said: "The Blacks are so far removed from any 'rights' [here] that not only have I not seen one [except the servants in my hotel], they aren't even mentioned by other panelists." He castigated the exploitation of Africans by whites in America and characterized the "Black is beautiful" affirmation as the Black Americans' refusal to accept that exploitation and white definition of blacks. (Jet, Feb. 10, 1972)

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES



Member of the Namibia Support Group at the recent New York demonstration against Newmont Mining.

NEW GROUP ON NAMIBIA FORMED

A new coalition consisting of people from the Southern Africa Committee, American Committee on Africa, and the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa has formed "to find ways to respond to the current situation in Namibia, where the people are demanding their freedom." Calling itself the Namibia Support Group (NSG), it has drawn up statements supporting the Namibian strikers; sponsored a demonstration at Newmont Mining Corporation in New York City, and raised money for strikers and their families. NSG plans a meeting with Bishop Colin Winter, recently expelled from Namibia, and Judge William Booth, an observer at the trial in Windhoek of 12 striking Namibian workers. The NSG will also work with the stockholder campaign related to Newmont and American Metal Climax. FOR MORE INFORMATION (including a packet of materials on Namibia; a fact paper; documents on the trials; primary source material from African workers; profile of Tsumeb Corporation and action ideas—cost \$1.00), contact: NAMIBIA SUPPORT GROUP, 47 Claremont Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10027.

PROTEST AGAINST AMAX RECRUITER AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

On March 15 the Namibia Support Group leafleted the Columbia University campus in New York informing the students about the role of American Metal Climax Corporation in exploiting the workers of Namibia. AMAX had planned to come to Columbia to recruit personnel from the business school, but at the last minute did not show up!!!

Sponsors also include the Southern Africa Committee, the American Committee on Africa, the Committee for a Free Mozambique, and the Columbia Anti-Imperialist Coalition, in addition to the Namibia Support Group. The demonstration received some coverage in the local campus press.

DEMONSTRATORS AT CHROME ARRIVAL

Several hundred demonstrators from the black community in Burnside, Louisiana were there to meet the arrival of the first chrome shipment from Rhodesia when it docked on March 20. Controversy surrounds the ore because it was shipped in defiance of sanctions against Rhodesia. Original plans called for unloading the chrome in Baltimore, Md. Fearing protests, authorities rescheduled unloading for Burnside, La., a little port near Baton Rouge.

Local university professors and other professional people organized the demonstration when they learned of its arrival. The Black Caucus in the Louisiana State Legislature helped arrange a press conference for the Committee Against Black Oppression, which pulled the demonstration together. By the time the shipment arrived, the predominantly black International Longshoremen's Association had refused to unload it, and Burnside, La. was front-page news as far away as London.

Exactly who unloaded the chrome is not clear. Capt. Harland Hall, head of the terminal where the ship was unloaded, said first that the Operating Engineers of Baton Rouge had done the work, but later said they were just "some people." Local demonstrators were roped off too far away from the dock to talk to the unloaders, but they did notice that most, although not all, were white.

The chrome is going to the Foote Mineral Company to be used in Steubenville, Ohio. But 125,000 more tons are expected and the next shipment is on its way at the time of this writing. Purchased by Union Carbide, it left Mozambique on March 5 and was scheduled to arrive in the U.S. March 29. The port of arrival was not announced.



GERMAN GROUP ACTS ON SIEMENS

The Angola Mozambique Guinea committee of Germany plans to attend en masse the "general assembly" (annual meeting) of the firm Siemens AG to raise the issue of the company's participation in the Cabora Bassa Dam Project. It expects to have 200 people at the meeting and with its strategy will monopolize 15 hours of time with questions and statements. (Suddeutsche Zeitung, West Germany, Feb. 1, 1972)

NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION CALLS FOR BLACK INDEPENDENCE

The National Black Political Agenda, adopted at the recent National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, included among its other recommendations the following:

Black support of the African revolutionary movements "by all means."

That the U.S. "in all theaters of international action cease its complicity with European countries seeking to politically or economically control the African and Third World peoples."



Ford plant in Port Elizabeth, South Africa

BRITISH GROUPS MOUNT ACTION ON ZIMBABWE

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and a myriad of other groups have organized a variety of protests against the British-Rhodesian settlement proposals. The largest action came on Feb. 13 when 15,000 demonstrators marched from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square (see March SOUTHERN AFRICA). The main speaker at the rally, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Chairman of the African National Congress of Rhodesia and newly elected leader of the All Africa Conference of Churches, told the crowd that the settlement proposals were "a constitutional fraud, a prescription for increased racial bitterness, the making of an inevitable bloodbath, and an insult to the dignity of every African in Rhodesia."

In an unusual demonstration, two South African Indians with the THIRD WORLD FIRST MOVEMENT (3W1) went to South Africa House in London and there began to talk with security personnel on duty. Soon other 3W1 people entered the building dressed as South African police and "arrested" the Indians for violation of the pass laws. The real security people were confused enough to ring an alarm and close down the Embassy!

Finally, at HULL UNIVERSITY students occupied the administration building with the demand to the school to sell its shares in Reckitt and Colman, a firm with South African interests. (Anti-Apartheid News, March 1972)

STUDENTS IN EUROPE MEET ON ZIMBABWE ISSUE

In mid-February a meeting called by the National Union of Students with student leaders from the Scandinavian countries, France, UK, and Malta heard Bishop Abel Muzorewa of Rhodesia and produced a communique totally opposed to the settlement in Rhodesia as well as the sale of arms and white emigration to Southern Africa. The students joined the Feb. 13 demonstration at Trafalgar Square. (Anti-Apartheid News, March, 1972.)

GERMAN COMPANIES IN ZAMCO FACE CHALLENGE

AFRIKA HEUTE (October 1971) reports that Cabora Bassa has politicized shareholders meetings in the Federal Republic of Germany, with about 100 groups participating in the protest campaign against Cabora Bassa. All four of the public German companies in ZAMCO have been faced by Cabora Bassa as the number one issue in shareholders meetings. This included the Siemens, AEG, Brown Boveri, and Hochtief in Essen. (The fifth company, Voith GmbH, is a private society.)

SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER ATTACKS FORD FOUNDATION

In Parliament in February, Prime Minister B. Vorster declared that the Ford Foundation, which has given monies to the South African Institute of Race Relations (which is under a proposed investigation by the South African government) also aided "terrorists in Tanzania." The allegation was quickly denied by Ford, saying that it had only assisted in 1964 with \$99,700 to "provide education in Tanzania for refugee youths from Mozambique" and that the foundation's funds "are not used for political activity at home or abroad." (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 19, 1972)

J. T. Teko Manong, a South African movie maker, is the producer and director of the *Last Jesus*, a semi-musical made in Toledo, Ohio, that will "deal with problems as they are" and star Kim Weston. . . .

COFFEE BOYCOTT SURGES IN HOLLAND

Nine coffee roasters in Holland have agreed to end the import of Angolan coffee! On Feb. 3, five firms, including the large Douwe Egberts, which controls 50 percent of the market, joined four earlier firms in the landmark decision. In an advertisement Douwe Egberts and two other firms said that consumer protest against Angolan coffee had forced the end of the imports: 21 percent of all Angolan coffee, worth \$35 million per year, is imported by Holland and now 90 percent of it has been stopped. Coffee represents 32 percent of Angola's exports, and thus the Dutch action means the drying up of approximately 7 percent of Angola's export market.

An intensified campaign on the coffee issue was initiated by the Angola Comite in 1972 urging consumer boycotts of all coffee containing Angolan beans. The quick reverberation of the effort resulting in the importers' decision was due to the wide support the boycott received from more than 250 Dutch organizations, including three large labor unions, schools, city governments, and churches. As the U.S. imports 50 percent of Angola's coffee, the Angola Comite urges similar effort in America. (Angola Comite, Press Release, 314172)

PORTUGUESE PLOY IN ANGOLA AND W.C.C. RESPONSE

by Cornish Rogers

(The following is reprinted from the March 22, 1972 issue of Christian Century.)

The World Council of Churches (WCC) has responded to critics of its Program to Combat Racism by reaffirming its support of liberation movements in Southern Africa. For four hectic days in Arnoldshain, West Germany, some 60 participants from around the world met this March at the WCC racism commission's behest, to engage in a symposium on the proposed Cunene Dam, the Portuguese government's ambitious water power project for its African territory of Angola. The political, military, and strategic implications of the scheme involve the future capabilities of the white majority regimes in Southern Africa (Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa) to hold black majority populations in continued subjugation. The Cunene Dam is not the first such project of the Portuguese: already under construction is the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique.

The frightening prospects of these two projects led the WCC's Central Committee, meeting in Addis Ababa in January, 1971, to call upon WCC member churches "to discourage their governments and industrial commercial enterprises from supporting" such enterprises "which entrench racist and colonial minority regimes in Africa; and also to educate their members and to warn the wider public of the threat that such schemes pose for world peace." Thus did the specific mandate for the symposium emanate from the highest policy-making group of the WCC in a statement which not only reflected the outraged Christian conscience of the world body over the intransigent racist governments of Southern Africa, but also acknowledged Christendom's part, over the past two centuries, in aiding the establishment of those regimes.

Under the leadership of the three secretaries of the program (Baldwin Sjollema of Holland, Nawal Dawood of Ceylon, and Charles Spivey of the U.S.), the participants met to gather more information on the Cunene project and to develop strategies for churches and action groups to attempt to forestall construction of the dam. The churches' action has largely centered on investment policies and support for liberation movements. Unfortunately the failure of many church representatives



Construction work at the Cabora Bassa dam site.

to attend the consultation resulted in an overemphasis on the action groups' strategies and programs. Youthful activists from Europe and the U.S. displayed a remarkable grasp of national and corporate involvement in Southern Africa. Undoubtedly many of them have close ties to the affected areas; some are relatives of white settlers in Southern Africa; some who were born and raised in those territories have become embittered—and radicalized—by injustices they witnessed at close hand. Several young activists spouted Marxist rhetoric, but all of them evinced a sober, realistic appraisal of the tasks before them and a firm commitment to the successful completion of those tasks.

The first action of the consultation was to put the agenda into a larger perspective, as reflected by the preamble to the symposium's final report:

In order to understand the true significance and future implications of the Cunene River Scheme in Angola and Namibia we have to examine it in the wider context of Southern Africa where the minority racist and colonial regimes are jointly engaged in resisting the advance of African freedom. The object of the scheme is to promote the further integration of Angola and Namibia, create conditions for establishing the presence of half a million additional settlers in the region, and through international financial loans and other links involve external parties even deeper into the Southern African conflict. Accordingly, both Portugal and South Africa claim that the Scheme is a "development" project forming an important part of their program and plans for developing the region so as to serve the best interests of the people. THE CUNENE RIVER SCHEME, LIKE FOR EXAMPLE THE CABORA BASSA PROJECT, IS THEREFORE AN OPERATION IN MAINTAINING, REINFORCING AND CONSOLIDATING FOR THE FUTURE A SYSTEM OF WHITE DOMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE. [Emphasis ours.] It is clearly not a normal "development" project but a vitally important strategic Scheme to retard as well as defeat the struggle of the African people for freedom and democracy.

Although Portugal and South Africa are the principal financiers of the proposed dam, a number of European and American companies and banking institutions are intimately involved in—and stand to profit from—the project. Since the dam would serve both Portugal and South Africa (it will be located in southern Angola near the Namibian border), foreign investors will be drawn into defending the status quo of the political situation in Southern Africa. Holland and the United States are major buyers of Angolan coffee; Britain invests in Namibian uranium and the Bengwela railroad of Angola. A subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company sells communication systems for use in Portugal, Mozambique, and Angola. Eighty percent of the mining of base metals in Namibia is done by a company with a large American investment. As the discussion unfolded, a sorry picture of corporate greed emerged which made clear the tremendous stake Western countries have in maintaining minority white regimes in Southern Africa.

By meticulous watchdogging of reports and statistical charts, some participants had been able to uncover other stratagems employed by Portugal to cement its hold on African territories and to oppose the guerrilla movements there. By encouraging Europeans (Italians and Germans, as well as Portuguese) to settle in the area around the dam, Portugal hopes to create a buffer zone to protect it from sabotage and to increase white presence in the territory. Since 1960, the European population of Angola has increased 119 percent to 350,000; Portugal hopes to

"The political, military, and strategic implications of the scheme involve the future capabilities of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa (Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa) to hold black majority populations in continued subjugation. The Cunene dam is not the first such project of the Portuguese; already under construction is the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique."

raise that figure to 500,000 through the Cunene Scheme. Similarly, the Cabora Bassa scheme is designed to settle one million Europeans in Mozambique, which now has a white population of 150,000.

Portugal depends on military aid from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as well as upon its special status in the European Economic Community to buttress its position in Africa. (A German participant disclosed that, after World War II, an arms factory was set up under German financing in Portugal. The arms were sold to Germany with the understanding that Portugal could use some of the arms in its efforts to curb the liberation groups in Angola and Mozambique. It should be remembered that Germany had been forbidden to manufacture arms within its national boundaries after the war.)

Two speakers, Abdul Minty of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and R. J. van der Veen of the Mission Council of the Netherlands, gave historical, political, and theological perspectives to the issues.

At the end of the four-day meeting, the participants, working through the night, drafted a series of resolutions that urged:

- (1) Increased church financial support for the African liberation movements;
- (2) Exposure of the economic entanglement of Western corporations in the Cunene project;
- (3) Recognition of the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia since 1966;
- (4) Examination of investment portfolios of churches to ensure that they are not beneficiaries of the system of oppression in Southern Africa; and
- (5) Church lobbying efforts against corporate, military, and cultural support of white minority regimes in Southern Africa.

The extent to which this symposium gave active support to the liberation groups was dramatically demonstrated by the tabling of a suggestion to hold a follow-up conference, on the grounds that such a meeting might drain some energies from the active waging of the struggle for liberation. One person was overheard to suggest in private conversation that a follow-up conference be planned, financially secured, and then cancelled a few weeks before its scheduled meeting—and that the money saved be given to the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

Each of the resolutions will be considered by the Commission on the Program to Combat Racism at its meeting in New York April 23-28, and then acted on by the WCC Central Committee in August.

ECONOMICS

COST OF LIVING INCREASE

The cost of living in South Africa rose 7.1 percent in the year from December 1970 to December 1971. Food costs rose 6.3 percent, the biggest increase being for proteins—fish prices rose by 12.8 percent, milk products and eggs by 11.4 percent, and meat by 9 percent. The figures, released by the Department of Statistics, show that servants' wages increased by nearly 10 percent. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICAN LINKS WITH ANGOLA

Angola will become the fastest growing market on the African continent for South African goods, according to SAFTO marketing executive Peter Roberts. Angola has the second largest white population in Africa, and the territory's imports in 1970, at R265 million (\$347 million) were higher than those of Rhodesia. All South Africa got from this large volume of business was a meager 3.96 percent.

Roberts said that the Angolan economy was growing rapidly, due to oil field development at Cabinda, iron ore deposits at Cassinga, diamonds, and coffee. Exports soared from \$127 million in 1961 to \$398 million in 1970. Portugal, Germany, the U.S.A., France, and Japan all had a larger share of Angolan business than South Africa. Devaluation meant that goods from those countries would be relatively less competitive to South African goods. Exploitation of Angola's mineral resources and processing of agricultural produce was creating

processing and other industrial activity based on import replacement industries. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

CAR SALES DOWN

New car sales in South Africa dropped 31 percent in January, from a record level in December. General Motors sank from second position in December with 13.07 percent of the market to seventh position with 8.4 percent. Ford and Volkswagen achieved best sales in the country. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 19, 1972)

OUTWARD "ECONOMIC" POLICY

South Africa is exploring ways of beating Common Market tariff structures by establishing industries in African associate member states of the EEC. New tariff structures would make the Republic's canned fruit exports to Britain about 40 percent more expensive than at present. South Africa's canned fruit production is worth about \$96.2 million a year, of which about 32 percent is exported to Britain. General Manager of the Langeberg Kooperasie, Dr. J. W. B. Laas, suggests that South Africa could ship certain fruits to an African state holding associate status in the Common Market, can them there, and re-export them without having to face the new tariff structure. (Sunday Times, Nov. 7, 1971)



Coca-Cola — South African style.

NEW BLOW TO SANCTIONS

Rhodesia has regained its U.S. market for asbestos, copper, nickel, and manganese—worth more than \$8 million in 1965—as a result of Congress' decision to permit resumption of chrome ore sales here. This wholly unexpected consequence of the "Byrd Amendment" took even State Department officials by surprise. The amendment, introduced in the Senate by Harry Byrd, rescinded the President's authority to embargo strategic materials from Rhodesia unless the same materials were also prohibited from communist sources.

However, because the amendment covered "any strategic and critical material" listed in the Strategic and Materials Stockpiling Act, its effects were far wider than envisaged. The Treasury has published a general license permitting U.S. importers to resume freely the importation of chrome ore, and "any other material" of Rhodesian origin listed in the Stockpiling Act. This opens the way for Rhodesia to resume exports to the U.S. of other minerals, making a further breach in the sanctions barrier, and strengthening Rhodesia's position in world markets. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

ISCOR AND RHODESIA

ISCOR, the South African Iron and Steel Corporation, has signed a contract with Rhodesian Railways for the delivery of more than 52,000 tons of steel. The steel is for rails to be used on the new line from Dett to Wankie, and on the Somabule-Malvernina project. Delivery is to be made over the next 3½ years. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADE BALANCE

South Africa's import and export trade is still deep in the red—in spite of import controls and rand devaluation. In January, 1972 exports were still R118.7 million (\$154.7 million) behind imports. This follows a year in which South Africa suffered a record trade deficit of R1,349.1 million (\$1,767.3 million). Fears are growing among commerce and industry that devaluation and import controls may not be sufficient to cure the country's economic ills. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 19, 1972)

JAPAN AND U.S. TAKE MORE

In 1970 the U.S. and Japan bought goods worth about \$405.8 million, representing about 20 percent of South Africa's nongold exports in that year. Exports from South Africa to Britain dropped by more than 12 percent from 1969, while sales to other European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries were marginally higher. According to detailed statistics released by the South African Department of Customs and Excise, West Germany was by far South Africa's biggest market in the European Economic Community (EEC), importing goods worth about \$145 million.

WAGE POLICY

South African Prime Minister John Vorster said in parliament that it was government policy to reduce the historical gap in wages between whites and nonwhites. He said there was no law in South Africa which laid down minimum wages for whites and maximum wages for nonwhites. South Africa's labor legislation specifically stated there could be no discrimination on grounds of color. (News From South Africa, Feb. 11, 1972) According to the Financial Mail (Johannesburg, Sept. 6, 1968) earnings of whites averaged 440 percent of black earnings in 1962 and 485 percent in 1967.

U.S. INVESTMENT POLICY

A panel of prominent Americans, including former deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Cyrus Vance, have called for the U.S. to discourage new investment in South Africa. The study of American policy toward Southern Africa was sponsored by the United Nations Association of the United States. The study also recommended that the U.S. cease military assistance to Portugal and impose an arms embargo for that country's colonial rule over Angola and Mozambique. (Corporate Examiner, Feb. 1972)

EVEREADY

Eveready's new South African factory at Port Elizabeth is expected to more than double the company's capacity when it comes into full production this year. Building costs alone amount to about \$5.25 million. (South African Digest, Feb. 11, 1972)

RED BALANCE

South Africa imported goods worth more than \$4.3 million from communist countries in the first ten months of 1971. Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Muller, said that imports included foodstuffs, mineral products, leather goods, textiles, machinery, vehicles, and optical instruments. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972)

AUSTRALIAN STAKE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Ten Australian companies now have wholly-owned subsidiaries in South Africa and investment is steadily growing. There are also another 12 companies operating joint ventures with local companies, and at least another dozen with technical information and agency agreements. An article in the Australian Financial Review says that it is well known that overseas companies, particularly British and American, obtain a higher rate of return on capital in South Africa than anywhere else in the world. "The ideology of apartheid has not spurred Australian or other overseas companies into publicly and collectively criticising its supports even though the collective effect of the investment is to support an economy whose long term future is not certain." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

FRANCE TO BOOST SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE

France is making a determined bid to expand trade with South Africa through the recently established Compagnie Francaise de Prospection Internationale (CFPI). The main object of the CFPI, which has government backing, is to promote export of French goods to the Republic, although the local representative says that South African exports will also benefit from closer trade contacts between the two countries. CFPI helps to facilitate negotiations for local manufacture of French products under license, and helps to resolve related financial problems.

Also, during January a deputation of nine French politicians went to South Africa on a visit organized by the South African government. Leading the deputation was M. Bertaud, president of the Economic Affairs Commission. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972; Le Monde, Paris, Jan. 18, 1972)

I.B.M. COMPUTERIZING APARTHEID STOCKHOLDERS: ACTION REJECTED

IBM is going ahead with plans to furnish, on lease, an IBM 360/50 computer to the South African Government. This is the wholly-owned subsidiary's contribution to the Vorster regimes' "Book of Life," an extended and revamped version of the infamous passbook system. The new system will compile data on all Asians, Coloureds, and whites.

As one response, the American Committee on Africa has published a "fact sheet" on IBM in South Africa (for copies write ACOA, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016). As another response, David Robinson, a member of the Southern Africa Committee and professor in Connecticut, filed a stockholders motion with IBM on Jan. 6, 1972. Robinson requested that his resolution be included and sent out on the company's proxy materials, to be voted on this spring at the annual meeting. The text of the resolution reads:

"Whereas South Africa is the only legally-constituted racial dictatorship in the world,

"Whereas United Nations resolutions have repeatedly urged foreign companies not to cooperate with the white minority government,

"Whereas IBM's involvement in South Africa is expanding considerably,

"RESOLVED that International Business Machines shall no longer sell or lease its products to any agency of the government of the Republic of South Africa."

In his "100-word supporting statement," Robinson continues: "South Africa's policy of apartheid is universally condemned. IBM's operations in the Republic of South Africa serve to strengthen white minority rule and apartheid. The South African government presently uses the IBM 360/50 to store detailed information on millions of people under the Population Registration Act. The Act directly assists the government as it suppresses dissent and maintains control over the African, Asian, and Colored majority. Many Americans, including a United Nations Association report, advocate withholding products that directly or indirectly support

apartheid. Stockholders should oppose sale or leasing of our corporation's products to the South African government."

Accompanying the filing of the resolution was a letter to Chairman T. V. Learson in which Robinson clearly stated his reasons for the motion. He declared: "It is my assessment that IBM's sale and leasing of computers strengthen the white government's ability to manipulate and control the nonwhite majority. . . . ICM should not need to be reminded of the tremendous injustice inflicted on the African population by the passbook system under which over half a million African arrests are made yearly. The Population Registration Act provides for a "Book of Life" (ironically named) for all citizens, thereby extending the mechanism for control by the white minority government. The leasing of the IBM 360/50 for use by the government for the Population Registration Act is a morally unacceptable form of complicity in apartheid."

IBM has sought to sidestep a public debate on the issue, and appealed to the Securities and Exchange Commission to drop the resolution on various legal technicalities. In January, the SEC obliged the corporation, ruling against Robinson's resolution. Robinson planned an appeal, which has apparently fallen on deaf ears.

Debate on this issue is far from ended, however. As part of the Church Project on Investments in Southern Africa, the Episcopal Church filed a stockholders' motion with IBM demanding "full disclosure" of IBM's activities in South Africa. In an unprecedented response to such a motion, IBM has agreed to meet the terms demanded, and to send out a full report to their 600,000 stockholders. No doubt this is another move to keep the issue "low profile," and avoid a direct confrontation, however IBM cannot duck a discussion of the "Book of Life" in that section of the report dealing with their "relations with the South African Government."

Letters protesting IBM's participation in the passbook system should be sent to Mr. T. V. Learson, Old Orchard Road, Armonk, N.Y. 10504.



THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS PRESENT AT ADDIS SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

The Security Council of the U.N., which met in late January/early February in Ethiopia, had an opportunity for the first time to hear a number of leaders of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. PAIGC Secretary Amilcar Cabral said that the people of Guinea-Bissau should be represented at the U.N., not through the colonial Portuguese but by their own movement. He also asked that Security Council member states allow PAIGC members access to their countries; apparently France has refused them entry. In addition, Cabral called upon the U.N. to force Portugal to negotiate with the movement, and asked the Council to increase its aid to the liberation struggle. MPLA and FRELIMO speakers urged the member nations of the Council to end all cooperation with Portugal. Zimbabwean representatives of ZAPU and ZANU appeared and both rejected the Pearce Commission's mission to Rhodesia and the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals. The ZANU representative read a letter from his movement's President, imprisoned Rev. N. Sithole, which stated that the British assumption that the Smith regime would yield eventual majority rule to the people of Zimbabwe was "basically dishonest in its conception and tragic in its consequences."

The Secretary-General of the OAU, Diallo Telli, called upon the Council to recognize the legitimacy of the freedom fighters, and in particular to solve the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, to aid Britain in organizing a constitutional conference outside Rhodesia on the issue of self-determination and the suspension of South Africa and Portugal from the U.N. The OAU Liberation Committee repeated an invitation formerly made to the U.N. Committee on Decolonization asking the Security Council to enter liberated zones of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. The current President of the OAU, President Ould Moktar Daddah of Mauritania, proposed that the Council form a five-member permanent committee essentially to be in charge of the administration of Namibia.

Portugal announced that it would not pay its share of the cost of having the Council meet in Africa, and denounced the venue strongly. (Times, London, Feb. 2, 1972; Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 2, 1972; Nationalist of Tanzania, Feb. 3, 1972; Le Monde, Paris, Jan. 31, 1972 and Feb. 11, 1972; Diario, Mozambique, Feb. 9, 1972)

SWEDISH AID TO MOVEMENTS INCREASED 25 PERCENT

The Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam announced a 25 percent increase in humanitarian aid to Southern Africa concerns escalating from \$2.15 million in 1971 to \$2.67 million in 1972. The movements in the Portuguese territories in 1971 received almost half the amount, the bulk going to the PAIGC. Other funds go to refugee education and assistance. The Swedish have said that "As the movements get better control over the territories where they are active, the need for material support for education and health increases." (Standard of Tanzania, Feb. 1, 1972)



AT THE UNITED NATIONS



Judge Booth being greeted by Mr. Abdulrahim Farah
Chairman of the U.N.'s Special Committee on Apartheid

SECRETARY-GENERAL WALDHEIM ON VISIT TO NAMIBIA

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, on the second day of a three-day visit to Namibia, said that he believed the government of South Africa intended to grant "self-determination and independence to South West Africa," and that his purpose was to "clarify the situation and set up direct contacts to achieve this aim." Waldheim and a staff of five was accompanied by the South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller and other government officials, including Jan de Wet, the South African "ambassador" to the illegally held areas. On his arrival, Waldheim was met by black demonstrators protesting South Africa's administration of Namibia. Waldheim also visited the copper-mining town of Grootfontein, which is the railhead for Ovambo labor to the white-managed industries farther south. It was reported that there is speculation that the visit could lead to a more permanently based U.N. presence in Namibia. (New York Times, March 9, 1972)

This visit followed the resolutions on Namibia adopted by the Security Council on Feb. 4 at Addis Ababa, which reaffirmed once again the "inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence," and invited the Secretary-General with representatives of Argentina, Somalia, and Yugoslavia from the Security Council to initiate contact with a view to establishing conditions so Namibia will be able to exercise its right to independence, and asked that he report to the Security Council not later than July 31, 1972. (U.N. Security Council Res. 309, Feb. 4, 1972)

SECURITY COUNCIL IN ADDIS

Mr. Peter Mueshihange, SWAPO representative at the Security Council meeting in Addis, declared there would be an all-out war on all American, West German, British, Canadian, and other commercial interests in Namibia until

Namibia is free. Mueshihange proposed that the Council for Namibia should be strengthened and that Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter should be invoked to enable a U.N. force to replace the South African forces there and asked that a commission of the International Labor Organization be sent to Namibia to investigate the situation of workers there. Mr. Jacob Malik, Soviet Russia's ambassador to the U.N. in a major speech to the Security Council at Addis, had declared that the strike of over 15,000 Ovambo workers was continuing despite the threat of another Sharpeville massacre.

STRENGTHENING OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIAN CHROME URGED BY SECURITY COUNCIL

A revised proposal sponsored by Guinea, Somalia, and the Sudan to the Security Council would decide that the present sanctions against Southern Rhodesia "shall remain fully in force until the aims and objectives set out in the original 1968 resolution imposing sanctions were fully implemented. The Council would declare that any legislation passed, or any action taken, by any State with a view to permitting directly or indirectly, the importation from Southern Rhodesia of any commodity falling within the scope of the sanction, including chrome ore, would undermine the sanctions and be contrary to the obligations of States." The draft followed upon recommendations in a report issued last December which was particularly concerned with U.S. action authorizing the importation of Rhodesian chrome as a strategic material. At the Feb. 25, 1972 meeting of the Security Council in New York, Mr. Fakhreddine (Sudan), President, said, "Our meeting here, seven years after the Council adopted its first resolution on economic sanctions against the rebel regime, in order to reassert the validity of those sanctions, is evidence of the ineffectiveness of those measures when the means of their enforcement are lacking and the scope of their application is so limited." (U.N. Press Release WS/543, 5 Feb. 1972; U.N. UN/PV.1642, Feb. 25, 1972)



Sharpeville, South Africa—March, 1960

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION—MARCH 21

The Special Committee on Apartheid appealed to governments and organizations for the widest and most effective observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on March 21 which commemorates the 1960 massacre at Sharpeville in which peaceful demonstrators against the pass laws were mowed down by bullets from the South African police resulting in the death of 69 people and injuring over 200. Despite world appeals, the South African regime, as resistance to apartheid continued unabated, intensified repression. The convictions of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg and the trials of a number of Africans under the notorious Terrorism Act, the detentions of a large number of students and youth under solitary confinement, the

reports of widespread torture of opponents of apartheid in prison, and the raids on church, student, and other organizations, attest to the deliberate efforts of the white minority regime to consolidate racist rule. By closing all avenues for peaceful change, it has obliged the oppressed people and their liberation movement to resort to underground activities and armed struggle as the only means to attain their legitimate aspirations. Twenty years ago on "South Africa Freedom Day," June 26, 1952, the oppressed people of South Africa launched the Campaign for Defiance Against Unjust Laws in which over 8,000 persons courted imprisonment in peaceful protests against racism. The Special Committee appealed for the intensification of anti-apartheid campaigns especially during the period of March 21 to June 26. (UN Press Release GA/AP/259, Feb. 17, 1972)

FLASH FLASH FLASH FLASH!

TWO MORE U.C.M. LEADERS BANNED

News has been received of the banning of two more leaders of the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa. Stanley Ntwasa, who was the director of the Black Theology Project of the UCM until Feb. 1, 1972, and who was to return to the Federal Seminary in Alice to complete his theological studies, was banned in early March. Details are not yet known of his banning order.

In addition, the Rev. Dr. Basil Moore, white Methodist clergyman and former President of the UCM, was banned. Terms of his banning order confine him to the Johannesburg magisterial district and do not allow him to attend any social, political, or educational gatherings or to receive in his home any visitors other than a doctor. His five children and wife will be allowed to stay with him. Moore's address is: 16 Chichester Road, Westdene, Johannesburg. Moore had been doing valuable work with the African Independent Churches.

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



Dean Aubrey Gonville French-Beytagh of Johannesburg

ANGLICAN DEAN TO LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA

The Rev. Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, said he plans to leave St. Mary's Cathedral even if his current appeal against three convictions is upheld. "My seven-year term of office as Dean of Johannesburg ends after Easter. The Bishop has asked me to stay for another seven-year term, but I will not do so—even if I win the appeal. I will be extremely sad to leave St. Mary's, but I don't think I would be welcome to stay in South Africa." The churchman was convicted to five years on government charges of inciting people to break laws and prepare for violent revolution; receiving \$65,000 from the London-based Defense and Aid Fund, which is banned in South Africa; and distributing the money to members of banned organizations or their families. (Religious News Service, March 6, 1972)

FOURTH NAMIBIAN ANGLICAN EXPELLED

Miss Antoinette Halberstadt, 22, was served with ouster papers outside St. George's Cathedral in Windhoek after she heard the farewell sermon of Bishop Colin O'Brien Winter, recently ordered out of the country. Halberstadt is on the staff of the Diocese of Damaraland. Along with Bishop Winter and Halberstadt, David de Beer, treasurer of the Diocese of Damaraland, and the Rev. Stephen Hayes were also expelled. (Religious News Service, March 6, 1972)

LAITY ACCUSE BISHOP OF RACISM

The multiracial executive committee of the Johannesburg diocesan "Justice and Peace Association" has resigned and accused Bishop Hugh Boyle of Johannesburg of "gross discourtesy typical of white racist attitudes." The resignations and accusation followed Boyle's demand that Djrake Koka, a black labor union official who was chairman of the committee, resign. Boyle denied that there was any discourtesy or racism in his demand that Koka resign. His statement also said that

he was not unhappy with the resignations of the executive committee members and that he believes the work of the Association cannot be carried out by "so-called pressure groups."

The clash between Boyle and Koka began last year when Koka and others demanded that the 74-year-old Irish-born bishop resign and give way to a black bishop. In July, Koka and 11 others walked into a meeting of the bishops' conference and presented a memorandum demanding the appointment of a black cardinal to replace Cardinal Owen McCann of Cape Town and the resignation of Boyle and his replacement by a black bishop. They said Boyle had shown no interest in the spiritual and socioeconomic conditions of the black community. "He has shown indifference in matters of the country's discriminatory policies," they said, "even when some members of the clergy and laymen have been victimized. . . . He has, when faced with this challenge and when he was called upon to give a lead, washed his hands and adopted an attitude of 'Am I my brother's keeper?'"

Koka pointed out that although there are one million blacks in the Catholic Church in South Africa and 170,000 whites, there are 25 white bishops and only one black bishop. Seminarians at St. Peter's seminary in Hammanskraal had been closed last year after student protests against white domination of the church and especially against Cardinal McCann and Bishop Doyle, but it has now reopened. (NC News Service, March 6, 1972)

CHURCHMEN DECRY NAMIBIAN TORTURES

Anglican and Lutheran churchmen in South Africa and Namibia are investigating allegations that South African police broke up a church meeting in the black "homeland" of Ovamboland in northern Namibia Jan. 30 and shot four black Africans in the ensuing fracas. The reports were made Feb. 28 at a church meeting at Otjimbingwe, some 100 miles west of Windhoek, preceding talks between Namibia's two black Lutheran churches that are discussing a merger to create a united black Lutheran Church of more than 300,000 members. Recently expelled Bishop Winter said he was "sickened" by what missionaries from Oshikango on Ovamboland told him about the "terror" people feel when they see police and army trucks, and added that he intended to testify at the United Nations. (Religious News Service, March 6, 1972)

In a statement released later, the bishop accused South Africa of using torture, detention without trial, and violence to control the blacks in Namibia. He described his deportation as an attempt to "muzzle the church" and said that the South African government had ignored the church's attempts to bring together government officials and Ovambo leaders for talks. (NC News Service, March 8, 1972)

Leaving South Africa March 9 in compliance with his expulsion order, Winter conferred with U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim at a meeting of the Lutheran World Federation delegation from Geneva. (Religious News Service, March 10, 1972)

MUZOREWA PLANS EXPANSION OF A.N.C.

United Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, chairman of the new African National Council of Zimbabwe (and newly elected leader of the All African Council of Churches), said the organization will be enlarged and will "continue the fight for the defense of black interests."

His statement came in the wake of one by Prime Minister Ian Smith that a "NO" vote by Africans to the British settlement proposals would be interpreted by him as a yes vote for the status quo. Muzorewa's statement came as the Pearce Commission was preparing to leave for London after its eight-week survey of opinion on the settlement. Muzorewa, who will continue as ANC chairman, said the first step in reorganizing the ANC will be the holding of a constitutional convention. He continues to insist that Britain and Rhodesia renegotiate the settlement with black Rhodesians. Many feel the bishop and other ANC leaders will be arrested and detained without trial, but Muzorewa reiterates his declaration that "We shall not deviate from our just demand for universal adult suffrage." (Religious News Service, March 13, 1972)

SOUTH AFRICAN BISHOPS OPPOSE APARTHEID

The South African Roman Catholic Bishops Conference has issued a stinging denunciation of the "evil of racism and race discrimination" in South Africa, and called on all Christians to act against it. In a memorandum entitled "A Call to Conscience," the bishops insisted they were not meddling in politics—as the government has accused them of doing—but were simply following the demands of their Christian duty to work for "greater social justice." The bishops said they were "deeply troubled" by the sight of people being detained, banned, silenced, or "restricted without public trial" or who have become the object of "suspicion and harassment" because of their "Christian concern for neighbors of a different race." The statement follows South Africa's recent

renewed oppression of church people who are outspoken against apartheid.

The bishops also scored the denial of full citizenship and franchise to the majority in South Africa. The bishops' "Call to Conscience" received prompt support from other Christian church leaders in South Africa. (Religious News Service, Feb. 22, 1972)

PRIEST PREPARED TO CHANGE RACE

An embittered white Roman Catholic priest in Port Elizabeth says he is prepared to be reclassified in order to remain with the Coloured parishioners he has served for 20 years. Father John Clifford of St. Martin de Porres in Gelvandale has already received letters from the government telling him he is in "illegal occupation" of his presbytery. "I have worked and identified with the nonwhite people for 20 years," the priest said. "How can I now be accused of trespassing under the Group Areas Act?" He described the move to evict him as "an example of the intrusion of the apartheid ideology into the domain of Christian ministry." (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 19, 1972)

ANGLICAN SYNOD TO PAY EQUAL SALARIES

The Anglican Diocese of Pretoria has decided unanimously to pay African and European clergy the same salaries, a decision that will mean considerable increases in pay for all black clergymen. The new salary scales took effect March 1, (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 12, 1972)



This sign at the entrance to St. George's Anglican Cathedral, Cape Town, was erected in 1957 when the South African Parliament, in session a few streets away, passed the Native Laws Amendment Act one clause of which forbids people of different races to worship together. This sign has since been replaced by a much larger one, stating the same message in English and Afrikaans

THIS CATHEDRAL IS
OPEN TO WELCOME
MEN AND WOMEN OF
ALL RACES
to
ALL SERVICES
at
ALL TIMES

BOOK REVIEWS

Kenneth W. Grundy, **GUERRILLA STRUGGLE IN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS AND PREVIEW** (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971), paper \$4.95.

United Nations Association of the U.S.A., **SOUTHERN AFRICA: PROPOSALS FOR AMERICANS** (New York: UNA-USA, 1971), paper \$1.00.

These two books are less important for what they say than for what they represent. The reader acquainted with Southern African issues will find little new here, but the books are important because of the political tendencies they represent. Grundy is a liberal American political scientist who spent a year in East Africa at Kampala, Uganda, and wrote this book later as part of the "World Order Models Project." It gives some background on conceptions of guerrilla warfare, some factual background on Southern Africa, as well as Congo, Algeria, Kenya, and Sudan, and, in line with the World Order series format, a scenario for Southern Africa in 1990.

Grundy combines sympathy with the liberation struggle with an antipathy to "extremism," and a conventional western political science framework. The contradictions in his thinking are most apparent in his scenario of "a more acceptable future," in which there is a moderate Colored Prime Minister of South Africa, with "international backing that enables it to withstand a complete radicalization" (p. 159). Aid to refugees and exiles is proposed to "serve the dual purpose of enabling the West to make a contribution to African development and to offset the inordinate influence of Communist countries" (p. 164). Considering the possibility of Western intervention against the white regimes, he suggests that "it would be wise for the West to cloak the operation in the legitimizing mantle of the United Nations or the OAU, preferably the latter. . . . With whites taking the risks and doing the work and blacks participating in the administration, the imperialist image of American foreign policy might be diminished" (p. 181).

The UNA report comes from a panel of prominent Americans, including Edwin S. Munger (a scholar sympathetic to white South Africa), Waldemar Nielson (of the African-American Institute and the Council on Foreign Relations), William Hance (Columbia University professor of economics), Robert F. Goheen (former Princeton Univ. president), Clifford L. Alexander (Black former Governor and worker, Arnold & Porter), and others. For a group with such a composition, the proposals go surprisingly far, and it is therefore important to read them very carefully to see just how far they do go. For example, the Panel recommends that American business not place new investment in South Africa. But for companies already there, it recommends a Polaroid-type line, the adoption of "progressive labor practices with a view to improving the economic and social condition of their nonwhite employees" (p. 46).

There is a proposal that the impact of American companies be reviewed two years from now by a U.S. Governmental Interdepartmental Task Force on Southern Africa. On Portugal, as another example, the Panel proposes suspension of all military assistance to Portugal, but it goes on to say that "by offering economic assistance the U.S. could encourage Portugal to accept independence as a legitimate goal in the African territories. . . . The Panel recommends that the U.S. Government apply positive economic inducements to



Portugal by offering her nonmilitary assistance and that we exert whatever diplomatic and political influence we have on the Portuguese Government, in order to persuade Portugal to accept independence and majority rule in her African Territories" (p. 72). Note that the assistance is not to be given on condition of withdrawal, but as an "encouragement." Nixon's Azores agreement seems perfectly in line with this recommendation.

The emergence of these positions by the UNA, by Grundy and other scholars of a similar perspective, reflects the increasing pressure posed by the advance of the liberation movements, and the growth of solidarity with them in this country. Such positions require a two-fold analysis. On the one hand, they do represent significant concessions toward disengagement from white Southern Africa, in comparison, for example, to the Nixon Administration or to earlier U.S. policy. Insofar as this is true, they should be taken advantage of—the end of military assistance to Portugal, or of the sugar quota would be a positive step. At the same time, they represent positions which, in the interests of American imperialism, would limit self-determination in Southern Africa, controlling change there and support here to make sure it doesn't go "too far." As such, they should be exposed and denounced. Above all, no one genuinely committed to the liberation struggle should allow such positions to set the terms of debate and control the direction of the protest against American support of Southern African racist and colonial regimes.

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THANK YOU!!! THANK YOU!!!

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