Despite political independence in 1973, support is necessary for economic liberation of Guinea-Bissau in the Cape Verde Islands which are of great strategic importance.

Factions among liberation forces create a situation of international intrigue. Rich in oil, it is a prime target for international exploitation by foreign powers.

A South African colony declared illegal by UN, white interests are supported by American corporations which control 80% of its mineral production.

Independence June 1975—government will continue to struggle to build economic independence. Party cadres at local level insure political base among the people.

5% of population rules the 95% African majority. Made foreigners in their own country, Africans refuse "solutions" short of one person-one vote.

Apartheid policy enforces strict social and economic segregation. 80% of all African wages are below government established Minimum Subsistence Level.
SOUTHERN AFRICA LIBERATION COMMITTEE

In our country we don’t believe in the capacity of one person to liberate the people. Liberation is the job of all the people... Amilcar Cabral
PAIGC

The Southern Africa Liberation Committee was established as a response to the exploitation and suppression of the African majorities in the countries of southern Africa. Positive actions of SALC to encourage the newly independent countries of southern Africa and to protest American military and corporate support of the minority white regimes include the following:

* **EDUCATION**

Given the bias against African liberation perspectives in the Western press, SALC has made a concerted effort to obtain foreign and national educational resources that manifest a less distorted analysis of current events in southern Africa. Periodicals, books, files, articles and other helpful information are readily accessible to anyone desirous of data on matters dealing with southern Africa. SALC sponsors films, speakers and conferences, often in conjunction with other anti-imperialist groups.

* **CONGRESS**

Pending each year since 1971, the bill to reinstate sanctions against importing Rhodesian chrome still has not been passed. Congressperson Robert Carr from the Michigan 6th District is co-sponsor of the 1975 version of the bill. Congressional delegations, especially from the House Armed Services Committee, are visiting South Africa to explore new linkages between the two countries. The U.S. government is clearly trying to implement its 1970 National Security Council Decision to "tilt" U.S. policy in favor of the white regimes. Constituent support is needed to influence Michigan Congresspersons to support African liberation and to reject the National Security Council perspective that "whites are in South Africa to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through time."

* **MATERIAL SUPPORT**

Material support offers a chance for direct support to the newly independent countries and to the liberation movements still waging an armed struggle against oppression. These movements request assistance for such programs as famine relief in the Cape Verde Islands, education projects in Mozambique, medical assistance for Zimbabwe, etc.

* **MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS**

The profound influence exerted by large multinational corporations is becoming increasingly salient to both Americans and Africans. Cognizant of the unfair and oppressive labor conditions favoring corporate investment, SALC has designed a research proposal dealing with the effects of the Michigan automobile industry in the Republic of South Africa. The research program is an attempt to investigate a relatively unexplored area: the effects of U.S. investment on the domestic economy. This is but one of the projects enacted by SALC aimed at exposing the exploitative nature of the multinational corporation.

SOUTHERN AFRICA LIBERATION COMMITTEE
1118 S. Harrison
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HISTORY OF OCCUPATION

1000 - 1600 Wealthy kingdoms flourished; major city known as Zimbabwe, with famous elliptical stone structures.

1600s Portuguese military attacks and slave trading.

1890 Explorer Cecil Rhodes extended the domain of the British South African Company from South Africa's gold mines to Zimbabwe, called by British settlers, Rhodesia.

1890s Several black uprisings against oppression, severely crushed by whites.

1923 Britain grants self-government to white settlers only. Settler's wealth based on forced labor of Africans.

1965 Unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) illegally proclaimed by Ian Smith government representing white settlers.

1970 Following referendum in which only 0.1% of Africans were allowed to participate, Rhodesia is declared a "republic", unrecognized by the world community.

ILLEGITIMATE REGIME:

Legend: black  white

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Control</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Qualified&quot; voters</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parliament includes:
* 50 white settlers elected by white settlers.
* 8 blacks elected by registered voters.
* 8 blacks appointed by the white-settler-appointed black chiefs.

Annual government expenditure on education per child.

Average monthly mine workers wages.
Asked, "When do you foresee a phased hand-over to majority rule?", Mr. Ian Smith replied, "Never."

RESISTANCE

Ever since the first white incursions into Zimbabwe, resistance by the African population has been suppressed. And, in recent decades, Africans formed their own political parties. The Youth League, African National Congress, the national democratic party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) - all were formed and banned... in a long struggle to overthrow the regime.

Faced with increased political opposition and forceful resistance, the Smith regime is moving thousands of Africans to "protected villages" and has accepted military assistance from South Africa. Opposition has been both consistent and courageous. Numerous African leaders have been banned, jailed, tortured, murdered, and placed in detention camps. But the liberation struggle continues.

SANCTIONS AND THE USA

Declaring the Smith regime illegitimate, in 1966 the United Nations imposed mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The United States was the first country officially to break the sanctions, with the renewed importation of chrome and other items in 1971. Pressure from the fifty-six American companies operating in Rhodesia prevented Congressional reassessment for two years.

But, on December 18, 1973, the Senate voted (54-37) in favor of re-instating full United States compliance with the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. The House vote, long delayed, is pending. Support for the resolution (S 1868) is based on the following reasons:

* U.S. security does not require breaking sanctions.
* Other competitively-priced sources of chrome can meet U.S. needs.
* Continued import of Rhodesian ferrochrome threatens the jobs of American workers in the U.S. ferrochrome industry.
* Sound economic policy demands greater sensitivity to the views of independent African states, united in opposing U.S. support for Rhodesia's regime.
* Sanctions are a legitimate form of international pressure for justice.
* Renewed U.S. compliance with sanctions could bring decisive pressure on the Rhodesian regime.

For further information, contact: Southern Africa Liberation Committee
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1974
A LEGACY OF OPPRESSION

1884 Germany claims South West Africa as a colony.

1904-08 "War of Extermination". Africans resist German alienation of their land. Germans slaughter 80% of the Herero and decimate several other ethnic groups.

1920 South West Africa mandated to South Africa by League of Nations.

1922 South Africa bombs Namibian village for refusing to pay dog tax. 100 killed.

1959 Twelve Africans killed in demonstration against government.

1959-present, Africans arrested, publicly flogged, tortured, and jailed without being charged.

SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA

The South African government, itself a white minority regime, rules Namibia and since 1948, has gradually implemented its racist policies of apartheid in Namibia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Education expenses per student</td>
<td>$60</td>
<td>$600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government budget spent on</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land ownership</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita income</td>
<td>5% that of whites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African literacy</td>
<td>less than 10%</td>
<td>many areas without medical services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African life and social structure</td>
<td>disastrous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The United Nations has revoked South Africa's mandate (1966) and established the Council for Namibia to administer the country as an international trust (1967). The World Court ruled that the South African administration of Namibia is illegal (1971).

South Africa's response has been to reject the decisions of the UN and the World Court. It even prevented the Council of Namibia from visiting Namibia in 1967. Beginning in 1968, the government divided the African areas into several Bantustans similar to its policy in South Africa. The semi-arid land here cannot sustain the population; men are forced to seek employment in the white controlled economy. Women and children are not allowed to accompany the men; the effects on African life and social structure are disastrous.

Since all Africans outside of their Bantustan must carry passes, Africans live, work, die and are buried by permit only, and thousands go to jail every year for failing to have the right pass or permit.
AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT

Foreign multi-national corporations extract vast amounts of diamonds, copper, zinc, lead, uranium, oil, etc., thus rapidly depleting Namibia's mineral resources. 1/3 of its gross domestic product is paid to foreigners - mainly corporation profits.

Two American companies, American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining, control the Tsumeb Corporation which accounts for more than 80% of Namibia's base mineral production. Tsumeb, the largest private employer of African labor, extracted $1 billion worth of metals 1948-72.

Tsumeb's profits in 1973 were $22.5 million. The two U.S. companies have averaged ca. 400% annual return on their original capital investment.

Exploitation of African labor is essential to the economy. The government recruits Africans from the Bantustans for white employers. Until 1972, the contracts specified the relationship as "master" and "servant". Wages of African miners average 8% of those of whites.

"This country, which is our country, is being exploited by greedy entrepreneurs, robbed of its wealth, and rendered barren for the future. One fear is that when freedom finally comes to this land, it will be returned to us with no minerals left." - a Namibian.

AFRICAN INITIATIVES

To liberate the country from South Africa's illegal occupation, SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) was founded in 1959. SWAPO organized Namibian resistance and submitted numerous petitions of grievances to the government and the UN. "The resolve to take up arms in 1966 came after a letdown by the international community." - SWAPO

1971-72: a massive African strike against the contract labor system.
1973-74: SWAPO's armed resistance increases. The government becomes more oppressive: police are replaced by regular army units. Thousands of Namibians flee to Angola and Zambia.

International organizations such as the UN, the Organization of African Unity and the World Council of Churches now recognize SWAPO as the true representative of the Namibian people.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The UN Security Council has called upon member states to ensure that their corporations do no business in Namibia. The U.S. responded that it would "actively discourage American investment" there (1970). But there have been massive new investments by U.S. companies which continue to get tax credits at home for taxes paid to the South African government.

"We ask for the immediate removal of foreign mining firms." - Herero Chief Clemens Kapuuo

For further information: Southern Africa Liberation Committee Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution 1118 S. Harrison Road, East Lansing, MI. 48823 (517) 332-0861

1974
"Over the years, the master-servant relationship has been a good one."

Fred Ferreira, Labor Relations
Ford Motor Company, South Africa

The major reasons for American corporations to invest abroad are to
1) seek new markets
2) locate closer to natural resources
3) take advantage of low wage labor costs

South Africa offers all of these advantages which makes it one of the most ideal systems for the maximization of profits. American corporations have invested $1 billion in South Africa. The average rate of return on their investment is 17% (in the U.S. it is 6.3%).

The Market Attraction is the white sector of the South African population and eventual expansion to the populations of independent black Africa. From 1958-70 the whites' average income doubled. This increase is possible because the best jobs are reserved for them through the Job Reservation laws:
- most skilled jobs can only be performed by whites;
- no black can supervise a white.

The Mineral Wealth of South Africa is well-known: gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, etc. About the only important resource it seriously lacks is oil. American oil companies are conducting off-shore oil exploration.

The Cheap Labor Attraction is the most important. The African income per person in 1969 was 8% of white income per person.
- Africans cannot form unions.
- Africans cannot strike.
- The wage ratio for whites versus blacks is 5:1 in manufacturing
- 11:1 in mining.

The formation of Bantustans is the major way that the government has assured a large, cheap labor supply for the American corporations.

Black South Africans (70% of the population) are forced to live on 13% of the land.
BANTUSTANS: "DEVELOPED," "DEVELOPING," OR "UNDERDEVELOPED BY THE WHITES"?

Officially, every African is to claim a Bantustan as his/her homeland. As a result of this policy, three million were uprooted from white urban sectors and sent to their "homelands".

* Although the "political/cultural" division is only into 10 parts, the land is divided into 250 separate parcels. These parcels are the most arid and the least fertile in South Africa.

* The population of 7 million is already three times what the South African government's own commission recommended as the maximum (2.3 million) the land can support.

* Because subsistence is not even possible, men leave to work in white-owned mines and factories. They cannot take their families with them. The ratio of women to men is 8:1 on the reserves.

"ONLY MOMMA'S HANDS ARE LEGAL IN THE CITIES"

Africans can be in the urban areas only if their jobs require it, for Africans are legally aliens when they travel outside the Bantustans. Every African over 16 years must carry an identification card declaring the homeland, employer and birth date. If an African is in the urban areas without the passbook, she is arrested. One thousand persons per day are arrested (and can be detained indefinitely) through the pass laws alone.

DUMPING GROUNDS

The Bantustans are the dumping grounds for the transitionally employed Africans. Laborers can be pulled off (or pushed back onto) these reservations as it suits the economic needs of the corporations. There is no freedom of movement for Africans off the Bantustans, let alone any idea of free competition of workers for jobs. The workers in American-owned corporations are forced labor. The social, economic and political conditions in South Africa give them no freedom of choice, no right to petition, no justice.

BUSINESS ATTITUDES

Most businesses try to counter the accusation of their exploitation of Africans by stating that they are offering jobs at higher wages and with more fringe benefits than other companies. Many companies such as General Motors and Ford have recently raised African wages. These assertions must be put into context:

1. Over 90% of the Africans still receive less than the Minimum Effective Income which was determined by the government as necessary for basic amenities. Even after Ford and GM's "raises" the African wages remain below this level.

2. Many corporations, including Chrysler and Exxon, contribute to the South African Foundation, which is the public relations organization to promote South African interests abroad. Such activities include recruiting white laborers from Europe so there are enough whites for skilled labor jobs to preclude the necessity of hiring Africans.

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1974
ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF RESISTANCE

History:

1480's  Portuguese begin penetration of northern coastal zone of Angola. King of the Bakongo people seeks to establish mutually beneficial ties with Portugal.

1500-1845  Years of the slave trade. Portuguese slave merchants raid Bakongo and neighboring kingdoms. Luanda (capital of modern Angola) emerges as a major slave port.

1884-1920's  Angola recognized by others as Portugal's colony. Portuguese use forced labor extensively on roads, plantations, and later railroad and mines. Angolan protest driven underground.

1930  Portuguese temporarily subjugate all of Angola.

1956  MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) formed. FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) also founded.

1966  UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) formed under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi after leaving FNLA.

War of National Independence:

After unsuccessful efforts to end Portuguese colonial rule solely through political means, MPLA attacks Portuguese prisons to free political prisoners on February 4, 1961. MPLA begins mobilization of population into workers' committees, peasant cooperatives, and women's organizations.

For thirteen years, beginning in 1961, the Portuguese with support from the U.S. and other NATO nations attempt to crush the Angolan revolution. The U.S. supplies arms and training to the Portuguese military. At the same time, CIA bankrolls Holden Roberto (FNLA) as insurance against Portuguese collapse. FNLA leadership remains in Zaire, with minimal organization and sporadic fighting.

Gulf Oil in 1969 begins the marketing of oil from the province of Cabinda. Oil sales yield $11 million in royalties to the Portuguese government in 1969, over $400 million in 1974. This amount exceeds the military budget for Angola and permits the Portuguese to fight three wars in Africa.

In 1974, there is a coup in Portugal, attributed to the success of the liberation movements in Africa. Released Portuguese military documents reveal collaboration between the Portuguese army and UNITA to attack MPLA from 1969 to 1974.
Events of 1975:

January  A transitional agreement for MPLA, UNITA and FNLA to govern jointly Angola with Portuguese until independence in November. Agreement collapses amidst renewed conflict among three groups. U.S. government secretly escalates military aid to FNLA and UNITA.

April  Soviet Union increases its assistance to MPLA.

August  South African troops invade Angola to "protect" dam in UNITA area.

October/ November  FNLA and UNITA combine forces and enlist massive South African aid, troops and material, to fight against MPLA. U.S. increases support to FNLA/UNITA and Zaire. Coveting oil, Zaire claims that Cabinda is not an integral part of Angola, increases both aid and troops to FNLA. MPLA invites Cuban assistance.

November 11  Angola becomes independent as the People's Democratic Republic of Angola, led by President Agostinho Neto of MPLA. As of January 1, 1976, 38 nations (among them 18 African nations) have recognized it. NONE has recognized UNITA/FNLA.

December  U.S. government admits part of its covert, CIA-led involvement -- mercenaries, pilots, advisors, military material. U.S. Senate votes overwhelmingly (54-22) to cut off all covert and overt assistance to Angola in fiscal '76 military appropriations only. Kissinger and Ford announce that U.S. will continue covert and overt assistance to FNLA/UNITA no matter what Congress does.

1976 Outlook:

* South Africa on full military alert. Increased forces in Angola and on border.

* Mercenaries recruited in larger numbers. Trained by (or at least paid for by) U.S. Fighting with FNLA/UNITA, but not clear whether Angolans or South Africans are in control.

* Important vote(s) in U.S. House of Representatives, soon after reconvening in mid-January, regarding U.S. military intervention in Angola.

For further information:

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MOZAMBIQUE: A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

25 June. 1962  **FRELIMO** formed (FRont for the Liberation of MOzambique)

25 Sept. 1964  **Outbreak of the Armed Struggle**

Once it was clear that armed struggle was the only means to achieve independence for Mozambique, FRELIMO initiated the liberation struggle with 250 troops on this date. Within five years, the struggle had spread through three provinces and FRELIMO had grown into a powerful political and military force.

3 Feb, 1969  **President Mondlane Assassinated by Portuguese Colonialists**

Despite his death, Mondlane has continued to influence the development of the struggle. Indeed, all the victories achieved since his death -- the liberation of three provinces, the construction of a new way of life in Mozambique, the advance of the war front to the center of the country -- can be traced back to the unity and political orientation he gave to the movement.

25 April 1974  **Military Coup in Portugal**

Due to the intensity of armed struggle in all of Portugal's colonies, it became apparent that it would be impossible for Portugal to continue to resist the forces of liberation -- even with financial aid from the United States and indirect aid via NATO. A military coup deposed Premier Caetano and placed General Spinola, an advocate of a revised colonial policy, in power.

20 April 1974--25 June 1975  **Period of Transition**

After thirteen years of struggle, death and untold hardship, Mozambique is on its way to independence. With an interim government containing six FRELIMO and three Portuguese appointed cabinet posts, Mozambique is now confronting the task of nation-building.

Because of FRELIMO, through Mondlane, has defined the colonial enemy in terms of exploitation rather than race, those whites who wish to live lawfully under a FRELIMO government will be welcome to remain in Mozambique.

Despite FRELIMO's rural origins and development, the organization and discipline of FRELIMO has adapted remarkably well to urban settings.

Nevertheless, many problems remain: how to deal with its racist neighbors in terms of trade, political recognition and liberation.

25 June 1975  **Independence**

For further information:  Southern Africa Liberation Committee
Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution
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1974  (517) 332-0861
This is the time we were all waiting for. Our guns are light in our hands the reasons and aims of the struggle clear in our minds.

The blood shed by our heroes makes us sad but resolute.

It is the price of our freedom.

We keep them close in our hearts from their example new generations -- revolutionary generations -- are already being born.

Ahead of us we see bitter hardships. But we see also our children running free our country plundered no more.

This is the time to be ready and firm.

The time to give ourselves to the Revolution

Josina Machel

(a political commissar in the women's detachment of FRELIMO, head of the section of social affairs and a fighter on the front line; died on April 7, 1971 from illness. She was 25 years old.)
Colonial Rule

* 1446 - Portuguese navigators land on territory later named Guinea-Bissau. A few decades later Cape Verde Islands become known to Portuguese.

* 16th-18th Centuries - Slave trade carried on in area. Peak during 18th century.

* 1884 - European powers partition Africa. Portugal begins its conquest of Guinea-Bissau.

* Colonization under the Portuguese meant for the Guineans: forced labor, racial and cultural degradation under the policy of assimilation, economic underdevelopment, inadequate basic social services such as health and education, complete absence of political freedoms.

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC)

* PAIGC formed in 1956. Amilcar Cabral one of six original members.

* Peaceful appeals for discussion of independence rejected by Portuguese.

* Political work begun among the peasants to explain the aims, organization and strategy of the PAIGC.

* After increased repression, and murder of many Africans at Pidiguiti, armed struggle begun in 1963.

* Basic principles of PAIGC are: recognition that short-range reforms are inadequate and that full national liberation requires the transformation of Guinean society and that the methods, structures and objectives of organization must be fundamentally democratic.

* 1964. First National Congress of the PAIGC held inside Guinea-Bissau.

* The PAIGC realized its objectives by: economic restructuring including removal of liberated areas from sphere of Portuguese economic control, redistribution of plantation land. Educational development includes enrollment of over 20,000 students in over 200 primary schools with a total of 251 teachers. (This was at the end of 1972. The numbers have increased since then.) Health services include over 200 clinics in the countryside.
The Road to Independence

* January 20, 1973. Amilcar Cabral assassinated by Portuguese in attempt to prevent national elections in the liberated areas and declaration of independence.

* April 13, 1973. Elections are held despite the assassination of Cabral.

* The United Nations Special Mission observed the elections and declared that the PAIGC "...is the only and authentic representative of the people of the territory."


* November 2, 1973. The United Nations General Assembly voted 94-7 (the U.S., U.K., Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Greece and Brazil casting the only "no" votes) to welcome the "accession to independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau thereby creating the sovereign State of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau", and called upon Portugal to halt its illegal occupation of the territory.

* April 25, 1974. The Portuguese dictatorship overthrown. The African liberation movements directly contributed to possibility of democracy in Portugal.

* September 10, 1974. Portugal recognized the independence of Guinea-Bissau and a referendum for the Cape Verde Islands. The United States finally recognizes Guinea-Bissau.

* Aristides Pereira is Secretary-General of the PAIGC and Luiz Cabral is President of the Republic.

"...we can state that national liberation is the phenomenon in which a given socio-economic whole rejects the negation of its historical process. In other words, the national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected."

-Amilcar Cabral

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