

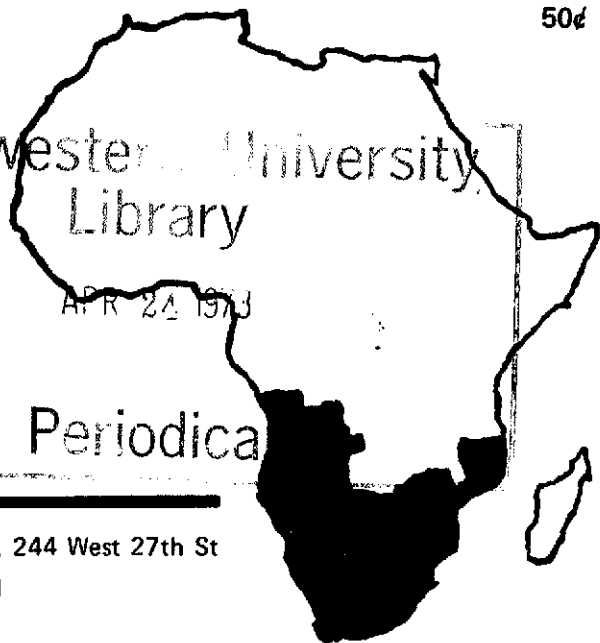
SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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Periodica



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Volume VI No. 4

APRIL 1973

Brother from the west—
(How can we explain that you are our brother?)
the world does not end at the threshold of your house
nor at the stream which marks the border of your country
nor in the sea
in whose vastness you sometimes think
that you have discovered the meaning of the infinite.
Beyond your threshold, beyond the sea
the great struggle continues.
Men with warm eyes and hands hard as the earth
at night embrace their children
and depart before the dawn.
Many will not return.
What does it matter?
We are men tired of shackles. For us
freedom is worth more than life.



From you, brother, we expect
and to you we offer
not the hand of charity

which misleads and humiliates
but the hand of comradeship

committed, conscious.
How can you refuse, brother from the west?

FRELIMO, 1973

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resources - new groups

FILMS

END OF A DIALOGUE—The harsh reality of enforced racial separation and oppression of Blacks by a small white minority, as portrayed by the victims. 45 min. color, Rental: \$20/showing. Available only from:

FACE MORENA TRUST
Room 200
345 E. 46th Street
New York, New York 10017
212-697-0404

(Please note this address is a correction. The one we printed in the last issue does not distribute the film.)

No Neutral Ground

by Joel Carlson. A leading defense lawyer for black South Africans who was forced into exile because of his actions tells of his twenty year struggle to secure justice and expose the barbarism of police state laws and practices. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 666 Fifth Ave., New York, 10019. \$8.95

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS, UNIT ON APARTHEID, December, 1972

This issue of *Notes and Documents* contains a complete list of the publications issued by the Unit. These have been distributed through United Nations Information Centres. Many of the older publications are now out of stock but are included to constitute a complete bibliography listing of published material from 1967-1972.

P. A. I. G. C. SUPPORT COMMITTEE

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APRIL 1973

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FRONT COVER:
Poem by the
Mozambique
Liberation Front
(FRELIMO)
written in 1973.

laverne brandon
laura brown
jennifer davis
janet hooper
tami hultin
paul irish
marci kerr
reed kramer
dick leonard
margaret marshall
mary mcannally
john mcauliff
davis mgabe
bill minter
ruth minter
gail morlan
don morton
marie orth-pallavicini
penelope roach
david robinson
susan rogers
tim smith
susan strane
stephanie urdang

STUDENT LEADERSHIP CRUSHED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Those who detect winds of change in South Africa and those who doggedly assert that things are getting better with increased investment and more open dialogue must be sadly disillusioned by the crushing acts of merciless suppression that have taken place in South Africa recently. Almost the entire leadership of the two outspoken student movements—the liberal multi-racial movement NUSAS and the radical black movement SASO—have been banned for five years. Six other students who were distributing leaflets during the massive strike of 50,000 workers in Durban are being charged under the Suppression of Communism Act with a minimum three year jail sentence hanging over their heads.

The banning of the NUSAS leadership was announced by Vorster in Parliament. He read from an interim report by a Joint United Party/Nationalist Party Commission set up to investigate the University Christian Movement, Institute of Race Relations, NUSAS, and South Africa Council of Churches. The United Party's support for the bannings has been severely criticized. Inside the United Party Mrs. Catherine Taylor resigned the chairmanship of the education committee in protest, and Prof. Chris Barnard, the famous heart surgeon who recently joined the United Party, was severely critical of the measures. The interim report stated that the continued participation of these leaders was "extremely undesirable."

ACTIVISTS ARE BANNED

The executive members of NUSAS who were banned are:

1. Paul Pretorius
2. Paula Ensor
3. Phillipe LeRoux
4. Sheila Lapinsky
5. Neville Curtiss
6. Chris Wood
7. Clyde Keegan
8. Philip LeRoux

Although the commission of inquiry provided a useful cover under which to ban the NUSAS leaders, the dealings with the more radical black organization SASO were more crude and severe. Early on the morning of Friday, March 2nd, the offices of SASO were raided, all their files, etc. confiscated, and the announcement made that six of their executive officers plus two former SASO officers and staff had been banned. They were:

1. Strini Moodley—banned to Durban
2. Gerry Modisane—banned to Kimberley
3. Harry Nengwekhulu—banned to Sibasa
4. James Mafuna—banned to Johannesburg
5. Seth Cooper—banned to Durban
6. Barney Pityana—banned to Port Elizabeth
7. Drake Koka—banned to Johannesburg
8. Steve Biko—banned to King Williamstown.

Two of the banned leaders were closely associated with the Black Peoples Convention (BPC). They were Mr. Drake Koka—a founder member and General Secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union and Mr. Seth Cooper, a

Public Relations Officer for the BPC. The BPC is a newly formed black political party committed to black solidarity and liberation.

It is also interesting to note that all three of the organizations involved in the bannings (NUSAS, SASO and BPC) have taken stands against foreign investments in South Africa.



STRINI
MOODLEY

NO UNREST WILL BE TOLERATED

Banning is a curse placed on individuals who are considered at the government's whim to be a threat to the security of the State. Individuals are not charged—they are simply banned with no appeal allowed, no trial, and no recourse to the courts whatsoever. Under the terms of the five year ban imposed on them, the 16 students are:

Restricted to one area for 5 years; prohibited from belonging to any organization; prohibited from attending any educational institution; forbidden to attend any gathering; may not publish anything or make public statements; may not be quoted by anyone or in any press; may only be visited by one person at any one time;

In addition to the normal bannings some of the SASO members have been placed under house arrest from sunset to sunrise. These draconian measures will successfully gag the voice of the student leaders for the next 5 years. Vorster no doubt hopes to scare the students into submission or at least silence by these heavy-handed tactics.



BANNED:
DRAKE KOKA

In announcing these measures Vorster warned the students that "under no circumstances" would he tolerate "any unrest from whatever quarter," and that he could not promise that measures taken against future demonstrations would not be much more violent than last June's when students were violently beaten.

OPPOSITION ESCALATING

Student opposition to government policies, particularly as regards the whole so-called "Bantu Education" system has been escalating over the last few years. It began with the banning of three members of the radical Christian student movement UCM, Justice Moloto, Sabelo Mtswa, and Basil Moore. Then in May 1972 a SASO member, A. Thiro, delivered a strong speech condemning the whole Bantu Education system at a graduation ceremony. He was expelled from the University College of the North and his expulsion led to a wave of student strikes and demonstrations, culminating in tremendous police violence and a government banning of all public student gatherings.

During the ensuing months there has been harassment of students by the Security Police. The national organizer of SASO was arrested at his office under the infamous "Pass Laws," charged with being an "idle and undesirable Bantu." Another black staff member of SASO was involved in a skirmish which led to his allegedly being thrown off a station platform under an oncoming train. He subsequently died in the hospital, and SASO has initiated an inquest into the conditions surrounding his death.



NYAMEKO
PITYANA

It is important to note that these recent bannings have come hot on the heels of a wave of strikes, culminating in the walkouts of over 50,000 black workers in Durban, the headquarters of SASO. Vorster must have been shaken by the threat they posed to "National Security" and wasted no time in showing the strength of his arm in the hopes that it may be a lesson to future agitators before unrest gets out of hand.

A NEW WAVE OF STRUGGLE

The drastic decision may be interpreted, however, as a desperate measure, rather than a cool calculation. With the liberation movements gaining more and more ground in the Portuguese territories, with new outbreaks of guerrilla activity in Rhodesia, with the whole Namibian question and with the growing internal unrest expressed by workers and students, Vorster must be a very worried man.



BOKWE MAFUNA (CENTER) IS ONE OF THE EIGHT SASO MEMBERS RECENTLY BANNED in South Africa. Mthall Shezi (right) has been murdered by whites since this photo was taken. (LNS Photo).

Normally bannings are issued during exams or vacations which makes it difficult for the students to do much organizing. Usually bannings are spaced out over a longer period. This time 16 people have been banned during the same week and right at the beginning of the academic year when students have plenty of time to organize. NUSAS has already planned massive demonstrations. Furthermore the bannings have come on top of the recent mass strikes when labor unrest is still running high. The amazing and hopeful thing about South Africa is that despite increased repressive measures to crush all forms of opposition, a new wave of struggle comes back again and again.

The needs are obvious—financial support for the six defendants and financial support for the families of the banned persons. A special fund, "South African Banned Students Fund," has been set up to respond to these urgent needs. Make checks payable to UMHE, Rm. 1527, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.



inside south africa

MANDELA AND MAGUBANE SENTENCED

Winnie Mandela, whose husband, Nelson Mandela, is serving a life sentence on Robben Island for leadership in the African National Congress, is herself banned. She and Peter Magubane, a photographer, have been sentenced to 12 months in jail for breaking their banning orders by meeting each other. A special staff of Security policemen observes the movements of banned persons, preventing them from meeting and from breaking the banning orders. Both Mandela and Magubane were released on bail, pending the outcome of an appeal. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 17, 1973).

SECURITY HEAD INTERVIEWED

Lieutenant-General P.J. "Tiny" Venter, head of South Africa's security police, has issued a warning that the "terrorist activity in Rhodesia" could soon spread to South Africa. In an interview with the *Johannesburg*

Sunday Times, Venter said, "I wish only too sincerely that I could say that the citizens of this country should forget about the threats of terrorism and relax, but only a fool would say such a thing . . ." Although there was at present no hard information that terrorists were in South Africa, "one cannot overlook the possibility that there are terrorists who have gone into hiding . . . They [all South Africans] must be prepared not only to support the actions of the police but also to sacrifice their sons and daughters in the defense of the republic."

Venter speaks with an urgency that is not shared by other Nationalist leaders who are playing down the confrontation between Zambia and Rhodesia. Venter's warnings are consistent with his previous positions as an ardent "anti-communist."

He also insists that sensitivity training is a technique developed in Moscow to undermine order in South Africa by "a sort of terrorism of the brain." The training is dangerous because it reduces "race inhibitions." The threat of "ideological terrorists" who "brainwash the country's youth from within," is as real, he asserted, as the fighting on the border in Rhodesia. (*Guardian*, London, Jan. 22, 1973).

PARLIAMENT RECONVENES

The White Parliament of South Africa which established the law of the land, came into session on Feb. 3. A sampling of bills and issues being discussed follows.

Abortion: The Abortion and Sterilization Bill limits abortion to cases where it is clear that the life of the mother is in danger, the foetus is known to be damaged, or conception was a result of unlawful intercourse. Penalties for certain contraventions of the law include a maximum fine of \$7,000 or a maximum prison sentence of five years, or both.

Bantu Laws Amendment Bill: The issue at stake in this bill is the procedure for the removal of Africans from the land they occupy to new land designated by the Government. At present, if a tribe is ordered to move and refuses, the law stipulates that the order cannot be carried out until both Houses of Parliament have approved the move. The Government is against this procedure because it "leads to considerable delays." The amended bill makes



Winnie Mandela and Joel Carlson (see resource list for information on his new book)

it possible for the Government to get Parliament's approval for the removal of an African tribe before the tribe is told of the move.

South African Citizenship Amendment Bill: In spite of United Party opposition, the Nationalists have refused to abandon this bill which gives the Minister of the Interior significant new powers. The Minister will be able to remove South African citizenship from a person holding dual citizenship. He need give no reason for his action nor is there any appeal against his decision. For the first time people under 18 years of age fall under the provisions of the law. It can thus be used against students.

United Party Statements: Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the opposition in Parliament has reaffirmed his party's full support of the Government in its opposition to terrorism. "Fortunately there is complete unanimity between Government and Opposition in total condemnation of and opposition to terrorism—and that total condemnation includes those who give succour to terrorists or allow terrorists to use their country as a base." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973).

Another member of the United Party, Mr. W. Vause Raw praised the police for their action in Durban at the time of the strikes. Raw credited the police with the conditions of calm that existed in Durban.

Progressive Party Statements: Mrs. Helen Suzman, sole Progressive Party member of Parliament, was given the following information by Mr. M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in answer to questions she put to him. More than 93,000 Africans have been arrested under influx control and Bantu (Urban Areas) Act regulations and referred to aid centers. Of these, 75,300 were prosecuted and 17,600 were not. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 10, 17, 24).

BANTUSTAN ELECTIONS SLATED

Five Bantustans will hold elections for membership in the legislative assemblies in 1973. In every Bantustan, the majority of the seats in the assembly are not filled by elections but by chiefs who are appointed by the Government. The following chart shows the extent to which the chiefs control each Bantustan.

	Total Legislative Assembly	Appointed Chiefs	Elected Reps.	Percentage	
				Chiefs	Elected
Transkei*	110	65	45	60	40
Ciskei*	50	30	30	60	40
Bophuthatswana	72	48	24	66.5	33.5
Lebowa*	100	60	40	60	40
Gazankulu*	68	42	26	62	38
Venda*	60	42	18	70	30
Kwazulu	125	70	55	56	44
Owaqwa	—	—	—	—	—

Kwazulu and Owaqwa are still in Phase 1 and not able to hold elections.

*Election in 1973

MOVE TO OUST BUTHELEZI

Newspapers in South Africa carried a story in early February claiming that the Paramount Chief of the Zulus, Chief Goodwill Zqelithini, had appealed to the South African Government to remove political power from Chief Buthelezi and place it in his hands. Chief Buthelezi is head of the Kwazulu tribal authority and political leader of the Zulu's within the structures of apartheid. Chief Goodwill is Paramount Chief, a position like king, with ceremonial rather than direct political power.

The appeal dated Jan. 24 was typed in a Government office in Durban by a "junior member" of the Department of Information. The white Commissioner General for the Zulus, Mr. Henry Torlage, is said to have admitted this to Chief Buthelezi, but there is confusion over who wrote the petition, and who authorized its publication. Torlage is now reported to have said that he did not expect Buthelezi to make their conversation public.

The Kwazulu cabinet held a special meeting to discuss the petition and issued a strong warning against attempts to interfere with Buthelezi's leadership. "We wish to make it known that such alleged appeals to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to remove the Chief Executive Councilor would not be based on the will of the people. The Executive Council is fully aware of the privilege it has to have a leader of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's calibre—a man whose exclusive qualities are recognized by great people in and outside Southern Africa." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 10, 24).

BANTUSTAN LEADERS DIFFER WITH GOVERNMENT

Chief Lukas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, South Africa's third-largest Bantustan, has warned that unless there is a just settlement of the land question, the entire policy of separate development will fail. Mangope has not been a strong critic of the government, but in a recent interview he expressed the conditions that must exist for the government's policy to succeed. The key issue is land, and he is not satisfied with the present proposals. In addition, he stressed that a much larger proportion of the gross national product must be spent on the Black population to provide it with needed services. Discrimination must end, and Blacks must, according to Mangope, take greater responsibility to prove to Whites that they are not inferior. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1973).

(*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973).

Outspoken Leaders

Leaders of the Transkei and of Kwazulu are more outspoken. They have proposed a federal link between their Bantustans because neither will be economically strong alone. The union proposal has been rejected by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha. But a leader in the Transkei has stated that will not kill the idea. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 24, 1973).

Evidence of the lack of control that the Bantustan assemblies have over their own affairs came out in Parliament when it was revealed that the Transkei Government last year made a formal request to have the Commissioner General of the Xhosa removed. Mr. Hans Abraham, the Commissioner remained in spite of the request. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973).

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Kwazulu, has just returned to South Africa from a trip to the United States and England. Everywhere he went he attracted significant attention for his outspoken positions. For example, he called on independent African States to provide aid to the Bantustans, regardless of what the states in question think of the policy of apartheid.

Typical of his bluntness are the following statements: "We are kept in poverty; we are kept in ignorance; we do need direct aid . . . I don't think that will necessarily mean that African countries are endorsing apartheid . . . after all, these are areas to which we were relegated and pushed by Whites through guns. The Nationalist Government is only trying to romanticise them by calling them 'homelands' or 'budding states' when they have always been there and have always been neglected by Whites because they are Black areas . . . It would be irresponsible for me, White South Africa being armed as it is, to lead my people into a way which would make them cannon fodder for White South Africa." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1973).

Buthelezi has applauded the decision by the South African Government to allow foreign aid to be accepted by the Bantustans. He has argued very strongly on his overseas trips that foreign business should help to develop the Bantustans. Buthelezi's position is a complex one; the limits within which he can move are small. The great danger of his position, one that he seems not to be aware of, is the extent to which he is used by the white South African Government. Inviting American economic interests to invest in Kwazulu, given the extent of white government control and the needs of foreign capitalism, is to strengthen the policy of separate development, not weaken it as Buthelezi believes. His lack of understanding of this issue is very serious precisely because he is respected throughout the Western world, and is credited with speaking for the African masses.

The voices of black South Africans who oppose foreign investment are being silenced. Buthelezi, has unwittingly, aided the government by his very outspokenness. Now that the leaders of the South African Students Organization have been banned, there are fewer people free to challenge both Blacks and Whites who support the structures of apartheid.



Coloured resettlement area (credit U.N.)

COMMISSION TO STUDY FUTURE OF COLOURED

A commission made up of both white and coloured representatives is being established to seek a solution to the Coloured question. The commission will investigate the "socio-economic and constitutional progress of the Coloured people, take into account their present situation, identify problems and make proposals for future development."

The idea of a "Bantustan" for the Coloureds has been rejected as impossible because the Coloureds are scattered throughout the "White" areas of South Africa. Nevertheless, some Nationalists including Connie Mulder, Minister of the Interior, find this an attractive proposition. Mulder is the man most likely to succeed Prime Minister Vorster.

A rejection of a separate geographical area for Coloureds suggests to some that the Coloureds should be integrated into white political structures. Yet, clearly, there would be extremely strong opposition from thousands of Nationalists if this were proposed. Thus, some kind of middle ground is being sought by the Government.

The National Executive of the Labour Party, official opposition in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), has already rejected the commission as a vehicle to determine the future of the Coloureds. The Labour Party passed the following motion unanimously: "The Labour Party cannot accept the commission because its terms of reference do not include the recognition of full citizenship rights for the Coloured people of South Africa . . . The party views the commission with mistrust because the immediate needs such as housing, wages, education, and other matters affecting our people are not being dealt with. The Government is shifting its responsibilities by not defining how it will deal with the resolutions and demands passed by previous CRC sessions. By this delaying tactic the Government is proving that its own policy of separate development is a failure." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 17, 1973).

ECONOMICS

"HOMELANDS" INVESTMENT AND AID SOUGHT

The Johannesburg *Star* carried the story of an industrialist in Kwazulu, the Zulu Bantustan, who spread the word that he needed 30 African employees. About 800 people showed up the next working day to apply for the jobs. The story is used to illustrate the need for more investment in the rural reserves the South African government has designated as "homelands" for the African population.

The Bantu Investment Corporation, a governmental agency charged with stimulating development in the impoverished reserves, has begun a big campaign to attract capital. Six newspapers are carrying a major ad which has a picture of Chief Buthelezi, the Kwazulu head, telling businessmen that the first people they will help by investing in the "homelands" are themselves. The advertisement outlines some of the government's concessions to those who respond: 1) a cash grant to cover plant and personnel moving expenses; 2) free land and buildings to be leased for as little as 4% of their value; 3) tax concessions for the entire company, wherever its branches are located in the country; 4) low interest loans for equipment and working capital; 5) low-cost housing loans for white personnel; and 6) as much as 15% cheaper rail freight costs. Finally, the ad promises "problem-free labour resources."

Another South African paper is speculating that the recently-announced South African decision to allow foreign financial aid into the reserves will open the door to World Bank loans for development projects. A question would arise over whether Pretoria, or the "homeland governments," would be able to conduct the negotiations. (*Star* Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 31, 1973).

ARTIFICIAL LABOR SHORTAGE

The South African and Namibian economies are short more than 76 thousand white and 21 thousand Coloured workers, according to South Africa's Labor Department in its latest published statistics. The just released April, 1972 manpower survey illustrates the increasing necessity for using black workers to do jobs formerly designated for whites if serious bottlenecks in the economy are not to develop.

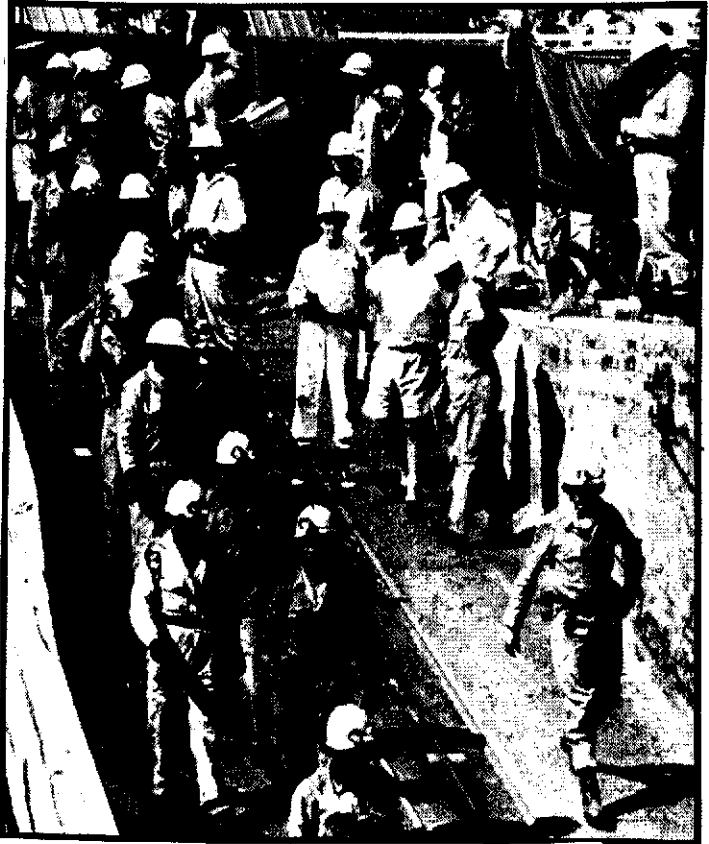
The last report to be released was the April, 1969 survey, which was the first official study of labor needs that has been made public. Comparison of the two reports shows that the gap between "needed" white and Coloured workers and those that are available is rapidly accelerating.

Another trend revealed by the report is the extent to which jobs formerly done by Whites are already being performed by others. In 1971 for the first time, there were more Coloureds and Asians apprenticed to the building industry than there were Whites.

An analysis of the report shows that, although the government faces potentially difficult problems in solving its labor problems within the confines of its stated racial policies, an increasing dependence of the economy on black workers has coincided with the current political crackdown, rather than leading to liberalization as some had predicted. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973).

RISE IN MINERAL EXPORTS

The value of South Africa's mineral exports rose 16% during 1972, to \$595 million. The figures were issued by the Department of Mines, and show that the biggest leap over the previous year came under "miscellaneous sales," which are almost entirely uranium and platinum group metals. Copper came second, and nickel and vanadium also did well. Although foreign sales of magnetite, chrome, flourspar, and bituminous coal were down, the gains in other areas were enough to offset the losses and increase mineral earnings. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973).



African miners under the surveillance of whites.

WAGE GAP WIDENS

Recent government reports give information that the wage gap between Blacks and Whites in South Africa is growing larger. Further, the gap widens, rather than narrows, as black workers become more skilled and move into jobs formerly performed by Whites. According to D.A. Etheredge, manager of the gold division of the Anglo American Corporation, the overall gap between Whites and Blacks doing the same task is three to one. However, when the jobs are done by skilled workers, Whites earn eight times more than Blacks.

According to Etheredge, Whites at the lower rungs of the skill ladder, earn artificially high wages, and when Blacks move into their jobs the pay becomes more realistic for the skill required. He proposed a reclassification of artisan jobs, which white unions maintain require similar levels of skill across the board. Then lower rates could be paid for those jobs requiring less expertise.

"Where the lesser elements are removed from a White job," he said, "it will usually be possible to include some new higher elements, thus enriching White jobs as well as Black and giving both the opportunity for better pay."

The effect of the proposal would be to create a new job ladder with a unified wage scale, divided into black and white sections. Rather than both racial groups doing similar jobs at widely varying pay, Blacks would remain in lower level jobs and Whites would be occupying the top levels. Actual wage gaps between black and white workers' earnings would, of course, be preserved. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 19, 1973).

THE RAND IS STEADY

Following the 10% devaluation of the dollar in February, the South African government decided not to devalue the rand. The current parity rate of the rand in dollars is R1=\$1.41924. (Parity rate from the daily tables in the Wall Street Journal)

FMC EXPANDING

FMC/Link Belt Africa, owned by the FMC Corporation of the US, is expanding its South African operations. The company has announced a joint undertaking with Dorman Long, a South African firm, to provide abattoir construction service for the meat industry. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1973).

ONE MILLION CARS

The one millionth vehicle was driven off the General Motors' Port Elizabeth assembly line recently. The event marks the first time any motor company has produced one million vehicles in South Africa. South African GM now buys components and services from 500 suppliers in the country at an annual cost of \$32.5 million (*South African Scope*, New York, Jan., 1973).

SPORTS

MINI "MINI-OLYMPICS"

Mounting opposition to the international "mini-olympics" South Africa intends to stage in Pretoria in March and April suggests that the participation of foreign athletes, so fervently desired by white South African sports fans, may fall short of expectations. A recent statement issued in London by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) insists that the games "are intended to show the country's white minority that despite South Africa's expulsion from the Olympic Games, sports competitions conducted in conditions of the apartheid policy allegedly have wide support." Pointing out that the games are "political"—South Africa's answer to the successful Lagos Games—and that they are as such a "challenge to the whole of Africa," the SANROC statement urges the IOC to "question the right of a country expelled from the Olympics to stage international sports games on its territory."

In related action, the world football association (FIFA) has reversed a decision which would have allowed multi-racial national teams to participate at Pretoria by withdrawing permission for overseas soccer teams to play in the South African games. Upon learning of FIFA's decision, the West German Football Federation, which had originally intended to send participants, withdrew from the games. Brazil and England had also accepted invitations to send teams.

Black sportsmen in South Africa, in particular the presidents of the South African Amateur Swimming Federation and the South African Cricket Board of Control, have added their voices to the appeal for a total boycott of the instant "multi-racial" South African games, pointing out that such a "stage show" is a sham and an attempt on the part of white South African sportsmen to climb their way into international sport on the backs of black South Africans.

Although the games' organizers insist that at least 30 countries will be represented in Pretoria, they refuse to disclose names for fear that anti-apartheid groups will try to persuade participants to withdraw. (*Anti-Apartheid Feb.*, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973, Feb. 10, 1973; *Daily World*, (N.Y.), Feb. 17, 1973)

(See next issue for story on U.S.-mini-olympic action)

London Demonstration against Apartheid in sport



CHURCHES

UNION FOR SIX CHURCHES?

Six major South African churches have drafted a "Declaration of Intention" to work together for ultimate unity. If accepted, it will see the death of each individual denomination or church and the birth of a whole new one. The churches are the Church of the Province of South Africa, the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Bantu Presbyterian Church, and the Tsonga Presbyterian Church. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973)

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

RHODESIAN RADIO ASSAILS WORLD COUNCIL

A Salisbury Radio broadcast said recently that the name of the World Council of Churches (WCC) "now stinks in the nostrils of decent men—Black; as well as White." The voice of the white regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith was commenting on the latest WCC grants made through the WCC's Program to Combat Racism. More than half of a \$200,000 total will go to black liberation movements in white-controlled areas of Southern Africa.

Largest of the 25 WCC allocations is \$25,000 to FRELIMO, which is conducting guerrilla warfare in Mozambique which borders Rhodesia. Referring to an upsurge in guerrilla raids, the Salisbury Radio said, "This is the nature of the unholy war to which the WCC is contributing. It is a war waged by stealth, with modern weapons, with the object of striking terror into the hearts of peaceful and defenseless people."

Shortly before Christmas a band of raiders, armed with Soviet-made AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles, rocket launchers, and land mines, crossed the northeastern border of Mozambique into Rhodesia. The guerrillas shot up two farmhouses 90 miles north of Salisbury, wounding a white farmer and his two daughters. Three weeks later another band of guerrillas killed two white land inspectors near Mount Darwin, according to Rhodesian sources. Rhodesian intelligence sources have charged that the "raiders" were aided by African tribesmen and by anti-Portuguese FRELIMO guerrillas in Mozambique, who had cut out a regular Ho Chi Minh-style trail complete with caches of arms and ammunition. The Rhodesian government has charged that some of the black communities inside Rhodesia were aiding the guerrillas or at the very least failing to report their presence.

Said Salisbury Radio, "Behind the rockets that were fired in the night at farmhouses, behind the land mines and the other weapons, stands the money from the World Council of Churches." (*Religious News Service*, Jan. 25, 1973)

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS

TANZANIA

AFRICAN LEADERS MEET IN ARUSHA

The past meetings of Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania and Kaunda of Zambia were recently expanded by the addition of Zaire's Sese Seko. Although there was no formal announcement of the mini-summit meeting, nor any official communique, the three leaders who are most affected by the Southern African situation apparently met in early February in Arusha, Tanzania. Some news reports connect Seko's trip to the Republic of China with the growing friendship between the leaders, and their interest in the future of the liberation struggle. (*International Herald Tribune*, Feb. 6, 1973; *Daily Telegraph* [U.K.], Jan. 29, 1972).



Presidents Kaunda (left) and Nyerere together in Dar-es-Salaam.

BOTSWANA

AID TO GUERRILLAS

In December, the Rhodesian Defense Chief, Jack Howman accused the Botswana government of harboring "guerrilla organizations." He referred to "undoubted evidence of terrorists in Botswana."

In response to these charges, a Botswana government spokesman, Mr. Daniel Kwelagobe explained his government's position on this matter. He pointed out that Botswana fully supported the struggle for self-determination in South Africa and Rhodesia. This was why Botswana sheltered political refugees from both these countries. He declared, "When these people run from South Africa, they come through here and we give them political asylum. If they want to pass on to Zambia and other countries, we make sure they are not kidnapped on the way."

Kwelagobe was careful to explain, however, that Botswana feels it cannot allow the liberation movements to operate from bases in Botswana for fear of reprisals from South Africa and Rhodesia. "They might be checked and forced to retreat. If they are followed how do we put up resistance?" he candidly asked, adding, "Botswana has no army. Our population is just over half a million. The South African army is maybe more than half our population." (*The Times of Zambia*, Dec. 18, 1972).

AMERICAN RACIST FINED

Mr. Ralph Stevens, a white American in Botswana working as general manager of the Botswana Development Corporation was recently found guilty and fined for calling a Botswana police officer a "kaffir," which is equivalent to "nigger" in the US. Stevens was found guilty under a statute which makes it an offence to utter words expressing hatred, ridicule, or contempt for any persons because of their race, tribe, place or origin or creed. (*Star*, Johannesburg Jan. 3 1973).

ZAMBIA

BORDER CLOSING CREATES GREATER INDEPENDENCE FROM RHODESIA

The closing of the border with Zambia by the rebel Rhodesian Government failed to provoke the crisis in Zambia that Ian Smith's regime desired. Despite a number of border incidents and serious strains on the Zambian economy, Rhodesia will suffer most from the abortive closure.

Following the closure in mid-January, Rhodesia accused the Zambian army of firing on a Rhodesian "security patrol" and on a South African police boat patrolling the Zambezi River near the Kafue dam. This is the first time Rhodesia officially admitted that South African patrol boats were in use.

Zambia denied both claims, stating that Rhodesia and South Africa lied about the incidents in order to give themselves "an excuse to invade Zambia." Zambia also disclosed that five men had been wounded and three men, including a soldier, killed in land mine blasts near Chirundu. A spokesman for the Zambian Government stated that Zambian troops believe South Africa and Rhodesia are responsible for planting the mines.

NUMEROUS INCIDENTS

On Jan. 21, Mr. Grey Zulu, the Zambian Minister of Defense, issued a detailed report on numerous incidents occurring near the border with Rhodesia. The report locates a point some 40 miles east of the Chirundu bridge as the main locus for incursions and landmine plantings, some of which were planted even before the "border-closing." On Jan. 16, Rhodesian forces on their way to lay mines, fired shots and flares to scare away villagers.

A Zambian patrol returned the fire and the Rhodesians fled to the other side of the border. Flares and shots were again fired on Jan. 18 as Rhodesian forces violated Zambian waters, landing on an island in Zambian territory. The next day, Rhodesians were again chased away from the border by a Zambian patrol firing into the air.

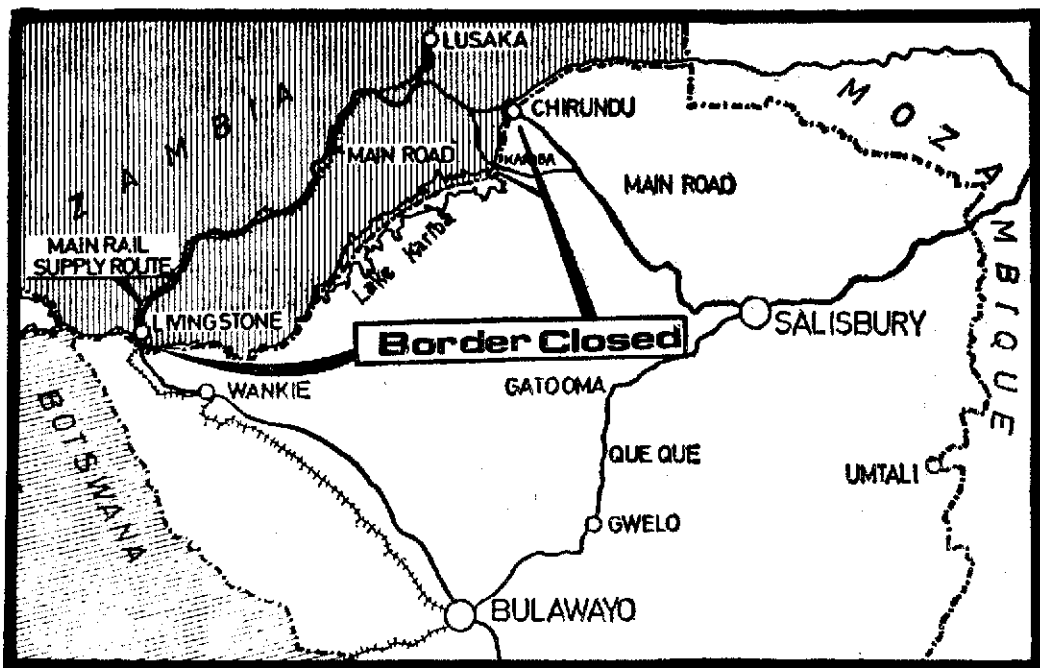
A landmine explosion killed three workers traveling from Kazungulu and injured eight others on the Rhodesian-Zambia border Jan. 28. This time the explosion occurred near the Caprivi strip at Zambia's western extreme, bringing the total number of casualties in border incidents to six dead, thirteen injured.

Responding to the latest killings, President Kaunda, in an emotional address, declared: "This is the meaning of the situation created through Britain's refusal to take effective measures against rebellion in Rhodesia. We have waited for positive action, but all we have seen are actions which amount to glorifying the rebellion and canonizing Ian Smith as a model for moderation in rebel Rhodesia."

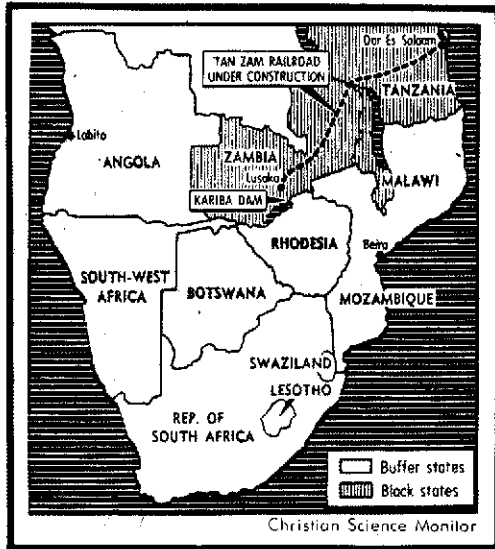
On Feb. 3, when Rhodesia backed down and reopened the border, it claimed assurances from Kaunda that guerrilla incursions into Rhodesia would be curtailed. Dr. Kaunda curtly replied, "I would like to say to the whole world in a very solemn manner that at no time have I been in touch with him (Ian Smith) directly or indirectly." Kaunda affirmed that Zambia would maintain a closed border, stating, "We are no longer prepared to put our eggs in Smith's basket. There they will all break."

COMMERCE CONTINUES

Rhodesia's attempts to strangle Zambia economically have seriously backfired. Zambian plans put into operation during the closure will be continued, despite the opening of the border by Rhodesia. On Jan. 23, the Zambian Minister of Communications and Transport, Mr. Job Lusinde announced that the completed portions of the TanZam railway would be used to help transport copper to Dar Es Salaam. Copper accounts for 95% of Zambian exports. One train daily with a capacity of 1200 tons will be employed, though less will be imported on the return trip because construction materials are needed for the line. Trucks will carry the copper to a railhead at Makambako where the load will be transferred to the rail line.



The TanZam railway itself is running well ahead of its scheduled completion date and should be in full operation sometime next year. In addition to passengers, the railway will eventually carry up to 3.5 million tons of freight annually. The railway is China's largest foreign aid project. A \$390 million interest-free loan financed it, and it will pay for itself over a thirty year period beginning in 1983. In addition to the railway which will bypass Rhodesia,



Zambia also has at least two international airports capable of handling the largest aircraft in use, and road links to Tanzania and Malawi described by the British *Financial Times* as "full-width, high speed highways... whose capacity could be multiplied many times over."

An unconfirmed report claims an extra 16,000 tons of copper being switched to the Benguela railroad through Zaire to the Angolan port of Lobito. Apparently, new rolling stock which is lying idle will be employed, though the line does not operate at night, due to the activities of the Angolan liberation movement.

Zambia's most serious problems could come with imports. However, with foreign reserves at a low ebb this might be an unexpected bonus in the government's fight to reduce its foreign commitments. It has been reported that Mombasa, Kenya and Tange, Tanzania will handle nothing but Zambian imports, which run to 1 million tons a year, 40% more tonnage than exports.

On Jan. 22, a specially chartered French airline left Johannesburg for Lusaka with 34 tons of equipment destined for the copper mines, despite the ban which was then in force. An earlier attempt to transport mining equipment via this method was thwarted by the South African National Transport Commission. According to the Zambian Minister of Trade, Mr. J. A. Soko, Zambia already has considerable stocks of SA equipment, but is seeking alternative sources. Reserves of steel and building materials, two other important imports, are also said to be adequate. A huge surplus of the staple food, corn, has dissipated fears about drought.

Zambia's Vice President, Mainza Chona summed up the situation by stating that "Rhodesia needed Zambia more than Zambia needed Rhodesia."

AT THE UN

At the United Nations, the Security Council decided to send a Special Mission to Zambia. Politically the mission is to assess the situation caused by Rhodesia's frontier closing. Economically, the mission will assess Zambia's needs in maintaining alternate routes of communication due to the trade cutoff with Rhodesia. A paragraph in the resolution deploring Britain's failure to end the Rhodesian rebellion was omitted at the last moment. Despite this, both Britain and the US abstained on the political portion, while the Soviet Union abstained on the economic part. The motion was sponsored by Kenya, Sudan, Guinea and Yugoslavia. UN ambassadors from Austria, Peru and Sudan, headed by Mr. C. A. Sani from Indonesia will comprise the team.

Zambia has already drawn up a list of aid necessary to carry out total economic independence from Rhodesian transport links. The list has been submitted to Britain, the OAU, and the UN. Apparently the greatest need is for trucks to transport copper to Dar Es Salaam. Richard Wood, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development met with Kaunda in February to discuss these matters, as did Arnold C. Smith of Canada, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, whose committee on sanctions against Rhodesia is considering technical aid for Zambia. In addition, Major Mohamed Nigam, a member of Libya's Revolutionary council flew to Lusaka to offer Zambia both military and economic aid.

ADDITIONAL MEASURES

"Belt-tightening" and additional taxes were also reported on Zambian imports. Special agencies will set quotas for specific goods and importers will apply for licenses, exceptions being made for mining and medical supplies. A \$553 million figure has been set for imports, 20% below 1972 figures, and increased taxes have been placed on a number of luxury items.

Meanwhile, work on the \$34 million Kariba Dam, which will free Zambia from electrical dependence on the jointly owned (with Rhodesia) Kafue Dam, was temporarily suspended following the bankruptcy of the British contractor, Mitchell Construction. Mitchell blamed financial losses on their consultants, Alexander Gibbs & Partners. However, the Zambian government has rejected these claims. Expatriate workers were allowed to cross over the border into Rhodesia after a week of uncertainty to travel back to Britain. Zambia hopes to have a new contractor shortly.

In further moves by Zambia, automatic telephone, telegraph and telex links with Rhodesia were cut, leaving only an operator-controlled service available on a restricted basis. At the same time, Zambia has given assurances to Zaire that several hundred thousand tons of imports passing through Zambia bound for Zaire via Rhodesian railways will not be interrupted.

An apparent snarl appears to have developed in importing goods to Zambia through Malawi. Malawi is reported to have suspended the traffic because of an agreement stipulating that cargo be carried on a 50-50 basis between Malawian and Zambian trucks. Apparently most goods are being carted in Zambian vehicles. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 13, 19, 20, 22; Feb. 3, 10, 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973; *The Guardian* London, Dec. 20, Jan. 15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28, Feb. 2, 3, 5, 9, 1973; *New York Times* Jan. 30, Feb. 4, 5, 1973; *Baltimore Sun* Jan. 13, 1973; *Washington Post* Jan. 1973; *Christian Science Monitor* Jan. 31, 1973; *London Times*, Feb. 3, 9, 11, 1973; *London Observer*, Feb. 11, 1973.)

LESOTHO

REFUGEE KIDNAPPING

General Gideon Joubert, South African Commissioner of Police, stated that the four South African police who illegally entered Lesotho in November, 1972 to kidnap a South African refugee (see *Southern Africa*, Feb., 1973) would receive no disciplinary action, but were in fact "only doing their duty."

Mrs. Helen Suzman, the only representative for the Progressive Party in the all-white South African Parliament strongly criticized Joubert's response, stating that she intended to raise the issue in Parliament. She said, "It is bad enough that no departmental action is to be taken . . . but that there should not even be an official reprimand is quite incredible." She added, "Official commendation of actions like kidnapping are a sad reflection on the discipline of the police."

A former deputy police commissioner, Brigadier Rocco de Villiers stated, "There should be an inquiry . . . If there is not, what is to stop them from doing the same thing tomorrow?" (*Star*, Johannesburg, Dec. 23, 1972) ■

AT THE U.N.

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The UN Special Committee on Apartheid has issued an appeal for world-wide observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, March 21. The date marks the anniversary of Sharpeville, South Africa, where in 1960, 69 demonstrators against the pass laws were shot and killed, and more than 200 others were wounded.

The appeal notes that "intolerable conditions" continue to prevail in South Africa where repression, the displacement of Africans from their homes, the ruthless application of apartheid regulations, and the ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees are a daily feature of life. The Special Committee seeks the cooperation of States, organizations, and individuals in its efforts to intensify the campaign against apartheid and to alleviate the suffering of its victims.

The Special Committee expressed gratification that the trade union movement and the workers at the ILO are holding a conference this year to work out a common program of action against apartheid. The Special Committee also expressed hope that the International Conference of Experts for support of victims of colonialism and apartheid, to be held in Oslo from April 9 to 14, 1973, under the sponsorship of the UN in cooperation with the OAU, will greatly accelerate international action on apartheid. (*UN & Southern Africa Bulletin* No. 14, March 1973).

The Special Committee is devoting special attention this year to trade union action against apartheid. This will be especially discussed at a session of the Special Committee from April 2 to 4, 1973. The Unit on Apartheid also plans to publish several papers on this question during 1973.

APARTHEID COMMITTEE SEEKS SAFETY OF MRS. MANDELA

The Special Committee on Apartheid decided March 5th to ask Sec. Gen. Waldheim to seek assurances from the South African authorities that personal protection would be provided for Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela. The 12 year old daughter of Mrs. Mandela was reported earlier to have sent a letter to the Committee seeking UN assistance for her mother, who is under house arrest and banning orders, and has recently been the victim of a series of attacks and robberies, including an attack on her life. (*UN Press Release GA/AP/306*, March 5, 1973)

REPORT OF PRISONER MALTREATMENT AND TORTURE

A comprehensive report on the maltreatment and torture of prisoners in South Africa has been issued by the Special Committee on Apartheid (*Sales no. E.73.II.K1*, price \$3.50) The report states that political prisoners are deliberately subjected to worse treatment than ordinary criminals and are treated vindictively and subjected to humiliating conditions designed to lower their morale. The torture of detainees became frequent in South Africa after Mr. B.J. Vorster was appointed Minister of Justice in 1962. During the Second World War, Mr. Vorster was a General in the Ossewa Brandwag, a para-military organization in sympathy with Nazi Germany, which engaged in acts of sabotage against the war effort.

UN WILL RECEIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

The UN will receive contributions from the public for the victims of apartheid as well as for assistance for persons from Southern Africa as part of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. A register will be placed in the Non-Governmental Organizations' Lounge in the northwest corner of the lobby of the Secretariat building at UN headquarters. It will be open from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. each day. Contributions may also be made by mail. Checks may be made out to "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa" or "United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa" and mailed to:

Treasurer of the United Nations

Room 3763

United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017

(*UN Press Release GA/AAP/307*, March 9, 1973)

COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA CONDEMNS "HOMELAND" POLICY

The UN Council for Namibia challenged the recent statements of the Prime Minister of South Africa that proposed changes in Namibia in pursuance of a "homeland" policy in no way conflict with United Nations policies. The changes envisaged by South Africa have been repeatedly rejected by the Council, the Security Council, and the General Assembly and "are designed to confuse world public opinion, and, more malignantly, to destroy the hopes of the Namibians for effective United Nations help in eliminating the illegal South African administration from their territory and their life." (*UN Press Release NAM/54*, March 8, 1973) ■

inside namibia

"DIALOGUE" BETWEEN U.N. AND SOUTH AFRICA— IMPLICATIONS OF THE ESCHER REPORT

The political future of Namibia continues to hang in balance as the mandate for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to continue "dialogue" with the South African government was extended until April 30, 1973. The mandate was contained in a Security Council Resolution of December 13 which also reaffirmed "the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of the people of Namibia to self-determination, national independence and the preservation of their territorial integrity, on which any solution for Namibia must be based." The resolution which also rejected "any interpretation, measure or policy to the contrary," was passed by thirteen votes to nil, with Russia abstaining and the Chinese declaring their non-participation. The resolution followed the presentation of the report of Dr. A. Escher, the Secretary-General's personal representative, who visited South Africa and Namibia in October last year.

Dr. Escher's report has been severely criticized—notably by SWAPO and the Afro-Asian block at the United Nations—because of several points of "agreement" that had been reached by Dr. Escher and South African Prime Minister Vorster. In particular, the Prime Minister's position that "experience in self-government was an essential element for self-determination [which] could best be achieved on a regional basis" raised the question of whether this was an endorsement of the Bantustan policy of the South African Government. Dr. Escher responded to Vorster's statement by saying: "This seems to me acceptable in principle, provided that the necessary conditions for the exercise of self-determination were fulfilled, and, at the same time, an authority for the whole Territory would be established. The Prime Minister said that he would be prepared to establish an advisory council drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional governments or authorities, and he would assume over-all responsibility for the Territory as a whole—i.e., distinct from the Ministries now responsible for different sectors." Further criticism was voiced on the question of current curbs on freedom of movement in Namibia which Vorster said were necessary for "influx control" which he claimed was in the interests of all inhabitants of the Territory. As the nation-wide labor strike of less than a year ago had stipulated freedom of movement as one of the key demands of the people of Namibia, such a claim was an arrogant rebuttal of efforts to self-determination. Vorster's further statement that there should be legitimate political activity, including freedom of speech and the holding of meetings is highly questionable in the face of increased arrests (see below), increased S. A. army activity inside Namibia, and increased deportations. It is little wonder that Dr. Escher's concluding remarks that "although my discussions with the Prime Minister leave a number of issues still to be clarified, I believe that what has been agreed to by the Prime Minister represents some progress in the direction of achieving the objective laid

down by the Security Council" has been criticized

SWAPO, along with both Russia and China and some of the other U.N. delegates, continue to feel that the latest Security Council Resolution is simply a delaying tactic not coming to grips with the critical issue, namely the occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Meanwhile Secretary-General Waldheim has met three times with the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Carl von Hirschberg. The purpose of these talks is "to obtain clarification from South Africa of its policy regarding self-determination and independence for Namibia." If such clarification is not available in this most recent round of negotiations, it is certainly spelled out in detail in a recent White Paper on Namibia tabled in the South African Parliament. The paper states that Pretoria is "firmly and irrevocably" committed to promoting regional self-government, i.e. to the Bantustan policy.

At almost the same time that the paper was released, Vorster revealed in Parliament that he was taking steps to establish an *advisory* council consisting of representatives of all the various regions and regional governments or authorities. (Emphasis ours) These representatives will undoubtedly be drawn from the Bantustan and pro-government tribal authorities.

It is small wonder that reaction in South Africa to the Escher report and subsequent events was one of jubilation. The Afrikaans press in particular has hailed this as a diplomatic triumph for Vorster, an attitude causing some embarrassment at the U.N. and forcing a spokesman for Secretary General Waldheim to say that the points of agreement reached between Escher and Vorster were not an agreement of fact but an agreement of the contents of their discussion. To this Vorster replied that he did not wish to split hairs but his own interpretation was that it was an agreement . . . "but let us call it an understanding." The "dialogue" between the United Nations and South Africa will continue until April 30—but there seems to be some evidence at the U.N. that unless there is a fairly substantial concession by the South African Government (and this seems unlikely) Dr. Waldheim's bridge-building mission will be abandoned. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, Feb. 3, Feb. 10, Feb. 17, 1973; *Africa Digest*, London, Feb. 1973; *Namibia Today*, London, Sept/Oct. 1972.)

POLITICAL ARRESTS AND TRIALS CONTINUE

Political suppression in Namibia continues unabated more than a year after the general strike of December 1971. South African police raided the African township of Katutura, Windhoek, on December 11, 1972. They sealed off the Ovambo section when hundreds of Ovambos massed around the compound chanting "Namibia, Namibia!" 71 are to be charged with being in the area illegally and a further 36 were released. Black leaders have claimed that the arrests were directed at anti-apartheid organizers from Ovamboland. (*Africa Digest* London, February, 1973) A witness at the trial of

Sakius Kakote, a Namibian charged with attempted murder during the disturbance in Northern Namibia in January 1972, testified in a Windhoek court about a detention camp at which he was tortured by members of the South African Security Police. He described how he was taken to a fenced and guarded police camp and questioned by the police until he agreed to sign a statement. He said that he was put into a hole in the ground and forced to hold a truck's tire above his head. At the same time he was beaten with assegais. The prosecution was forced to withdraw murder charges against Sakius Kakote after defense counsel successfully challenged the admissibility of an alleged confession of the accused. The defense argued that the confession had been obtained under torture. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Dec. '72-Jan. '73)

JUDGE SPEAKS ABOUT UNFAIR WAGE STRUCTURE—STRIKES EVALUATED

In a trial arising out of the strike of December '71 and January '72 held in June 1972, the Judge in finding the defendants guilty, made the following comments regarding the wage-structure in Namibia: "The Court has evidence . . . that just before the strike certain minimum wage scales prevailed which the Court would like to refer to. Those minimum scales stipulated that a contract worker was to receive for the first 155 days of his employment . . . 26 and one half cents per day. For the

following 77 days he was to receive 30 cents per day. And for the last 77 days, 33 and ½ cents per day. This is probably the cause, or the basic reason, why wages of contract workers in the past were so low. For it is after all a fact that where some stipulation or other prescribes something, a person always tries to comply with that stipulation as far as possible. And when the Court considers the constantly rising cost of living today, it is difficult for it to see how a person with a family and—in the case of some defendants—also other dependents, can work under this salary scale and feel satisfied in his heart that he is being treated fairly and justly." (emphasis ours) (translation of the court records Docket No. A 2311/71—held in the Landdrost Court at Windhoek). Despite the attention drawn to the slave conditions under which Namibian workers were employed, a missionary from Ovamboland, said in Johannesburg that little had been gained from the strike. There had been few changes in the contract labor system, and many workers complained that they were not receiving wages promised them. The missionary, Ms. Rauha Viopio was speaking at the South African Institute of Race Relations. She stated that in a survey that she had conducted of 250 men, only 11 earned more than R40 (\$52.) a month. One man who started work on a farm in 1955 at R6 (\$7.80) a month was still earning the same wage 17 years later. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1973)

(photo by Tami Hultman and Reed Kramer)



Black miners walk out of fenced compound where they are forced to live while working in Namibia's white owned mines.

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

NIXON AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT

According to the *U.S. News & World Report* (Jan. 29, 1973), President Nixon has given orders to overhaul and streamline the unwieldy State Department. He expects to accomplish much of this through three new appointees under Secretary Rogers: Kenneth Rush, Under Secretary of State; William J. Porter, Under Secretary for Political Affairs and former chief delegate at the Paris peace talks on Vietnam; and William Casey, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs and former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Casey's position has just been created and symbolizes, the magazine asserts, a growing concern with economics as opposed to defense.

Rush comes to his position from two previous government posts, Deputy Secretary of Defense (appointed 1972) and Ambassador to West Germany (appointed 1969), but most conspicuously from the private sector where he headed Union Carbide Corporation in the 1960s. Although Rush put his own Union Carbide holdings into a "blind trust" in 1969, his former company received permission from the Nixon Administration to import 150,000 tons of chrome ore from Rhodesia, a request denied during the Johnson regime. Congressman Diggs has challenged Rush's appointment in the hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and asked for an investigation of his role in the passage of the Byrd Amendment breaking the Rhodesian sanctions. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1973).

In his analysis of Nixon's inaugural address (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973), South Africa commentator, Ken Owen, sees the themes of non-involvement and each country's responsibility for its own security as most important. In relation to Southern Africa, he thinks Nixon and Kissinger have been greatly influenced by Dean Acheson, George Ball and George Kennan, who each urged an end to the effort to isolate South Africa in the hopes of changing its policies. He finds Diggs' influence on policy to be negligible; Diggs' resignation from the UN in late 1971 has not and will not be forgiven at the White House.

BLACK DIPLOMAT ARRIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

After acquiring fluency in Afrikaans, James Baker left the United States in late January to assume his post in the economics section of the US Embassy at Pretoria. En route he stopped in Dar es Salaam to discuss his duties with Beverly Carter, now US Ambassador to Tanzania. Carter is also Black and accompanied Assistant Secretary of State Newsom to South Africa in 1970, and has been an enthusiastic advocate of appointing a black diplomat to SA. Finding the "perfect diplomat" for the job, however, has taken almost two years, because several black candidates balked at the appointment. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973).

Baker arrived at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg in early February and suavely handled the thorny questions thrown his way by a throng of reporters. He indicated that he didn't like apartheid, that he had not decided upon the merits of American business involvement in SA, and that he saw his job as routine. (*Star*, Johannesburg,

Feb. 10, 1973). However, from another article in the same issue, it is clear that neither the South African Government nor the US Embassy regard the assignment as routine. Donald McHenry, a Black and senior State Department official on a leave of absence with a grant from the Council on Foreign Relations to write a book on American corporations in SA, outlines some of the pressures that Baker will be subjected to on the white cocktail circuit and in his ordinary movements in Pretoria and Johannesburg. Baker will not live in the diplomatic enclave where the Malawi Ambassador resides but will rent the home occupied by his predecessor in Waterkloof in Pretoria. McHenry predicts that officials of the SA Government and the pro-government South Africa Foundation will soon be pointing to Baker's assignment as evidence of South Africa's normalcy and tolerance.

One sector of South African white opinion was not so happy with the turn of events. The right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party has protested the appointment to the US Embassy in Pretoria and reminded Prime Minister Vorster of a statement he made in 1968: "only a baboon would ask whether the US will send a black diplomat to the republic." (*New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1973).

MULTI-RACIAL SYMPOSIUM SET

The United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (USSALEP) is planning to hold a symposium on race relations August 5 to 9 at a hotel on the Natal north coast near Durban. This represents an advance from the last meeting in July 1971, held at the specially designated "multi-racial" international hotel at Jan Smuts Airport, and was pushed by American leaders of USSALEP. The last meeting was reportedly the scene of sharp conflicts between Piet Riekert, Chief Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister, and the Black delegates (Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu, Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, and Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana). A sub-committee will shortly meet in Johannesburg to plan the details of the August symposium. (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Feb. 7, 1973)

CONGRESSMAN DIGGS AND SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

South African Airways (SAA) now has one route to the US via Rio de Janeiro and has applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for a second route via the Cape Verde Islands, with hearings expected in February. Congressman Diggs has introduced a bill into the House of Representatives which would prevent the Board from giving licenses to countries practicing discrimination. While the bill is unlikely to be passed, it may get to the committee hearing stage and affect the Board hearings. Diggs is also reintroducing his bill to have American corporations abroad subject to the same fair employment practices applied in the US. He is launching hearings, beginning in February, on Rhodesian policy, the US arms embargo against Portugal, and economic development in Black Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 30, 1973)

NAMIBIA TAXATION

Raymond Heard, Washington correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, Aug. 11, 1972, reprinted in *X-Ray*, February, 1973), reports that the Nixon Administration is actively considering the question of taxing American firms operating in Namibia (in addition to the taxes which they pay to the South African Government). This is apparently in response to demands from Black Congressman and in line with American policy of defusing the Namibian question.

AMERICAN COMMENTS ON AFRICAN LABOR

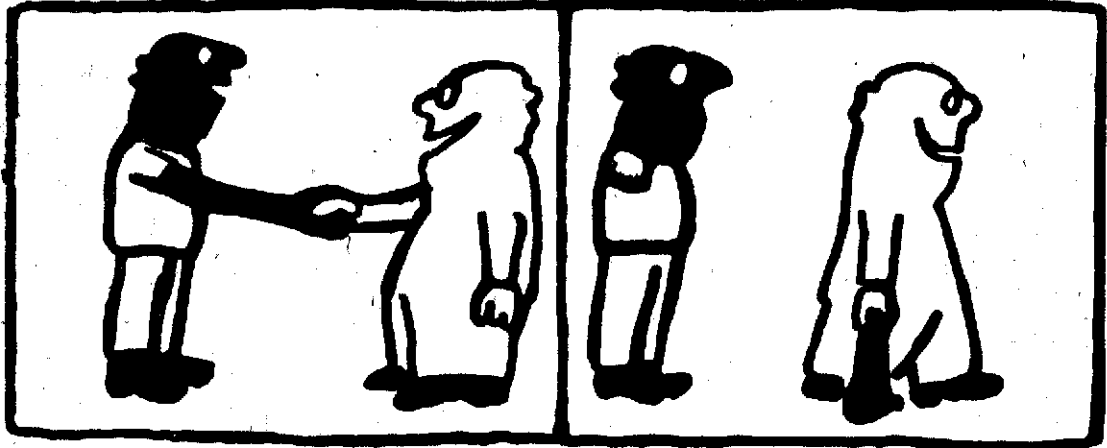
Sterling Tucker, a black executive officer of the Urban League and Deputy Mayor of Washington, is on a three-week visit to South Africa. Speaking at the Abe Bailey Institute conference on labor in Cape Town, Tucker said that the Natal strikes indicate growing African labor unrest and strength, and that black trade unions will sooner or later have to be recognized.

CONSUL-GENERAL JOINS PORTUGUESE TOUR

Last October the Lourenco-Marques based consul-general of the US, France, West Germany, Italy, South Africa, and Rhodesia joined Mozambique Commander-in-Chief Kaulza de Arriaga for a visit to the northern edge of Cabo-Delgado province. There, within sight of Tanzania, the Portuguese are pursuing their "Operation Frontier" to consolidate a string of modern towns and villages between Nangado and Palma on the coast. The effort has so far involved new construction of schools, hospitals, cooperative warehouses, and includes future plans for building African housing, teaching new farming and fishing techniques, and even installing a television network. (*Agence France Press*, Oct. 24, 1972)

SMITH REGIME PRESTIGE

Washington diplomats and officials are still evaluating the amount of prestige lost by the Smith regime due to the recent border closing. It is believed that doubts about the future of white control, as implied in newspaper headlines about guerrilla threats, could cause a reversal of attitude among those who originally supported the pro-Rhodesian Byrd Amendment. (*Star* Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973).



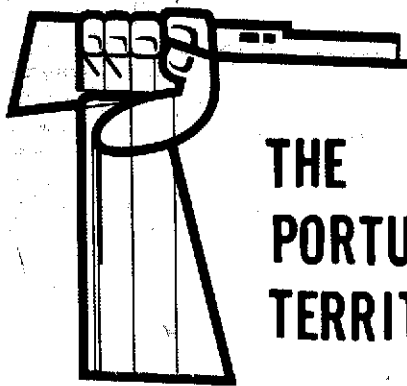
u.s. churches

CHURCHWOMEN HEAR SOUTH AFRICAN

Recently at a meeting of the Ministry of Women Office of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries a South African Indian woman said that "justice could be

fostered in South Africa by the withdrawal of US business and investments." Ms. Fatima Meer told the meeting that the situation of Blacks (including all peoples classified as "non-Whites") is so dire that many who have preached nonviolent change are beginning to wonder if violence will be necessary. Ms. Meer said that the Asian and Coloured people are somewhat better off than the black Africans but that they are making common cause with the Blacks. The most "dehumanizing" aspect of apartheid, she stated, is what it does to the family unit. Husbands and wives are often separated and, in some cases, both parents must rise at early hours to travel from the black ghetto to city jobs. Children are left literally on the street until their parents return at 7 or 8 p.m.

Ms. Meer said women are on the bottom of the heap in an apartheid system. She noted that she cannot own property and a woman is the ward of a man unless a court legally emancipates her. The church, she continued, has so identified itself with the white-dominated patterns, it is suspect in the eyes of most black South Africans. (*Religious News Service*, Feb. 1, 1973)



THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

MOZAMBIQUE

PRIESTS TESTIFY TO PORTUGUESE EXCESSES

In Mozambique, the January trial of two Spanish priests, Father Joaquim Sampaio and Father Fernando Mendes, for the first time has presented public testimony that the war in the north does indeed have innocent victims, and that the Portuguese soldiers are at times guilty of excesses. When the testimony was reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa, those issues of the paper were taken off newsstands shortly after they reached Mozambique.

Two of those testifying for the defense were Bishop Felix Ribeira, who was Bishop in Tete province at the time the two priests were arrested, and Father Alfonso Valverde Leon, a colleague who had been in Muchulala in northeastern Mozambique. Bishop Ribeira claimed he had proof that the Portuguese Security Police regularly beat Africans in northern Mozambique to get information on the movements of FRELIMO. He also reported hearing of incidents where Portuguese commandos had imprisoned black women and children in huts in the war zone and burned them alive.

Father Leon said he had witnessed a massacre at Muchulala on Nov. 3, 1971, where Portuguese commandos had killed four women and eleven children with hand grenades claiming persons from their village had been responsible for the death of a pro-Portuguese Maconde chief. The priest said he could produce photographs of the bodies of the 15 victims which he had himself taken. "After the massacres and killing I have seen," the priest told the court, "I cannot stay White."

A pastoral letter by the former Bishop of Vila Cabral, Msgr. Dias Mogeira, also condemned crimes of repression in Portugal's African colonies, saying that after a FRELIMO attack, the repression is frequently excessive and at times even criminal, and sure to fail at winning the confidence of the African people. He also complained about priests and even himself being under constant surveillance. (*Rand Daily Mail*, South Africa, Jan. 13 & 19, 1973; *Informations Catholiques Internationaux*, France, Jan. 15, 1973)

FRELIMO FOCUSES ON PRODUCTION AND ROLE OF WOMEN

The FRELIMO Central Committee which met for 26 days in December 1972 has drawn up a more extensive and detailed economic program for expansion of production inside liberated areas of Mozambique. It stressed the vital role production has played in the people's war, and the successes already achieved through the introduction of better farming techniques, the

diversification of crops, and the continuing development of cottage industries. A new group was established to act as the co-ordinating link between all sectors concerned with production and commerce.

A new organization, the Organization of Mozambican Women, will have as its core the Women's Detachments of FRELIMO and will work to increase the effective mobilization of women in the struggle, so that both traditional and colonial forms of exploitation and discrimination against women will end. April 7 was set as Mozambican Women's Day, in memory of the death of Josina Machel who headed the Women's section in FRELIMO's department of Foreign Affairs.

Commitments in the area of health were also reaffirmed, both to provide assistance to the growing number of victims of repression and to "wage a frontal attack" on endemic diseases and health problems inherited from the colonial period. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Feb. 1973)



OAU VISITS LIBERATED MOZAMBIQUE

In October a delegation from the OAU Liberation Committee spent ten days inside Mozambique in Cabo Delgado Province. At a press conference in Dar es Salaam the following remarks were made by Major Hasim Mbita, Executive-Secretary of the Committee:

"I would like to make it quite clear that we did not go to inspect what FRELIMO was doing; we went to learn what FRELIMO is doing; so that difficulties between the liberation movement and the secretariat would be eliminated...."

I have been impressed by the progress of the war. The whole area that we covered is completely under the physical control of FRELIMO. No Portuguese troops can move on land freely. Whatever movement the Portuguese can conduct to their isolated camps is by air. Even with air transportation, the Portuguese manage to get their helicopters with troops to these camps only after harassment and bombardment to scare the ordinary people. This was particularly evident during the last six days of our stay in Mozambique. The Portuguese jets and bombers would fly ahead of the helicopters, or the helicopters would be escorted to the camps, where troops are confined to the spot and are unable to get water or food except by air from the far south.

It was clear that FRELIMO had control of the ground. On the ground there was free movement—very, very free movement. All our movement was during daylight, and the fact that we, as visitors, moved during the day was clear indication of the control of FRELIMO. FRELIMO is running the show in Cabo Delgado, and must be doing the same in other areas which I did not visit but which have been visited recently by other groups—from the Liberation Committee, from the newspaper *Uhuru*, and from overseas.

The people identify with FRELIMO. We talked to elderly people in the Cabo Delgado area, and they are confident. One of their main requests to us was to ask that their brothers and sisters, who ran from Mozambique to Tanzania during the first offensive should return. The people are engaged in active production, they open up farms, they cultivate, harvest, and market their crops.

It is completely open secret that the people in Mozambique feed the liberation forces, and they speak of this with pride. Through political education, FRELIMO has been able to arouse political consciousness to the level that people aid the soldiers not only to win the war but to push out the colonial force and to establish national rule in Mozambique, which will look after the interests of the people of Mozambique as a whole.

I would like to mention successes in Mozambique which happened while we were there or just before our arrival. We know that on September 18 this year at Mueda, FRELIMO forces destroyed 19 enemy planes, 18 on the ground and one coming in to rescue which was shot down and fell behind the FRELIMO lines. In this place, FRELIMO troops found a sub-machine gun belonging to the pilot which they gave to me as a presentation to the Liberation Committee. This gun is of Belgian make, and shows that the Portuguese have support from the NATO countries.

As I saw it in FRELIMO, the armed struggle is not an end in itself. The purpose of the armed struggle, as I understood from FRELIMO, is to try and bring sense to the Portuguese colonialists, to stop their inhuman acts of oppression, and their denial of self-determination and dignity to the people.

In trying to suppress the voice of freedom the Portuguese have used force—they are using force now. They are being aided by friendly countries, particularly NATO countries, and we have evidence of this. The aeroplanes are NATO aeroplanes, the weapons the Portuguese use are NATO weapons. It is no illusion that the aircraft which are being shot at are either Canadian, American, French or Italian. The Portuguese are killing and oppressing. FRELIMO cannot rely on prayer when they are being oppressed, killed, tortured. The only chance is to fight back and fight vigorously.

But beneath all this you can see FRELIMO as a humanitarian organisation that wants to build a nation and has a programme for reconstruction in the liberated areas. This is a clear indication of their value for human life—giving health services, giving mental liberation to people through education, and broadening their horizons on life. This side of the story is not often told. A bullet echoes a great deal. The quiet revolution that takes place beneath the bullet is not told.

I am confident of FRELIMO's victory. After the recent African stand at Rabat on armed struggle, and the successes that have been achieved by FRELIMO, I have no doubt in my mind that victory is just around the corner. With total African support there should be no difficulty at all." (*Reprinted from Mozambique Revolution*)

MILITARY NOTES

The Lisbon *Diario de Noticias* of Jan. 24, 1973 summarizes Portuguese reports of the war in Mozambique for 1972. They report an average of 18 Portuguese soldiers per month killed (mostly by mines, 29 seriously wounded, and 15 vehicles destroyed. 55,000 Portuguese troops were deployed in Mozambique in 1972. An airport network with 30 airfields and over 150 landing strips in northern and eastern Mozambique is reported nearly completed. From this network 15,461 air missions against FRELIMO were sent, in addition to 2,285 flight hours with loudspeakers and the dropping of 4,899,100 pamphlets. (Since FRELIMO claims approximately 1 million people in liberated areas, that is approximately 5 pamphlets per person, and with an optimistic estimate of 1 in 10 of those people literate that makes 45-50 pamphlets per literate person.) The new airport network also facilitated the transport of nearly 48,000 soldiers and over 3¼ tons of Portuguese weapons. The Portuguese also reported over 6,000 ground missions and over 600 marine missions against FRELIMO in 1972.

FRELIMO reports attacks on Jan. 17 on two Portuguese army posts in Tete province of Mozambique, killing dozens of Portuguese soldiers. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973) A freight train headed to Beira from Tete was reportedly blown up by a landmine on Feb. 13, the first attack on that line since early December. The Portuguese are reportedly fearful of similar attacks on the Beira railway link to Rhodesia further south, especially now that Zambia no longer uses the line. FRELIMO has also released a second communique about action in the Manica and Sofala province, covering the period between August and November of 1972. The first communique indicated action as far south as Vila Gouveia. The new communique shows the area extended to near Vila Pery on the Beira-Umtali road. Nearly 100 Portuguese soldiers were reported killed in various ambushes and attacks, and about two dozen vehicles were destroyed. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, Jan. 10, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, London, Jan. 17, 1973; *Guardian*, US, March 7, 1973)

frelimo will win

ANGOLA

COFFEE SURPLUS

Due to lack of buyers, the coffee warehouses of Angola have increasing reserves. At the end of 1971, the total of unexported stock was the equivalent of a whole year's production. Since Holland, Angola's number two customer has been importing substantially less, Angolan exporters have been trying hard to locate new markets with partial success. By selling 15,000 tons of coffee to an importer in the US, Angola has guaranteed the fulfillment of its export quotas for the last quarter of 1972 and the first quarter of 1973. The sale was negotiated collectively with various Angolan exporters, and the Coffee Institute authorized the sale at a price below the minimum normal for export. (*Provincia*, Angola, Dec. 29, 1972 & Jan. 4, 1973; *Novaport*, France, Dec. 31, 1972; *African Development*, Jan. 1973)

SECURITY SYSTEM FOR DIAMONDS

In Angola the diamond-rich areas are divided into three zones: "Protected" zones, "reserve" zones, and zones actually being exploited. The types of zones and the recent security legislation affecting them are indicative of Portuguese fear of guerrilla actions. The Mine Police (*Policia Mineira*) work in mobile units in the first two types of zones. The third type, where a concession is actually in effect, is fenced off with access restricted to persons employed by the holder of the concessions. The concessionaires also have responsibility for the security of this area. The Management of Geology and Mines in Angola is responsible for the designation of zones and their periodic inspection.

On petition of the concessionaire, the Government of Angola can authorize the isolation of the workers at the major finds. They can be kept from communication with the outside for up to 45 days providing they are given clothing, lodging, food, medical care, recreation, and double pay. After such a period, an employee has a right to two weeks respite before being required to enter "isolation" again.

Local populations may be removed from a concession with the Government determining the amount of compensation that the concessionaire must pay them. If a public road is to be restricted because of the concession, the concessionaire must build an alternative.

Reserve zones contain unexploited but known deposits, and the main police aim is to prevent unauthorized exploitation of the diamonds—smuggling. To this end, the District Governor can delimit zones of protection around either of the other two types of zones. Zones of protection cannot include existing villages. All roads which are not main highways can prohibit transit in a zone of protection. Only the Governor of the District can allow exceptions for dwelling within this zone or using a highway through it. Likewise, only the Governor can authorize use of land in a protected zone for commerce, industry, agriculture, grazing, or any other economic activity. And this authorization given can be revoked at any time.

Personnel hired by a concessionaire to handle security in the area being exploited have the same power as the Mine Police in the other two zones. The Department of Geology and Mines inspects each area at least once a year to be sure that security is adequate and efficient. The Mine Police may be from the "tropas especiais" ("special troops") of the land, sea, or air forces, or persons who have completed their time in those services. The various

concessionaires will share the cost of these commissions in proportion to the size of their concession in sums available to the government at any time and written into the budget. The Center of the Mine Police is in Henrique de Carvalho in northeastern Lunda District.

Penalty for trafficking in unpolished or uncut diamonds is eight to twelve years in prison. A person who enters a zone of exploitation without authorization can also be imprisoned, as can an employee who leaves without permission. Illegal entry or exit from the zone of protection can also mean up to seven months in prison. The proper exit point is indicated in advance on the permit to enter. (*Diario do Governo Portugal*, 1a Serie, No. 199, 26 de Agosto de 1972, Decreto no. 340/72)

MILITARY NOTES

MPLA reports shooting down two Portuguese helicopters in the Moxico district on Jan. 4 and two others in the Cuando-Cubango district in late December. On Jan. 3 the MPLA destroyed three Portuguese barracks, killing over 50 soldiers, in the Lutembwe area of the district of Moxico. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, Jan. 13, 1973)

A War Bulletin from UNITA also reports their activity for July through September of 1972. They report repulsing Portuguese attacks four times, including a three-day battle at the junction between Lunda and Moxico provinces in September. UNITA also reports two ambushes and an attack on the barracks of Cacolo during this period, indicating 170 Portuguese soldiers killed, nine captured, many horses and vehicles destroyed, and many weapons seized. They also report the death of two UNITA militants and the serious injury of a third. (*UNITA War Bulletin*, Nov. 18, 1972)

ANGOLANS COMPLAIN ABOUT POOR WHITES

UNITA reports the Portuguese policy of bringing illiterates from Portugal to Angola to work the land has meant loss of markets for products produced by Africans



in parts of Huambo and Bie provinces, because the Portuguese tend to buy products from fellow Portuguese. UNITA also reports high unemployment in towns such as Nova Lisboa because even low salaried menial work in towns is going to the poor white immigrants. (*UNITA War Bulletin*, Nov. 18, 1972)

GULF SAYS ANGOLA BENEFITS IN ROYALTIES

Angola is going to benefit by almost \$50,000,000 in foreign royalties from Gulf's operations in Cabinda during 1972. According to a recently published annual report, Gulf pays the Portuguese government in Angola 22,000 contos (about \$750,000) a year in rent for the concessions it has been leased, and, as a contribution toward funds for further development, Gulf also pays royalties of 12.50%, which amounted to \$15 million (410,000 contos) in 1972 as opposed to \$18 million (510,000 contos) in 1971. In addition to this, Gulf pays a tax of 50% on its profits. In 1971 this figure was (570,000 contos) about \$18 million; and in 1972 it was (865,000 contos) \$31.5 million. (*Marches Trop*, Jan. 13, 1973)

**GULF \$ HELP
PORTUGAL
KILL ANGOLANS**



FRELIMO'S VIEW OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Marcelino dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO, speaking in NY, October, 1972:

"All investments are a direct contribution to the colonial war. I understand how Gulf can say that investment brings progress. Some even say that after independence Africans will have the fruits of this investment. But this progress is not real for the African population. The increased economic interests of Western countries will bring about a need to defend these interests.

To invest in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau is to delay our independence. We are against it.

At the United Nations we stated that we will consider any agreement between Portugal and these companies invalid. These investments are immoral acts against our people."

GUINEA-BISSAU

POSTSCRIPT ON CABRAL ASSASSINATION

Last month's report of the early speculation surrounding the death of Amilcar Cabral needs some corrections. The key person in the assassination plot was originally identified as Inocente Camil. Various other spellings of his name have since appeared, usually changing the surname to Kani. It also appears that although he had held prominent positions within the PAIGC, he had more than once been shifted to lesser positions because of errors, and was not, at the time of the assassination, the head of naval operations as previously reported. He was apparently still a member of the 80-man Central Committee, and one of the responsible people in the navy. Also, Kani was himself not a Portuguese defector but a number of those involved in the plot with him were.

After the assassination, an international Committee of Inquiry questioned some 500 persons about the circumstances of the death. The Senegalese newspaper *Le Soleil* has reported the committee's findings that the Portuguese were behind the plot, although it was directed from within by the traitor Kani. In the inquiry, 62 persons were implicated and 43 more found suspect. The committee findings were to be passed on to the PAIGC for judgement and sentences. The Committee was composed of the Ambassadors to Conakry from Senegal, Algeria, Cuba, Tanzania, Zaire, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Egypt, and top personnel from FRELIMO and the PAIGC. The president of FRELIMO, Samora M. Machel had met with Cabral the day he was assassinated and has been reported by some sources to have actually witnessed the assassination.

Finally, it is hopefully now a correct report that until a meeting of the Superior Council of The Struggle, the acting successor to Amilcar Cabral as Secretary-General of the PAIGC will be M. Aristide Pereira. An earlier report that the successor would be Vitor Monteiro apparently originated on Portuguese radio out of Bissau, although that source attributed the information to Conakry radio, which later denied it. (*Le Monde* Feb. 4, 5, 1973 & Jan. 31, 1973; *Politique Hebdomadaire*, France, Feb. 1, 1973; *Guardian*, London, Jan. 23, 1973; and *West Africa*, Feb. 12, 1973)

NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE—FOCUS ON LIBERATION

Newsweek, the liberal Establishment slick, has been in the forefront of that segment of the press in reporting on Southern Africa and the liberation movements. It did a fairly interesting, even sympathetic, piece on FRELIMO sending reporters into the liberated northern part of Mozambique with the guerrilla forces, and to the Portuguese-controlled sector in November. In response to the Portuguese Ambassador's critical letter, *Newsweek* said that the FRELIMO forces, "do indeed exercise effective control over parts of the Mozambican territory."

Following the assassination of Cabral, *Newsweek* ran a two-page article, with an illustrative map, entitled "Africa's Freedom Fighters." The article correctly asserted that the mounting armed action in Southern Africa, particularly in Rhodesia is a sign of support from the African people and is instilling fear into the hearts of the white regimes. But it also managed to deprecate the "spotty military record" of the liberation movements, while ignoring military successes against far greater might,

especially in the Portuguese territories. Moreover, white Southern Africa relies on economic and military aid from Western powers to continue its subjugation of 30 million Africans: Through the use of "Newsweekese" the seriousness of the problem of Southern Africa and the massive undertaking of peoples to free themselves is diminished. The liberation movements are called "an alphabet soup," the troops of FRELIMO are called Samora Machel's "band," and the Cabora Bassa is said to be his "pet target." The article is extremely simplistic and superficial, in spite of its length, and deals with the situation in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa in one confusing lump. Finally the magazine states authoritatively that Cabral was not killed by Portuguese agents, a misleading and damaging piece of speculation for such a widely read journal. Thus the new interest of *Newsweek* in Southern Africa is, not unexpectedly, marred by its casual, chatty and plainly incorrect reporting and its avoidance of issues which should be understood by Americans—our aid to and intervention in Southern Africa as part of a strategy familiar to those aware of IndoChinese history. (*Newsweek*, Jan. 22, Feb. 5, 1973.)

INSIDE PORTUGAL

US GRAIN IMPORTED

The United States is benefiting from an increase in Portugal's livestock production, because Portugal cannot grow enough feedgrains to feed its cattle. From January through August of 1972, Portugal's imports of US grains rose 44% above the comparable period of the previous year, or to a value of \$24 million. The prospects for continued growth of this export market are good. (*Journal of Commerce*, New York, Jan. 23, 1973).

US SECOND IN INVESTMENTS

The United States is second in amount of foreign investment in Portugal with 17% of the total. (The actual percentage is probably higher because of a category called "multi-nationals" which hold first place with 20% of the total.) The news was given by the Portuguese Under Secretary of Commerce at a meeting of the Portuguese-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry. 12.5% of investment comes from West Germany. The Portuguese figures include investments in its colonies as well as in metropolitan Portugal. (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Jan. 10, 1973).

US HELICOPTERS

The Mozambique government has bought 12 helicopters from an American manufacturer for \$2 million. Various government departments will use them, according to Angolan newspaper reports. Helicopters are among the weapons most frequently used by Portugal in its wars against its African colonies. (Provincia, Angola, Dec. 30, 1972 in *Facts and Reports*).

MORE HELICOPTERS

A high functionary in the Secretary of Communications in Portugal has visited the Bell Helicopter operations in the United States. The visitor, Brigadier Abecasses, is interested in the acquisition of a helicopter fleet for use in Mozambique. The US has an embargo against products exported to Portugal for military use in Africa, but the helicopter sales are not seen

as a violation of the stipulations. Under similar interpretations of the regulations, Boeing 707's were sold to the Portuguese government last year, and were used to transport troops to the African colonies. (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, Jan. 13, 1973).

P. M. Caetano of Portugal



PORTUGAL—FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

—Canon Burgess Carr, General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches has asked Pope Paul to abandon the Catholic Church's traditional alliance with Portugal, specifying that the 1940 Concordat between the Vatican and Portugal should be abolished. He sent the telegram on behalf of 149 million African Christians of 30 denominations. (*The San Diego Union*, Dec. 26, 1972)

—Ridgeway Knight, US Ambassador to Portugal since 1969, has resigned. (*NY Times*, Feb. 6, 1973)

—Mid-June marks the 600th anniversary of the first treaty between Britain and Portugal. A review of the history of the relationship between these two countries and of the current significance of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance is in the Feb. 1973 *Anti-Apartheid News*.

—Portugal has expelled Father Jan van den Hurk after his New Year's sermon this year critical of the government and of the wars in Africa. It was a sermon on peace and relied heavily on Pope Paul's peace message. A paragraph from it follows:

"Can we give the name of peace to outward order based on violence and fear? Or to an iron regime, which keeps the opposition's trends quiet? This now is the peace we know among ourselves, a peace without justice or love, an order by appearance, based on violence and fear. Peace among us is possible, if human rights are recognized, particularly if guaranteed: the right of association, the right of free speech, the right to receive unbiased information, the right to participate in public life. These things now do not exist and so there is no peace. But it is possible. That depends on us. It is time to open our eyes and demand it."

(*Trouw*, Holland, Jan. 11, 1973)

—Two out of about ten of the "liberal" deputies allowed into the Portuguese Parliament at the last election have resigned since mid-January, saying it is futile to remain. Although not members of the ruling party, they

had been allowed a place on the ticket of the ruling party in the election to show the world Portugal's tolerance of the Opposition. They accepted to run when promised that this would be a forerunner to democracy in Portugal. However they have hardly been allowed to speak and the ultra-rightists who control the Parliament have been increasingly intolerant of them. Since Caetano has said nothing to counter their resignations, it is felt they were welcomed and that Caetano is now firmly controlled from the right. (*Daily Telegraph* London, Feb. 8, 1973) ■

BOOK REVIEWS

Alex La Guma, editor, *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), Paper, \$1.65. William J. Pomeroy, *Apartheid Axis: United States and South Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), Paper, \$1.25.

With these two books International Publishers has filled a real need for short, concise, inexpensive books introducing foreign readers to the system of white supremacy in South Africa. *Apartheid* contains a variety of essays, interspersed with poetry. Among the more extensive essays are ones on "Schools for Servitude," the "Bantustans," and South Africa's "Outward Drive." In several other essays and documents, the perspective of the African National Congress and the present situation of the liberation struggle is laid out.

Apartheid Axis, after a brief description of *apartheid*, describes US collaboration with South Africa, and the mutual ambitions of both countries to penetrate northward into the rest of Africa. Much of the information included has previously been available only in pamphlets or UN documents and it is useful to have it available in a book.

Other paperbacks previously published introducing South Africa's system of white supremacy include:

1. Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich* (Penguin Books, 1964). Focuses on the development of *apartheid* since the Nationalist government came into power.
2. Colin & Margaret Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the West* (Pall Mall Press, 1964). By a leading British journalist. A description that builds up to a call for economic sanctions.
3. Leo Marquard, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1969, 4th edition). Detailed description and some historical background, by a liberal white South African scholar.
4. Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope* (University of Wisconsin Press) A focus on opposition to *apartheid* in the last century.
5. David L. Niddrie, *South Africa: Nation or Nations?* (Van Nostrand, 1968). A defense of the present system in South Africa by a white South African geographer now in Florida.
6. Pierre Van Den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study In Conflict* (University of California Press, 1967). A sociologist's analysis of the contradictions in South African society.
7. Patrick Van Rensburg, *Guilty Land* (Penguin Books, 1962). By a man who resigned from South Africa's diplomatic service in 1957.

Inside Liberated Angola



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES ACTIONS

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY PLANS—MAY 26

A Feb. 17 meeting was held at Columbia University commemorating the assassination of Patrice Lumumba during which Co-Chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, Owusu Sadaukai, announced plans for African Liberation Day on May 26. This year actions will occur in many cities (last year Washington and San Francisco were the focus in the States). (*The Militant*, March 3, 1973).

NORFOLK ACTIVIST ACQUITTED

Samuel J. Weston, the 22 year old Norfolk State College student accused of throwing a rock at the Azalea Festival Queen last year, was acquitted after a two day trial. (See Dec., 1972 SOUTHERN AFRICA) Important evidence was presented by Weston's lawyer, William Kunstler, disproving police allegations that the missile was thrown by Weston with his right hand. The student's mother testified that he is left-handed! (*African World*, Greensboro, NC, Feb. 3, 1972)

MADISON CITY COUNCIL NIXES POLAROID

After persuasive arguments given by two Madison Wisconsin aldermen, the City Council, decided it should not purchase the ID system of a company such as Polaroid deeply involved in South Africa. (*MACSA News*, February, 1973)

GULF BOYCOTT GOES TO COLLEGE

The Gulf Boycott Coalition (Box 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406) has now expanded its operations by issuing a monthly newsletter and initiating plans to expand the boycott into other cities. The Coalition is also preparing more visual and graphic materials on Gulf and its role in Angola.

Oberlin College's Investment Advisory Committee passed a resolution recently which stated that Gulf Oil's investment in Angola and its payments to the Portuguese "do not contribute towards the advancement of the peoples of Angola" but rather "assist Portuguese colonial policies which "are restricting the rights to freedom and self-determination of Angola's five million inhabitants." The resolution admitted the affect of institutional stockholder action is primarily symbolic, but it urged that the Board of Trustees consider the implications of the Committee's analysis at its Board meeting in April. (*Oberlin Statement* for more information write, Paul Irish, Box 1245, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074)

Finally, Gulf has been trying to woo the Black community. In Pittsburgh it sponsored a reception in conjunction with the annual tribute to Black scientist George Washington Carver. (*BOYCOTT NEWS*, Feb., 1973)

IFCO CALLS FOR AID TO PAIGC

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, Inc., headquartered at 475 Riverside Drive in New

York City, has sent out a special mailing in response to the Jan. 20 brutal assassination of Dr. Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC. In a special appeal to church people, the Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., Executive Director of IFCO, urged:

"EDUCATE! Ask your church, club, class, newspaper or organization to make special programs on Cabral and the struggle he led in Guinea-Bissau. Drop a card to IFCO asking for a packet of material if you need to do so.

"SUPPORT! Send \$5.00 to IFCO earmarked for the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau (PAIGC). Send whatever you can! No amount is too small (or too large). We want to raise as much money as possible. If everyone who receives this letter sends just \$1.00 we will raise \$40,000. Don't delay. The need is urgent. Your support is essential." (IFCO letter dated Jan. 22, 1973)

LIBERATION FUND-RAISING

A number of groups in various countries have been collecting funds and goods for the liberation movements.

Medical lecturers at universities and hospitals in Tanzania collected money to donate ten three-band transistor radios to FRELIMO for use in Manica e Sofala Province. The Uganda Government gave 5,000 blankets and uniforms, and some funds, to MPLA at the time of MPLA president Neto's visit to Kampala. President Khaddafi of Libya has pledged accelerated aid to the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau after the assassination of Cabral.

In Holland the Mondlane Foundation provided assistance to the PAIGC and the Mozambique Institute in 1972, but more especially aided MPLA by printing a science book for the movement and by sending an auto mechanic to train Angolans in Zambia. The Foundation is also working getting the Dutch Government to support an MPLA primary and secondary school in Zambia.

In the United States, the Pan African Congress of Detroit has contributed clothes to both the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa and to the PAIGC. (For information about its program write to the Pan African Congress, International Division, P.O. Box 551-A, Main St., Detroit, Michigan 48232).

The film, *A Luta Continua*, was shown in the Chicago area Feb. 1-12, to raise money for the Vitamin C campaign sponsored by the Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guine. Three hundred dollars was raised for the project. About 100 people—students, churches, welfare groups teachers—responded enthusiastically to the film about FRELIMO and the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique.

Students at the University of Sussex in England are also raising funds for FRELIMO, and the Bulgarian Government has given 5,000 pounds of books and medicines to the anti-Portuguese movements through the Organization of African Unity.

(Sources: *Daily News* (Tanzania), Jan. 22 and 26, 1973;

INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

ENGLAND ACTIONS CORPORATE FOCUS

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) a union of 55 South African unions representing 55,000 members (mostly Africans) joined together with the Anti-Apartheid Movement to announce a campaign against the role of 27 British companies in South Africa. In a letter to the companies, which include Barclays Bank, British Leyland, Hawker Siddeley, Lonhro, and Rio Tinto-Zinc, they condemned the function of the corporations in providing for the further entrenchment of apartheid, and asked the firms to withdraw unless five demands are met. The demands are the abolition of the pass laws, the recognition of African trade unions, the right to strike, access to apprenticeship and skilled jobs, and the abolition of migratory labor. Several British trade unionists were at the press conference announcing the campaigns, and they explained that workers in England are becoming more identified with the struggle, and that firms were going to South Africa in order to exploit the cheap labor and high profit margin while laying off British workers. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Feb. 1973, *Daily News* (Taz.), Jan. 20, 1973).

ANTI-PORUGUESE PROTESTS

On another subject, various levels of British society are involved in protesting the commemorations planned for the 600th year anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship between Portugal and England. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Conservative Foreign Secretary, recently visited Portugal before his visit to West Africa, following up P.M. Heath's statement in a January Parliamentary debate that England's policy toward all Southern African countries except Rhodesia is "amicable" and there is "no change" from the past. Douglas-Home in the same debates referred to the guerrillas in Zimbabwe as "freedom fighters," a definition which was quickly applauded by the Labour opposition. The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine plans extensive protests and a conference opposing the visit of P.M. Caetano to Britain in July. (*Guardian* U.K., Feb. 16, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, U.K., Feb. 10, 1973; *People's News Service*, Feb. 11, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27 and Feb. 3, 1973)

BOSS ACTIVE IN BRITAIN

Anti-apartheid activist and General Secretary of the Film and TV Technicians Union, Alan Sapper, says that South Africans, fronting as communications technicians in exile, have come to him in order to ferret out information about activists in Britain. Because they are so familiar with his background and personal affairs, Sapper believes the people who have been contacting him for the last ten years are agents of BOSS, South Africa's umbrella security agency. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973)

MULTIPLE ACTIONS

The City Council of Liverpool has voted to ban the purchase of about \$100,000 worth of South African fruit at the same time the Nottingham Teachers Association is withdrawing its bank account from Barclays Bank due to

the latter's complicity with the regimes in Southern Africa. The Trade Union Council (TUC) has begun its process of divesting from firms involved in South Africa by selling more than \$225,000 worth of shares. A number of Sharpeville commemorations and actions are planned throughout England this year. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Feb., 1973)

CANADIANS ADOPT COFFEE CAMPAIGN

The Southern Africa Information Group (Box 4443, Station E., Ottawa, Ont., Canada) plans to approach various coffee importers in Canada to demand that they stop using Angolan beans. The group will send several persons familiar with Angola, and if the firms refuse, a consumer boycott will be initiated focusing on General Foods, Standard Brands and Nestles. (SAIG Newsletter)

Tactics used by the coffee growers and the Portuguese Government in Holland to undermine the successful coffee boycott have included sending a Dutch "housewife" and several others on publicity trips. (Angola Comite, Newsletter, October, 1972)



"Help, the coffee is finished!"

DUTCH ACTIONS

Groups in Holland joined with Amnesty International in protesting against the plight of political prisoners in Portugal. They focused on the seven year imprisonment of a Mozambican lawyer named Arouca. The groups are also working on the Southern African issue during the Dutch elections, particularly the role of Portugal in NATO. The Angola Comite has received recent assistance from the Danish Government in the publication of its journal, *FACTS and REPORTS* (Angola Comite Newsletter, October, 1972)

DANISH KARAKUL AUCTION DISRUPTED

With organizational help from Operation Omega, Danish organizations, among them the UNA, church, and Social Democratic groups, protested to the Government of Denmark for allowing the auction of Namibian karakul (persian) lamb pelts. A protest was made at the auction itself and 250 workers refused to participate because of action at the Copenhagen Fur Center in early December. This follows up similar actions in England. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Feb., 1973)

GERMAN CONFERENCE ON PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

After several years of preparation, a highly successful conference was held in West Germany which was addressed by representatives of MPLA, FRELIMO and finally PAIGC, whose spokesman was allowed into Germany at the last moment. About 850 people attended the conference. Resolutions were passed focusing attention on German aid to the Portuguese. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Feb., 1973).

SPRINGBOK TOUR CAUSES CONTROVERSY

Although New Zealand has been plunged into a "state of divide; opinion and confusion" over the tour of the all-white South African Springboks scheduled for later this year, the New Zealand Rugby Union Council has refused to cancel it. In his most important foreign policy announcement to date, New Zealand Prime Minister Norman E. Kirk has made it clear to the Council that he does not think the tour is "in the larger interests of New Zealand." Citing conflict between South Africa's apartheid policy and New Zealand's policy of non-discrimination, and a police assessment that the tour would cause the "greatest eruption of violence this country has ever known." Kirk also said that the tour "would impose strains on New Zealand society by heightening differences in racial attitudes and would reduce its credibility as a 'decent, humane country' abroad."

The impending tour has already divided the nation, and it remains to be seen whether Mr. Kirk, having failed to persuade the Council to withdraw its invitation to the Springboks, will ultimately order it to do so. Opposition to the tour has come from anti-apartheid organizations, churches, labor unions, and some Maori, especially young people, and members of Parliament. International opposition has come from Australia and from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, which has pledged to boycott the Commonwealth Games in New Zealand; next January if the Springbok tour is carried out. Such a boycott by African Commonwealth countries would undoubtedly cause Asian and Caribbean countries to stay away, and might well provoke Canada, concerned as it is about the 1976 Olympics, to defect as well.

It is clear that the national and international consequences of continuing the tour have weighed heavily in the thinking of Prime Minister Kirk. Yet the New Zealand Rugby Union continues to insist on a separation impossible in the South African context—the separation

between sports and politics. (*Yourdie*, Feb. 5, 1973; *Dominion*, Feb. 6, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 10, 1973; *NY Times*, Feb. 11, 1973)

IOC POSTPONES DECISION

As a result of recent developments in Rhodesia, it will be at least June before the International Olympic Committee decides whether or not to send a fact-finding team to that country to look for evidence of multi-racial sport. None of the IOC executives have issued public statements, but it is clear that the closure of the Rhodesia-Zambia border, concern over alleged "terrorist" activity, and the absence of any signs of a settlement between Rhodesia and Britain were factors which influenced their February decision to postpone further action on the question of Rhodesia's participation in the 1976 Olympic Games.

In Montreal, site of the 1976 Olympics, Mr. Jean Rossouw, commissioner general of the games, preferred not to speculate on the possible effect of a decision to allow Rhodesia to participate. But since the Canadian National Olympic Committee is relying on a state lottery to finance the Montreal Games, it is clear that Canadians will be interested in the IOC's decision. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1973)

WORLD COUNCIL GRANTS ANNOUNCED

The World Council of Churches Program to Combat Racism has indicated its grant for 1973 will include the following amounts to movements in Southern Africa:

- (1) Luthuli Memorial Foundation of ANC (African National Congress of South Africa)—\$2,500.
- (2) Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO—\$25,000.
- (3) National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—\$6,000.
- (4) Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC, South Africa)—\$2,500.
- (5) People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)—\$10,000.
- (6) South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)—\$20,000.
- (7) Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE)—\$10,000

The WCC has also issued a list of 650 corporations directly involved in investment or trade with Southern Africa, prepared as part of its Program to Combat Racism. With the publication of its list, the WCC also announced that it has sold its holdings in corporations on the list. The market value of these holdings was about \$1.5 million. The WCC said that the main emphasis of its program was on Southern Africa, "with slightly more than half of the total (grants) going to medical, educational and social service activities of liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia, and Guinea-Bissau."

In addition, the WCC Central Committee has again urged its member churches, Christian agencies, and individual Christians outside Southern Africa "to use all their influence, including stockholder actions, to press corporations to withdraw investments from and cease trading with Southern Africa." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Jan. 27, 1973) The WCC also includes some banks in its corporate boycott. (*New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1973)



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