

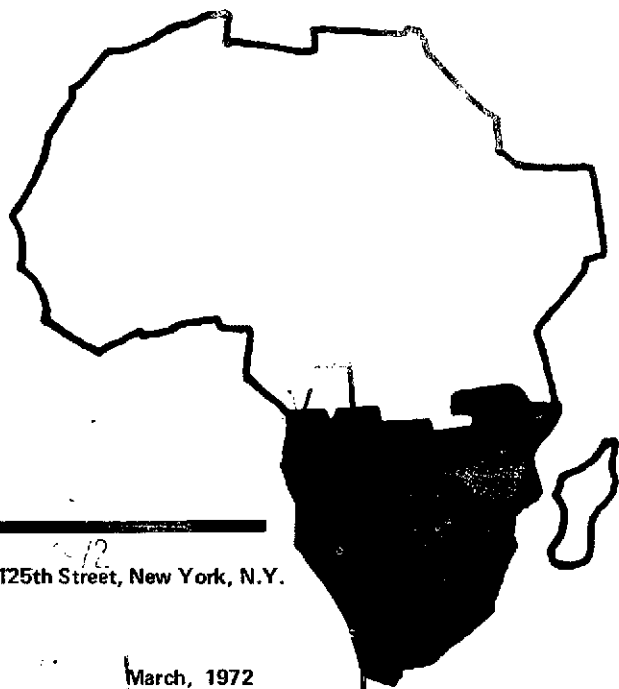
# SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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# FEATURE ARTICLE

## WILL INCREASED INVESTMENT REFORM SOUTH AFRICA?

BY RUTH FIRST

*Ruth First, Africanist and author, has written a number of books, including POWER IN AFRICA, SOUTH WEST AFRICA, 117 DAYS (her experiences while held in detention by the South African Police.) The following is a synopsis of her latest book, co-authored with Jonathan Steele and Christabel Gurney, to be published shortly in Britain.*

The white supremacy structure of the apartheid state is being eroded from within by the sheer pressure of economic growth in South Africa's burgeoning industrial economy. This, roughly speaking, is the tenor of the Big Business argument that is gaining increasing currency in Britain, the United States, and European Economic Community countries—the heaviest investors in apartheid.

The implications of the argument are clear: the greater the investment in South Africa, the greater the industrialization and the more rapid "reform" of the color bar. So that the more business invests in South Africa, the more apartheid will be undermined from within. Profit and principle can go hand in hand! And of course there will be no need for pressure—whether in the shape of sanctions or Black Revolution—against a system that "given time" will "correct" itself naturally.

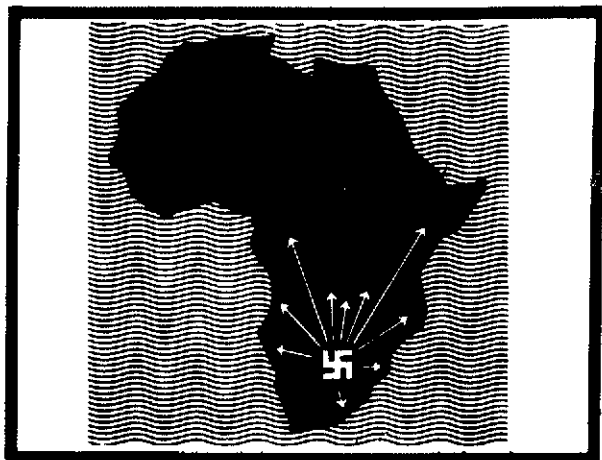
This is one of the business arguments we have set out to confront—and disprove—in a new book on the role of foreign capital in the South African economy. We argue, of course, that far from helping to erode apartheid, capital is entrenching the system. And we show how and why.

We also tackle head-on this argument that the color bar is being whittled away.

For instance, an acid test of any erosion of the color bar would be a narrowing of the white-black gap. Wage trends in recent years show that while African wages in industry have shown some slight improvement, in absolute terms the wage differential is increasing rather than diminishing. Figures for the ten-year period 1957-1967 show that the difference between average white and average African wages in manufacturing has increased (from R120 a month to R194 a month).

The author of this study (reported in Johannesburg's Rand Daily Mail) pointed out that to prevent the actual wage from further widening, the percentage of future pay increases for Africans would have to be 5½ times greater than for whites. On the contrary, increases for Africans have been smaller than for whites, so the gap continues to grow.

The South African system has devised several mechanisms to cope with the shortage of skilled labor (caused by the color bar) by filtering African workers into jobs formerly closed to them without undermining the dominance or status of white workers. One such mechanism is the job dilution scheme worked out for the huge iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industry. In this industry three out of every four workers are Africans but in the prolonged negotiations for a new industrial agreement only the registered trade unions took part and the African unions were excluded. The industrial agreement reached in February, 1968 gave the white workers considerable increases in pay and fringe benefits in return for their agreement to the fragmentation of many of their jobs so that Africans could be filtered into them. But NOT at the rate for the job.



Work schedules were revised into ten categories. The first four were reserved for members of registered unions; the last category was the unskilled grade. In between the categories relating to semi-skilled work were to be filled by Africans but the semi-skilled categories were fragmented and down-graded, so that more jobs were made available to Africans in the industry but the wage increases granted them were paltry (in some cases as low as one-half cent per hour!!); and employers got reclassified jobs done at lower rates than previously. In this way, a trade union critic said, "We have helped to create a large force of semi-skilled workers whose pay is substantially less than that of the skilled workers (who formerly did these jobs); and manufacturers are getting the same job done for less."

In the building industry, Africans employed as laborers are doing skilled and semi-skilled work reserved by law for whites but they are not receiving white rates. Likewise on the railways and in the motor assembly industry and in many other industries.

In other words, the government recognizes that with growing industrialization the economy needs to find the flexibility to reorganize the levels at which the white, skilled and African unskilled and semi-skilled divisions should occur. Jobs are being reclassified to solve the shortage of skilled labor, BUT white workers are moving upward while the jobs they vacate for Africans are being "diluted" or fragmented to be filled by workers paid at lower rates of wage.

The color bar is not being broken; it is simply being manipulated. The color differentials intrinsic in the system of white supremacy remain.

Border industries and Bantustans play their own part in this policy of manipulating the color bar and the wage structure of the economy. It is probably well known that border industries (bordering on the Bantustans) are exempt from paying wages fixed for the rest of the country. The result is that African wages in the border areas are significantly lower than elsewhere. Industry is getting cheap labor concessions but apartheid remains.

This and other instances of revisions in government policy all serve to show that apartheid, far from buckling at the seams, is resourceful, even "flexible" in solving some of the bottlenecks that have developed in industry and at the same time entrenching white control and privilege. As the economy has grown more efficient, so have apartheid controls.

And as for the reforming pretensions of investors and industry, the years since the beginnings of the sixties have seen unparalleled volumes of capital investment and, side by side, the most far-reaching extension of repressive laws in the country's history. There is clearly a great deal wrong with the rationalizations of industrialists and investors that they are really working for reform!

# INSIDE ZIMBABWE

## NO! IN BLOOD!

The people of Zimbabwe have written a big NO! in blood against the British-Rhodesian settlement. Fifteen of their own were shot to death by Rhodesian storm troopers during demonstrations against the settlement, scores were seriously wounded by gunfire and hundreds have since been sent to detention camps.

Beginning Jan. 13 in Shabani, a mining town in the south, demonstrations against the settlement spread through the southern towns of Gwelo and Fort Victoria to the capital, Salisbury, in the north, and ended with the death of eight Africans in the eastern town of Umtali. The Shabani killing followed a strike by mine workers after the dismissal of some of their members. In an attempt to force the miners back to work, the police opened fire killing one African and wounding more than nine. (Herald-Tribune, Jan. 14, 1972) Two of Britain's commissioners had just arrived in Shabani to test acceptability for the settlement. Following the shootings the mines' headquarters was burned down and rioting erupted throughout the town.

Following a meeting with two of the British commissioners in Fort Victoria at which the Africans registered a solid NO! against the settlement, crowds gathered outside a butchery owned by African Member of Parliament, Josia Gondo. Riots broke outside these premises when the police opened fire and killed three people. (Guardian, London, Jan. 20, 1972) The day before the British commissioners opened hearings in Gwelo, over 10,000 Africans marched toward the high court building where the hearings were to be held. As usual the police stopped the demonstrators and tried to arrest the leaders of the demonstration. The incident led

to a riot in which three Africans were shot dead and many government buildings were razed to the ground. (Herald-Tribune, Jan. 18, 1972) Gwelo is an industrial town of about 75,000 people of whom 60,000 are Africans. The same pattern was followed in Salisbury when thousands of Africans turned out to demonstrate their opposition to the settlement. Three were shot dead and 24 wounded. The shooting touched off riots that left most of the government buildings and white businesses in the African towns burned to the ground. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972)

The worst toll came in the eastern town of Umtali where eight Africans were shot dead during demonstrations against the settlement, bringing the total of Africans killed to 15. Scores of Africans were arrested when violence broke out in the African areas of Belingwe and others. According to eye witnesses at the meeting at Belingwe, the police arrested a teacher and a college student who were presenting the case against the settlement to the British commissioners. The crowd became incensed and attacked the police.

In all the rural areas that the commissioners have gone to hear the African point of view, they have been given an unequivocal NO! to the settlement. In several meetings the NO! was given quietly but firmly and unanimously at village meetings called by the commissioners. Only one chief in the Matabeleland region was reported to have given a yes. Hundreds of thousands of NO! petitions were sent to the British commissioners on forms that had been distributed by the commission. The petitions were coming in so fast that the commission decided to discontinue their usage.



*In Harari:  
the answer  
is "No"*

*London Observer*

## U.N.C. LEADS OPPOSITION FORCES

The NO! vote was led by a new organization that has been formed in the country called the African National Council (ANC). The ANC is led by two churchmen and several former leaders of the nationalist movements, and is dedicated to fight the settlement. According to its chairman, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the ANC is not a political party, but an ad hoc organization formed solely to fight the British Rhodesia settlement. Deputy chairman of the ANC is the Rev. Cnaan Banana of Bulawayo, and among the other top executive members are: Michael Mawema, founding president of the banned National Democratic Party and former executive member of the banned ZANU; Edison Sithole, founding member of the banned African National Congress and the National Democratic Party, and a former executive member of ZANU; Edison Zvogbo, former executive member of ZANU; Josia Chinamano, former executive member of the banned P.C.C.-ZAPU; and Arthur Chidzvingwa, former member of P.C.C.-ZAPU. The new group is the first cooperative effort of the two banned African parties of Rhodesia. The sudden rally to the call has shown beyond any doubt that nationalism is still highly relevant in Rhodesia in spite of the six years of massive repression since UDI. With a good leadership the nationalist movement still has potential to mobilize all the people of Zimbabwe against the white minority settlers. The nationalist movement may ultimately need more than muscle to win Rhodesia, but they have proved that they have the people behind them.

Bishop Muzorewa is the head of the Methodist Church (American) in Rhodesia, and is the first African head of a major church in the country. He went to college in the U.S. and holds a master's degree. He was called to the ministry in 1953. "The basis of the proposals," said the Bishop, "is the market. The proposals do not look at a man as a man, but at his market value. I believe the proposals are unjust, and if accepted will legalize UDI [the unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in 1965] which Africans have never approved."

When Muzorewa reached London on a lecture tour, he revealed that at least 30 people had been killed in the demonstrations and more than 250 had been detained without trial. The bishop also disclosed how business is bringing pressure upon workers to say yes to the settlement. He made available letters written by employers to their employees advising them to say yes or lose their jobs.

This is more an insidious threat than it appears on the surface, as most housing for workers in Rhodesia is supplied by the employer. Losing a job means losing a home as well. The bishop disclosed that many of those arrested were ANC members working against the settlement. He said he had visited some of the detained and learned that whole branch executives of the ANC in the eastern areas had been detained. (Times, London, Feb. 6, 1972)

## CHIEFS' IDENTITY CRISIS

Ian Smith, however, continued in the hope that "our Rhodesian African is not that unintelligent." By "our African" he probably meant the African chiefs speaking



NICHOLABS (PROPRIETARY) LIMITED  
RHODESIAN BRANCH

P.O. Box 366 Salisbury, Rhodesia  
Ivory House, Menca Road  
Tel. No 21483  
Tele. Cable: Aspro Salisbury

20th January, 1972,

To: The Pearce Commission,  
Stability House,  
Jameson Avenue,  
Salisbury.

Dear Sir,

As a Rhodesian who is well-employed by a company which is world-wide, I wish to advise that I am in agreement with the proposals for settlement, as I feel it would be in the best interests for the future of Rhodesia if a settlement could be reached, and do not wish to be associated with the violence and unrest at present amongst certain troublemakers in the country.

Yours faithfully,

This is typical of the letters several large firms in Rhodesia are asking their African workers to sign and send to the Pearce Commission. It comes from Nicholabs (Proprietary) Ltd., the Rhodesian offshoot of a South African subsidiary of Aspro-Nicholas, the British drug firm which makes Aspro. Last year the company, whose interests range world wide, had sales of more than £25 million, of which around 60 per cent were earned overseas. Aspro Nicholas is well represented in Europe, but also has operations in Africa, Pakistan, India and Australia. Around 1,700 people are employed by the parent company in the UK. An official in London said the letter "was obviously local management initiative"

in their official capacity. As members of the Chiefs National Council, the chiefs voted unanimously to accept the settlement. (Guardian, London, Jan. 16, 1972) The only other group that went along with the settlers was the Center Party, a multiracial party which called their decision "Hobson's choice." "Uncle Toms" in the Center Party endorsed the statement, but several, including Member of Parliament Ronald Sadomba, resigned their membership. (Guardian, London, Jan. 27, 1972) But in their private capacities back home among their own people, most chiefs voted NO! with most of their people. Even chiefs who had been imposed on the people by the government, like Mangwende, who was appointed after his brother Munhuwepai was deposed, voted against the settlement. (New York Times, Jan. 25, 1972) That must really have shocked the government. As the Guardian (London, Jan. 18, 1972) pointed out, the chiefs have an "identity crisis." All the chiefs are appointed, paid, and can be fired by the government. In the last 50 years, appointment of chiefs, especially in Mashonaland, has been a saga of government manipulation to impose local authority that goes along with the government. Candidates for the chieftainship who had served with the police, the Native Administration, or were generally well disposed to the government, were always appointed, no matter how distantly related to the line of royalty. Most of the chiefs in Mashonaland today are only eligible to the chieftainship because the government says so, and often enforces their rule with body guards. As Sister Mary very well points out, "They [the chiefs] were concerned only about their own power, or their financial profit." Their power in the country, however, still revolves around the people they are supposed to rule. And so when they are at home they vote NO! with the people and when they are in Salisbury they vote yes! with the government. The eight African Members of Parliament who are elected by the district councils all voted NO! (Guardian, London, Jan. 25, 1972)

## INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION

The International Commission of Jurists supported the people of Zimbabwe by denouncing the settlement. In a letter to Lord Pearce, the head of the British commission, they pointed out that the new settlement perpetuated white supremacy and that the safeguards in the proposed constitution were ineffective in preventing the Rhodesian government from prohibiting and inhibiting political activity by African opponents. (Guardian, London, Jan. 12, 1972) The United Nations Security Council meeting in a special session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia passed a resolution denouncing the settlement and calling on the British Government to withdraw the Pearce Commission. The resolution was vetoed by the British Government. Speaking on behalf of the African sponsors of the resolution, Ambassador Ghalib of Somalia said that vetoes or no vetoes, Africa would not be stopped by imperialist manipulations any longer. (New York Times, Feb. 6, 1972)

(See ACTION NEWS AND NOTES section, and CHURCHES section, this issue, for other statements of protest from international bodies.)

In one of his rare speeches, Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia said that the demonstrations and riots that followed them were the sure sign that Africans of Rhodesia were "stupid." "If the present generations of Africans rejected this offer of advancement for their people, they will bear the curse of their children forever." (Guardian, London, and New York Times, both Jan. 22, 1972) He continued: "What greater proof could anyone have of their lack of maturity, lack of civilization, their inability to make any constructive contribution. . . ."

In reply, Edison Zvogbo of the ANC said that if Africans accepted, "We would be the only species of human being who ever went on record as saying: yes, it's nice to be ruled by a minority in our own land." (New York Times, Jan. 29, 1972) The ANC emphasized the fact that they were not interested in the few apparent concessions offered in the settlement, but in the final determination of the settlement. It gives the settler the final word in determining the destiny of the land, and that is what no African could ever be asked to accept. If the settlers take it by force, let it be known that Africans went down protesting.



Garfield Todd and daughter Judith

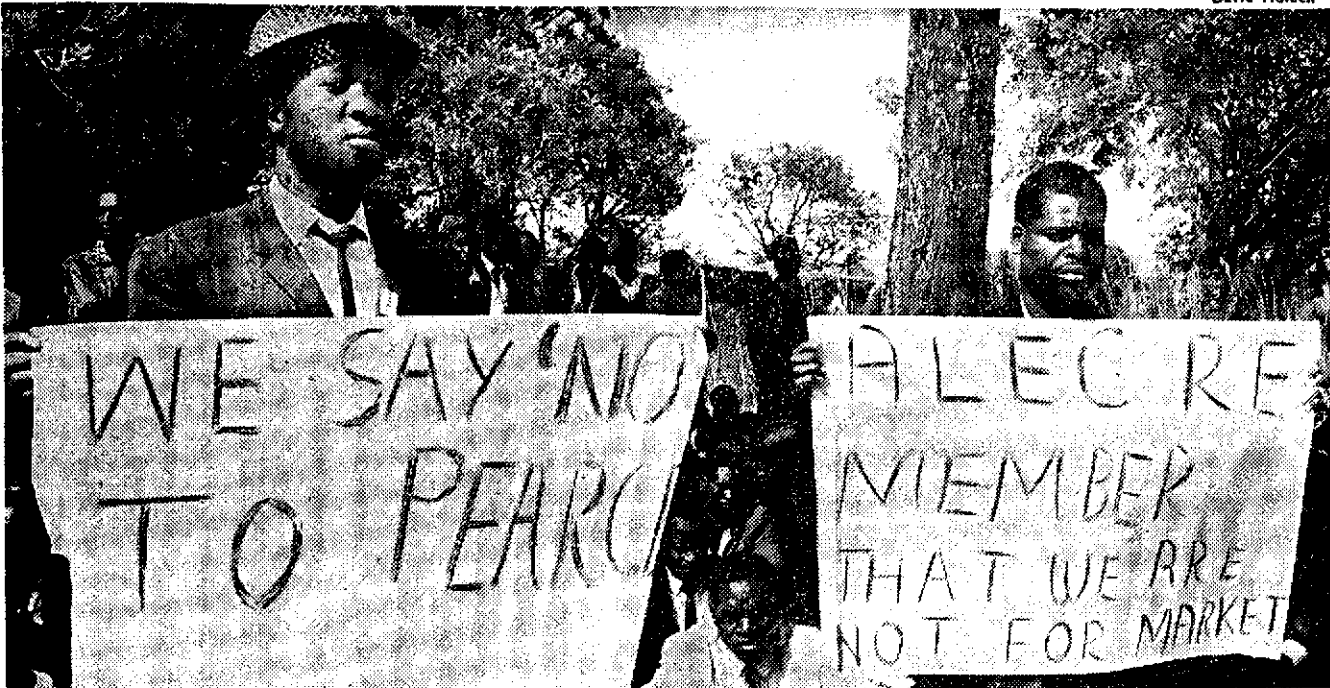


## FORMER PRIME MINISTER DETAINED

Perhaps the most embarrassing action for the Smith government to the international community was the arrest and detention of former Prime Minister Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith Todd. The two were arrested at their ranch near Shabani, and Mr. Todd is detained without trial at Gatoorna prison, and Judith Todd is at Marandellas prison. The detention order against the former Prime Minister was "based on the belief that you are likely to commit or incite the commission of acts in Rhodesia which would endanger the public safety or disturb or interfere with the maintenance of public order." (Guardian, London, Jan. 19, 1972) Todd and his daughter are opposed to the settlement and have written explaining the settlement and their opposition to it in an African paper, "Moto." (NOTE: THERE WAS A GROSS ERROR IN LAST MONTH'S ISSUE THAT INDICATED THAT TODD MAY HAVE COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE SETTLEMENT.) Both Todds have addressed meetings in African areas explaining the settlement. Todd is a great orator and an even better organizer.

Their arrest raised a storm of protest in Britain and in the international community that is still more sensitive to inhumanities committed against whites than those committed against the black majority. Hundreds of Africans were detained about the same time as Todd and hundreds have been in detention now for over ten years without trial. Several scores of people were shot, and over 30 have died.

The arrest of the Todds and the riots have suddenly made the British Government uneasy over Rhodesia. They have sent head of Rhodesia Desk at the Foreign Office Philip Mansfield to review the British Commission to Rhodesia. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972) The British Government has, however, denied permission to the British Labor Party spokesman, Sir Hugh Dingle Foot, to go to Rhodesia and represent the interests of the Africans opposed to the settlement. (Guardian, London, Jan. 16, 1972)



Rhodesian Africans in one mind: no settlement, they say, is better than a settlement favouring the whites.

## ECONOMICS

### WORKERS ON THE RAILWAYS

Black shunters, called train marshallers and with lower salaries, will soon be doing jobs previously reserved for whites on the South African Railways. But in the logic of job reservation, at the same time as restrictions are being relaxed in this sector, the South African Government is reviewing its decision that lifted reservation in the building industry in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

Training of the first batch of 50 African shunters was expected to start during January, according to Mr. Ivan Martin, chairman of the SAR Running and Operating Staff Union. He said that nonwhite train marshallers would do the same work as white shunters, under white supervision, but their new name ensured there would be no confusion between the races.

Pay for a train marshaller would definitely be lower than that of a white shunter.

At the same time protest from the reactionary White Building Workers' Union has sparked a rethink on Government policy of allowing Coloureds and Indians to be plasterers and bricklayers on an equal level with whites. In February last year employers on the Rand and in Pretoria were given permission to employ Coloureds and Indians in these jobs, only on the condition that no white artisans were available.

Johannesburg organizer of the right-wing union, Mr. J. E. Young, said: "The temporary exemption is a stop-gap arrangement which we are opposed to. It has been unhealthy and unfair on the industry. We want to see job reservation enforced again." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8 and 10, 1972; Rand Daily Mail, Jan. 11, 1972)

### EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Latest demonstration of increasing rapport between South Africa and the Nixon Administration was the Export-Import Bank's decision to cover a ten-year \$48-million loan to South Africa. Over State Department protests, Eximbank scrapped its seven-year ban on guarantees of more than five years for South African trade. The loan is to enable South Africa to buy locomotives from General Motors.

American trade barriers with South Africa have toppled with increasing frequency during the Nixon Administration, especially after being confronted with the first U.S. trade deficit of the century. The first mark of the accommodation was in late 1969 with the conclusion of a gold sales agreement allowing South Africa to sell more than \$77 million of gold in the next two years. Then, the decision to allow sales of American light aircraft broke that part of the 1963 arms embargo on South Africa by which the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations had banned such sales because they might contribute to South African military strength. The Nixon Administration view is that they fall outside the arms embargo.

Also during the Nixon years American exports to South Africa have expanded from \$466 million to nearly \$600 million in 1970 according to the Johannesburg Star. But U.S. officials maintain that the country is still losing ground to other industrial nations.

However, they may take heart from an assessment by the South African Foreign Trade Association (SAFTO) that recent world currency reshuffles could lead to the

U.S. seriously challenging Britain's role as South Africa's dominant supplier.

An effective eight percent dollar revaluation against the South African Rand means that U.S. goods will be only eight percent more expensive to South African importers, giving her an edge over Britain whose currency increased 14 percent in terms of the rand.

SAFTO general manager, Mr. W. B. Holtes, said that Britain should maintain her trade although she is bound to find U.S. competition sterner because importers will automatically look for cheaper goods. Also, the U.S. should become a far cheaper supplier than Japan and Germany whose currency is 23 percent and 20 percent dearer respectively. Both have increased their South African sales enormously in the past few years through aggressive marketing. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972)

#### FIRESTONE TO OPEN MOZAMBIQUE PLANT

Firestone, a major U.S. tire and rubber manufacturer, has announced plans for building a plant in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. According to Radio South Africa, the facility will cost about \$58 million and have a production capacity of 1,000 tires per day. (Jan. 20, 1972) If the application is approved, reports a spokesman for Firestone's Portuguese subsidiary, production could begin in 1973-74. The company must also obtain U.S. Export-Import Bank guarantees before definitely deciding to proceed with the project. (Standard, Tanzania, Jan. 22, 1972)

#### MIGRANT WORKERS—MAJOR POLICY CHANGE

In a surprising shift, the Nationalist Party Government of Prime Minister Vorster has announced in Parliament that African men will be allowed to bring their wives from homelands to white urban areas—under specific conditions. Dr. Piet Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said that adequate housing must be available before the wives will be allowed to accompany "an African working in a white area on a fairly permanent basis": "The Government will do everything in its power to provide such housing." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1972)

Opposition party members accused the Government of a complete reversal, but Koornhof denied the charge, calling the step a "logical unfoldment of Government policy."

The announcement, made soon after Parliament opened in Cape Town, follows a general strike in Namibia by predominately Ovambo migrant workers. Their grievances centered largely on the contract-labor system, and one of the major demands ignored in the proposed settlement of that dispute is the issue of workers' families accompanying them to their place of work. The Namibian strike has not gone unnoticed by South African workers, and the recent announcement is clearly aimed at averting similar action by migrant laborers on South African mines.

In the past, the Government has strenuously opposed the entrance of workers wives to white areas. One mining company is reported to have constructed small family housing units for workers, only to be told by Government officials that they could not bring wives to the area.





## DEEP-SEA HARBOR IN MOZAMBIQUE

A well-advanced Portuguese Government plan for a deep-sea harbor in Mozambique could pose serious economic threat to South Africa's \$525 million Richard's Bay harbor scheme. The multimillion-dollar Portuguese plan is causing wary concern in South African Government circles according to an article in the Johannesburg Star.

Existing trade agreements with Mozambique would leave the new Portuguese port with a considerable economic advantage for bulk exporters from the Transvaal. It would provide a shorter and cheaper outlet for exports, thus by-passing the expensive Richards Bay scheme.

In its early stages the viability of the Richards Bay scheme would be dependent on as much traffic as possible utilizing it. But because South Africa has an undertaking with Mozambique not to divert freight to South African ports which would normally—for economic and geographical reasons—be exported through Lourenco Marques, many South African goods could be routed through the proposed port. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972)

## GOVERNMENT EXPECTED TO MAKE BORDER AREA MOVES EASIER

After pressure from major South African business groups, the Government is expected to reduce the red tape required to establish a border-area industry. Representatives from the Steel and Engineering Federation, the Federated Chamber of Industries, and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut appealed for increased efficiency in handling applications for border-area industries. The appeal is expected to bring about a reshuffle that will give greater power to the Decentralization Board. (Financial Gazette, Feb. 4, 1972)

## SOUTH AFRICAN MINING OUTPUT

Output by South Africa's mining industry rose slightly during 1971, reaching \$2,090 billion, reports the Financial Gazette (Feb. 4, 1972). The value, which increased by .56% over 1970, was lowered by the slump in world prices of most metals. The biggest earner was gold; the value of output increased by 8.1% from \$1,100 to nearly \$1.200 million.

Pan Am has announced that they will use black stewardesses on some of their flights to South Africa. The stewardesses will stay at the "International Hotel" at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg, the only "mixed" hotel in South Africa.

## BRITISH VETO OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON RHODESIA ENDS SPECIAL SESSION IN ETHIOPIA

Just prior to the end of the special one-week U.N. Security Council session in Addis Ababa, the first held in Africa and the first away from U.N. headquarters in New York since 1952, Britain cast her seventh veto (four previous ones were also on Rhodesia) on a Security Council resolution condemning the settlement proposal worked out between Britain and the illegal Smith regime. The African-sponsored resolution was similar to one Britain vetoed in the Council last December. It urged Britain to desist from carrying out her settlement proposal and would have required Britain to withdraw the Commission headed by Lord Pearce which since it was sent to Rhodesia last month has met a firm rejection from the African majority.

The United States and four other countries (Japan, Belgium, Italy, and France) abstained; nine members voted in favor, including China and the Soviet Union. The Council adopted four other resolutions, condemning the policies of Portugal and South Africa, and adopted an Argentine-sponsored resolution on Namibia that calls upon Sec. Gen. Waldheim "to initiate contacts with all parties concerned" with a view to achieving independence for the trust territory that South Africa rules illegally (passed 14 to 0). Another resolution calling upon South Africa to relinquish Namibia was adopted by a 13 to 0 vote, Britain and France abstaining. The resolution asking Portugal to withdraw her troops from Mozambique,

## AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Angola, and Guinea-Bissau passed 9 to 0 with Argentina and the NATO powers abstaining. (New York Times, Feb. 6, 1972; Jan. 28, 29, and Feb. 1, 1972)

The sponsors of the Rhodesian resolution—Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan—were backed by all 41 members of the O.A.U. Their determination to bring the U.N. Security Council session to Africa and to reinforce their opposition to continued colonization on the African continent was expressed in the statement of the delegate from Somalia: "Africa is awake and, veto or no veto, nothing will diminish the pace of our march to freedom, to development and the inevitable African revolution." (New York Times, Feb. 6, 1972; Jan. 11, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972)

The Security Council meeting also reinforced the African States' frustration with the U.S. recent actions in support of the Smith Government in Rhodesia by allowing resumption of chrome imports in defiance of U.N. sanctions and for granting Portugal credits of \$436 million that supports her wars against the people in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. "The most successful of these liberation parties, which now claim to control more than half of Guinea-Bissau, believes it could end Portuguese rule there in short order if Lisbon were deprived of American and NATO assistance." (New York Times, Feb. 7, 1972)

## 1972 GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON OPPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

For the second year in succession the U.N. General Assembly refused by a majority vote to endorse the South African delegation's credentials, reported the Johannesburg Star (Dec. 24, 1971), but this did not mean that the delegation would be unseated or lose its right to speak. The challenge was made by Somalia through an amendment to the report of the Assembly's credential committee. The amendment was adopted by 60 to 36, 22 abstaining and the report as amended by 103 votes to 1 (South Africa) with 16 abstaining. The Star (Johannesburg) also reported that the U.N. continues to "hold an important place in the foreign policies of all countries—including South Africa," according to the view of the director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr. John Barratt.

In his address to the first 1972 meeting of the General Assembly's Special Committee on Colonialism (Special Committee of 24) attended for the first time by China, Sec. Gen. Waldheim said that the situation in Southern Africa was "extremely disquieting" and that the U.N. had been dealing for years with the "tragic problems" of

colonialism and racism. The Committee elected Mr. Salim A. Salim of Tanzania chairman, who warned Britain that the rioting in Rhodesia was a clear reflection of the "indignation of the African people to the obvious betrayal of their legitimate interests and aspirations. . . ." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1971)

## UNESCO SUSPENDS RELATIONS WITH 19 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

UNESCO has suspended relations with international organizations whose branches and affiliates in Southern Africa are considered to practice racial discrimination. Some of the organizations are believed to face loss of grants from UNESCO unless they disown their affiliates or until such groups demonstrate that they are opposed to apartheid. This followed their suspension in Nov. 1971 of 21 others that had not replied to UNESCO's request for information on Southern African affiliates, including Rotary International, which has substantial South African connections. The Commonwealth Press Union was suspended for having a branch in Rhodesia. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 18, 1972)

# SOUTH AFRICA'S IMAGE BUILDING

## SOUTH AFRICA: EXPANSION OR DIALOGUE?

The name of the game may change, but the prize remains the same—unshaken white supremacy in Southern Africa and increasing Western penetration and control of the rest of Africa.

South Africa has continued its attempts to foster support in Africa and among the Western nations. Late last year Minister of Interior Theo Gerdener, addressing a public meeting with the blessing of Prime Minister Vorster, called for the formation of a consultative body of "friendly states" in Africa to counter what he described as communist infiltration in the continent. He said that if "violation of borders and other acts of aggression" continued, it was inevitable that the understanding between anticommunist countries in Southern Africa would develop and that "a sort of commonwealth federation or consultative body of friendly states in Southern Africa and even with other African States" would be established. Such an organization would "give first priority to questions of security," would also "tackle . . . nonpolitical questions of an economic and technological nature" and might even go so far as military treaties. (East African Standard, Oct. 11, 1971)

In line with this projected military/security alliance, the South Africans have been developing their own arsenal, latest addition to which is the air-to-air missile

which is now being offered for export, along with other weapons, to "friendly countries." (New York Times, Oct. 3, 1971)

As the liberation movements win greater victories in Angola and Mozambique, military cooperation between South Africa and Portugal is increasingly open. On Nov. 19, 1971 South African Minister of Defense Botha, Chief of the South African Armaments Board Samuels, and Admiral H. Biermann, flew to Lisbon for talks with Portuguese Defense Minister Rebelo. Later in November, Portugal's Commander in Chief in Mozambique, Kauza de Arriaga, visited South Africa, and in December South African Chief of Staff General van der Riet was in Lisbon for secret talks with "high-ranking officials at the Portuguese Defense Ministry."

Increased military tension in the area has also resulted in South Africa's client state, Malawi, being pulled more openly into the conflict. The Portuguese, the South Africans, and President Banda of Malawi have all in chorus announced that FRELIMO poses a direct threat to the Malawi regime. In December the London Daily Telegraph announced that President Hastings Banda had notified the South African and Rhodesian Governments of a disturbing threat to his southern border and had asked for material military assistance. Vorster's government responded quickly with four plane loads of arms and several armored cars, to save Malawi from "the terror and chaos of a terrorists' regime."



President Banda

## THE CAPTIVE STATES: TYING THE KNOTS STILL TIGHTER

Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana are under pressure to seek closer monetary ties with South Africa through a formal treaty similar to the one governing the customs union between the four countries. A recent two-man investigation of the rand currency zone, a loose entente dominated by South Africa, was made under the auspices of the British Commonwealth Secretariat. Investigators were a Bank of England official and a Canadian civil servant, and not surprisingly their confidential report apparently recommends that the three nations seek closer monetary ties with South Africa. (Financial Mail, South Africa, Dec. 24, 1971)

Early in December the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Hilgard Muller called on the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, at Gaborone, at a meeting described in Pretoria as a serious attempt on South Africa's part to improve its contact with Botswana. At the same time, Pretoria's diplomatic circles were rumoring that a diplomatic exchange between South Africa and Lesotho was in the offing. The "Vaderland," a Nationalist newspaper, said in an editorial that negotiations were already under way with a view to establishing an exchange of permanent residential diplomatic missions. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 4, 1971)

Chief Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho, continued to act as a prominent spokesman for South Africa, establishing in the process an informal alliance with Malagasy President Philibert Tsiranana. Chief Jonathan, paying a five-day official visit to Madagascar at the beginning of December, announced that the Malagasy Republic and Lesotho would form a joint commission to study methods for the creation of a regional organization grouping African countries favoring dialogue with South Africa. (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 4, 1971) South Africa has recently stepped up its interest in investment in Madagascar—and at the first meeting of the joint commission of South Africa and the Malagasy Republic held in Tananarive in November, Mr. Brand Fourie of the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs said that Pretoria was particularly interested in the construction of a deep-water port at Narinda Bay in the northwest of Madagascar. France is also interested in this project, which is expected to get under way in 1973, and will include a vast industrial complex. Total investment is estimated at well over \$80 million. Apart from South Africa, which is likely to have the biggest outside stake, the other main shareholders will probably be the United States, Britain, Portugal, and West Germany. (African Development, January 1972)

South African attempts to build strength via investment have led to increasing investment extraterritorially by South African corporations; thus recent reports indicate that the largest single direct foreign investor in Portugal in 1970 was South Africa, with 35% of the total foreign investment made that year. South African corporations continue to control much mining and some industry in Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, and are moving rapidly north into Zaire and elsewhere.

Despite South African maneuvers, there is continued African opposition to dialogue with the racist regime. The October East and Central African Summit Conference issued a declaration now popularly called the Mogadishu Declaration endorsing armed struggle against South Africa and affirming the use of necessary violence. The Conference set up a Committee at the foreign minister's level to consider South African aggression, a resolution attacked by Malawi. The Conference also affirmed the need for greater support for the liberation movements.

General Amin of Uganda was proposing early in October to send a fact-finding mission to South Africa and found himself strongly opposed by the students at Makerere University; Vorster rejected the proposal as interference in South Africa's internal affairs, and nothing has been heard about dialogue from General Amin in the past few months. The new regime in Ghana has stated unequivocally that it will not follow a soft line on South Africa, and will not support dialogue as presently proposed.

Western support for South Africa continues unabated. Last November two senior members of President Pompidou's personal political staff indicated the close ties France has with South Africa when they said, discussing South Africa's immediate economic problems, that "nothing in principle" stopped South Africa from achieving a special trade agreement with the European Economic Community, and pledged the French Government's willingness to continue and increase a close working relationship with South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Nov. 6, 1971)

Most recently in the United States, in a turnaround of a policy, the Export-Import Bank has agreed to guarantee 10-year loan to South Africa for the purchase of American-made diesel locomotives. (See U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA section, this issue.) This single loan guarantee is almost double the amount covered to date to South Africa and is the first time since 1964 that the Exim Bank has approved a guarantee to South Africa for more than five years. (Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1972)



## POLICE BRUTALITY TO STRIKERS IN NAMIBIA

Details of police brutality to workers were revealed during the trial in Windhoek of 12 men on charges connected with the strike in Namibia. Notes made in a book produced before the court said that from Dec. 14 to 17, South African police in Windhoek shut the gates of a compound in which strikers were living, "hurt people, would not allow them to go out to buy food, get money from the bank. . . . The police threw stones, broke radios near windows, and set rooms on fire where people were, so they had to sleep in the open."

Leaders in the compound noted the identification of numbers of policemen involved in these actions, but the police chief of the area refused to take action saying it had nothing to do with him.

The trial arises out of the strike of 15,000 black workers in Namibia—for whom strikes are illegal—which during its eight weeks has forced the ruling South African Government to make unprecedented concessions in the system of labor recruitment in the territory.

The accused are: Harold Sam, Immanuel Mbalili, Erastus Shanika, Thomas Shapumba, Vilho Vulika, Cleopas Kapupa, Hiloohamba Hangula, Laserus Shikongo, Jason Nhituamata, Jonas Uejulu, Matupanga Shimuefeleni, and Leonard Nghipandula.

Following an application by 11 of the men for legal representation, the trial was postponed until Feb. 14 to allow them to brief counsel. Applying for the postponement, Mr. Maritz, who appeared briefly for the men, said that authorities had at first prevented him from taking someone into prison with him to identify him to the accused, and that he had been prevented from seeing the Namibian prisoners in groups larger than three. When he was finally allowed to meet them together, they did not trust him and so refused to speak to him.

The trial is now scheduled for Feb. 14. They have accepted counsel and money is needed for their legal defense.

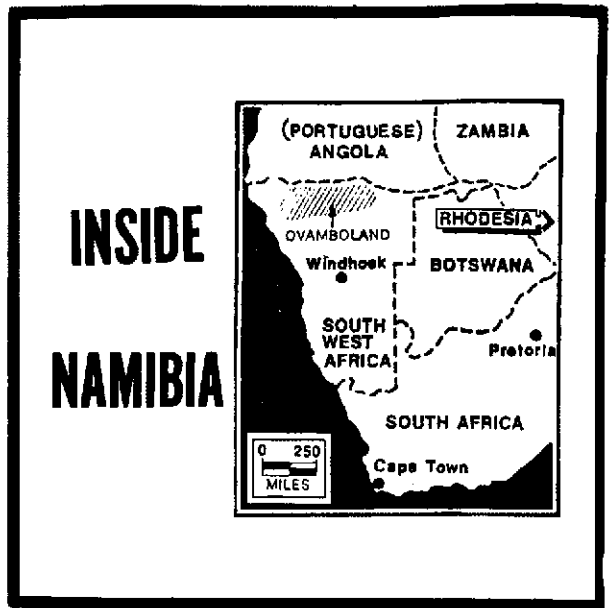
## POLICE KILL EIGHT IN NAMIBIA

At least eight Africans, armed only with axes, bows and arrows, and knives, have died in clashes with police in Ovamboland, center of mounting resistance to South African rule of Namibia, reports *The Guardian* (London, Feb. 2, 1972). Several white policemen have been injured in the clashes. These facts were given to the all-white South African parliament by the Minister of Police, Mr. L. Muller, in a special statement.

At the same time he said that police were holding an undisclosed number of "rebels" in connection with murder and other "serious misdeeds." Ovamboland has been a center of resistance to the South African regime since the commencement of the strike among black contract laborers in Namibia that has involved about 15,000 workers, closing down mines, construction jobs, and other services.

Muller continued attempts to deny that the strike was related to real dissatisfaction among the people of Namibia with South African rule of the territory and conditions of labor. He said that the source of the strike had been traced to the activities of a former accused "in a terrorist trial in South West Africa and to agitators belonging to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)." He also added the latest in a series of warnings to churchmen in Namibia—"the role of certain clerics should also not be lost sight of."

The South African Government recently withdrew permission for Bishop Colin Winter of Damaraland to



visit Ovamboland—where 90% of his church members live. Continuing resistance to a return to work until people were satisfied with conditions of employment was blamed on "intimidators," and he said that "the incitement is beginning afresh."

These revelations, coupled with the fact that this was a special statement to parliament, and that units of the South African Defense Force have been rushed to the area, suggest that the South African Government is seriously concerned about the threat to its administration of Namibia that has been posed by recent events. This belies an earlier statement by South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster that events in Ovamboland could not be seen as a "major issue." (*Radio South Africa*, Jan. 28, 1972)

The international boundary fence between Ovamboland and Angola (where Portugal is fighting a colonial war against African freedom movements) has been destroyed over great distances. Livestock inspection points have been destroyed and livestock inspectors threatened with violence.

Other actions include the murder of the wife of a pro-Government head man; the injury of a bodyguard of a senior head man; and an attempted robbery. (*Guardian*, London, Jan. 27, 1972)

## CHURCHMEN SAY SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT MET STRIKERS' DEMANDS

Certain newspaper reports in South Africa and other parts of the world have carried headlines that indicate that the South African Government has scrapped the Contract Labor System completely as it applies to Namibia. A high-ranking Government official spoke recently about an entirely new deal for the Ovambo workers, upon whose skills and talents much of the economy of South Africa rests. A sober reading of the reports so far released leaves us still in a state of puzzled confusion.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation hails the "agreements" between a Minister from Pretoria and the Ovambo Headman as concluding the present unrest "cordially and happily," and that the headmen and the

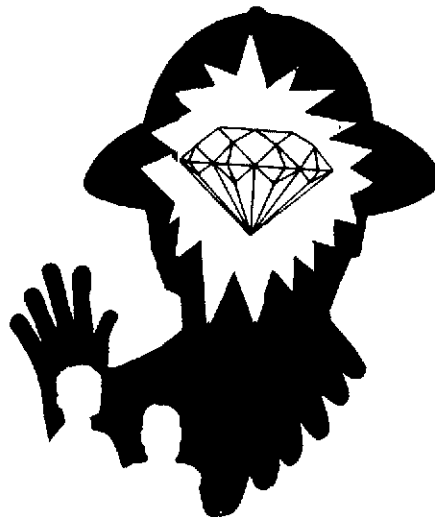
strikers are "happy with the results." While it is still too early at this stage to give a final assessment of the situation, the churches have reason to feel deep concern.

The terms of the agreement are vague but in no sense do they meet with the legitimate demands of the strikers against the indignities inflicted on the Ovambo peoples by the Contract Labor System. Instead of meeting these demands and discussing them, the Government has chosen ambiguity, has not dealt directly with the effective leaders of the strike, and has not grasped the full significance of what prompted it. A few extra rand in the workers' pockets and a few vague promises come nowhere near meeting the just demands of the workers.

A study of the document of the workers' grievances (Windhoek Advertiser, Jan. 12, 1972) clearly states their position. They seek freedom of movement within their own country, and the removal of the barricade at Oshivelo. They seek freedom to choose their own employer and to change their work without retaliation from the employers. They demand the right to have their families with them in the place where they work. They wish to be paid a fair wage, and to have the system removed whereby an employer can decide what food he can issue them as part of their wages.

This document expresses their grievances simply and effectively. The churches support them entirely in all this. Our appeal still stands as expressed in the Open Letter to the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, by Bishop Auala and Pastor Gowaseb, supported by the Anglican Bishop and the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in South West Africa.

As Christians we are deeply concerned at the great sufferings migratory labor produces among those Africans engaged in it. These are the breakdown of family life, and the shocking and alarming increases in prostitution and alcoholism. We do not feel the Government's proposals as we now have them have touched the basic human issues underlying the strike. Job reservation remains, so too does migratory labor, which the churches roundly condemn as evil. There is a vague reference to "greater contact between the worker and his family." What the workers



want is the basic human right accorded to whites in this territory to have their wives and children domiciled with them at the place where they work.

Basically what underlies the strike, namely, a just demand for basic human rights, a sincere request to be treated with dignity as human beings, is completely ignored. The ideology underlying the South African Government's ideology of apartheid still remains deeply entrenched. The Ovambo strikers express the feeling of the overwhelming majority of the African peoples of this land in rejecting it. The South African Government continues to say it must and will continue. The result is deadlock which can only lead to more frustration, more suffering and regrettably, more violence.

(WINDHOEK, Jan. 24, 1972)

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## THE

## PORTUGUESE

## TERRITORIES

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### LISBON PROPOSES TO CALL COLONIES STATES

On Jan. 17, 1972 Portugal announced proposals to designate Angola and Mozambique as states. Each "state" would have a legislative assembly and an advisory council with increased autonomy in economic and internal affairs. Governors-general would hold the rank of ministers and could be called to cabinet meetings. The Portuguese Assembly was scheduled to debate the new proposals a week after they were published. (New York Times, Jan. 18, 1972)

### MORE EXPLOSIONS AT LISBON DOCKS

The A.R.A. (Armed Revolutionary Action) claimed responsibility for explosions that destroyed a warehouse and slightly damaged a supply ship, "Muxima," in Lisbon the second week of January, 1972. The warehouse reportedly contained "French-supplied Portuguese war materiel" destined for "parachute units" in Africa. The "Muxima" had been due to depart for Angola in a few days. (Financial Times, London, Jan. 14, 1972)

### M.P.L.A. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DECISIONS

Besides its plans to hold a First National Congress inside Angola (reported last month), the Executive Committee in its plenary sessions Sept. 27-Oct. 3, 1971 decided to precede such a congress by seminars of the mass organizations in each zone and locality; to establish an Institute of Socio-economic Studies; to enlarge MPLA's leading bodies, notably the Executive Committee and the Politico-Military Coordinating Committee; and to increase the responsibilities of the organizations of people's power such as the Youth, Women's, workers, and the Student organizations, but always ensuring "absolute unity in the unyielding fight for Complete Independence and Democracy, against all forms of external or internal oppression and exploitation."

The MPLA condemns all dialogue with South Africa that is not conducted through the National Liberation Movement, seeing the isolation of South Africa as a necessary parallel to the isolation of Portugal. (From MPLA Information Center, Belgrade, Nov. 22, 1971)

## **M.P.L.A. GOES BEYOND GUERRILLA STAGE**

Lucio Lara, one of the top five leaders of MPLA, was interviewed in Angola by B. Boboko of "Africasia." He says: "We have reached beyond the guerrilla stage. Today we have more than 10,000 combatants . . . in certain regions the group (12 combatants) has been replaced by the squadron (100 combatants). Although there are still insufficient arms, the militias, in which there are very many women, are widespread. Often they remain equipped with traditional weapons or antique weapons from the beginning of the struggle. . . . As is obvious, this doesn't prevent our progress. This year, for the first time, we have won a historic victory during the dry season, which goes from April to October. This period is traditionally one of Portuguese counter-offensive, given the state of the vegetation and the possibility of moving about in vehicles. It is the time of massive bombardments, generalized interventions, helicopters. . . . The Portuguese forces, now openly supported, in the south of the country, by South African planes, launched an offensive of unprecedented power, using napalm and defoliants. But the enemy columns fell repeatedly into ambushes, to which we had led their planes. And for the first time we attacked with mortars, canons, and rockets, the barracks of the enemy, forcing them to abandon a number of them. The result: the Portuguese forces have lost the initiative and we have passed from the defensive to the counter-offensive." (Africasia, Jan. 24, 1972)

## **CABINDA GULF OIL ANNOUNCES NEW FIND**

In December 1971 the Cabinda Gulf Oil Co. announced a new find 20 miles off the coast of Cabinda. The new deposit was tested at a flow of 4,000 barrels a day of 39-degree gravity oil. (Wall Street Journal, New York, Dec. 24, 1971)

## **P.A.I.G.C. IN SIX-DAY BATTLE AT MORES**

Mores, 50 km. from Bissau, a PAIGC stronghold since 1964, was bombed and then attacked by 800 Portuguese soldiers and commandos on Dec. 20, 1971. In fighting for six days, PAIGC says that 102 Portuguese soldiers were killed and dozens more wounded. Portuguese reports on the same action claim to have killed 215 guerrillas and captured more while losing only 8 killed and 53 wounded. (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 31, 1972 and Jan. 8, 1972)

## **ECONOMIC PLAN BY PORTUGAL FOR GUINEA-BISSAU**

On Jan. 4, 1972 Antonio Spínola, governor of Guinea-Bissau, announced a detailed 14-point program of economic and social development, including asphaltting and construction of more than 1,000 km. of roads, building of new schools, industrialization especially in the frozen fish sector, increase in Portuguese distribution of arms to Africans for "self-defense" (against the "terrorists"), and introduction of the colony's first newspaper and of a powerful radio transmitter. (Financial Times, U.K., Jan. 5, 1972)

## **OIL REPORTED IN MOZAMBIQUE**

Marches Trop. (Fr.) of Jan. 14, 1972 reports that it has learned that the Societe nationale des petroles d'Aquitaine, together with Anglo-American and the German Gelsenberg Society, have found a vast deposit of oil 25 km. west of the Sengo tourist beach north of Beira in Mozambique. If the report is correct this would be the first find on the continental shelf on the east coast of Africa.

## **CABORA BASSA AS REPORTED BY PHILIP BOWRING**

In the Guardian (U.K.) of Jan. 7, 1972, Philip Bowring reported from Mozambique on the high cost to the Portuguese in protecting the Cabora Bassa dam site and the continued effectiveness of FRELIMO in tying down some 20,000 Portuguese troops in Tete province alone. He indicated that "although there are many black troops in the Portuguese forces, they are not to be found among the commandos or other elite corps that are entrusted with operations in the bush rather than just guarding installations."

Bowring feels that the Portuguese policies easily make more people willing to join FRELIMO and cites an area he visited "from 10 miles from the Malawi border up to Moatize, a distance of 50 miles" where he "saw no human habitation. All the villages had been set on fire and destroyed. Most of the people had presumably moved to the 'fortified villages' around Moatize and Zobue, near the Malawi border, but according to one Portuguese soldier, a number preferred to go into the bush." He says this particular area is marked on Portuguese maps as due for 'intensive irrigated agricultural development' once the dam is completed.

## **UNITA WAR COMMUNIQUE REPORTS ANGOLA ACTIVITY, JUNE-AUG. 1971**

A UNITA communique of Oct. 20, 1971 reported the following:

JUNE 6 to 7—vehicles ambushed between Cuemba and Chindumba in Bie Province. 25 enemy dead, 37 guns and 1,340 rounds of ammunition captured.

JUNE 15—Katangese mercenaries fighting for the Portuguese attacked UNITA's column 3 in Sautar in Malange Province. They were lured into an ambush resulting in 15 enemy dead, 18 guns, and 1 radio transmitter captured. Same day: 5 helicopters attacked civilians, wounding 7 seriously and killing 3. One of those killed was a UNITA branch secretary, Kalyata.

JUNE 30—UNITA'S lieutenant Fernando Chahuma killed when his column was ambushed near Kangamba.

JULY 8—UNITA lost 3 dead and 10 wounded while fighting its way out of an encirclement by Portuguese troops in a six-hour battle.

JULY 21—in Kangumbe, 120 Portuguese troops were encircled, then split, with the forward men annihilated. Nineteen guns and other materiel were captured. UNITA lost a unit commander, Saurimbo.

AUG. 10—intruders tried to penetrate UNITA territory but retreated leaving 37 dead, 40 guns and some prisoners were captured.

## **PORTUGUESE CLAIM SUCCESSES IN MOZAMBIQUE**

Star South Africa News Survey on Dec. 24 and 31 reported Portuguese communiques claiming that in 1971, 544 FRELIMO rebels were killed, 43 prisoners taken, 181 FRELIMO bases and camps destroyed, and many tons of war materiel captured. Two of the last claimed successes of the year were the smashing of a "major FRELIMO base in the Tete district" a few kilometers off the main road from Tete into Malawi, and attacks on two FRELIMO camps in Cabo Delgado first with bombs, then with paratroopers who captured "five tons of arms and war material."

## **MOZAMBIicans IN NAIROBI JOIN COREMO**

A COREMO newsletter dated January 1972 reports that meetings in July and October of 1971 resulted in the following elements joining COREMO: the United Front of Mozambique (FUMO), the Mozambique Liberation

Movement (MOLIMO), both based in Nairobi, Kenya, and the National Students Union (UNEMO), Nairobi Section. Persons unaffiliated with any party and people who had left FRELIMO from the Nairobi area also joined, the most well-known of these being the Rev. Uria Simango, who was expelled from FRELIMO in late 1969. MOLIMO and FUMO were both recently formed among Mozambican refugees in Kenya.

#### SHIP REPAIR YARD FOR CAPE VERDE

An American company—Techno-Economic Resources of New York—signed a contract with the Portuguese for the preliminary study for a ship repair yard in the Cape Verde archipelago. (Provincia, Angola, Dec. 4, 1971). After the report was published, the Minister for Overseas Territories gave his approval for the setting up of such a yard and a working committee was set up at the ministry. (South African Financial Gazette, July 2, 1971)

#### U.S. TRADE WITH MOZAMBIQUE INCREASES

The only significant change in Mozambique's direction of trade was that Portugal's contribution to Mozambique's imports dropped from 31.2 percent in 1969 to 27.4 percent in 1970 and that the United States

share rose from 6.5 percent to 9.7 percent. South Africa increased its contribution from 15.5 percent to 15.4 percent and remains the colony's second most important trading partner.

#### ITALIAN HOSPITAL AND FRELIMO HOSPITAL PAIRED

In Reggio d'Emilie, Italy the hospital has been paired with the FRELIMO central hospital of Cabo Delgado with the immediate objectives of providing the FRELIMO hospital with medicines, vaccines, and first-aid material; training of Mozambican personnel, preparation of health education texts, and care for some of the more severely wounded Mozambicans in Italy. Medical supplies are sent four times a year and by July, 1971, 45 tons of material had already been sent. Italian workers gave one day's salary each to raise enough for a completely equipped operating room. A manual prepared in Portuguese with more than 50,000 copies for all three Portuguese colonies shows any lay person how to detect the sources of an infection, to learn the body's tender spots, to learn the symptoms of basic illnesses, and to give initial care. (Africasia, Jan. 10, 1972)



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## RHODESIAN CATHOLICS SUPPORT SETTLEMENT

An association of Rhodesian Roman Catholics has announced its acceptance of the settlement proposals of last November as being "in the best interests of the country as a whole." In a statement issued in Salisbury, the Association of Conservative Catholics said it regarded the proposals as acceptable because they represented "a realistic appraisal" of the situation in Rhodesia. The statement added that members of the association "join the mounting forces of Catholic lay opinion" in expressing their dissatisfaction with "the lack of leadership of the country's Catholic bishops," and urged the bishops to condemn "mob violence."

Earlier, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Rhodesia had issued a formal statement of opposition to the terms of the settlement negotiated in an effort to end a six-year impasse between Britain and its former colony. "The proposals do not insure for all people . . . the justice and charity demanded by the Gospel of Christ," the bishops said. (Religious News Service, Jan. 25, 1972)

## BRITISH COUNCIL CALLS FOR PEACE IN RHODESIA

The British Council of Churches appealed in January for a calmer atmosphere in Rhodesia in which different opinions on the Salisbury proposals could be freely expressed. (Guardian, London, Jan. 24, 1972)

Another Guardian article (Jan. 27) reports that "cracks are appearing in the facade of neutrality which the British churches have erected over the Rhodesian settlement proposals. Not so much a row, but a sufficiently deep conflict of opinion—with enough hawks and doves on the wing—effectively to hamper the British Council of Churches." The division within the B.C.C. has left it with what amounts to a "wait and see" policy over the Pearce Commission, recognizing the need for full African participation but leaving it to the Africans to decide whether the terms are acceptable. This policy is not good enough for some of the B.C.C.'s Rhodesia group, however, who have thrown their lot in with the Justice for Rhodesia Campaign. This campaign is headed by Trevor Huddleston (Anglican), Christopher Butler (Roman Catholic bishop), Lord Caradon (Methodist), and Lord Ritchie-Calder. (Guardian, London, Jan. 27, 1972)

## METHODIST SUPPORTS BISHOP MUZOREWA

The United Methodist Board of Missions, meeting in January in Dallas, voted in support for Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa of Salisbury, Bishop in Rhodesia who are struggling to develop a new society with majority rule." A resolution unanimously passed by 145 Board members also asked President Nixon to "exert maximum moral, political, and economic pressure upon both Great Britain and the Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith to end "atrocities" against blacks in Rhodesia.

Bishop Muzorewa, a black, is a leading opponent of the recent "agreement" between Smith and Britain because, he says, it does not provide for majority rule in the near future. The bishop heads a new African National Council that advocates an end to the government by 250,000 Rhodesian whites. (Religious News Service, Jan. 25, 1972.) (See INSIDE THE BARBARE, this issue.)



## BLOOD ON THE HANDS OF THE W.C.C.?

The World Council of Churches was accused of having its hands full of the blood of the South African policeman who died from a landmine explosion in the Caprivi Strip (Namibia). The accusation came from the Minister of Social Welfare, Pensions, Immigration and Information of South Africa, Dr. Mulder. Mulder said: "He (the policeman) was an innocent policeman who was carrying out his duty of guarding the borders of his country, the victim of communist-trained terrorists. Blood has been spilt," he said, "and the blood that has been spilt is on the hands of the World Council of Churches and its supporters, inside the country and outside the country, who give money directly or indirectly in the name of religion." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 8, 1971)

Muzorewa



## THE STRIKE AND THE CHURCHES

The Ovambo workers' belated blow for a new deal will ironically make things harder in the future for the one body that holds their interest paramount—the church. Some sources claim that the strike may never have occurred if two Namibian Lutheran churches had not some months ago condemned the contract labor system, the crux of the dispute. These sources, however, are the same ones that are usually quick to blame all "terrorist" activity in Southern Africa on the World Council of Churches because of the latter's small grants to liberation organizations.

A church-state confrontation may be one of the outcomes of the strike, however. A third of the Anglican Church's paid fulltime workers have had action taken against them. Sixteen other church workers have been hit by the Government since July.

Church and state have been on a collision course since the June World Court decision, however. Confident of a flattering reply, the South African Government asked Bishop Leonard Auala, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, with 187,000 members, what he thought of the international opinions. In an open reply, cosigned by Pastor Paulus Gowaseb, White Moderator of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Auala accused South Africa of withholding basic human rights from blacks, and called for independence for Namibia, also condemning the contract labor system.

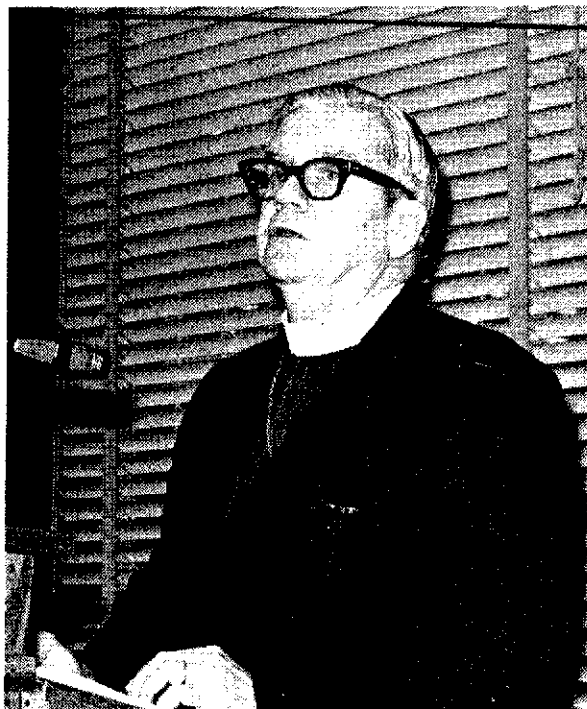
In December, Pastor Hans Ludwig Althaus, a school chaplain with the Evangelical Lutheran Church, was told to leave Namibia, but it is the Anglican Church that has been hit hardest by government interference. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 24, 1971)

Then recently Anglican Bishop Colin O'Brien Winter of Damaraland—a "black homeland" on the west coast of Namibia—has been banned from entering Ovamboland where he claims nine out of ten of his flock live. Bishop Winter's outspoken attitudes about South Africa's imposition of apartheid on Namibia are not calculated to endear him to South African authorities. In a recent issue of "Pro Veritate ('On Behalf of Truth'), Winter published an article declaring that a majority of the Namibian people totally reject apartheid, and pledged his small Anglican diocese to an interracial, "caring" ministry. His cathedral in Windhoek, he said, "stands for tolerance, racial partnership, and dialogue at a time when the tide of white public opinion has not only run out against it, but is threatening and hostile." (Religious News Service, Feb. 2, 1972)

## U.S. CHURCH LEADERS SUPPORT CONTINUED SANCTIONS

A statement by six church leaders, including Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr., President of the United Methodist Council of Bishops, says that the U.S. should not relax economic sanctions against Rhodesia until "a settlement is reached that is truly supported by the majority of all the Rhodesian people." Advocating rights of the black African majority, the statement came in the wake of a Jan. 26 announcement by the U.S. Treasury Department that it had licensed the importing of chromium and other "strategic and critical" materials (such as nickel and copper) despite a United Nations boycott of Rhodesian products.

The statement was addressed to President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers, and pointed out that U.S. policy "toward independent territories speaks of self-determination and majority rule" and that this position is supported "by the three major religious



Bishop Hines Announcing Corporate Campaigns

## CHURCHES ANNOUNCE SPRING 1972 CORPORATE CAMPAIGNS

On Feb. 15, Presiding Methodist Bishop John Hines announced the strategy of the interdenominational corporate campaigns for this spring. The corporations that will be confronted by proxy resolutions asking for disclosure of their involvement in Southern Africa are: Gulf Oil Corporation, I.B.M., General Electric, Ford, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, and Mobil Oil. These corporations will be challenged by the Episcopal, United Methodist, United Presbyterian U.S.A., United Church of Christ, and American Baptist national agencies for their dealings in Southern Africa.

The U.C.C. will question Gulf's involvement with the Portuguese regime in Angola, while an Episcopal agency is looking into American Metal Climax' role in the exploitation of Namibia by South Africa.

communities in America." It recalled that the Christian Council of Rhodesia overwhelmingly recommended rejection of the "settlement" and that Rhodesia's Roman Catholic bishops also came out against it.

Joining Bishop Hardin in signing the statement were the Rev. Marion de Velder, general secretary of the Reformed Church in America; the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church; the Rev. Robert V. Moss, president of the United Church of Christ; the Rev. Robert A. Thomas, executive chairman of the Division of Overseas Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples); William P. Thompson, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (United Methodist Information, Feb. 4, 1972)

## **SOUTH AFRICA HOLDS UP LUTHERAN VISAS**

Only one person of a nine-man Lutheran World Federation team scheduled to visit South Africa this January and February has been given a visa. The visa granted went to retired Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hanover, Germany. The LWF visitation to South Africa had been on the docket for months, and the January refusal of visas was the second in six months. Last November two LWF staff members were unable to attend a Lutheran seminar in South Africa.

The visit was first planned in 1970 when the LWF Assembly said that "Lutheran churches should oppose the principles and practices of racial discrimination and segregation" and recommended visits to churches in South Africa having to deal with these problems. Tension between the LWF and South Africa has no doubt been heightened by recent developments in Namibia, where two Lutheran churches have declared that the territory should be independent.

Also refused visas by South Africa were LWF president Dr. Mikko Juva of Finland; the Rev. Guidina Tumsa, head of the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus in Ethiopia; Dr. Soritua A. E. Nababan, general secretary of the Indonesian Council of Churches; the Rev. Godfredo Boll of Porto Alegre, Brazil; Dr. Andrew Appel, LWF General Secretary; Dr. Carol-Johan Hellberg, director of the LWF's Commission on Church Cooperation; and Friedrich Koenig of the LWF Information Office. (Religious News Service, Feb. 4, 1972)

## **ECSA TO PRESENT RESOLUTION TO NEWMONT MINING**

At a demonstration in front of Newmont Mining Company on Park Avenue in New York City on Feb. 4 (see ACTION NEWS AND NOTES, this issue), Bill Johnston of Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa announced a proxy resolution that his organization will present to Newmont and American Metal Climax at their spring, 1972 stockholders meetings (if approved by the Securities and Exchange Commission!). Newmont and American Metal Climax (AMAX) are the two major firms extracting ore from Namibia and from Tsumeb Corporation, a major brunt of the recent Namibian strike.

The statement was cosigned by the Women's Division of the United Methodist Board of Missions, by Dr. Lew Maddocks of the United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Rev. Metz Rollins of the National Committee of Black Churchmen.

Mr. Johnston's announcement of the proxy resolution was the beginning of a larger campaign to force Tsumeb to honor U.N. decisions relating to Namibia and to pay any taxes and royalties to the U.N. rather than to the South African Government. (Religious News Service, Feb. 7, 1972)

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# **INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA**

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## **DETENTIONS AND TRIALS CONTINUE**

Mr. Quentin Jacobson, a British photographer, held by Security Police since Nov. 2, appeared in court on Jan. 26. He has been ordered to appear on March 20 in the Supreme Court to answer charges under the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. He remains in police custody.

The appeal of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh, against his five-year sentence under the Terrorism Act is to be heard by the Appeal Court on Feb. 21. (London, Guardian, Jan. 26, 1972)

The trial of alleged Unity Movement members under the Terrorism Act, which has been going on for months in Pietermaritzburg (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, January 1972), has entered the defense stage, with the first defense witness being called on Jan. 10. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 11, 1972)

The family of Ahmed Timol, who died in a "fall" from the 10th floor of the Johannesburg police station in October, has been trying to gain access to documents concerning the death of their son. A Johannesburg magistrate prevented access to the documents. This action has been called "improper and irregular" by the Judge President, Mr. Justice Cillie. The matter is still under review but access may be granted. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

However, new police raids took place Jan. 28 when police arrested more than 32 people at a multiracial party in Westdene, Johannesburg. The party was at the home of the Rev. Basil Moore, assistant general secretary of the University Christian Movement, to welcome the incoming general secretary, Mr. Christopher Mokoditwa. At least three of those detained were not released: Mrs. Mimi Ngube, an unidentified African, and a white man identified only by his surname—Telworth. Allegations of police brutality were made by several people after their release. Mrs. Angela Cobbett and Mrs. Cheryl Horton said they intended to enter assault charges against police officers. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

## COLOURED POWER LESSENERED

The Coloured people of South Africa have no voice in Parliament, and only an advisory Coloured Representative Council through which to express their views. This Council can make suggestions; it has no real power. Now, it is to be weakened even further. An amendment to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act will be introduced in Parliament that will deprive the Council of its right to reject its annual budget. It will leave the ultimate power of the acceptance of the budget in the hands of the Minister of Coloured Affairs. Commenting on the proposed action, Mr. Norman Daniels, a Cape Town city councillor, said "the removal of one of the few powers of the CRC was proof of the Government's insincerity towards the political aspirations of the Coloured people." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

Economically as well as politically, the plight of the Coloured is a sad one. There is increasing poverty, a lack of job opportunities, discriminatory wages and salaries—all the result of the Group Areas Act. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972)

## URBAN BANTU COUNCIL WARNED

In a move reminiscent of that to cut the power of the Coloured People's Representative Council, the Government has attacked the Urban Bantu Council of Soweto (a black township outside Johannesburg). A Government memorandum has been sent to the Council criticizing its members for concerning themselves with the "weal and woe of the Bantu public." The Council was wrong to "act as mediator in general matters." What this means is that any controlling power given to Africans in the cities is to be in the hands of homeland representatives and not of the council members.

The members of the Urban Bantu Council are elected by the residents of Soweto. The homeland representatives are nominated by each of the separate "Bantu Tribal Authorities" and are approved by the white Government. What the memo says is that the Government-approved men, not the elected ones, would be in control of virtually all aspects of African life in the "white areas." (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

# Sharpeville

In Memoriam

March , 1960 -

March , 1972

## BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION—OBSTACLES ENORMOUS

Steps have been taken to establish a nationally-based black political movement in South Africa. The preliminary organizing began in Soweto in December. Spokesmen have stated that the movement will not cooperate with political institutions established by the Government. Convener of the "Black People's" Convention is Mr. Drake Koka.

The Jan. 29 Johannesburg Star outlined the laws that already exist in South Africa to inhibit the actions of such a movement. A summary of these laws illustrates the nature of control in South Africa:

**THE UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATIONS ACT:** The State President can declare that any existing organization is an already unlawful organization. For example, the proposed new movement can at any time be declared to be the banned Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and its members will be liable to prosecution for being PAC members. Similar powers of dissolution are vested in the State President if in his opinion a new movement has been founded to advance the aims of, for example, the banned African National Congress (ANC), or if it is directly or indirectly furthering the aims of any banned organization. (72 organizations have been banned in South Africa as of April, 1971. Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 29, 1971)

**THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT:** The State President may declare an organization to be unlawful if he is satisfied that it is engaged in activities calculated to further the aims of any of the objects of communism. Communism is defined very widely. This act has been very useful to the Government in the past to act against the leaders of various movements rather than directly attacking the movement itself. Under this act, leaders can be house-arrested, confined to magisterial districts, banned from attending gatherings, forbidden to write or be quoted, even after death.

**THE RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES ACT:** It prohibits, among other things, on pain of heavy criminal sanctions, any comment that ridicules, satirizes, or contemptuously criticizes workers who strike or refuse to strike. Thus, for example, it would be extremely difficult for the new movement to make any comment at all about the striking Ovambos in Namibia.

**THE TERRORISM ACT:** It is the most significant. Under this act any police officer from the rank of Lieutenant Colonel upwards may arbitrarily detain any person in solitary confinement indefinitely if he has reason to believe the person is a terrorist or is withholding information from the police about terrorists.

**THE BANTU ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 1927:** Lest anyone think oppression of Africans is a new phenomenon in South Africa, this act makes it an offense for any African to address a meeting of his fellow Africans if more than 10 are present, unless he has written approval to do so. Originally intended only for the reserves, it was extended in 1953 to urban areas. The same law empowers the State President to prohibit any organization from campaigning in a specified area and to control the movement of Africans from one black area to another.

# THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



## SWEDISH AID SUMMARIZED

In a summary report, SIDA, the Swedish Government aid agency, announced that since 1964 it has given the Mozambique Institute \$490,000; \$1.4 million to PAIGC educational and social schemes (including commodities), and in 1971-72 will give \$97,000 to MPLA in hospital, education, and basic survival supplies. (Food, Work, Health, No. 17 by SIDA.)

## A.N.C. and P.A.C. PRISONERS

The Prime Minister of Lesotho has released 18 political detainees including two former members of the African National Congress (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 31, 1971). Six Africans have been sentenced under the Suppression of Communist Act for a sum of 27 years in jail for taking part in alleged Pan Africanist Congress activities in South Africa. (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 17, 1971)

## INCREASED STATUS FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENT LEADERS AT U.N.

A Johannesburg Star article datelined New York describes how gradually representatives of the Southern African liberation movements are managing to gain greater status in U.N. circles. Specifically referring to the SWAPO representatives present in New York during the General Assembly meetings, the Star then described how movements are receiving official positions on U.N. specialized agencies. In particular movements are getting seats on the U.N. Economic Commission on Africa (ECA); the anti-Portuguese movements will have associate membership status (with no voting rights); while Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, has been recommended to take part on ECA meetings in his personal capacity by the U.N. Council for Namibia. Much of this activity is related to the removal of South Africa from the working U.N. groups. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 18, 1971)

## O.A.U. LIBERATION GROUP TO WORK ON INCREASING AID TO MOVEMENTS

In line with proposals made at the O.A.U. summit meeting last summer in Ethiopia, the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. met in Libya in January to consider proposals to increase funds to the liberation movements. (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 5, 1972) The O.A.U. has been active recently in condemning the U.K.-Rhodesian settlement, the South African torture of political prisoners such as Timol and Essop, and denouncing the use of herbicides by the Portuguese in its African territories. (Africa Report, January, 1972)

The Foreign Affairs Minister of Tanzania, Mr. J. Elinewinga, announced that at the Libya meeting there had been "considerable acceptance" of the idea of more aid to the movements, and that he had been impressed by the Libyan commitment as well as the progress reports submitted by FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC to the conference. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Jan. 20, 1972) At the meeting Colonel el Khadhafi of Libya called for a complete boycott of Portugal and said his country was ready to take part in military operations against Portugal. Other issues such as U.S. help to Portugal will be taken up at the OAU ministerial council meeting. (Zambia Daily Mail, Jan. 15, 1972; Nationalist, Tanzania, January 19, 1972)

The OAU has been active recently in condemning the U.K./Rhodesian settlement; the South African torture of political prisoners such as Timol and Essop; and denouncing the use of herbicides by the Portuguese. (Africa Report, Jan. 1972)

## **SOUTH AFRICA CITES "CHINESE" THREAT**

The South African Defense Minister, P. W. Botha, has interpreted communist aid to the liberation movements as a means to gain control of the Cape Route and thus the economies of America and Europe. He said that in particular Chinese aid to movements will increase when the Tan-Zam railway is completed. (East African Standard, Nov. 29, 1971) The Johannesburg Star carried an article interpreting a Peking Review story as another signal of greater Chinese involvement in Southern Africa. In the Chinese article Southern Africa and Indochina are compared, and this says the Star shows that China can concentrate more on Africa as the Indochina war winds down. In particular China is interested in Mozambique, according to the article, as revealed by the fact that the China News Agency carried a long interview with the FRELIMO President, Samora Machel. The Chinese believe that Portugal can be defeated in a Viet Nam type war without too much risk of being defeated, concludes the Star, and has placed primary attention on Mozambique's role. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 30, 1971)

## **A.D.A. PROTESTS RHODESIA SETTLEMENT**

A telegram was sent to President Nixon prior to his Bermuda rendezvous with British Prime Minister Heath calling for U.S. opposition to the British settlement in Rhodesia and calling for the U.S. to support UN Security Council sanctions against Rhodesia. The telegram evolved from a conference called by Americans for Democratic Action, chaired by Allard K. Lowenstein. Signatories to the cable included former U.S. Government officials, Cyrus Vance (Secretary of Defense); Nicholas deB. Katzenbach (Undersecretary of State), Congressman Charles Diggs, Edward K. Hamilton (Deputy Mayor of New York City and former member of the National Security Council along with signers Roger Morris and Ulric Haynes), lawyers George Lindsay and Ernest Gross, black scholars Charles Hamilton, Willard Johnson, Elliott Skinner, and Herschelle Challenor; church figures Josiah Beeman, Tim Smith; Gloria Steinem and others. (Press Release, ADA, Dec. 18, 1971)

## **EXPLOSION IN PORTUGUESE AIRWAYS NEW YORK OFFICE**

On January 24 a pipe bomb exploded at TAP offices on Fifth Avenue. UPI reported a phone call warning that offices connected with Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa would be bombed (New York Times, Jan. 25, 1972)

A reporter for the Johannesburg Star in New York said he received a call from a "young man" with "Spanish intonation" in his voice warning of future bombings. Apparently three out of four bombs planted at the airways office exploded, and if set off at a different time could have caused considerable human damage. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

New York Demonstration

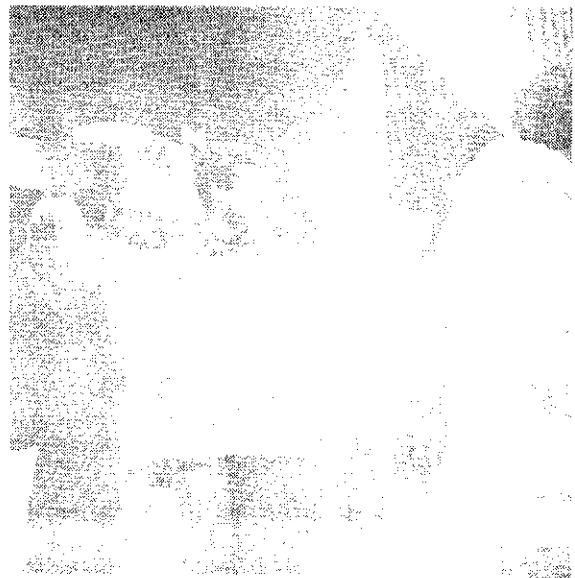
# **ACTION NEWS AND NOTES**

## **DEMONSTRATIONS ON ZIMBABWE**

At least four public demonstrations at the British Consulate, the U.N. and Rhodesian Information Office have been held in New York City in the past few weeks. The various protests under a variety of sponsors have all been called in solidarity with the Zimbabwean people and in opposition to the Anglo-Rhodesian accords. Demonstrators have included Zimbabweans living in New York, groups such as the Congress of African Peoples, AJASS (a Harlem-based group), Youth Against War and Fascism, Committee for a Free Mozambique, American Committee on Africa, and the Southern Africa Committee.

In a petition presented to the British officials at one demonstration, Zimbabwean representatives called for seven actions in relation to Rhodesia: these include (1) withdrawal of British proposals for a Rhodesian settlement; (2) the recall of the Pearce Commission; (3) release of all Zimbabwean political prisoners; (4) termination of UDI and the end of all racist and repressive laws; (5) calling of a conference of all Zimbabweans to formulate majority rule constitutional proposals to be submitted to a popular one man-one vote referendum; (6) a U.N. observer group to come to Zimbabwe to observe the referendum, and (7) following the referendum, democratic elections for the new Government ("Statement on the Current Situation in Zimbabwe," Jan. 21, 1972)

In addition to the New York-based actions, 50 Black students and community people assembled in front of the Federal Building in Greensboro, N.C. in solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and against the sell-out settlement. The protesters came from nearby colleges, churches, and other organizations (African World, Feb. 5, 1972).



## ACTIONS ON NAMIBIA MOUNTING IN THE U.S.

A series of American actions on Namibia (South West Africa) was launched on Feb. 4 at a press conference held outside the national headquarters of Newmont Mining Corporation (one of the largest U.S. investors in Namibia) in New York City. Spurred by a coalition entitled the Namibia Support Group, the demonstration and rally indicated that a broad spectrum of individuals and groups are deeply concerned with the recent events in Namibia. A statement was presented, signed by five members of the U.S. Congressional Black Caucus, which condemned Newmont and American Metal Climax (AMAX), both of which hold major interest in Tsumeb Mining Corporation of Namibia, and gave support to the striking laborers in Namibia.

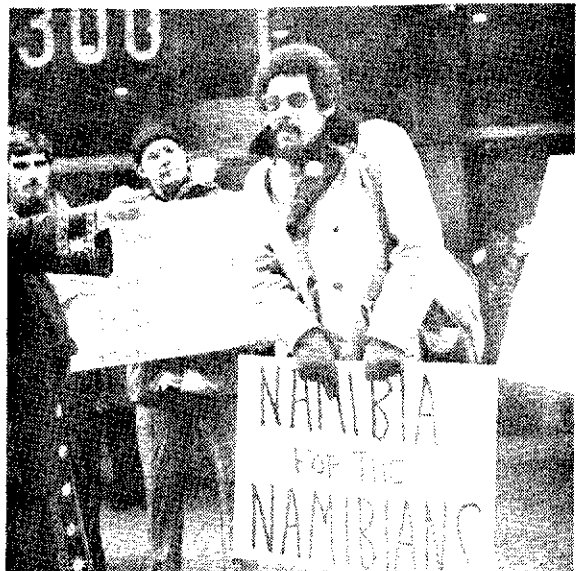
The statement, signed by Congressmen Louis Stokes, Charles Diggs, John Conyers, Charles Rangel, and Congresswoman and Presidential Candidate Shirley Chisholm, also called upon the two corporations to stop using contract labor, to negotiate directly with the workers and to refuse to pay taxes to the illegal South African authority. The legislators also urged the U.S. Government to deny tax credits to the company and asked stockholders to raise the issue at the annual meeting.

In line with the stockholder campaign, three resolutions have been submitted by the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa to both Newmont and AMAX (see CHURCHES section, this issue). One resolution calls upon the corporations to recognize the U.N. as the lawful authority in Namibia and to suspend operations there pending conclusion of negotiations with the U.N. It asks stockholders to vote that the corporation not cooperate with the South African Government in paying taxes, filing reports and labor recruitment. Another resolution asks that net profits from operations in Namibia be held in escrow until the lawful authority in the territory "passes upon the propriety of profits earned by Tsumeb Corporation during the illegal occupation." A final resolution calls for a full written report from the companies about operations in Namibia and South Africa. (For more information write to .ECSA, 14 West 11th, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Other speakers at the demonstration on Feb. 4 included Joel Carlson, a South African lawyer who had defended Namibians before his forced departure from South Africa in 1971. Also Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab, U.S. representative of the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), who informed the crowd that the Namibian strikers were holding out. A Newmont spokesman said they were returning at a rate of 200-300 a day. (Wall Street Journal, Feb. 7, 1972)

Joining these Southern Africans at the demonstration was Al Hubbard of the Viet Nam Veterans Against the War, and Ken Williams and Caroline Hunter of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement. In the PRWM statement, Williams said that the activities in Namibia and Zimbabwe show that "the Blacks in Southern Africa have decided to be their own liberators," and that "all of the land, all of Namibia should be returned to its rightful owners" with an "end to South Africa's illegal occupation of their territory" and "the end of the reckless exploitation of their natural resources by imperialist powers." The PRWM called for the U.S. Government, the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council "to move decisively . . . and if need be, militarily, to expel South Africa from Namibia." (PRWM Press Release, Feb. 4, 1972)

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy of the Southern



Christian Leadership Conference sent his word of support for the actions. Other participants in the demonstration included the American Committee on Africa, Southern Africa Committee, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, and the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church.

Newmont Mining allowed four representatives of the more than 40 demonstrators to meet in their 12th-floor office. Newmont presented a confused front with a man claiming that the company can only operate within the law where it functions, while another spokesman indicated that the international status of Namibia might have interesting implications for the companies there. AMAX issued no statement. (Wall Street Journal, Feb. 7, 1972)

All of these activities are linked with an earlier statement signed by prominent Christian and Jewish leaders supporting the striking workers and calling for independence and self-determination for Namibia. That statement was drawn up Jan. 15 in Kansas City at the "Ecumenical Witness" conference. Signatories included: Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America; Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches; J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Director of the National Committee of Black Churchmen; Mercy Oduyoye, Youth Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches; Balfour Brickner, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Thomas J. Gumbleton, Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit; Rev. John Sepeku, Archbishop of Tanzania; Robert Nelson West, President of the Unitarian Universalist Association; Richard Fernandez and Trudi Young, Co-Directors of Clergy and Laymen Concerned; and scores of other high church officials and executives. (Press Release, Feb. 4, 1972 from the Namibia Support Group, 47 Claremont Ave., No. 22, New York, N.Y. 10027; American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.)

## POLAROID WORKERS ISSUE STATEMENT

In a press release of Jan. 3, the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement declared that Polaroid's decision to stay in South Africa "clearly shows how important the ID-2 Instant Identification System and other forms of Polaroid's instant photography is to the maintenance of apartheid." Although Polaroid's sales have dropped, and it has been forced to lay off American workers and hold back annual bonuses, the company still remains in South Africa. The PRWM pointed out that the pass system of South Africa is "directly aimed at immobilizing the Black Liberation Army and all guerrilla forces" in Southern Africa. The workers intend to continue with the international boycott of Polaroid, and have now expanded the membership of the PRWM to include not only Polaroid workers but all supporters of true Black and African liberation. The statement also pledged support to the liberation movements of Southern Africa. (PRWM Press Release, Jan. 3, 1972)

## NEW STOCKHOLDERS CAMPAIGNS SLATED FOR SPRING

In a press conference Feb. 15, a coalition of U.S. Protestant churches publicly surfaced and announced the filing of shareholder motions with five U.S. corporations doing business in Southern Africa (see CHURCHES section, this issue). The resolutions call for a "full disclosure" of the history of involvement in Southern Africa of the companies (General Motors, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, Gulf Oil, Mobil Oil, and I.B.M.)

Southern Africa Committee members have participated since September in the coalition planning these actions, and are actively seeking support in this campaign from all interested black community groups, churches, workers, universities, students, organizations, and individuals. SAC is carrying a complete background packet on corporate involvement in Southern Africa for \$1.50, and will publish "profiles" on some of the targeted companies. PLEASE CONTACT SAC for more information, or if you hold shares in any of the companies, for word about how to help in the stockholder campaign. (SAC, 637 West 125th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.)

## NEWS FROM CHICAGO

Between Feb. 3 and 12 the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau produced four TV shows on Southern Africa that were aired in Chicago over Channel 44. Based on a talk show/panel format, the shows also featured slides by Boubaker Adjali and Bob Van Lierop taken in the liberated areas of Mozambique, as well as a cut from the film "Mozambique Revolution." Speakers on the panels were Dennis Brutus (South African poet), Robert Van Lierop (recently returned from Mozambique), Bill Minter (author of forthcoming book "Portuguese Africa and the West"), Wang Mitugi (Organization of African Students), Wandile Kuse (South African minister), Dickson Phiri (Zimbabwean), Theo-Ben Gurirab (SWAPO member), and members of the Chicago Committee.

The four shows were videotaped and may be available for use in other cities. For further information, contact Channel 44 and the Chicago Committee, 2546 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 60614.

## DUTCH FIRM SAYS ANGOLAN COFFEE IMPORTS TO END SOON

Albert Heijn, a large supermarket chain and coffee concern in Holland, announced that it would stop importing Angolan coffee by mid-1972. Formerly all Dutch coffee firms insisted that the Angolan coffee was indispensable (29 percent of Dutch imports come from Angola and are used for mixing blends and instant coffee). The Angola Comite and people in the political field have urged a cutback or termination of Angolan coffee imports for several years. Now Albert Heijn has broken through the "indispensability" argument by saying it will increase imports from African states such as Cameroun and Togo. The firm does not say it is cutting off Angolan coffee for political reasons, however. (Algemeen Handelsblad, Netherlands, Jan. 13, 1972.)

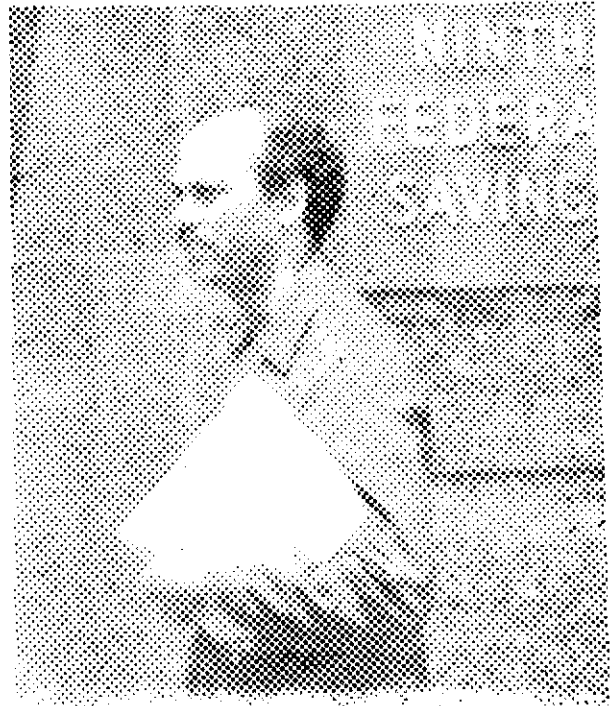
PLEASE NOTE: The ANGOLA COMITE in Holland has a new address: Da Costratraat 88, Amsterdam.

## MIDWESTERN CAMPUS HEARS ABOUT FRELIMO

Early in December, the University of Iowa (Iowa City) was visited by Sharfudine Khan of FRELIMO. While Khan was on campus, he met with various classes and groups, including a model United Nations behind held on the campus. He addressed the various groups on many issues concerning African states and liberation movements.

Khan was well received by those who met with him. Africa is virtually an unknown continent to most Americans and the opportunity to hear first-hand information was greatly appreciated by those who heard him. From this program, several students plan to continue with additional teach-ins on Africa.

Sharfudin Khan



## BRITISH DEMONSTRATIONS MOUNTED ON ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA

On Feb. 13 a large demonstration was held in London to protest British policy toward British policy toward Zimbabwe. Called by a new coalition of organizations entitled the Rhodesia Emergency Campaign Committee, including political parties (Labor, Liberal, Communist, International Socialist); the Black Panther Movement; Anti-Apartheid Movement, church, and students as well as trade unions, the main speaker at a rally was the Chairman of the African National Council of Zimbabwe, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Contingents from all major British cities joined the rally and march to Rhodesia House.

In Wales and Scotland groups have been formed to protest the British sell-out on Rhodesia. The

Anti-Apartheid Movement is also circulating a petition on this issue to be presented to the Government on March 21, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Local committees, student organizations have indicated solidarity with the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. In Ireland also the Anti-Apartheid Movement picketed the British Embassy. (Anti-Apartheid News, February, 1972.)

## DUTCH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT CALLS FOR FLOOD OF APPLICATIONS

South Africa advertises for Dutch emigrants to come to South Africa. The new Anti-Apartheid movement in Holland is now calling upon the public to return as many applications as possible to the ads in order to overflow them. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972)

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# BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA

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## SOUTH AFRICAN SPY STORIES GROW IN BRITAIN

Labor Member of Parliament James Wellbeloved is pushing the British Government to investigate more thoroughly the role of South African spies in the United Kingdom. He has called upon the Government to assure the country that Scotland Yard is not aiding South African intelligence and in particular inquired into the case of a Yard detective who had been a liaison man with the South African Embassy but had been removed from that position. (Standard of Tanzania, Nov. 7, 1971)

In London the Friends House (Quakers) had files and cards stolen from an office that contained materials on meetings between South Africans and English people sponsored by the Christian Fellowship Trust. Lists of contributors and organizers were also stolen. (Observer, London, Dec. 5, 1971) Lord Fenner Brockway spoke before the House of Lords saying that the theft was no doubt the work of South African intelligence in Britain, and called on the Government Home Office to do something about this incident as well as others against organizations such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement, African National Congress, and the Movement for Colonial Freedom. (Guardian, London, Dec. 10, 1971)

Wellbeloved has elaborated on his material about the South African spy system in Britain, and cited a businessman, John Ferrers Smith, as the head of the BOSS ring in London (Smith's spokesman has denied the allegation). The M.P. has also described that individuals and organizations do not go to the police about incidents because they fear collusion between the South African

and British police. (International Herald Tribune, Dec. 17, 1971) Often the South Africans would approach an exile living in England under the pretext of having a message from home, and then when the meeting was arranged would encourage the South African to become a spy often by saying that his passport would be re-examined with a possibility of returning home. The British Government continues to say that cooperation between South Africa and Britain only extends to criminal matters and the protection of property and individuals. Wellbeloved insists that although some such spying may not be illegal it certainly should be investigated as to whether or not it is desirable. (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 17, 1971)

In South Africa the Commissioner of Police has denied knowledge of a spy ring; while a spokesman for BOSS has said that since his bureau did not exist until 1968, and as much of the British evidence comes from 1966, BOSS could hardly be involved. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 18, 1971)

The BBC presented a program on the South African spy situation that included an interview with the former spy, Norman Henry Blackburn. A South African review of the program cited the morale devastation caused by the fact that spy informants could, according to Blackburn, be bought for "a few quid." The atmosphere of distrust and conflict fanned by the South African activity and the spy revelations, could lead in anti-apartheid circles, according to the author, to a "Fascist-under-the-blanket" obsession parallel to a "Red-behind-every-bush" mentality of the Right. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8, 1972)



# THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

## DEFENSE APPOINTEE

Nixon has nominated Kenneth Rush, former president of Union Carbide, one of the main American investors in Rhodesian chrome, and presently Ambassador to West Germany, to serve as the Deputy Secretary of Defense in replacement of David Packard. Rush was assured of at least three years as Deputy Secretary or Defense Secretary if Nixon wins re-election. Rush taught Nixon at Duke Law School in 1935-36. (New York Times, Jan. 26, 1972)

## MERCENARIES IN ANGOLA

A Canadian journalist, Boavida Quidado, after two months in liberated areas of Angola, told a press conference at the liberation center in Lusaka that at least 2,500 mercenaries from Katanga, including 1,000 South Africans and Americans, were fighting alongside Portuguese forces against the liberation movements in Angola. Without this assistance, the Portuguese had little chance of winning, he said. The U.S. had sent its troops there under the pretext that they were protecting American families, he reported. (Radio Lusaka in English, Jan. 5, 1972; Nationalist, Dar es Salaam, Jan. 7, 1972)

## ZAMBIA CONFERENCE

Using Ford and Carnegie Foundation grants, the African American Institute and the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies organized a private, five-day conference in Lusaka beginning Jan. 17 for U.C. Congressmen and representatives of African countries, including Sheikh Abdulrahman Babu (Tanzanian Minister of Commerce), Zonke Khumalo of Swaziland, Njoroge Mungai (Kenyan Minister of Foreign Affairs), and W. E. A. Sofori-Atta (Ghanaian Minister of Foreign Affairs).



Dr. MUNGAI

U.S. representatives included Representatives Diggs, Conyers, Rangel, and Stokes of the Congressional Black Caucus, and Whalen (R-Ohio), co-chairman of the Conference. President Kaunda of Zambia opened the meeting with a speech in favor of U.S. policy toward Africa, emphasizing particularly U.S. links with Portugal. The four members of the Black Caucus held a press conference where they pledged to fight until the freedom of Africa is won, urged Africans to put every available pressure on U.S. Government and business in Africa—even to the point of blowing up U.S. installations, and promised to support the Namibia strike and take action against American firms involved. (New York Times, Jan. 17 and 18, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 8 and 22; Times of Zambia, Jan. 19; Zambia Daily Mail, Jan. 19, 1972)

OPINION. Graham Hovey (writing an op ed piece in The New York Times, Feb. 7, 1972) suggests that there are some significant cracks in the edifice of white domination in Southern Africa and points to the Namibia strikes, the power of Chief Goshu Buthe-lezi, and the Zulu rejection of the oath of allegiance to the South African Government, the PAIGC activity in Guinea-Bissau, and the reaction of Africans in Rhodesia to the Pearce Commission, especially in the rural areas.

## FIRST U.S. GOVERNMENT LOAN INVOLVING SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1964

For the first time since 1964, the United States Export-Import Bank has agreed to guarantee a major South African transaction. The recent action involves a ten-year \$48.6 million loan for the sale of diesel locomotives (from General Motors) to the South African Government. Not since the backing of a \$27 million loan eight years ago has the Ex-Im Bank supported a long term loan to South Africa. According to the Washington Post, "this was made possible by a policy change quietly approved last March, overturning a 1964 decision to limit South Africa to guarantees of only medium-term loans—meaning not more than five years." (Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1972)

The loan was made by the Continental Bank of Illinois for the purchase of diesel locomotives from General Motors by South African Railways. If South Africa defaults on the purchase, the Ex-Im Bank will repay the Illinois bank. The South African Reserve Bank is also a guarantor. (Washington Post, Jan. 15, 1972) According to the Post writer, Marilyn Berger, the decision marks a victory for the Commerce Department in its bid to increase U.S.-South African trade. The move was opposed by the State Department, which was in action as harmful to the "anti-apartheid policy" of the U.S., particularly as it follows the recent decision to aid Portugal.

## AZORES AGREEMENT

President Caetano of Portugal said that the \$430 million promised by the U.S. Government was not demanded by Portugal, and cedes the Azores base in "a spirit of alliance and collaboration. And it is concert to expect the same spirit to provide the assistance that both countries may need." (ABC Spide Summary, Dec. 18, 1971)

Gil Fernandez of the PAIGC, in a speech to graduate students at the University of Denver, sharply condemned the U.S. agreement as "the most serious step the U.S. has ever taken against the principle of self-determination in Africa," and indicated that American planes and explosives were being used by the Portuguese Air Force to conduct heavy bombardment of Guinean villages, killing many civilians. He likened the increasing American commitment to early U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. (Denver Post, Dec. 31, 1971) The Washington Post (Dec. 18, 1972) was critical of the action and supports Senator Case's effort to have the agreement submitted to the Senate, while the Chinese press agency Hsinhua (New York Times, Jan. 28, 1972) accused the U.S. of a "new dirty deal" and of safeguarding American interest in the Portuguese territories.

### SOVIET FLEET ACTIVITIES

According to U.S. News and World Report (as reported in the Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 22, 1972), the U.S. Government is very concerned about the doubling of the size of the Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean in the last three years and the Soviet search for port and air facilities at such places as Ceylon, Bangla Desh, Somalia, Yemen, Southern Yemen, and in Egypt. U.S. officials do not intend "to see the Indian Ocean become a Soviet lake by default. According to Robert Weinland of the Center for Naval Analysis (the Navy's think-tank in Arlington, Va.; in Africa Report, January 1972, by Bruce Oudes), the Soviets are becoming "increasingly adventurous" around West Africa and have kept a steady naval presence off Guinea-Conakry in the last few months. It is wondered whether they may consider recognizing the PAIGC, collaborating with West African nations in blockading incoming Portuguese traffic, and taking advantage of the reaction to the U.S. agreement with Portugal. Author Oudes speculates at the end of his article whether the Soviet presence may have played some role in bringing about the Azores agreement.

### LEGISLATORS' INITIATIVES

Rep. Charles Diggs (D-Wis.) announced that he had been refused visas for entering Namibia and Rhodesia, and asked the State Department to intervene on his behalf just before leaving for a visit to several African countries (New York Times, Jan. 7, 1972). In London, Diggs told a news conference at the U.S. Embassy that the U.S. Government should ban Rhodesians desiring to enter the U.S. in exchange for Rhodesian refusal to grant him a visa, while granting entrance to two of his fellow Congressmen, both white. (International Herald Tribune, Jan. 11, 1972)

Congressman Ron Dellums (R-Calif.) and Conyers (D-Mich.) introduced to the House of Representatives on Dec. 15, 1971 a resolution designed to end the "exploitative activities of U.S. business concerns" in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, and Portuguese areas by having the companies pay reparations through the Organization of African Unity amounting to between 65% and 75% of the value of their current holdings in those areas and terminating all further activities. The investigations would be carried out by a commission of 31 members, including 20 representatives of African liberation organizations, 5 members of the Congressional Black Caucus, 3 directors and 3 stockholders from U.S. business concerns involved. The U.S. Attorney General would be given enforcement powers. (From the text of the bill.)

### CHROME

The New York Times (Jan. 26, 1972) criticized the Nixon Administration for allowing the U.S. Treasury to lift the restrictions on Rhodesian chrome rather than take the other available course, removing chrome from the strategic materials list, which would have preserved U.S. support for U.N. sanctions. The Scotsman of Edinburgh (as condensed in a British survey, Jan. 26, 1972) speculated whether Nixon chose to lift the restrictions on chrome (as well as other metals) before the Pearce Commission report on African opinion in order to diminish embarrassment.



**SHARPEVILLE**

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