

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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The Significance of Foreign Investments

Mohamed Sahnoun.

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THE PEACEFUL-CO-EXISTENCE THEORY.

Although the Pretoria regime in South Africa has thus far failed in its diplomatic campaign to launch a 'dialogue' with the independent African states in order to confuse and divide the continent in its opposition to apartheid, and although the oppression of the African people of South Africa and Namibia continues, there remain those who claim that by peaceful co-existence, and by peaceful methods of pressure and change, the apartheid system will eventually wither away.

The Organization of African Unity, and those most concerned, namely the African people of South Africa and Namibia, reject this thesis. The twenty-five years that have passed since the gaining of power by the Nationalist Party in South Africa have not shown an amelioration of the situation, but rather its steady intensification. The 'building of bridges' so beloved as a strategy by those who wish to maintain links with the South African regime, has been proved not to serve the interests of the oppressed African people in the two countries, but rather those of the white rulers. By means of these bridges they have not only been able to develop their internal strength, but also move across them to the outside world, increasing trade, political and diplomatic pressure, and breaking down isolation. It is, indeed, a useful exercise to examine those most in favour of bridge-building, and the results that their building has achieved. There is, moreover, no time more suitable than now, when, in the wake of the revelations by the British paper, **The Guardian**, about the starvation wages paid by British companies in South Africa, there is a new pressure on companies to pay more, in the mistaken belief that this will slowly erode the apartheid system.

Apart from those who insist, from genuinely pacifist motives, that radical changes must only occur through peaceful means, one finds that those quarters in favour of bridge-building usually benefit from the present system of oppression in South Africa and Namibia. Not necessarily in the everyday brutalities — the pass laws, the torture in prison, the deaths from malnutrition — but in the overall socio-economic structure of the apartheid regime, regardless of the consequences of such a policy. These interests are, in fact, those with large economic investment in the current system. For them, the brutality is an embarrassment — and the huge profits to be gained the incentive. Profits for them override the claims of humanity, freedom and democracy. It is, therefore, no wonder that these interests continue to repeat, **ad nauseam**, the argument that 'peaceful pressures by trade and investment' can slowly break down the apartheid system. It is no coincidence that South Africa's most powerful businessman, Harry Oppenheimer, head of the Anglo-American Corporation, is in favour of breaking down the crudities of apartheid — which are holding back the rapid expansion of the economy, and thereby curtailing the profits for shareholders.

Expansion of the Manufacturing Sector.

An analysis of the development of the South African economy over the past decade reveals a number of important features. Expenditure on armaments both purchased overseas and locally manufactured has soared. The inflow of foreign direct and indirect investment has also soared, while in the middle sixties, the manufacturing sector for the first time overtook the mining industry as a field for foreign capital investment. These factors are intimately connected — and without the second two, the first could not have taken place.

Following the massacre at Sharpeville, the South African regime faced an economic, political, and, it feared, military crisis. Internationally, it was condemned and reviled — with even its closest friends, like the Conservative Government in Britain, recoiling temporarily at the killings. As a result of Sharpeville, and the state of emergency that ensued, large amounts of foreign capital began to flow out of the country, with a consequent effect upon the economy. At the same time, with its economy deteriorating, the regime of Hendrik Verwoerd decided that it needed to build up its local arms manufacturing industry, and to embark on a rapid military expansion, in case any internal or external situation or armed conflict should arise.

From 1959 to 1964, a net outflow of foreign capital continued, although it steadily declined in the later years. Most of this capital, however, was private, and not that of the large institutions, national or multinational. While the little man took fright and ran, the companies continued to re-invest their locally generated profits, and to send new capital for investment. Unaffected by the moral outrage that followed Sharpeville, these large international companies from the Western world were a major source of moral as well as economic encouragement to the South African regime.

Arms Build-Up

While foreign corporate capital continued to come to South Africa, the regime moved to expand its arms spending. Defence expenditure in 1960-61 was only £22 million, but it grew rapidly, showing a growth of 1000% by the end of the decade. It is instructive to examine the nature of this expansion, since it shows the growth of South Africa as a military power in her own right, producing arms and equipment herself. By 1965, South African firms had 120 licences granted by overseas firms for the manufacture of weapons, according to the Defence Minister, Fouche (1). In the same year, the Atlas Aircraft Corporation began to build the Impala jet aircraft, based on foreign blueprints which had been sold to South Africa. In 1968, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation of South Africa, ARMSCOR, was set up, with £60 million of state capital, but with the help of technological knowledge from the United Kingdom. Today, South Africa's arms plants produce

napalm, guided missiles, naval boats, planes, and a wide range of small arms, from rifles to rockets and grenades. The regime produced uranium, and poison gas. Indeed, as the Minister of Defence boasted in 1971, the regime is now exporting arms. This rapid, and massive development of the arms industry could not have taken place without the collaboration of overseas capital and know-how, from companies and governments who allowed or actively encouraged the transfer of military knowledge to South Africa.

Interlocking Capital

A good example of this collaboration by western companies in the arms industry is ICI, the British-based multi-national chemicals combine. ICI has a 42.5 per cent share in AE & CI, African Explosive and Chemical Industries. Revitalised with an injection of £5 million capital in 1962, AE & CI grew rapidly, and today "the partnership between AE & CI and ICI has become one of the pillars on which the entire industrial structure of South Africa rests"(2). In building this pillar, ICI held back no knowledge, with the result that South Africa has benefited almost immediately from the research and development carried out by one of the world's largest chemical firms.

It is not, however, only chemicals such as fertilisers which have been produced by AE & CI. The chemicals industry in South Africa, one of the fastest growing sectors of the economy, itself rests on two pillars: explosives and chemicals. AE & CI, in partnership with the Pretoria regime, and one other firm, Sentrachem, partly owned by British Petroleum, in which the British Government have a 49 per cent stake, are manufacturing virtually the entire needs of the regime in the explosives field. The interlocking relationship of western industry and the military needs of apartheid are rarely better shown. As a recent book, examining the role of British firms in South Africa, commented: "On the base of the explosives industry, British technology helped to build up a sophisticated chemicals sector, and also moved into food processing and canning, chiefly for the export market"(3).

There have been other less direct aids to the South African regime in its search for military self-sufficiency. **The Financial Gazette**, a South African publication, commented on the massive Ford and General Motors assembly plants: "in times of emergency or war, each plant could be turned over rapidly to the production of weapons and other strategic requirements for the defence of southern Africa"(4).

It is, moreover, not only by directly contributing to the arms industry that western investment has assisted the strengthening of the apartheid regime. The massive inflows of foreign capital have enabled the regime to direct its own capital to those sectors where direct foreign involvement is less easy — such as the development of guided missiles, or, potentially, the nuclear bomb. The inflow has also protected the economy from collapse. Between 1961-67, the

average net capital inflow was £93 million, between 1968-70, £235 million, with a record figure of £328 million in 1970, and in 1971, a figure of £447 million was reached (5). This inflow, according to the **Financial Mail of Johannesburg**, was 'the only thing that saved the country from bankruptcy' (6).

Profits for Investors

The inflow of capital — with its consequent effect upon the rapid development of the industrial sector of the apartheid economy — has not been solely for political reasons. As the giant British Leyland Motor Corporation tells critics, they sell buses to Cuba also. The real reason is the huge profits to be made in South Africa. The British mining combine, Rio Tinto Zinc, who are exploiting uranium at Rossing, in Namibia, in collaboration with the para-statal Industrial Development Corporation, had 7.7 per cent of their assets in South Africa in 1970. 42 per cent of the group's profits, however, came from South Africa, and between 1966-71, a profit of £96 million came from one mine, the Palabora copper mine in the northern Transvaal. "A major reason for this high profitability", commented a Counter-Report on RTZ produced for a shareholders' meeting, "is the dismal wages RTZ pays its African workers" (7).

It is against the background of these massive profits to be made in South Africa that western investment must be examined. Moreover, the campaign for the improvement of the wages of African workers that has recently emerged should also be seen in this light.

THE 'CHANGE THOUGH INVESTMENT' LOBBY

During the past year or so, the tactic of "peaceful pressure of trade and investment" has been adopted by a number of companies operating in South Africa, the most notable being the Polaroid Corporation, of the United States, and Barclays Bank, the largest in the country, which is British-controlled. The widespread condemnation of British firms that followed **The Guardian** revelations in March 1973 increased the campaign. A large number of firms have announced small wage increases for African employees — and have launched public relations exercises to show how much they are now committed to helping the African people of South Africa. Little has been done in Namibia, where the companies stiffened their resistance after the heroic general strike of the Namibian workers at the end of 1971 and the beginning of 1972.

Yet this new development, which has been seized upon by those who wish to prove that if firms remain in South Africa, they can gradually erode apartheid, is something that the firms can well afford, and which, at the same time, does nothing to destroy the brutalities of the regime. Most of the firms can well afford to devote some of their profits to paying the Africans more, especially if this is seen as a way of defusing international condemnation of their presence, most

notably where this comes from their institutional shareholders, such as the big churches, which in the United States have for some years been critical on this issue. The tokenness of this wage-raising gesture goes beyond this point, however. The advancement of Africans up the ladder towards skilled positions, and the increase of African pay-rates can actually improve profits, although the companies have been unwilling to explain this in their propaganda. African and white wage rates are so disparate that even if three or four Africans are doing the work previously done by one white, the company can reduce its wage bill for the job. The small increases recently granted, which in many cases do not even take the African workers above the subsistence level, do not wipe out this hidden new profit for the companies, which is, of course, why they have welcomed the opportunity to do it and gain some public relations credit in the process. Moreover, for companies which are still expanding rapidly, the moving of white workers to management positions is of vital importance, particularly in the present situation, where the shortage of trained white workers is growing as the campaigns by trade unions and others in Europe against the immigration campaigns run by South Africa begin to bite. The continued expansion of the South African economy, as its biggest capitalist, Harry Oppenheimer, has indicated many times, requires the advance of African workers to more responsible positions where they will be paid a little better.

Apartheid Left Intact

This creeping advance, however, does not challenge the fundamental basis of apartheid, and the whole socio-economic structure, however much the companies might like to pretend. The opposite, in fact, is true. No African is allowed to advance to a position where he will be giving orders to whites; the whites just move further up the wage and status scale, with the gap between the two continuing to get wider in cash, and usually in percentage terms. The job reservation laws may be allowed to wither away slowly, but, despite the claims of those foreign companies which have used them in the past as an excuse for doing nothing, they have never applied to the whole of South African industry. Job segregations, on the other hand, with the Africans, regardless of their education and experience, remaining below all whites, will continue. On that the regime will tolerate no erosion, even if the firms were prepared to try. Pass laws, malnutrition in the reserves, and the complete absence of African political and civil rights remain. At the height of the strikes in Durban in February 1973, the Minister of Labour indicated that in the regime's opinion, African trade unions would serve neither the interests of 'race relations', nor of African workers.

Insignificant Improvements

Those who advocate the 'peaceful pressure' of trade and investment today are pointing to the small advance in African wage rates that have recently been

made. They suggest that here, at last, is the proof that change can slowly come about. As Rio Tinto Zinc put it, they are slowly creating an African middle class that will in the future be a potential governing elite. (And, of course, although it is not so clearly spelt out, an elite that might later respond to Rio Tinto's requests to maintain its operations). But the peaceful change lobby ignore the fact that all of the changes that have been made recently are in no way contravening the legislation of the apartheid regime. All could have been made before, but were not. The professions of shock, of horror, from company headquarters after the wage rates in their South African subsidiaries were disclosed, and the new professions of good faith need to be contrasted with their past actions, when they could have slowly improved African working conditions, and, without the presence of international public opinion, did not do so.

Far from improving the chances for change, these petty changes in wage rates actually reinforce the apartheid regime. The economy is being strengthened by these moves, as the expansion held back by the shortage of white workers begins to move ahead. This expansion, moreover, is by no means confined to South Africa and Namibia, or even to the white ruled South as a whole, and the neighbouring states in a hostage situation because their colonial past integrated their economies with that of South Africa.

Growing Need to Export

South African companies are now moving into an expansionist mood — exporting goods wherever they can find markets, including a growing number of African states, but also today exporting technological expertise, gained from western investment, and capital. South African firms are gaining construction contracts in Latin America. Consolidated Gold Fields and Charter Consolidated, part of the Anglo-American empire, are trying to break into the offshore oil industry in Britain. South African radios are now being sold to Japan. With the rapid growth of the manufacturing sector of South African industry over the past ten years — so much assisted by foreign investment — South Africa is now changing from an underdeveloped economy, dependant on the export of minerals, such as gold and diamonds, despite the wealth that these bring, to a developed industrial economy, that also exports manufactured goods.

The new trade links being built up, not only in Africa but in the other parts of the world, are strengthening the political position of the apartheid regime. This strengthening owes much to the faith shown by western companies in apartheid over the past ten years. They have provided the capital for the development of the vital manufacturing industry, as well as maintaining their involvement in mining, and through this capital have saved the economy from collapse. They have helped to produce the arms industry that protects the regime, and have helped to establish the new trading links that have strengthened the regime on the international political front. They have also acted as

a powerful pro-South African lobby in their own countries. The experience of the United Kingdom, where the UK-South Africa Trade Association was nearly successful in overturning the Labour Government's commitment to the arms embargo, is an indication of the strength of these companies and their commitment to South Africa. They assist today, as they always have, in the regime's internal and external attempts to increase both its strength and its image.

The Fallacy of the Bridge-Building Theories

Against this background, the deep and growing involvement of western companies in the profits and the fruits of the apartheid system, the importance of the recent wage increases, and the liberal noises that accompanied them, begin to fade away. It is by no means a coincidence that one of the first voices to be raised in South Africa for the improvement of African wage rates was that of the South African Foundation — a public relations front for a group of big companies designed to improving South Africa's image overseas. It is also significant that the regime is permitting such changes. For no-one knows better than Mr. Vorster that the changes now taking place in the industrial sector, with wage increases, and more skilled jobs for Africans, neither challenge the basis of the regime, nor indicate that the foreign companies have been suddenly converted to an anti-apartheid position. The interests of the companies and the regime are today so closely inter-twined for the first to turn suddenly on the second. Indeed, far from drifting apart, both know that their future development depends intimately on each other.

Once recognising the tight connection between foreign capital and the regime, the pressure for peaceful change that the companies claim is their policy can be seen in truth for what it is — an attempt to white-wash the regime, to confuse the world by giving some minor, and effectively irrelevant concessions, while at the same time maintaining their profitability.

In one sense, and in one sense alone, the western companies involved in South Africa and Namibia have built bridges. They have built them between their own governments in the west and the regime in Pretoria, between the economies of Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, the United States and so on, and the apartheid economy. The traffic across the bridges has not been subverting the apartheid regime from inside, as proponents of this theory claim, but has been in the other direction. It has, in fact, enabled apartheid to grow stronger, by trying to defuse, confuse and destroy the actual pressure for change that comes from elements within the African and Asian world, and some of the metropolitan countries.

With a stronger economy, and an ever increasing arsenal of offensive weapons, both built up with the participation of western companies, the trigger happy Pretoria regime has become not only a major obstacle to the attainment of freedom and equality and self

SOUTH AFRICA

contd.

determination in the whole of southern Africa, but also more than ever a threat to the independence of those African states committed to support the unconditional and total liberation of southern Africa from the shackles of colonialism and racialism. It is this consequence, and this alone, which has resulted from the activities of the bridge-builders, and it is because of that, as the African people of South Africa and Namibia have long warned, that the bridges must be broken. ■

1. Abdul Minty, "South Africa's Defence Strategy", Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 1970
2. A. P. Cartwright, 'The Dynamite Company', quoted on p.26, R. First, J. Steele and C. Gurney "The South African Connection", Temple Smith, London, 1972.
3. First, Steele & Gurney, *op. cit.*, p.26.
4. *Ibid.*
5. First, Steele & Gurney, *op. cit.*, p.28.
6. On 1.10.1971.
7. "The Rio-Tinto Zinc Corporation Ltd: Anti-Report", p.5. Counter Information Services, London, 1972.

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AFRICAN MINERS SLAIN

On the evening of September 11th, 12 Africans were killed and 27 injured when police fired into a crowd of miners, demonstrating against a refusal to increase their wages at Western Deep Level Mine in Carletonville, 40 miles west of Johannesburg.

The incident began with the protest by 80 African workers over pay differentials between white and black employees at the mine, most of whom were skilled and semi-skilled machine operators. After police entered the mining compound in which the workers live, more employees joined the demonstrators, and began to throw stones. Police contend that the demonstrators broke into the mine kitchen and liquor store, and assumed a 'threatening attitude'. (*AFRICA NEWS* Sept. 17, 1973). The police then fired at the group, according to the *New York Times*, "indiscriminately into the darkness for nearly three hours". A compound housing two thousand workers was surrounded and 15 Africans arrested. Of the 12 dead, seven were immigrant workers from neighboring countries, five from Lesotho and two from Botswana.

The mine, owned by the giant Anglo-American Corporation, is the deepest gold mine in the world, and since its opening in 1962 has broken all records for gold production. By 1968 it was making a profit of more than \$3.8 million a month. Such a profit would be inconceivable if the mine workers were paid a wage commensurate with their work. In the past 15 months the machine operators had, according to Anglo-American, received increases, bringing their monthly wage to \$73.00. The so-called Poverty Datum Line figure is set at \$115.00 per month. But this figure is in itself misleading and not a useful measure for minimum wages. It provides a family with enough income to barely survive. African miners receive "on an average 20 times less than white miners" (*Observer*, London, Sept. 17, 1973)

The past year has seen many demonstrations and strikes by African laborers against the minimal wages they receive and the intolerable working conditions under which they operate. This is the first time that the police have resorted to such tactics, and have—for South Africa—shown some restraint in dealing with strikers up till now. This "restraint" was no doubt encouraged to some extent by the world wide attention being focussed on the labor situation in South Africa, sparked off by the investigation made by the *Guardian*, London, into the practices of British companies operating in South Africa. There was wide press coverage of the killings, and South African shares on the London stock exchange fell that week.

Vorster supports Police

Not surprisingly, the response from white South Africans—police, mine and government officials—was prompt and defensive. Deputy Minister of Police Kruger declared that the police were "surrounded" and had no alternative but to shoot to control the situation and protect property, while mine manager von Holdt insisted that the police had "no choice" and were entirely justified in their action. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973; *New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1973). Addressing a gathering of 2,000 Nationalists, Prime Minister Vorster, clearly smarting from adverse international response to the shootings, took the opportunity to attack South Africa's "arm-chair critics" (always a popular 'target' among

Nationalists) and to assert that the incident at Carletonville had involved "not a strikers' demonstration, but a looting mob out to destroy life and property with dangerous and murderous weapons." Vorster went on to pay tribute to the police, who, he stated, had acted with "considerable restraint" under the circumstances. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

Despite Vorster's ultimatum, experience with South African news sources, particularly as related to black-white confrontation, suggests that there is little hope of ever knowing fully or precisely what happened. Sources quoted in newspapers both here and in South Africa are invariably white and include three Anglo-American Corporation executives (extending sympathy to the bereaved but remaining non-committal on mine conditions, etc.), the Commissioner Designate of the police, and an opposition member of the South African Parliament. One *Star* article (Sept. 15, 1973), also quoted an African clerk at the mine "who declined to give his name for fear of losing his job." We of course have little hope of ever reading any report based on the perspective and point of view of miner-participants. Those who have been and will be rounded up as guilty of "public violence" are appearing in the Carletonville Magistrate's Court and are being jailed, but it is unlikely that their testimony will reach the international press; and if it did, the pressures placed upon such individuals—already accused by the white authorities—make it extremely unlikely that any will be able to speak openly about their grievances and lives as miners.

The only hope for a full investigation derives from the fact that the incident had international implications. Five of the miners killed were from Lesotho and two from Botswana. The Government of tiny South Africa-locked Lesotho has refused to take the killing of its citizens in stride. Despite the fact that much of the country's income is derived from workers in South Africa, Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan has called a halt to all further recruitment of Basotho to work at the Western Deep Levels Mine pending a full explanation and inquiry into the shootings. Lesotho's concern has also been felt at the U.N., where the Committee on Apartheid has called upon Secretary General Waldheim to insure the establishment of an inquiry commission which includes "a personal representative of the Secretary General or of representatives from non-governmental organizations with consultative status at the U.N." (*New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1973) So far, the South African authorities have promised only a routine police investigation and post-mortem examinations. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

STUDENTS CONFRONT ANGLO AMERICAN

Carrying posters which read "Employers' Greed—The Real Killer," 80 students from Witwatersrand University forced their way past security guards into the Johannesburg offices of the Anglo American Corporation, demanding higher wages for African mineworkers. After rejecting an offer from Harry Oppenheimer, Anglo's chairman, to talk to a delegation of three, the students agreed to assemble in a meeting room and also insisted, despite the protests of mine officials, that newspaper men be allowed to remain.

D.A. Etheredge, manager of the corporation's gold division, talked to the students about the mining wage structure, and about major studies which he said had recently been conducted to evaluate mine jobs and job

organization. Admitting that the salary structure of African mine workers was unsatisfactory, Etheredge promised that there were plans for further pay increases but argued that it was "difficult to get jobs on a scientific basis without causing disruption."

Glen Moss, leader of the students and president of the Students' Representative Council released a statement deploring "the unwarranted use of the police to oppress protest against repressive labour conditions which must have led to such protest." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

DEATHS IN DETENTION

October 28 marks the anniversary of the death of Ahmed Timol, who died in 1971 while in police custody, before he had ever been tried in a court of law. Such deaths are not uncommon in South Africa. Since 1963, 22 people are known to have suffered the same fate at the hands of the police.

On October 28 a memorial service for the 22 will be held in Johannesburg to commemorate the deaths and to call for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

SOLWANDLE "LOOKSMART" NGUDLE: Died 5th September 1963. Inquest verdict: suicide, with no blame attached to anyone. Reports of assault disregarded.

BELLINGTON MAMPE: Died about 1st September, 1963, 140 days after his detention. Causes of death unknown.

SULIMAN "BABLA" SALOOJEE: Died 9th September 1964 after falling seven floors from a window in Police Headquarters.

JAMES TYITO: Detained 19th October 1964. Allegedly found hanged by his scarf, date unknown.

NEGENE GAGE: 9th May, 1965. Inquest verdict: "natural causes".

PONGOLOSHE HOYE: Detained 8th May 1965. Died the following day of "natural causes".

JAMES HAMAKWAYO: Detained 26th August 1966. Date of death unknown. Alleged suicide by hanging.

HANGULA SHANYOKA: Died 9th October 1966, six weeks after his detention: suicide.

LEONG YUM PIN: Died 19th November, 1966, three days after his detention: suicide.

AH YAN: Died 5th January, 1967, approximately two months after his detention: suicide.

ALPHEUS MADIBA: Died 9th September 1967. Allegedly hanged.

J.B. TUBAKWE: Died 11th September 1968, the day after his detention. Found hanged.

NICODIMUS KGOATHE: Died 2nd February 1970, after having been in custody without trial for fifteen months. Inquest verdict: natural causes. Evidence of assault disregarded by the magistrate.

SOLOMON MODIPANE: Died 25th February 1970. No inquest held. Alleged natural causes.

JAMES LENKOE: Died 10th March 1970, five days after his detention. Traces of copper found in a wound on his toe. Inquest verdict: suicide.

IMAM ABDULLAH HAROUN: Died 27th September 1970. Inquest: died of injuries sustained when falling down a flight of stairs.

MTHAYENI CUTHSELA: Detained 21st December 1970. Died about one month later: "natural causes".

CALEB MAYEKISO: Detained immediately on release from Robben Island. Died 13th May 1971, eighteen days later. Alleged natural causes.

MICHAEL SHIVUTE: Died 16th June 1971 on the night of his detention. Alleged suicide.

JACOB MONNAKGOTLA: Died the night before his trial began. Charges against the remaining accused later dropped.

AHMED TIMOL: Fell from ninth floor of Security Headquarters. 28th October 1971.

UNKNOWN MAN: An unknown man died on an unknown date of unknown cause. His death was revealed without detail in the South African Parliament.

The body of Suliman Saloojee being removed after his 'fall' to his death.



WHITE POLITICS

NAT CONGRESSES REVEAL PARTY MENTALITY

During the first weeks of September, the Nationalist Party, which has ruled South Africa for twenty five years, held provincial congresses in the Cape Province and the Transvaal. Speeches delivered by the Prime Minister and by the man many believe will succeed him, the Transvaal party head, reveal with great clarity the ideology of the party leadership.

In dealing with the question of relationships with other African states, Prime Minister Vorster articulated one of the favorite myths of white South Africans: that the blacks need them and that whites are more able to understand black problems than blacks themselves. Vorster said, "It is not South Africa's fault that they [miners from Lesotho] work here. Britain governed Lesotho for 100 years but South Africa has to give them a livelihood." He said that he would not stand for criticism from Lesotho, and "I am prepared to make allowances for them because I am aware of their problems, perhaps sometimes more than they themselves." (*Star*, Johannesburg, September 8, 1973).

Vorster fails to mention the fact that the mines of South Africa are absolutely dependent on foreign African miners. Besides the general labor shortage of Africans for unskilled jobs, when there is a choice between working on the mine and in another sector (industrial in particular) one will choose the latter, as conditions on the mines are even worse.

The belief that knowledge and political maturity are the possessions of white people was stated again by Dr. Connie Mulder. He said, "It is necessary that we accept a greater human dignity for all creatures of God." He appealed to black leaders to "act in such a way that we can accord their people greater dignity. They must behave responsibly," he said. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973).

"Behaving responsibly" of course means accepting Nationalist political structures and remaining in servitude in perpetuity. The existence of sophisticated African political organizations which sustained themselves from the early 1900's until the Nationalists finally banned them in the early '60's is a reality which the Nationalists carefully ignore.

The problem of race is the central issue, directly or indirectly in all South African politics. Vorster has gone on record once again as saying that he could not tolerate the incitement of white against black and vice versa. To deal with individuals and the press who in his eyes are guilty of such incitement, Vorster announced that the

Riotous Assemblies Act is to be drastically amended next year. Claiming that the courts had weakened the Act, Vorster intends to tighten the law, which at present enables the Minister of Justice to prohibit any public meeting of over 12 people, and to control publications. The *Star* speculated that "the courts weakening the law" referred to two recent acquittals of people charged under this law. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 8, 15, 1973)

In discussing white party politics, Vorster warned the other parties to stop "dragging black politicians into their affairs." According to the Nationalists, the key distinction to be made in white politics is between those who believe in the absolute preservation of white sovereignty, and those who seek shared power on one basis or another. The Nationalists have been elated by the recent defection from the United Party of Mr. Marais Steyn, who until a short while ago, was the second most powerful man in the U.P. and a long time critic of the Nationalists. They see his move as a vindication of their position, and Steyn has done nothing to discourage this.

In explaining his decision, Steyn severely criticized the United Party for its internal disunity and dissension, factors which made it impossible for the party to respond to the urgent issues of the day. He praised the Nationalists for their strong leadership, for the unity and loyalty of the rank and file, and for their courageous elimination of disloyal elements. (*Star* Johannesburg, Sept. 8, 1973)

Steyn is undoubtedly correct in feeling the United Party does not represent any viable alternative to the Nationalists, and that they have no hope of gaining power. A white man who desires to be at the center of power had better be a Nationalist. For blacks, nothing new has emerged from these party congresses. As always, the interests of the majority of the people of South Africa concern the ruling party only to the extent that those interests coincide with White interests of security and prosperity. Nothing else matters to the Nationalist Party.

COMMISSION SUBPOENAS MORE WITNESSES

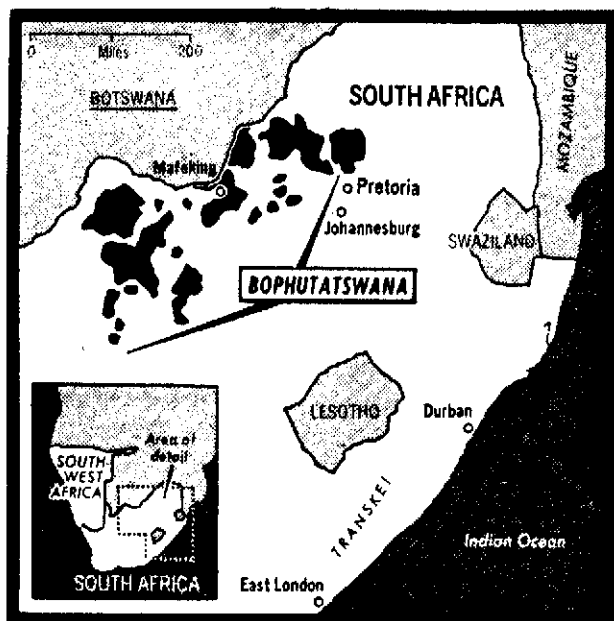
As reported in the October issue of *SOUTHERN AFRICA* the Schiebusch Commission is running into the problem of witnesses refusing to testify against themselves and the organizations under scrutiny: The Christian Institute and the Institute of Race Relations. The first person to refuse was Ilona Kleinschmidt, and the Commission turned her over to the courts for prosecution. Her case is to be heard on September 19. Clive Nettleton has also refused to testify. He has been director of the Institute of Race Relations youth program, and according to the *Star* his decision exposes him to almost certain prosecution.

Ten people connected with the Christian Institute have now been subpoenaed, and it is known that at least seven will refuse to give evidence (*Star* Johannesburg, Sept. 1, 8, 15)

BLACK POLITICS

BANTUSTAN DEVELOPMENTS

During a recent trip to the United States, Chief Lukas Mangope of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan made an announcement that is sure to displease his white superiors. He talked about federating his Tswana "nation", not with the other Bantustans in South Africa, but with the



independent nation of Botswana, with which Bophuthatswana has close ethnic ties. The idea of federation between the Bantustans has been advocated by Bantustan leaders of both the Zulus and Xhosas. Mangope [like the Nationalist Government which works studiously to separate the tribes from each other] has never been supportive of this. However, the one thing worse, from the Nationalist point of view, than Bantustan federation would be the merger Mangope is proposing. Mangope has not yet discussed the idea with Botswana nor with his own people, and he says the idea is impractical until the government gives his people more land. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973) Nevertheless, the white Government is sure to veto such a plan before it gets started. After all, Bophuthatswana contains rich deposits of Platinum and palladium, and no matter how "independent" the Bantustans ever become, white South Africa is clearly not going to give up that wealth.

In Vendaland, northern Transvaal, elections have been held, and the ruling party under the leadership of Chief Patrick Mphedu lost to the Vendaland Independent People's Party, V.I.P., lead by a Soweto sociologist, Mr. B. Mudau. Bantustan politics are complicated however, and it will be some time before it is clear who will rule. In addition to winning the vote, the V.I.P. must win the support of at least 21 chiefs and headmen out of the 42 in the Legislative Assembly. Chiefs and headmen are paid by the government and their inclusion in the assembly is one of the many ways that the Nationalists keep control of proceedings. (*Star*, Sept. 1, 1973)

In another development in the north, there is a land dispute in progress between the Tsonga or Shangaan of Gazakulu and the North-Sotho of Lebowa. The area in question is alleged to be over 80 percent Tsonga, and the plans for consolidation place it within Gazankulu. However, the Lebowa Government maintains that the area is traditionally North-Sotho and should be in their homeland. (*Star* Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

This type of land dispute is not uncommon in the Northern Transvaal, where borders between different, 11

groups can be changed arbitrarily at the whim of the white government. African leaders who have remained independent of Bantustan power struggles see this issue as an intentional move on the part of the Government to divide the Africans among themselves and defuse the legitimate hostility felt towards the whites. It is classic divide and rule strategy in operation.

ECONOMICS

ANGLO-AMERICAN TO RAISE AFRICAN WAGES

In the wake of labor protests at its Carletonville mine, the Anglo-American Corporation is planning to raise wages for its African workers.

Anglo-American has not announced specific figures on the pending wage increase, but a corporation spokesman has said that the raise will be larger than the 26 per cent raise granted in August. That increase left the pay differential between Anglo-American's white and African workers at sixteen to one. It also appears to have precipitated the protests at the Western Deep Level mine. (*New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1973)

Anglo-American's decision to raise wages is likely to stir controversy inside South Africa. Government officials may view the move as ill-timed and likely to encourage more labor unrest among African workers who are unhappy with their working conditions. The Carletonville incident has again brought demands from moderate white labor leaders for legislation to allow legalized unionization among African workers. They see organization of African workers into recognized trade unions as the only way to control the rising level of labor dissent. For the African workers themselves, the Anglo-American decision represents another victory in their long struggle to obtain fair and equal treatment. As in many cases before, the victory is small and was won at a great cost, but others are likely to observe and follow the example.

BRITISH PUBLICIZE SOUTH AFRICAN COMPUTER SALES

The *Guardian* of London has stirred controversy in England with its recent reports of computer sales to South Africa by the British firm, International Computers, Ltd., or ICL.

The sales were first disclosed on September 5th when the *Guardian* reported that a 1904 E third generation computer sold by ICL, Britain's leading computer company, was being used by the South African authorities to control movements of the African population. Under the Population Registration Act, all South Africans will be listed on computers, along with particulars about their lives. An IBM computer from the United States is being used to register whites, Asians, and Coloureds.

In the case of Africans, however, data kept on individuals will be much more complete than that kept on other racial groups. To control and supervise the movements of more than 15 million Africans, who outnumber their white rulers by five to one, the government has devised a maze of racial legislation aimed at keeping Africans out of urban or other "white" areas except as "labor units."

Since 1952, all adult Africans must carry on their persons a reference, or "pass book," proving their right to be at any given location, and giving details of their employment and legal records. The Urban Areas Act Amendment of that year specifies that no African can

remain more than 72 hours in an area that is designated "white," unless able to prove that they were born there and have lived there continuously ever since, or can prove that they have worked for the same employer for 10 years, or have lived there continuously for 15. And "proof" means complete documentary evidence covering every moment of those years.

As a result of such stringent legislation, an average 1,685 people are prosecuted each day for pass offences. The *Guardian* published an estimate that on any one day four adult Africans is arrested each year under the technical laws governing their movements.

In such a situation, computers are necessary to relieve the government bureaucracy of the immense work of keeping track of the population and its offenses against the legal system. It is ICL's decision to sell its computers for this purpose that has aroused such a controversy in Britain.

Critics are further upset by the \$100 million subsidy for research and development which the British government has given to ICL, and by the 10.5 per cent stake it owns in the firm. Labour and Liberal members of the British Parliament have made formal protests, and have written to both the government and to ICL for more details.

The *Guardian's* articles were not the first public record of an ICL computer being used to register the African population. A year ago the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches in New York published a description of IBM in South Africa, in which it reported ICL's role in the process. (*Guardian*, London, September 6, 9, 17 and 22, 1973; IBM in South Africa, CIC, New York, September, 1972)

PIPER AIRCRAFT PROMOTES SALES

Piper Aircraft Corporation, a large U.S. manufacturer, is attempting to boost its aircraft sales in South Africa. Two senior executives, Raymond Johnson, sales director, and Robert Martin, director of customer services visited the country in early September to prepare for the launching of the new Piper turboprop Cheyenne airplane in January. The Piper officials told the *Star*, Johannesburg, that South Africa "is becoming increasingly important to aircraft manufacturers." (*Star*, Sept. 8, 1973) Within the last two years, the Nixon Administration has relaxed the conditions of the arms embargo against South Africa to allow sale of small civilian aircraft to private persons and corporations in South Africa. Critics of the policy shift have argued that the aircraft can easily be altered for use in counter-insurgency warfare in Southern Africa.

MILITARY

THE MILITARY BUILD-UP

Speaking in Parliament in April this year, Defence Minister Botha warned: "I do not wish to spread alarm, but I must state unambiguously that for a long time already we have been engaged in a war of low intensity, and this situation will probably continue. . . . We have had no major clashes with terrorists, but because they find sanctuary beyond our borders, neither have we yet eliminated the threat." He went on to re-assure his followers that South Africa had now reached a stage

where it was self-sufficient in the field of internal defence, and could no longer be isolated by arms embargoes.

It is true that South Africa has greatly expanded its capacity to manufacture much of the equipment that will be required by the régime for continued internal security operations. Rifles, revolvers, grenades, mortars, most types of ammunition, tear-gas, aircraft rockets, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, bombs, including some filled with napalm, armored cars and some aircraft are all produced locally. Nevertheless South Africa is still dependent on foreign sources for much of its more sophisticated war material. Several recent deals illustrate this continued dependency, and highlight the extent to which the South African régime is being supported by its Western allies.

The South African Air Force has arranged the purchase of 48 Mirage F1 fighters, latest and deadliest of the Mirage range. The first 16 of these, to be delivered in 1974 will be of the F1CZ all-weather interceptor type, similar to those presently being delivered to the French Air Force. They will be built entirely in France and will be equipped with fire-control radar. These will be followed by 32 F1AZ ground-attack fighters with Aida 11 radar range-finders. South Africa's state-run Atlas Aircraft Corporation will contribute components to these aircraft and will probably undertake final assembly of some of the Mirages as pattern aircraft for subsequent production. The first licence-built Mirage F1 is expected to roll off the Atlas assembly line in 1977.

South Africa is also to get 100 Italian Aermacchi MB326K—these are planes fitted with Rolls-Royce Viper 632 turbo-jet engines, made under licence in Italy by a Fiat controlled company called Piaggio. The planes have been described as single-seat, close support and operational trainers, and Italy, which has undertaken to observe the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa, will apparently allow the sale of these aircraft because they are technically 'only trainers'. The first 20 will reportedly be made entirely in Italy, while Atlas makes the necessary preparations to phase this model on to the Impala assembly line.

There have also been recent reports that the South African Defence Force's Army Air Corps is to get 40 Aermacchi AM3C reconnaissance aircraft.

Thus South Africa will add 200 new planes to its airforce in the next few years, making it a major air-power—the largest air-force by far in all of Sub-Saharan Africa. This becomes particularly ominous when Botha's words about independent African nations "harbouring terrorists" are recalled. South Africa is already actively engaged in the military struggle being waged in Mozambique and Rhodesia between the liberation movements and the minority colonial régimes. She has frequently defended her right of "hot pursuit". As the military confrontation escalates in Southern Africa and pressures inside South Africa continue to grow, as they have done dramatically in the past 12 months, the South African Air Force is likely to be aimed at targets which lie not only inside the country but far beyond her borders. (*The Guardian*, England, March 30, April 11; *The Star*, Johannesburg, September 15; *Evening Standard*, England, September 24.

SPORTS

HOWA REFUSED PASSPORT, SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET HOPES DIM

Hassan Howa, President of the South African Cricket Board of Control, was refused a passport to attend the International Cricket Conference in London. In denying Mr. Howa a passport, the South African government once again aided anti-apartheid forces—in this case, in their fight against a scheduled Springbok cricket tour of Britain in 1975. As Howa put it, "... being refused to lobby (for non-racialism, at the conference) by the Government must convince them all that I have a cause worth considering." Mr. Howa added that the refusal was "conclusive proof that White South Africa was not concerned about the future of Black cricket." (*Rand Daily Mail*, July 16, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 14, 1973; *Guardian*, London, July 19, 1973)

The International Cricket Conference later decided that South Africa would not be invited to the 1975 competition, and a proposed visit to South Africa by the winners of the Gillette Cup competition—a tour which might have provided South Africa with a ticket to the "World Cup" in England—was called off. (*Guardian*, London, July 26, 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 28, 1973)

GUESS WHO WENT TO DINNER?

Danie Malan (white) of South Africa is the new world 1000m record holder. In Malan's own words, spoken at a buffet supper in his honor held at the University of Stellenbosch, it was the "selfless running and practical assistance" of a Tswana athlete, Joseph Leserwane, which helped him break the record. For his help, Leserwane received an invitation to the supper and a "small token of appreciation" from Malan, for "what you have meant to me and the athletes of South Africa."

The *Star* (Johannesburg) reported that it was probably the first time that a non-white sportsman had been entertained "at a mixed function—men and women—at the university...." It was further noted that the proceedings went off "almost without a hitch," and that "even the older folks realized that the heavens were not about to fall." All this despite the fact that Leserwane and Malan circulated "freely" among the guests. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 4, 1973)

"JUST RELAX!"

This was the advice a *Star* editorial gave to the South African Minister of Sport regarding how he should handle a weekend match arranged between two cricket teams, one of them multiracial, in Pietermaritzburg. Observing that the Minister "sees this as a 'confrontation' with the Government and threatens unspecified unpleasantness," the *Star* pleads, "We wish he could just take a tranquilliser and forget the whole thing; such overreaction makes the country look ridiculous and our return to test cricket (another tour was cancelled this week) even more remote." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Sept. 15, 1973)

the portuguese colonies

MOZAMBIQUE:

FRELIMO SHOTS DOWN FIVE PLANES

FRELIMO communiques, on September 5 and 16, indicate that nationalist forces have shot down five Portuguese planes in Manica e Sofala province in central Mozambique during the period from July 16 through August 15. The bomber shot down on July 16 was the first plane downed by FRELIMO in Manica e Sofala, where the armed struggle had begun only a year earlier. On August 2, two more bombers were shot down in the Macossa region, and on August 3, a fourth bomber was downed near Canxixe. The fifth was shot down further northwest, near Tambara, and was a cargo plane apparently headed to or coming from the Cabora Bassa dam.

Various other actions, including the blowing up of a freight train on the Beira-Tete railway have also been reported, but the new evidence of FRELIMO power against the planes is the most significant. FRELIMO has never before shot down this number of planes in so short a period of time and the events seem to indicate a new anti-aircraft capability, possibly portable surface to air missiles, like those used since March in Guinea-Bissau by the P.A.I.G.C. (*Daily News* (Tanzania) Sept. 17, 1973)

TETE COMMANDER REMOVAL LINKED TO MASSACRES

In early September Colonel Armindo Martins Videira was removed as military governor of Tete Province in Mozambique. He was the second to fill the combined military and civilian post, having assumed the position in July of 1972 after a period in charge of Cabora Bassa defenses. Lisbon has announced that the position will again be divided to provide both a Civilian Governor and a Military Commander.

It was in Tete Province, then under the command of Videira, that the series of massacres in the area of Wiliamo, are alleged to have happened. Spanish priests have documented massacre of up to 400 Africans in three villages, Wiliamo, Chowala, and Juwau.

The *Star* (Johannesburg) claims that Videira's dismissal is confirmation that the alleged massacres did take place. Based on sources inside Mozambique, the *Star* corroborates large portions of the earlier accounts of the Wiliamo

massacre. According to the South African paper, the Portuguese bombed the village on the suspicion that it harbored FRELIMO troops, then followed up with a search and destroy mission in which the Portuguese troops rounded up the inhabitants of the village and killed them, either by burning them in their huts or by shooting them. According to this report, 100 villagers were killed in Wiliamo and 20 or 30 survived.

The *Star* says Colonel Videira was dismissed on order from high Portuguese authorities who hold him responsible for the Wiliamo massacre. A BBC correspondent in Lisbon interviewed Videira, however, and he says he was recalled, not because of Wiliamo, but because of another massacre in Tete province—that at Chowala, in which 80 persons were killed. The Portuguese have admitted to "reprehensible acts" being committed in Chowala and have promised to punish those responsible. (*BBC World Service*, Sept. 25, 1973; *Agence France Presse*, Sept. 13; *Times* (U.K.), Sept. 10, 1973, *Jornal de Geneve*, Sept. 26, 1973)

SOUTH AFRICANS/RHODESIANS DEVASTATE AREA OF MOZAMBIQUE

Combined actions by South African and Rhodesian troops in July destroyed villages and crops and drove the survivors to the mountains, according to Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO.

About 1500 Mozambicans in the Zumbo and Pangula areas, near the border with Rhodesia, are homeless and facing starvation in the areas to which they y have fled, according to reports. The attacks were in an area which FRELIMO has held relatively securely for several years, and involved the Portuguese use of helicopters, military planes, warships on the Zambezi river, as well as ground troops.

The campaign reportedly began July 1 at the request of the Portuguese Government and ended only after extensive massacres and destruction of virtually everything that made the area habitable. An Italian paper, *L'Unita*, quotes the testimony of a 43-year-old man, named Simon Ciaola, who escaped the massacres and said they "burned the huts, destroyed maize stores, killed chickens, goats, cows, and occupied springs to prevent the villagers getting water." He said when he returned to his village of Pangoula he found that "at least" 50 people had been massacred, and other massacres had been carried out in nearby villages of Lichela and Katandola. During their flight from the soldiers, he told the newspaper, numbers of children had died from starvation. He said that since the attack on their village, he had lost his wife and 14 of their 16 children. He was interviewed in a refugee camp in Zambia. (*Sunday News* (Tanz.), Aug. 26, 1973; *Agence France Presse*, August 23, 1973)

FRELIMO BUILDS NEW SOCIETY IN TETE

David Martin, a correspondent based in Dar-es-Salaam recently visited the Tete province of Mozambique with FRELIMO. His reports have appeared during September in the *Observer* (London), in the *Los Angeles Times* (Sept. 16, 1973), on the BBC radio, and various other places. He gives details of FRELIMO structure in that province:

"Tete is divided into four zones... three of these [according to Mayone, the FRELIMO military commander in Tete] have been secured and civilian administrative structures set up in them, including schools, clinics,

hospitals and cooperatives. The third zone, in the southeast, which is the corridor zone toward Manica e Sofala Province and the south of the country is still disputed.

"FRELIMO's civilian structure . . . moves upward from the circle—equivalent to a village—to the Tete provincial council, composed of civilians and guerrillas, which meets about once a year. The circle is run by a secretary, elected by the villagers, who heads a committee of nine, including a transport secretary responsible for the movement of food and munitions. The women are represented and where there is a local school or clinic, the teacher and medical assistant also are members.

"Next comes the locality, a group of at least four villages run by a similar committee drawn from members of each of the villages. There are eleven districts in the three secured zones, and the district political commissar automatically becomes a member of his local committee

"FRELIMO has almost 40 primary schools in Tete with nearly 6,000 children between the ages of 9 and 15, Mayone said. But these are not schools in the Western concept. They are little more than shaded places where children hungry for education gather. They have never had the chance before, for there were no Portuguese schools in the area.

"The syllabus includes political science, Portuguese language, mathematics, geography, biology, and history. The books—they are in short supply—have been written by the teachers at the FRELIMO secondary school in Tanzania. . . ."

ANGOLA:

MPLA REPORTS MURDER PLOT AGAINST NETO

The MPLA has reportedly foiled a plot to assassinate its president, Agostinho Neto. The plot was apparently instigated by the Portuguese, who infiltrated persons posing as deserters from the Portuguese army into the MPLA ranks in order to provoke dissent and confusion within the party. The pattern is a familiar one, used by the Portuguese at other times in both Mozambique and Guinea Bissau in unsuccessful attempts to destroy the liberation movements there.

The provocateurs have, in Angola as in the other areas, apparently tried to play on tribal and regional feelings and look for ambitious individuals who might be willing to compromise with Portugal in exchange for personal prestige. However, the MPLA feels that it has uncovered the plot and that its leaders are all either under arrest by MPLA or they have fled. (*Afrique-Asie*, France, Aug. 20, 1973, *Sunday Times of Zambia*, Aug. 26, 1973)

PORTUGUESE WAR REPORT FROM ANGOLA

The monthly Portuguese communique claims that in July, 62 African nationalists were killed or wounded and 49 were taken prisoner, and three Portuguese soldiers killed. (*Le Monde*, Aug. 26/27, 1973)

TEXACO'S ROLE INCREASES

Texaco, the giant U.S. oil company, is increasing its role in Angola through participation in a consortium with two Portuguese-controlled firms. The consortium—in which Petrangol owns 50%, Angol 25%, and Texaco 25%—began production of oil in the summer of 1972.

According to the Petroleum Press Service of Britain, production for the last six months of 1972 totalled 606,000 tons, approximately 12,000 barrels a day. The association has recently made a new oil discovery at N'Zombo, near the Congo River in Angola, reports Platt's OILGRAM News Service. In addition, Texaco is involved in offshore exploration, along with the French CFP and other small U.S. firms. (*Petroleum Press Service* (U.K.), Sept. 1973, in *Facts and Reports*, Holland, Sept. 29, 1973; and *Platt's OILGRAM News Service*, Aug. 21, 1973)

GULF PRODUCTION MAY DECLINE

Gulf Oil Corporation's production in Angola, which has been steadily rising, may decline in late-1974, says Petroleum Press Service. During 1972, rate of production was 144,000 barrels per day (7.3 million tons/year). By the end of this year, production is expected to reach 150,000 barrels per day, but some of the older fields will start to decline in output after that. According to the Service, "the company has had many disappointments in its search efforts here, and has now given up onshore, with the recently relinquished onshore acreage comprising a quarter of its total former permit area." Presently, Gulf is focussing its exploration efforts offshore, where it hopes to discover new fields which will keep the level of production as high as it is at present.



Neto: MPLA

GUINEA BISSAU

ADVANCES ON THE MILITARY FRONT

The Portuguese have again admitted to high casualties with 24 of their soldiers killed in action during heavy fighting in the southern parts of Guinea, during the period of June 1st-15th.

On July 4, the PAIGC armed forces ambushed a Portuguese convoy near the Caium River and destroyed 4 vehicles and killed 13 soldiers. On the same day in the Nhacra-Mores region of the North Front 20 other Portuguese soldiers were killed.

The Portuguese carried out heavy bombing raids on July 11 in the Tombali area of the South Front killing 19

civilians. The raids were particularly focused on the villages of Gandua, Cantonaz, and Ilheu-Colbert. The Portuguese used napalm during the raids and Secretary General of the PAIGC, Aristides Pereira, sent a telegram of protest to U.N. Secretary Kurt Waldheim informing him of the attacks. Pereira denounced "the criminal action of the barbarian Portuguese Air Force against our people and against humanity".

The following day the Portuguese continued their terrorism with an attack by Marines near the village of Garcene in the Kinara liberated area. They were repulsed leaving behind seven dead.

On the 15th of July a Portuguese provision convoy was ambushed on route to Cutia on the Mansaba road northeast of Bissau. In the attack six vehicles were destroyed, many weapons captured and 32 soldiers reported killed. Two days later in the Bula-Canchungo front nearby, two trucks and a Jeep were put out of action as well as 14 soldiers during an ambush on the Bula-Binar road.

The North Front saw more action on July 19, in the Domingos-Sambuia region when four cars were ambushed going to the fortified camp of Djumbembem near the major town of Farim in the central part of the North Front. Twenty-one enemy soldiers were killed and much material captured. The next day in the same region two more vehicles were destroyed and ten additional soldiers killed.

To revenge these many losses the Portuguese carried out more savage attacks using high altitude bombing with napalm and white phosphorous bombs. Population centers in the Como Island area were struck and 33 civilians were killed. In further attacks the Portuguese sought to penetrate the liberated areas at Joao in the Kinara region, but PAIGC militia units frustrated the attempt.

The month of August opened with units of the armed forces shelling the entrenched camp at Porto-Gole on the Geba River in the Nhacra-Mores region of the North Front. On August 8th there was a successful ambush in

the Cubucare region with a number of enemy troops put out of action. On August 9th Portuguese troops made still another effort to penetrate to Kinara region near Joao. The soldiers left their fortified camp at Tite and later hit a PAIGC mine field killing five of their number including a Captain. Tite is across the Geba River from the capital-Bissau.

In the Nhacra-Mores sector of the North Front two boats of the colonialist army were sunk by bazooka fire on August 7. In the same area on August 20 two trucks, an armored car and a dozen soldiers were put out of action in a PAIGC ambush.

The PAIGC also stepped up action in the East Front with an attack on Pitche in the Bafata-Gabu region. At least five Portuguese soldiers were killed in this action.

Actions continued in this front with the attack on an enemy vehicle in the Bafata-Gabu sector and with Portuguese soldiers from Xime falling into a PAIGC mine-field in the Xitole-Bafata sector near Flakan and Baio.

The greatest PAIGC military activity continues to be in the South Front. The offensive is concentrated at the fortified camp at Gadamael which was attacked on 15, 19, and 21 of August. (See map) In May Guileje fell to the PAIGC and the soldiers that escaped fled to Gadamael which has been under almost continuous attack. Now Gadamael can only be reached by Portuguese vessels. Also under attack is Cumbija which was shelled on August 20 causing heavy casualties among the colonial troops and inflicting damage on various military installations. In addition an important bridge to Bedanda has been cut by PAIGC sappers on August 21. (Hsinhua Press, September 3, 1973)

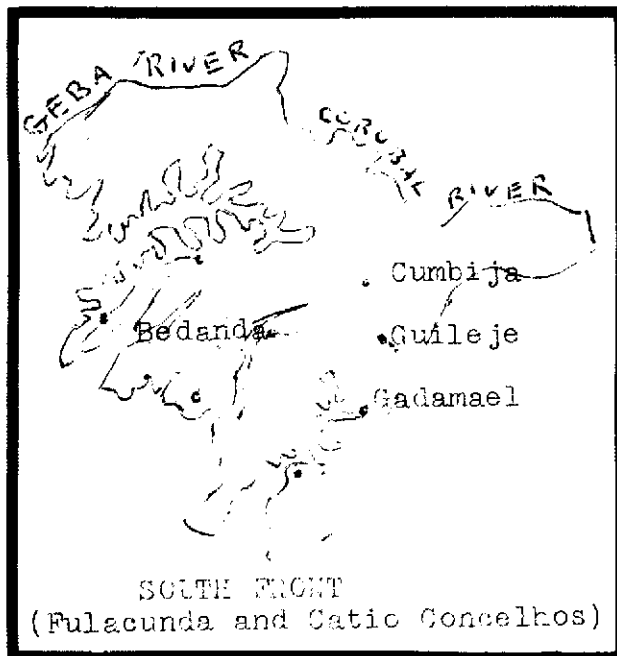
This period was climaxed on August 16 when anti-aircraft units of the PAIGC shot down their 19th Portuguese jet since March 23 of this year. This plane went down over the Bolama region in the South Front. The loss of still another plane and more than 144 dead from 1 June to 14 August puts the offensive more firmly in PAIGC hands. (*Daily News* (Tanzania) July 13, 1973; August 2, 1973; *AFP*, July 11, 1973; *Hsinhua*, August 28, 1973; *Third World Reports*, August, 1973)

TWENTIETH PLANE GOES DOWN

On September 9 the PAIGC office in Dakar announced that their anti-aircraft units had shot down the 20th Portuguese aircraft since 23 March of this year. The most recent plane was another Fiat G-91 fighter-bomber made in West Germany with NATO-nation components. The 19th plane went down over the Bolama region on August 16. On August 14 PAIGC units attacked Ptche in the far East causing damage to the entrenched camp. An ambush was set in the South front west of Balana in the Jemberem and Catchamba area which took the lives of five enemy soldiers including a column commander. Information published on August 26 indicated that the PAIGC had killed 28 colonial troops for the month. (*AFP*, August 30, 1973; *AFP*, September 9, 1973; *Sunday Times* of Zambia, August 26, 1973)

PLANES FOR THE PAIGC?

Reports from Lisbon indicate that the PAIGC may be using Soviet-supplied Mig jet fighters within six months. This report has not been confirmed by the PAIGC which has also declined comment on the presence of



SAM-missiles.

The Lisbon sources appear to be worried that about 40 PAIGC members now training to be jet pilots in the Soviet Union. Presumably such aircraft would be based in Guinea-Conakry and the PAIGC might set up a joint defense program with Sekou Toure's government until the Portuguese have been driven out of Bissau. Assuming the reports to be accurate this would put the PAIGC on par with the Portuguese whose only superiority now lies with their aircraft. With the loss of almost 20 planes by PAIGC anti-aircraft units the Portuguese edge has already been blunted. (*Third World Reports* August, 1973)

PEREIRA INTERVIEWED

Following the Second National Congress and the confirmation of the new Secretary General, Mr. Pereira has given his first official interview to a reporter from Agence France Presse. Included was a commentary on recent Portuguese bombing. Pereira said that the Portuguese have resorted to high altitude bombing because they have lost so many planes at lower altitudes.

Pereira also said that five of the chief assassins had been taken to liberated Guinea-Bissau and tried and convicted of the brutal murder of Amilcar Cabral. There the five were executed by firing squad; the only doomed man named was Inocencio Kani who actually pulled the trigger on January 20. Others were also convicted and have been sentenced to hard labor as porters and diggers for the PAIGC Army.

Pereira maintained that the PAIGC would declare national independence before the end of the year but he did not specify exactly what date this would occur. [It occurred on Sept. 24—ed.] He also said that the PAIGC is still ready to sit down with the Portuguese to negotiate a settlement if the PAIGC is considered as an equal. He stressed that the negotiations must include the Cape Verde Islands. "At the present time," he said, "conditions are not ripe for armed struggle in the Cape Verde Islands," (despite recent rioting) "but we are preparing for this because we think there is no other way to liberate them. The Cape Verde Islands are part of our territory, occupied just like Guinea-Bissau". (*AFP*, July 30, 1973)

SENGHOR MEETS WITH PEREIRA

President of Senegal, Leopold Senghor, met with PAIGC Secretary General Aristides Pereira on August 3. Pereira thanked Senghor for Senegal's help in the PAIGC's battle against Portuguese colonialism. The PAIGC has two offices in Senegal as well as thousands of refugees from the battle areas. From time to time the Senegalese people also become victims of Portuguese attacks. (*Daily News* (Tanzania), ugust 4, 1973)

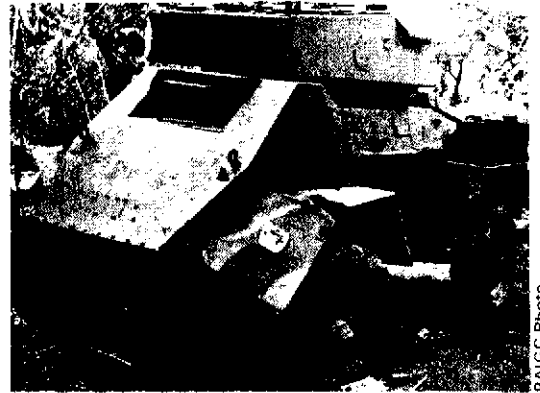
SPINOLA QUILS

The monocled Military Governor of Guinea-Bissau, General Antonio Spinola, has resigned from his duty. His resignation was announced in Lisbon and was generally received with surprise. A hint of trouble came on August 6 when Spinola broadcast from Lisbon Radio saying that there had been "a strong enemy reaction to the success of our social policy". He was referring to the major PAIGC offensive in the South which had led to many Portuguese defeats. Spinola also referred to a "degree of normality" in the colony. These comments suggest that he was being questioned in Lisbon for his lack of military success.



Guiledje soon after the fall

PAIGC Photo



Abandoned Portuguese armoured car

PAIGC Photo

Also mentioned in the Lisbon broadcast was that Spinola was taking his annual spa treatment. He did admit that the PAIGC was well armed with new weapons and was showing a military escalation.

Spinola will be replaced by General Bettencourt Rodrigues who was formerly Chief of Staff of the Angola military region and Commander of the Eastern part of Angola where the MPLA has been active.

Lisbon is still silent on the reasons for the resignation of the 63-year-old General who was known for his hard-hitting style and fearlessness. One rumor is that Spinola had contacted Amilcar Cabral secretly for negotiations which failed. Following this Spinola helped plan the assassination. When Cabral's death did not change anything Spinola had run out of alternatives and he was dropped. General Spinola had also been critical of Lisbon policy makers who never implemented their policy of "Self-Determination" which might have made things easier for Spinola's administration. It is unlikely that General Rodrigues will fare any better than Spinola or his predecessor. (Lisbon Radio, August 6, 1973, 1900 GMT; *Star*, Johannesburg, September 1, 1973)

PORTUGAL:

WORKERS AND SOLDIERS INSIDE PORTUGAL ACTIVE

Luta a publication of the Comité de Apoio Aos Desertores Portugueses em Franca (Committee for the Support of Portuguese Deserters in France), gives information on a number of actions by workers and soldiers inside Portugal. Several of the incidents mentioned follow:

A company of soldiers at Santa Margarida barracks refused to sail for Africa in May. The company, originally scheduled for Angola had its destination changed to Guinea, to replace a company which had lost 88 of its men. Other companies supported the action, striking for a day, boycotting an attempt by the officers to mollify them with free drinks, and breaking the windows of the headquarters while shouting and singing against the colonial wars.

Apulia is an area where coastal land is collectively owned and used by the peasants for gathering and drying seaweed. The people deeply resented the rich city people who build vacation villas on the land, limiting the local seaweed production by reducing the available shoreline. On June 11, a crowd of over 100 people tore down fences, buildings and other obstacles to their traditional work. When the owners of the new houses called the Portuguese Secret Police to search out the ringleaders, the villagers got out their rifles and chased the police away. (*Luta*, Paris, August, 1973)

Radio Free Portugal of August 11 also notes activity. Three refusals by recruits to be sworn into the Portuguese armed forces were noted: 1400 soldiers at the No. 7 Infantry Unit in Leira; and 90 per cent of the recruits at an infantry school in Mafra and in No. 5 Infantry Regiment in Caldas da Rainha. Troops also reportedly refused to fly over certain regions of Guinea-Bissau, a natural response to the fact that the PAIGC has shot down 21 Portuguese planes between March and September 9, 1973.

PORTUGAL/SPAIN BORDER COOPERATION

On August 26, Portuguese authorities captured a car and its occupants on the border with Spain. The car reportedly contained numerous false documents and blank passports and driving papers; radio equipment, wigs, weapons; and about 125 pounds of plastic bombs and other material, presumably bound for the underground opposition in Portugal. Two of the car's six occupants escaped and Spanish and Portuguese police are cooperating in an intensive search of the border area in an attempt to find them. (*Portuguese Digest*, Portugal, Sept. 4, 1973)

GENERAL ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER

Portuguese General Elections for the National Assembly have been scheduled for October 28. The official campaign period "for review of national policy" began on September 28. During the month period, candidates, including the opposition are supposed to be

permitted political "freedoms" usually denied.

There are 20 electoral districts. 124 seats are for metropolitan Portugal (population 8.6 million); 20 seats are shared by Angola and Mozambique (combined population 13 million). Only a tiny portion of the population in the African colonies is allowed to vote.

Under the Portuguese system, the government draws up ballots with its slate of candidates. Opposition candidates have to issue their own ballot papers—without access to the electoral roll, and without facilities for distributing them, making it impossible for the opposition to gain any significant portion of the votes.

It has been customary for opposition candidates to use the pre-election month to air their grievances, then withdraw just before voting day and urge boycott of the elections. This year, the Portuguese Government is attempting to prevent the withdrawal and force the candidates to stand and be defeated. Any candidate who withdraws before the election will lose all political rights for five years.

In previous elections, opposition activities have been harassed and meetings curtailed during the pre-election period and 1973 promises the same. Just before the election period was to begin this year, over 40 members of the opposition Portuguese Citizen's Electoral Committee were arrested, including seven opposition candidates from the Lisbon area. The arrests resulted from the distribution of an opposition manifesto calling for an end to the colonial wars and immediate independence for Portugal's African colonies. It appears that again, as in years past, discussion of the African wars is to be prohibited. (*Financial Times* London, Sept. 5, 1973; *Daily Telegraph*, London, Sept. 17, 1973; *Times*, London, Sept. 18, 1973; *Guardian*, London, *La Suisse*, Switzerland, *Washington Post*, all Sept. 24, 1973)

WATCH THE GENERALS

Now that General Spínola has retired from Guinea Bissau and General Arriaga has retired from Moxambique there is speculation about their futures. First of all there is little possibility that Spínola's replacement, General José Bettencourt Rodrigues, will change the stated Portuguese program of "Africanization within a Portuguese community". It is also unlikely that he will have any more success than Spínola. Apparently Spínola will be given a high ministerial rank as a quiet reward for his suffering under PAIGC guns.

Arriaga is seen as a force to the right of Portugal's P.M. Caetano who stood against an attempted coup against Salazar before his death. General Costa Gomes, now Commander-in-Chief of all the Portuguese armed services, was reputed to have been involved in the plans for this coup. Thus, feelings between Arriaga and Gomes are not warm and as Portuguese defeats increase it is possible that the thin liberal veneer of Caetano may be pulled away by more reactionary elements. (*Financial Times* (U.K.), August 31, 1973)

NAMIBIA

NAMIBIA—REVIEW OF RECENT HISTORY

Thousands of Namibians staged an almost total boycott of elections for the Ovambo Legislative Assembly on August 1-2.

A major issue of contention between South Africa and the Namibians is South Africa's plan to divide the country into ten sections (Bantustans) according to ethnic groupings.

Administered since 1918 under an old League of Nations mandate which has been terminated by the United Nations and ratified by the World Court, South Africa refuses to relinquish its occupancy and exploitation of the country.

Today Namibia represents one of the most extreme forms of colonial exploitation in the world. For the size of its population, Namibia could be one of the richest countries in the world, yet the mineral and fishing wealth is exploited very largely in the interests of foreigners. The GNP is less than one third of the total wealth extracted, whilst the average income of whites in the territory is twenty one times higher than the Blacks.

1972-73-SHAM ELECTIONS

Under the State of Emergency which has been in force since the contract workers strike in early 1972, all meetings are illegal and it is an offence to criticize the South African Government or officials of the Ovambo administration.

SWAPO however went ahead and organized mass meetings all over Ovamboland calling on the people to boycott the elections. At least 26 people were arrested and 16 taken to hospitals after clashes between the people and police. 15 SWAPO members appeared in court on charges of holding illegal meetings. The boycott was a tremendous success—only 1,300 of the 50,000 eligible voters turned out at the polls. Nearly all of those who voted were government officials. The South African Government had carried out an extensive propaganda program to encourage people to vote. Films were shown in towns—they used mobile loudspeakers and leafleted the area heavily as well as providing transportation to get voters to the polling booths.

Two weeks after the election, on August 17, police surrounded Katatura, the African township near Windhoek, and then charged with batons when the crowd refused to disperse. There were at least 265 arrests and one man died when police opened fire. In the next 20 days blood flowed as police cracked down on dissenters. Police continued house to house searches for a number of leaders of the youth wing of the South West Africa Peoples Organization, who made militant speeches at recent rallies. 200 students left the Augustineum high school and school unrest spread to another high school in Damaraland where 120 students went out on strike.

Such events lend little support to assurances given to the United Nations by Dr. Hilgard Muller, South Africa's foreign minister, that Pretoria would allow freedom of

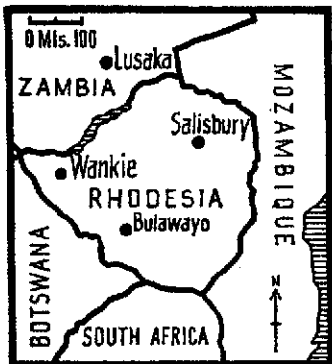
political activity in Namibia. During October the United Nations Security Council is scheduled to decide on whether or not to continue its dialogue with South Africa on the future of the territory.

Shortly after the uprisings in Ovamboland and Katatura township, Mr. Vorster arrived in Windhoek to open the annual Congress of the ruling Nationalist Party. He said certain elements inside and outside of the country wanted confrontation. "If they look for confrontation, they are going to get it," he said. "They will suffer the consequences." "I am sick and tired of such incidents."

Several International representatives of SWAPO went inside the territory and held meetings with many guerrillas inside Namibia. Militants and cadres came from all over Namibia for the joint meeting. Some came from the South, others came from Kaokoveld in the Northwest. Those inside were eager and elated to know of what support there was in the "outside" world, whilst the visitors from London and New York heard recent news from the front line. They heard of recent successful ambushes of convoys and the capture of materials, and of how many of the strikers had now joined the armed struggle. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, Sept., 1973; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 25, 1973; *Times*, London, Aug. 25, Sept. 3, 1973; *Guardian*, Sept. 5, 1973; *Observer*, London, Sept. 2, 1973) ■

Only two photos came out of Ovamboland during the recent disturbances. Names of some of the arrested leaders are on the demonstrator's hat. (*Anti-Apartheid News*)





zimbabwe

LANDMINES

Another landmine exploded in Centenary on August 5, killing Margaret Ward, wife of police section leader of the Rhodesia police. The officer sustained minor injuries. Ms. Ward is the 12th white civilian victim in Rhodesia's war. Another landmine explosion was reported in the same northeastern area the same week—two African and one white government employees were injured. Earlier, in July, several South African paramilitary "police" were injured when their vehicle hit a landmine. Latest estimates put the number of South Africans fighting in Rhodesia at about 2,000. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 9, 1973)

DEATH SENTENCE FOR FOUR MORE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Richard Robinson, Christopher Gumborinotaya, and Amon Sibanda were found guilty of killing a white police reservist in March and were sentenced to death in Salisbury Court. A fourth man, an African, unnamed, was also sentenced to death.

SOUTH AFRICA ALLEGES COMMUNIST PLOT

Dr. Mulder, South African Minister of the Interior and Information, speaking in Salisbury, said "terrorists" are not working for majority rule as they proclaim, but for the establishment of communist control throughout Africa. Dr. Mulder foresees a change away from overseas support of terrorists during the next three to four years. He cited the World Council of Churches grants to liberation movements as an example of such support and suggested that if they knew the truth of the matter they would change their policy. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 9, 1973)

FROLIZI—NO OAU RECOGNITION, MEMBERS LEAVE

In 1971 some Zimbabweans affiliated with both major nationalist and guerrilla movements, ZAPU and ZANU, founded a new party called the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI). Although the Front was given recognition by the OAU Liberation Committee in 1972, in a hopeful spirit supportive of the unity drive between rival movements, the recognition was withdrawn in January, 1973 at the Accra OAU Liberation Committee gathering. During the period there had been moves by the OAU and others to create an atmosphere congenial to ZAPU-ZANU discussions culminating in the actual formation of the Joint Military Command of the two movements in 1972 and the new Political Council in 1973. Following the OAU derecognition of FROLIZI, the Tanzanian Government banned the Front as well. On June

13 some 30 members announced that they would leave FROLIZI and rejoin their former party, ZANU; three of these were members of FROLIZI's National Executive. Their press statement criticized FROLIZI leadership and not the party's objectives, while confirming support for the "fighting forces" of FROLIZI, it also urged them to join ZANU asking the ZAPU cadres also to leave the Front and rejoin their movement. The 30 said they would not only rejoin ZANU but also pledged to join the ZANU-ZAPU forces. (*Times of Zambia*, June 15; *Daily Mail*, (Zambia), June 23; Press Statement from Lusaka, June 13, 1973).

DETENTION OF ANC MEMBERS

African National Council chairman, Bishop Abel Muzorewa reported that 33 ANC officials have been detained by Smith. They include the Acting Secretary General, John Chirisa, Deputy Secretary General, Voti Moyo, and key provincial officials in Matabeleland, Bulawayo and the Midlands. The ANC has challenged the authorities to bring charges against those detained.

Anti Apartheid News (Sept., 1973) reports that detainees in three of Smith's detention centers have been denied study facilities and parcels or money sent from friends and relatives. The detainees, through their solicitors, are instituting court proceedings against the Smith regime. Letters smuggled from Salisbury Prison Gwelo and Wha Wha detention centers indicate that political prisoners now number nearly 200 being detained without charge or trial.

TALKS: ANC/SMITH

Bishop Abel Muzorewa requested a meeting with Rhodesian leader Ian Smith to discuss possible negotiations over the future of Zimbabwe. Smith stated that the ANC wants immediate equal representation between Black and White in Parliament and majority rule soon thereafter and that these are unacceptable conditions for negotiations. Muzorewa denied that these were the ANC pre-conditions and said that Smith does not know what the ANC is thinking. In Britain, Sir Alec Douglas-Home stated that progress on the Rhodesia questions could be made only within Rhodesia by consultation between Smith and the ANC. Sir Alec has switched from his position prior to the Pearce Commission (1971) which held that Britain and Smith could work out a settlement without African representation. The Greenhill mission to Rhodesia, led by Sir Denis Greenhill, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, (and including Miles Hudson, political secretary to Sir Alec and former Conservative Party official; and

Ronald Byatt, head of the Rhodesia section of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office) confirmed that the ANC still rejects the Home-Smith proposals of '71 and that the "African parties" emerging since then were no more than Smith's puppets being used to persuade Britain of African support for the proposals. Greenhill communicated to Smith that any settlement would have to be between him or his successor and the Africans. In Britain, it is felt that economic sanctions brought Smith to the negotiating table in 1971 and that tighter sanctions now will drive him there again.

Britain feels rather alone among its allies in properly observing sanctions and that as a member of the EEC it should get stronger support for this Rhodesian policy from other European nations, particularly France. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Canada, July 5, 1973)

MILITARY NEWS

Due to greatly increased pressure on the Rhodesia security forces by the freedom fighters, compulsory service for Rhodesian Whites has been extended. Older men (38 and up) are being put in the Territorial Army to release younger men for more active duty. The Rhodesian defense budget will go up to nearly \$45 million, representing about 13 per cent of the country's budget. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Sept., 1973)

Annual reports of the commanders of the Rhodesian Army and Air Force indicate a shortage of men and money. General P. Walls and Air Marshall A.O.G. Wilson stated that the expansion of the armed services will be difficult without more money and men—particularly white men, whose numbers in the armed services continue to drop. Pay rates, and conditions of service for Whites are causes for concern, though morale was "satisfactory." Experienced men are not remaining with the Army. The Air Marshall said crew strength was below establishment mainly because of high standards set for entrants and because trained men were leaving. (*Guardian*, London, June 20, 1973)

WHY NO ISRAELI-TYPE STRIKES?

After careful consideration, Ian Smith has rejected the idea of Rhodesia's bombing freedom fighter bases in Zambia as Israel did in neighboring countries. His main reason was that Rhodesia does not have friends to stand by her as Israel did. He said, "Without even resorting to this type of measure, our friends are not prepared to stand by us in our present predicament." (*Zambia Daily Mail*, May 22, 1973)

UCR STUDENTS ARRESTED Demonstrations in August at the University College of Rhodesia resulted in the detention of 155 African students. The students denounced racialism in the university and put forward a 10 point program, including equal opportunity in faculty appointments for Blacks and Whites and higher wages for African workers on the campus. Three hundred black students asked to see the Principal, Professor Craig, who refused to meet with them. Police were called in to disperse the crowd. When six students, including the Student Representative Council President, were expelled from the university, further demonstrations were held. Police with riot gear and dogs were called. Students picketed the room where the Disciplinary Committee was meeting then moved to the administration building and

stoned it. Arrests were made at that time. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, Sept. 1973)

POVERTY

Bulawayo's senior welfare officer reports that 70 per cent of employed urban Africans are living below the "bread line." The latest issue of the Rhodesia *Monthly Digest of Statistics* shows that the gap between European and African wages has grown since UDI in 1969 and 1971, the latest year with available data. These figures apply to the wages of employed persons only excluding those who have no earnings. The rate of unemployment among Africans is alarming, especially in the urban areas.

Average Wages of Europeans and Africans and Wage Gap:

	White	African	Gap
1965 R\$	2576	246	2330
1968	2836	272	2564
1971	3387	315	3072

R\$ = US\$1.40

(X-RAY, London, June, 1973)

SOME PROTESTANTS JOIN CATHOLIC PROTEST

Last December an amendment to the Land Tenure and African Affairs Acts in Rhodesia required non-Africans to obtain permits to enter "African areas" and visa versa. The Rhodesian Catholic Bishops Conference has stated that the amendments are contrary to basic human freedom and that they restrict the freedom of the church to carry on its work. An Anglican Bishop and sections of the Methodist Church have joined the Catholic protest. The Presbyterian Church, related to the Presbyterian church of South Africa, the Baptist Church and an Anglican clergyman in Rhodesia have stood by Smith's amendments. Others have kept quiet. Rev. Murray Albertyn, a Presbyterian minister, said there was great cooperation between the Rhodesian church and state, "The government does not exist for the detriment of the people, but for the government of all the people. Adjustments sometimes have to be made . . . that fall on people who have to go through an unfortunate experience at the time because of them, but the whole purpose is the ultimate good of all!" (*Ottawa Citizen*, June 16, *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, June 20, 1973)

MUZOREWA BANNED FROM PULPIT

In June the Dean of the Anglican Cathedral refused a request from the Salisbury Churches Joint Action Committee to invite Bishop Muzorewa to speak in the Cathedral during a service for church unity. The Dean said he did not want the cathedral to become a "political pulpit." (*Globe and Mail*, June 28, *Times of Zambia*, June 28, 1973)

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

MOVE TO NULLIFY BYRD AMENDMENT PROGRESSES

Legislation to nullify the Byrd Amendment which permits importing chrome from Rhodesia continues to gather support and to move slowly but steadily toward passage. Probabilities are that the Senate will pass S. 1868 by a safe majority soon. Heavy pressure from stainless steel makers and Union Carbide will make House passage of H.R. 8005 more difficult but it remains a distinct possibility.

Senate hearing on September 6 featured strong testimony by John Scali, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. He called U.S. violation of sanctions "the single most troublesome issue that I deal with at the United Nations." Not only had the Byrd Amendment violated charter obligations, according to Scali, it had alienated the 41 African nations out of all proportion to any alleged security or economic benefits. Scali cited difficulties in surrounding African votes on international "terrorism" and Puerto Rico.

Jack Sheehan, legislative director of United Steel workers, denied that sanctions had created any threat to the jobs of American steelworkers. He pointed to existing protective quota arrangements as sufficient to deal with threats from low-priced stainless imports. He called for restoration of sanctions and tighter implementation of them as a non-violent force for change in the unjust social conditions in Rhodesia.

Other pro-sanctions witnesses included Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom and Senators Kennedy and Javits. Thirty seven national church, labor, international relations, pan-African, black and civil rights groups have filed a supporting Call on Congress. Many filed more extensive support statements.

Strongest testimony against the repeal legislation came from E.F. Andrews of the stainless steel industry who claimed re-imposing sanctions would lead to "stratospheric" prices for ferrochrome and loss of domestic stainless steel markets to importers who use Rhodesian ferrochrome or ore. Andrews implied that sanctions had cost \$96 million a year, but he failed to establish any direct causal link between sanctions and rising ferrochrome prices. The Washington Office on Africa pointed out in a rebuttal statement that price savings in 1972 due to the Byrd Amendment probably amounted to less than one per cent of the cost of production and were more than compensated for by devaluation of the dollar.

Meanwhile under Scali's urging, Administration figures added cautious but valuable support. At Foreign Relations Committee hearings on his confirmation the following day, Henry Kissinger stated tersely: "The administration will support the repeal of the Byrd Amendment."

EXIMBANK LOANS TO PORTUGAL REVEALED

In concluding the Azores agreement of 1971, Secretary of State Rogers offered \$400 million of Eximbank financing for "certain development projects in Portugal" to assure the U.S. of continued use of their military base on the Azores Islands, controlled by Portugal. Eximbank classifies loans to Angolan and Mozambican projects as African rather than Portuguese and hence not part of the Azores deal. At the same time new revelations of Eximbank loans to "Portugal" tend to show possible implications for Portuguese colonial development in Africa. Eximbank announced on August 9th that it had authorized a direct loan of \$12 million to finance 40 per cent of the purchase by TAP, Portugal's government air carrier, of a Boeing 747, for delivery June 1974. TAP now flies 747's to Lisbon with connections to Africa. TAP 707's have carried Portuguese troops to Portugal's African wars in the past. If runways were to be enlarged, 747's could also be used.

In 1972 Eximbank had announced loans to assist in the sale of 12 four-seat Bell helicopters for use in the Cabora Bassa project and six light planes manufactured by Rockwell International for allegedly private commercial use. Earlier this summer the bank announced it was providing loans to support sale of 22 General Electric locomotives to Mozambique and equipment to help General Tire establish a tire factory in Lourenco Marques.

Metropolitan Portugal also will benefit from American loans. Eximbank announced on September 11 a direct loan of \$3.5 million to help finance a \$7 million purchase of equipment for a pulp and paper mill by two Portuguese corporations. Earlier, at the end of 1972, Eximbank advanced \$7.5 million in a line of credit to Sociedade Financeira Portuguesa of Lisbon to finance purchases of U.S. goods by small and medium-sized buyers. (Eximbank releases, Aug. 9, Sept. 11, 1973; *Observer*, London, Aug. 12, 1973)

The role of Export-Import Bank finance in supporting the white regimes of Southern Africa has recently been a matter of controversy. The Bank has been under particular pressure from Representative Charles Diggs (Democrat, Michigan), chairperson of the House Subcommittee on Africa. The government prohibits the Bank from granting direct loans to South Africa, although the Bank does provide guarantees for loans from private American sources to South African importers. Export-Import Bank loans and guarantees are available for importers in Angola and Mozambique, although the Johnson Administration decided not to allow the Bank to help U.S. firms who wanted to participate in the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique. (Bruce Oudes, "U.S. trains Lisbon's pilots," *Observer*, London, Aug. 12, 1973)

HEARINGS BEGIN ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES BILL

Don Edwards' Subcommittee No. 4 of the House Judiciary Committee began its hearings on September 20 on Charles Diggs' bill to require U.S. corporations to abide by equal employment practices in their operations in South Africa and Namibia in order to be eligible for U.S. federal contracts. In order to make the bill more acceptable to the Subcommittee, Mr. Diggs stressed in his testimony the leeway in South African law which would enable corporations to comply with the bill, and the

interest of the South African Government in continued U.S. investment and in trying to maintain a positive international image.

Mr. Diggs testified that the power of the South African Government in regard to the wages, fringe benefits, hiring, training opportunities, and opportunity for advancement to supervisory and higher positions was not statutory, but discretionary, and that "the power to exercise that discretion invested in the central government which has an interest in cooperating with United States business for political reasons, international public relations reasons as well as economic reasons." During the question period, Mr. Diggs also said that he had "seen alot just this year happening in the attitude of the minority of the population and the majority of the population" in South Africa, and that there is "a slowly emerging realization even in the majority political party that unless there is some kind of accomodation or adjustment [along the lines of this legislation] . . . that the alternative is something that no one wants to contemplate."

He emphasized that this bill is directed at preventing discrimination in areas "where the employer has control." Although U.S. corporations profit from the South African laws which provide them with a large, unorganized pool of Black laborers who are split from their families, are harassed by the police, and can be banished to their "homelands" if they are fired from their jobs, Mr. Diggs stated that for the purposes of this bill, "the employer would not be held responsible for the vast discrimination in South Africa resulting from, say, the homelands policy, influx controls, pass law regulations, the Group Areas Act, or the unequal educational opportunities provided by the government under the Bantu Education Act."

Charles Diggs specific that H.J. Res 269 is concerned "primarily with the practices of the employer rather than his procedure." Thus, the bill does not challenge the fact that under South African law white workers can bargain collectively with U.S. corporations to determine fair wages and working conditions, but that black workers have no power over the determination of fair work standards.

Several members of the Committee asked about the likely reaction to this bill by U.S. companies, to which Congressman Diggs replied that some companies have exemplary practices in the United States and that this bill would "give them an umbrella" to implement these practices where they might be hesitant to otherwise.

The State Department provided the members of the Subcommittee with a document concluding that South African law would prevent U.S. corporations from carrying out certain provisions of the bill.

GLASSMAKERS INDICTED FOR AID TO PORTUGAL

The Libbey-Owens-Ford Company of Toledo, Ohio, has been charged by a federal Grand Jury with illegally exporting to Portugal bulletproof windows for armoured vehicles. The company was indicted on ten counts on September 25 at the U.S. District Court in Toledo.

A company spokesman has said the case involves shipments during 1970 of over two thousand bullet resistant glass blocks about ten inches wide and four inches thick. The blocks are encased in steel and they are used primarily as windows in armoured vehicles. Windows

of this type are on the U.S. government's munitions list and require a State Department license for export.

Five of the counts against the company are for export of these items without proper clearance. The other five counts relate to the falsification of export documents. The company apparently attempted to escape scrutiny by using the phrase "laminated safety glass" in referring to shipments.

Nine months ago, the Chrysler corporation faced similar charges by a Federal Grand Jury in Detroit. Chrysler was charged with shipping 100 military engines to Portugal without proper clearance in 1968 and 1970.

In May of 1972 two Detroit men a a Portuguese Major were indicted for plotting to give Portugal blueprints and a prototype for an armoured amphibious vehicle. The vehicle was one built by Cadillac Gage Company and was extensively used in Vietnam. (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, Sept. 27, 1973 and *Southern Africa*, March, 1973)

U.S. TRAINS LISBON'S PILOTS

Bruce Oudes in the August 12 London *Observer* reports disclosures by the U.S. Pentagon to Representative Charles Diggs, chairperson of the House Africa Subcommittee. For the past three years Portuguese Air Force officers, mostly fighter pilots, have been receiving training at U.S. bases in Germany. Besides 79 who were trained in Germany, an additional 25 were sent to the United States for short courses, usually of only a few weeks duration. One such course taught Portuguese fighter pilots the U.S. techniques in flying combat support missions.

According to Oudes, the U.S. trained only 27 Portuguese Air Force officers during the period 1963-1970. The Pentagon did not explain who authorized the increase, and declined to indicate how many of the officer/pilots had subsequently served in Portugal's African wars, saying such a disclosure would be an embarrassment to U.S./Portuguese relations.



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

UNITED STATES

AMAX FAMILY BRINGS SUIT AGAINST AMAX

Eleven descendants of the founder of Climax Molybdenum Company (later American Metal Climax Corporation) have filed a suit in the State Superior Court of California charging the company with "Malfeasance" because of payments from its Namibian subsidiary (Tsumeb Corporation, some 29.9% owned by AMAX) to the illegal occupier of the territory, South Africa. The 11 hold 38,000 shares of stock, and have called upon the AMAX directors to pay the company more than \$1 million in damages for wasting its assets by paying taxes to South Africa. Lawyers for the family have asked U.S. Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, to intervene on behalf of the plaintiffs in accordance with U.S. Government policy toward Namibia which offers no protection to U.S. companies in that country at the future time when South Africa's illegal rule is terminated. (*Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1973)

BLACK PUBLISHERS DEBATE GULF ISSUE

As noted in earlier issues of *SOUTHERN AFRICA*, Gulf Oil has launched a direct and well financed campaign to win "the hearts and minds" of the Black community in the U.S. A recent example was an alleged offer by the company to pay for a reception for the Black Publishers Association at its upcoming conference in Pittsburgh. But members of the Association's executive requested a discussion of the issue at the Executive meeting in New York on the weekend of September 15. At the meeting Lucius Walker of IFCO and Owusu Sadaukai, formerly head of the African Liberation Support Committee, spoke to the group about Gulf and other issues related to Africa, particularly the Black community response to the Sahelian famine in Western Africa. The final decision on Gulf's relations with the Black association is still unclear.

WEST COAST PROTEST ON HOLDINGS

School Supervisor Quentin Kopp has demanded that the San Francisco City retirement funds eliminate all holdings in companies with investments in South Africa. Some \$90 million of the total Fund's \$575 million invested are in such companies. The President of the Retirement Fund Board replied to the request saying that the retirement system is only organized to "make as much money...as we can..." (*San Francisco Chronicle* September, 1973)

JEWISH "VOICE" CONDEMNS RACISM

"We wish to add a Jewish voice, of rabbis and laymen, to condemn apartheid and allied forms of racism..." reads the one page advertisements placed in the

September *Worldview* signed by 11 rabbis and 3 Jewish laymen. The statement describes in detail the nature of apartheid and oppression in Southern Africa and peoples resistance and protest there. It warns that to not combat the situation there "would make us accomplices to evil." "It is the moral duty of all men to protest and assist them [Africans] to regain their freedom." For more information, write, Rabbi Andre Ungar, 22 Chimney Ridge, Westwood, New Jersey, 07675.

INTERNATIONAL

EUROPEAN NOTES

Portugal's presence at the 54th National Swiss Trade Fair in Lausanne helped local action groups to make known Portugal's wars in Africa. Demonstrations, seminars, film-shows took place in all the principle cities of *Switzerland*, involving trade-unions, church-groups, students, political parties, etc.

What incensed Swiss public opinion most was the recent revelation of Portuguese atrocities in the colonies, and that Portugal was invited by the Swiss Government as an "honored guest". They could not stop Portugal from participating in the fair, but certainly made use of its presence to publicise Portugal's colonial wars in Africa. (*Journal de Geneve*, Sept. 3, 1973; also Sept. 10, 1973).

N.B.: For readers knowing French, a book just published on Swiss-Portuguese relations appeared: "Suisse-Portugal: De L'Europe A L'Afrique", published by CETIM, 27 Chemin des Crets-de-Pregny, CH-1218 Grand-Saconnex, Geneva.

German political circles have been alive with the issue of the Federal Government's policy toward Portuguese Africa. After the FRELIMO delegation's official visit to Germany in August, where meetings occurred with the Social Democratic Party, more groups began to emerge with actions to support FRELIMO and oppose present government relations with Southern African regimes. Evangelical Lutheran and Catholic groups have accelerated actions. The West German Government continues to deny, particularly to its diplomatic corps in South Africa and Portugal, official links to aid FRELIMO. Political groups, socialists, communists, and social democrats, have all urged end of trade, financial and diplomatic linkages.

Three *British* physicists have named a newly discovered nuclear particle after South African African National Congress militants, Nelson Mandela who is incarcerated on Robben Island and his wife, Winnie Mandela. (*Sechaba*, London, August, 1973)

CHURCH ACTIONS

German theological students have criticized the President of the Conference of German Bishops for his

pro-Portuguese sympathies and his reference to FRELIMO as a "terror" organization. (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 2, 1973)

Canon Burgess Carr, Secretary General of the All African Council of Churches, met with Pope Paul VI on June 25. It was reported that Carr planned to discuss what he considers to be the outmoded Concordat between the Vatican and Portugal which works adversely to prevent independence in the Portuguese colonies. (*Agence France Presse*, June 15, 1973)

The Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church has protested against the Portuguese crimes in Mozambique. (*Agence France Presse*, August 2, 1973)

AFRICAN VOICES ON MOZAMBIQUE MASSACRES

The Government of Ghana issued a statement following the recent revelation of the Portuguese soldiers' massacre at Wiriyamu. (See *Southern Africa*, August-September, 1973) calling for an end to all NATO aid to Portugal and expressing horror and dismay at the killings. (*West Africa*, Nigeria, June 30, 1973). Zambia also released a strong condemnatory statement supporting British opposition to the Caetano visit. (See *Southern Africa*, Aug.-Sept., October, 1973) Zambian students at several universities have offered to fight with FRELIMO forces. (*Times of Zambia*, July 17, 1973)

ANTI-PORTUGUESE ACTIONS

The Portuguese Consulate in Wales was bombed in August, while one in Trinidad received similar treatment in late July. The Overseas Ministry of Australia has decided to drop official relations with a Portuguese Trade Mission due to arrive in September. The policy came after pressures from the Australian Council of Churches and student groups. (*Diario de Noticias*, Portugal, July 26; *International Herald Tribune* August 3, and *Star*, Johannesburg, September 18, 1973).

LIBERATION AID

The Los Angeles based Pan African Law Center gave FRELIMO a video tape recorder worth some \$2000 at a presentation in Tanzania during the summer. The recorder was purchased at discount in the U.S. (*Daily News*, Tanzania, July 26, 1973). Tanzania and Malagasy issued a joint statement calling for more support for liberation in Southern Africa after the Foreign Minister of Tanzania, John Malecela, spent a week in the island republic. (*Times of Zambia*, June 30, 1973)

In Mid-September Reverend John Burgess, Bishop of Massachusetts announced that the PAIGC-USA, formerly PAIGC Support Committee has been awarded an unconditional grant for \$18,900. This grant was given under the General Convention Special Program Committee of the Episcopal Church. The money will be spent toward informing the 300,000 Cape Verdeans in the United States about the struggle in Africa and to "mount an all out effort" for food, clothing, and medicines for the war area. (*Providence Journal*, Rhode Island, September 19, 1973)

THE WFDY VISITS GUINEA BISSAU

At the end of May a delegation from the World Federation of Democratic Youth visited the liberated zones of Guinea Bissau. Part of their visit was in the Boe region where they visited the PAIGC Military School.



WFDY delegation

The WFDY intends to show its solidarity by sending a brigade of young doctors to work in the liberated areas. A French doctor, Jacqueline Genet has already arrived for her work. The brigade bears the name of the heroic Cuban revolutionary, Julio Antonio Mella. In addition they have sent school equipment, microscopes, and pharmaceuticals. (WFDY News, No. 6-7).

BRITISH COMMITTEE ENDS WAGE INQUIRY

The Trade and Industry Sub-Committee of the House of Commons finished its public hearings on the role of British corporate practices in South Africa on July 12. The Select Committee which began on May 15 has directly heard from 28 corporate executives and received written material from some 100 more. The inquiry followed the British Guardian exposé of bad wages and working conditions provided by British companies. "British commercial morality has never been so mercilessly examined", commented the *Times* (London) on the cross examining of heads of prominent corporations.

The themes of the hearings included a discussion of the use of the poverty datum line as a minimum wage level (some companies claimed to have no accurate estimate of the PDL; others said that the level applied only to more than 1 wage earner per family and thus justified lower than PDL wages). William Rogers, the Labour MP who chaired the hearings, suggested that perhaps British companies could mutually work out some PDL levels. Others have criticized the PDL, including the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the liberation movements, as a non-living wage and thus unacceptable as a minimum standard.

Also discussed were the relationship between British and South African management, and benefit schemes. Some interesting trends have emerged including the general black wage increases prompted by the public exposure, but also the tendency to raise white wages proportionately so that disparity between Blacks and Whites remains stable. Most companies spent time rationalizing their positions in South Africa.

The Select Committee had planned to visit South Africa to continue its inquiry but will not be allowed in. Adam Raphael of the *Guardian*, who first exposed the wage situation, commented that the British Government is glad to have the trip put aside and the inquiry over, as a too vigorous Committee would have perhaps imperilled British-South African trade links. (*Guardian*, July 26, 1973) 50 Conservative Party MPs have issued a statement opposing the initial inquiry.

It is significant that although the Select Committee was refused permission to visit, it appears that members of the Trade Union Congress (TUC) of Britain and the AFL-CIO of the United States will be allowed to go to South Africa in October or November. The invitation has been extended by the Trade Union Congress of South Africa (TUCSA), a predominately white union. Arthur Grobbelar of the TUCSA sees the trip for the Western unionists as a time for them to examine working conditions in South

Africa and to test the feasibility of "internal" change. The trip portends an emphasis on the part of white "liberals" to advocate, as did Parliamentarian Rogers, the formation of black unions in South Africa, with an emphasis on the internal reformability of corporate practices, the line taken by U.S. companies as well. The African National Congress of South Africa has strongly condemned TUCSA's moves to legitimize their position as spokesmen for Black workers.

In South Africa students and lecturers at the University of Cape Town have set up a "Wages and Economics Commission" producing papers on workers wages/conditions etc. These can be received for \$37.50/year, from the Student Representatives Council University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, Cape, South Africa. (*Times*, London, July 12; *Guardian*, UK, July 11, 12, 26, 30; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 7, 1973)

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book reviews

Naboth Mokgatle, *The Autobiography of an Unknown South African*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971. \$7.95.

Those who pick up this book to read should not be put off by the slow pace and extensive detail of the first few chapters, which start Mokgatle's autobiography in a properly African manner, with his ancestors. The detail begins to build a fascinating portrait of this man, and the pace soon quickens as he is born, grows up in a tribal setting, leaves home to seek work, and finally ends up in Pretoria as a trade union leader and a key figure in African protest politics. The theme is one of growing up and coming to consciousness in South Africa. As he moves away from his home village, first to a small town, and then to Pretoria, he becomes aware of a wider world whose primary feature is the oppression of Africans, embodied particularly in the pass laws.

The pass laws seem to haunt Mokgatle's life, as he moves from job to job. They spark his growing political consciousness as he begins to defy them, and to court arrest. During his years as a labor organizer in Pretoria, he says, he was so frequently arrested that the police wagon came to be known as "Mokgatle's taxi". Although receiving only two years of school at his village mission school, he trained himself in law which enabled him to defend the countless workers who had been declared ineligible to remain in the urban area, or faced other problems with their passes.

It was the Communist Party which provided the political education that guided his work, and reinforced his commitment to fight against the white regime. But his stance towards that party was never uncritical, as shown by his refusal to join during the period of the Second World War when Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union still maintained a non-aggression pact. The enemy was fascism, he was convinced, both abroad and in South Africa, and it was an enemy that should be opposed without compromise.

Mokgatle was also critical of the leadership of the African National Congress during the late 1940's and early 1950's, when he was working in Pretoria. ANC's reluctance to move towards militant action, and acceptance for a time of the Native Representative Council, both struck him as wrong. The defiance campaign of 1952, in which ANC volunteers disobeyed unjust laws and then submitted to arrest, struck him as subject to one major flaw. The ANC chose small numbers of volunteers, which could easily be dealt with by police. Mokgatle thought that large numbers should be mobilized, and all the possible volunteers accepted, to throw every possible obstacle into the spokes of apartheid.

Mokgatle's political career ended in South Africa when police harassment, arrests, and bannings reached the point that he concluded he could do no more effective work. The Communist Party had disbanded in response to the Suppression of Communism act. Mokgatle gives no hint that there was any possibility for him to move from open

political involvement to clandestine work. His choice was to leave the country, becoming from 1954 on an exile in London. There he wrote this book, a picture of one black South African's life.

O. Akuenje and H. Hamutenya, *Namibia. Some light on the struggle for National Liberation*. Booklet, 35¢

A new short history of Namibia and peoples' struggle has appeared, written by two South West African Peoples Organization militants, H. Hamutenya and O. Akuenje. The 20 page booklet includes a concise history, economic facts (including information on the Kunene Dam Project), a chronological review of the progress of the armed struggle, and finally a survey of the three main elements of internal Namibian struggle; workers, youth and the religious community. The pamphlet explains the relationship between armed struggle and political development. The booklet concludes: "... the national liberation struggle has acquired deep-going and broadening dimensions. There is, in the first place the positive development of SWAPO's armed struggle. The heroic exploits of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia provides a constant source of inspiration to the Namibian masses. That is to say, these exploits constitute a powerful stimulus to mass political action. Thus guerrilla action in the rural areas of northern Namibia is now linked to a strong workers' movement in the industrial centers of southern and central Namibia ... the Namibian people are determined to achieve their liberation. They deserve solidarity and support from all men of goodwill."

Booklet available from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., NY, NY 10016. 35 cents.

BOOKS RECEIVED:

Listing in this space does not preclude later review.

1. Faber, M. L. O. and J. G. Potter, *Towards Economic Independence: Papers on the Nationalization of the Copper Industry in Zambia*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971. Cloth \$8.50. Paper \$3.95.
2. Weinrich, A. K. H., *Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973. L3.60.
3. Wilson, Francis, *Labor in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972. \$14.95.



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