

Madison Area
Committee on
Southern Africa

731 State Street
Madison, Wisconsin
53703

No.19 Sept.-October, 1972

MACSA NEWS FORCED TO SUBSCRIPTION BASIS

SEND \$2 NOW TO STAY ON LIST
(details on page 2)

SUBSCRIPTION AND CONTRIBUTION FORM

Return to: Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa
731 State Street
Madison, Wis., 53703

Name:
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Date:

Address good until:

I enclose: \$2 for one-year of MACSA News \$ _____
Contribution to MACSA _____
Contribution to PAIGC _____
Undesignated contrib. to lib. movmnts. _____

Total _____

_____ I can't spare \$2.00 but intend to be active on southern Africa issues and want very much to stay on the MACSA News mailing list.

MACSA NEWS FORCED TO SUBSCRIPTION BASIS

SEND \$2 NOW TO STAY ON LIST

1 MACSA News subscriptions will be October to October. This is your first issue for 1972-1973. Send \$2.00 immediately to subscribe if you wish to keep receiving this newsletter. Supplementary contributions will enable us to send courtesy subscriptions to persons who really don't have the \$2 and to persons such as Congressmen from Wisconsin and the Black Caucus in Congress whom we want to have receive it.

Finances force this change from a free to a subscription basis for MACSA News. Previously only libraries have paid. (Library rate remains \$5.00). Moving the MACSA office to 731 State Street also meant total autonomy from the University YWCA which had previously housed us. We can no longer use their non-profit 3rd class mailing permit. We must have our own ordinary 3rd class bulk mailing permit at nearly triple the cost per piece for postage.

After long discussion about the purpose of MACSA News, we did decide it should continue. We see it as supplementing other existing publications on Southern Africa rather than duplicating, and as reaching some persons whom the others would not. MACSA News has a double purpose: (1) to educate about Southern Africa by highlighting major happenings there, by providing an outlet for current analysis and research by MACSA people, and by recurrently focusing on Wisconsin's ties with Southern Africa; and (2) to keep people informed about MACSA and what it is doing and arouse their interest in doing more themselves. Half of the people in the discussion said they had become active in MACSA because of being on the MACSA News mailing list.

Specific costs for this one issue of the MACSA News (for which we will have to get a loan) are estimated as follows:

Application for postal permit	\$15
1972 Registration Fee(postal permit)	30
(due again in January for 1973)	
Postal Permit Account Deposit	30
(enough to cover current mailing)	
Paper and printing	13
	<u>\$88</u>

We intend to publish monthly, with the issue arriving the first week of each month, just before the monthly general meeting of MACSA. Each issue should cost \$40-50, even if we retain a mimeograph format.

Current finances for MACSA as a whole are as follows:

<u>CASH ON HAND</u> : checking plus cash 9/27/72	\$45.61
of which funds designated for lib. movements	21.00
BALANCE of operating cash	<u>\$24.64</u>
<u>BILLS OUTSTANDING</u> (before this <u>MACSA News</u>)	
Speed Print (pamphlet and flyers)	\$111.00
American Committee on Africa (lit.)	16.20
Minter loan (postage and office supplies)	14.00
Christian Action Publications Ltd. (lit.)	13.34
Southern Africa Committee (lit. and posters)	8.50
University YWCA (postage)	5.34
	<u>\$168.38</u>
CURRENT DEFICIT	\$143.74

R.Minter

MEETINGS SCHEDULE

Political Education Committee Meetings Thursdays at 7:30 P.M.
Fund-Raising Committee Meetings(variable-call Bill Minter at 241-1137)

WEST-AFRICA-ANOTHER VIETNAM?

and

MADINA BOE

Two films done inside Guinea-Bissau with the P.A.I.G.C. (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands). One a British documentary (1968), the other a Cuban film (1967). They include intimate portrait of lives of guerrillas, of life in free Guinea; interviews with PAIGC leaders, attacks on Portuguese garrisons at Boe and at Buba.

- Oct. 6- Both films- 7:30 at MACSA meeting, 731 State Street, in main lounge. Films will be separated by time for discussion and organization of MACSA canvassers, to visit mailing list people for contributions to the PAIGC. ALL ACTIVE MACSA PERSONS EXPECTED TO HELP WITH CANVASSING AND SHOULD ATTEND THIS MEETING (or contact Selina Kunene in advance so she will know you intend to help canvass)
- Oct. 8- Both films- 8 and 10 p.m.- Green Lantern Eating Co-op, 604 University Ave. Benefit for PAIGC. Donations accepted.
- Oct. 10- West Africa, Another Vietnam? only 1 p.m. at Afro-American Community Services Center, 1120 W. Johnson.
- Oct. 11- Both films- 8 p.m. at 6104 Soc. Science- sponsored by the Africa Studies Program. Discussion afterwards and a person will be present to accept contributions for PAIGC.
- Oct. 12- Madina Boe- only 1 p.m. at Afro-American Community Services Center, 1120 W. Johnson.
- Oct. 16- West Africa, Another Vietnam? only at 8 PM in Great Hall, Memorial Union, in Political Films Festival of Union Films Committee. A person will be present to accept donations to the PAIGC.

We expect also to have at least two showings in churches and one with high school students. Details are not yet firm on these however. Call Ruth Minter 241-1137 if interested.

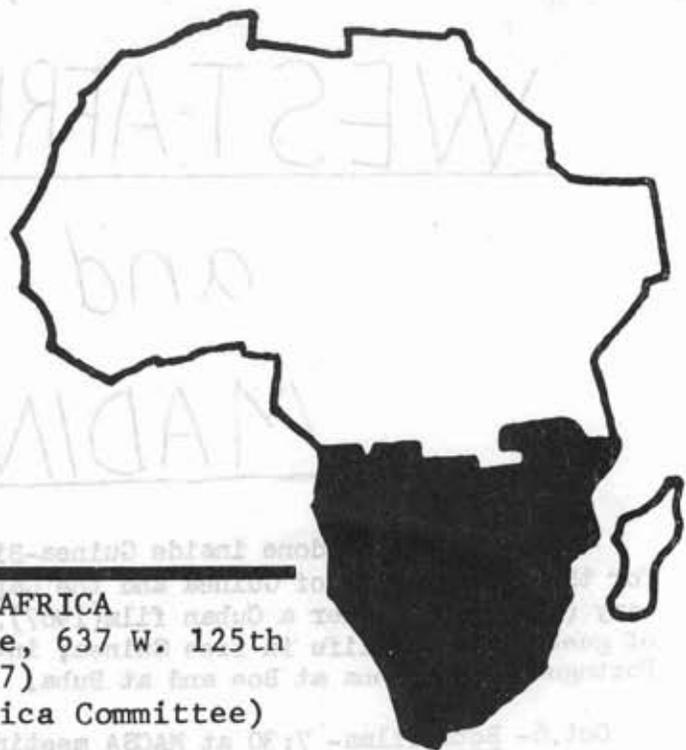
During October, we hope to raise \$2000 to be sent to the PAIGC for educational and medical needs inside Guinea-Bissau. See the films. Give as much as you can. The U.S. has given \$400 million to aid Portuguese oppression. Can you give for freedom? Participating Groups:

Afro-American Community Services Center
Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa
Movement for Political and Economic Democracy

Want to help teach a course on southern Africa?

West High School is having an Interim program, January 18th through the 26th. Normal classes for Juniors and Seniors are being cancelled. MACSA is teaching a class on Southern Africa. If anyone would be interested in help, either in running it or as a resource person please call Dan Kunene at 238-0503. Anyone just interested in Interim or would like to teach something call 238-0291 Extension 67.

SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

BLANK FOR ORDERING SOUTHERN AFRICA

(return to: Southern Africa Committee, 637 W. 125th
St., New York, N.Y. 10027)

(make checks payable to Southern Africa Committee)

SOUTHERN AFRICA is the only regular publication (10 issues/yr.) of its kind in North America. Compiled from more than 100 news sources in Europe, Africa and the U.S. and written by 15 members of the Southern Africa Committee, the newsletter covers international and internal affairs related to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories. Regular features include news on churches, Liberation Movements, U.S. foreign policy, actions on the local and international levels, sports and culture, defense, the U.N., and economics. The 24 page magazine began as an action news sheet following the illegal U.D.I. in Rhodesia, and continues to be used as an organizing tool for groups concerned with Southern Africa, especially for corporate campaigns and liberation movement support work.

RATES: Libraries: \$10.00 per year
Other Institutions (i.e. churches, associations): \$7.50
Air Mail Rates: (postage only - does not include subscription)
Africa & Asia, \$9.00/yr., Europe & Latin America, \$7.00/yr.
Caribbean & Central America, \$5.00/yr.
Bulk Orders: 1-10 copies, 50¢ each; 11-100 copies, 25¢ each.
Back Issues: (xeroxing costs etc.) \$1.50 per issue, \$15/yr.

Southern Africa has no subscription rate for individuals but we do ask that in order to cover our costs that \$3.00 be contributed each year by those who can support our work financially. Thank you.

Enclosed is \$ _____ for SOUTHERN AFRICA. (Please indicate type of subscription or donation, mailing costs etc.)

Name: _____ Date: _____
(institution, library, individual)

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

WHAT CAN WE DO?

In addition to assistance from African and Socialist countries, international material support has come from the ruling Social Democratic party of Sweden, the Labor Party of England, and support groups in other countries around the world. We hope to raise \$2,000 to be sent to the PAIGC headquarters in Conakry, Republic of Guinea. This money is to be used for educational and medical needs in the liberated areas. Bombed schools must be rebuilt. Napalm burns need to be treated.

1) Send contributions to:

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA)
731 State Street
Madison 53703

2) Plan to attend the films and benefit dance in October.

Dates and locations to be announced.

3) Help canvass for donations.

4) Buy the literature available from MACSA. Inform yourselves and let other people know what is going on in Guinea.

5) Demand that U.S. aid to Portugal be stopped.

PARTICIPATING GROUPS

Afro-American Community Services Center

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa (MACSA)

Movement for Political and Economic Democracy (MPED)

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. HAS GIVEN \$400
MILLION FOR PORTUGUESE OPPRESSION
CAN YOU GIVE \$5 (OR MORE) FOR FREEDOM?**



GUINEA — UNDER N.A.T.O. BOMBS

FINAL PUSH IN GUINEA BISSAU!

"Africa is more than an area to be exploited. Africa is for us a morally just cause and our 'raison d'etre' as a state. Without Africa we would be a small nation; with Africa we are a big power."

(from a speech of 8-4-70 by Portuguese dictator, Caetano)

There are three Portuguese colonies in mainland Africa: Mozambique, Angola, and "Portuguese" Guinea (Guinea-Bissau). Each is waging a war of national liberation against Western Europe's most anachronistic and impoverished country. Portugal has usurped and misdirected the human and natural resources of its colonies in the interests of its own ruling class. The wealth extracted has served not the colonized but the colonizers, the state-subsidized Portuguese domestic monopolies and their financial backers, and the foreign multinational monopolies as well.

The colony in which the struggle has made the most progress is Guinea. Under the leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the vast majority of the 800,000 Africans (as compared with 3,000 Portuguese settlers) actively support the Revolution. About 2/3 of the countryside has been liberated from the colonialists since the beginning of armed resistance in 1963.

UNDER THE YOKE - "PORTUGUESE" GUINEA

The recourse to war is a response to the more than 500 years of Portuguese domination. The conquest of this small West African colony began in an effort to secure from that part of Africa what eventually amounted to over 2 million slaves for use on the sugar plantations of another Portuguese colony, Brazil. Since the abolition of slavery Guinea, along with the other Portuguese colonies, has served Portugal in other ways: as a source of cheap raw materials, as a preferential market for Portuguese manufactures, and as a source of foreign exchange earnings from primary product exports.

What have been the benefits of the Portuguese occupation for the inhabitants of Guinea?

- 1) an illiteracy rate of 99.
- 2) one doctor per 100,000 Africans
- 3) 99.5% of Africans without political or civil rights
- 4) forced cultivation of rice and peanuts for export, in spite of recurrent famine
- 5) labor conscription
- 6) heavy taxation



PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM FACES DEFEAT!

THE PROMISE OF INDEPENDENT GUINEA-BISSAU

In the liberated zones, in addition to eliminating the exploitive colonial economic system, the PAIGC is creating effective political and social developmental institutions and programs. In the midst of war and handicapped by lack of resources the Party has:

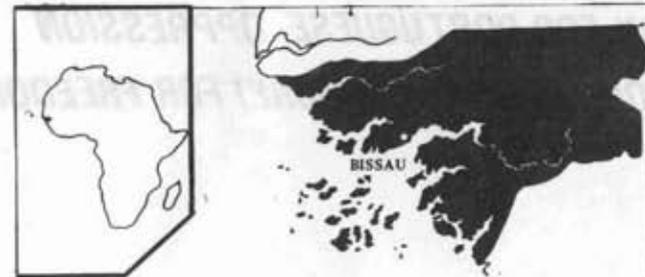
- 1) increased the number of students from 2,000 to 16,000 and the quantity of schools from 56 to 160.
- 2) trained over 300 para-medical personnel abroad and created 30 to 40 rural clinics.
- 3) organized democratically-elected village committees and village courts.
- 4) incorporated sexual equality into its institutions.
- 5) created village consumer cooperatives.
- 6) eliminated oppressive colonial taxes and forced labor.

WHAT'S AT STAKE?

Recently a United Nations fact-finding mission was sent into the liberated area of Guinea. Its conclusions were that the PAIGC should be recognized as the legitimate and sole representative of the people of Guinea-Bissau, that the liberation struggle should be aided materially by the U. N. agencies and member states, and that Portugal's continued repression and colonial war should be censured.

Currently Portugal has an armed force of 170,000 in the three colonies - 40,000 fighting in Guinea. 40% of the national budget is allocated to the military. The only way this nation of 9 million has been able to sustain such an effort has been through the support of its allies - the NATO countries, South Africa, and Rhodesia. The "arsenal of imperialism", the United States, furnishes much of the weaponry (despite official denials), some counter-insurgency training for Portuguese officers, and substantial financial aid. Only this year the administration signed a new agreement for over \$400 million in aid to Portugal.

Guinea-Bissau is a small country. But it serves as an outpost of white domination and western control in Africa. Together with Portugal's Azores Islands, Guinea-Bissau (with the Cape Verde Islands) provides a strategic base for NATO's dominance of the Atlantic Ocean. The white powers of Africa see it as the first domino that must not be allowed to fall. Liberation in Guinea-Bissau is thus a significant step for liberation of the African continent as a whole, and for the rest of the world as well.



LITERATURE ORDER BLANK

9/30/72

Return to: Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 731 State St., Madison,
Wisconsin 53703

Bulk orders: discount available but possible only on items with asterisk (*)

Discount: 10% on all orders totaling \$6.00 or more - if requested.

number cost

South Africa:

American Corporate Investments in South Africa(1969 list ACOA)	0.10
The American Corporation in South Africa by Timothy Smith	0.50
Apartheid And Imperialism (Af.Today)	0.50
Arms and Apartheid (IDAF)	0.25
A Businessman Looks at Apartheid by Neil Wates	0.05
Church Project on U.S.Investments in S'n Africa (3/72)	free
Churchmen Report on U.S.Business in S'n Africa by Charles Diggs to House of Representatives (Cong.Record)	free
Cutler-Hammer:Global Understanding through Electronic Warfare (C V-Milw.)	0.10
General Electric:Apartheid & Business in South Africa(CIC)	0.65
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Powers Behind Apartheid by G. Fasulo (ARG)	0.50
Racism in Sport by C. de Broglio (IDAF)	0.25
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Simonstown Agreements by M.J.Christie (Af.Bur.)	0.50
South Africa and Apartheid (CSPP)	0.15
*South Africa and Israel (MACSA)	0.30
South Africa's Defence Strategy by Minty (AAM)	0.75
Standard of Living of Africans in South Africa by Barbara Rogers (U.N.)	free
U.S.Business & Southern Africa (Soc.Act.1972)	0.25
Workers Under Apartheid by A. Hepple (IDAF)	0.75

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

Interview: George Nyandoro of ZAPU (ISM)	0.25
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Rhodesia or Zimbabwe:No Middle Ground (ACOA)	0.10
Rhodesia:White Judge's Burden by Mervyn Jones (IDAF)	0.60
Rhodesia:White Supremacy (CSPP)	0.10
Rhodesia:Why Minority Rule Survives (IDAF)	0.50
Rhodesian Chrome:Profile Union Carbide & Foote Mineral(CIC)	0.30
Zimbabwe - Our Heritage (ZAPU)	0.10

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Namibia: The Struggle for Liberation (WCC)	0.50
Namibia: U.S.Corporate Involvements (ACOA, WCC)	0.50
Resistance to Apartheid:South Africa & Namibia (CSPP)	0.10
Southwest Africa Information Sheet 1967 (ACOA)	0.05
Statement by Herman ja Toivo (SWAPO)	0.10
Strike in Namibia 1971 (ACOA Fact Sheet)	0.10
3-part article on Namibia by MACSA in Daily Cardinal 1972	0.15
Namibia flyers by MACSA spring 1972	free

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General Southern Africa & Other Africa

*Is Southern Africa Wisconsin's Business? (MACSA) 0.50
Luta/Struggle (CRV) 0.35
Southern Africa (Q.7 WSCF) 0.25
Class Struggle in Africa by S. Amin (ARG) 0.50
Repression in Ethiopia by Ethiop.Stds in N. Am. (ARG) 0.20
Southern Africa:Monthly Survey (samples) free

Portugal and Its Colonies

Allies in Empire: U.S. & Portugal in Africa (Af.Tod.) 0.50
Dependency & Underdevelopment Consequences of Portugal
in Africa (RGLPA) 2.00
Portugal and NATO (Ang.Com.) 0.50
Portugal's Wars in Africa by Ruth First (IDAF) 0.50
Rome Conference & the Portuguese Puppet (WSCF Q.5) 0.45
War on Three Fronts (CFMAG) 0.50

Angola

Angola in Arms (pub.of MPLA) recent issues 0.50
Angola: Ten Years of Heroic Struggle (SAC) 0.05
Coffee for Holland Means Blood for Angola (Ang.Com.) 0.35
MPLA Interview:Daniel Chipenda (LSM) 0.50
MPLA Interview: Seta Likambuila (LSM) 0.75
MPLA Interview: Spartacus Moniambu (LSM) 0.35
MPLA Medical Assistance Services (LSM) 0.50
Survey of Med. Asst. Services Inside Liberated Angola (SAC) .10
With the Guerrillas in Angola by D.Barnett (LSM) 0.75
various 1-page Boycott Gulf leaflets free
POSTER: "Help Free Angola:Boycott Gulf" 0.25
POSTER: "Farewell at the Hour of Parting" 1.00
BUTTON: Boycott Gulf 0.25
BUTTON: O.M.A. Organizacao da Mulher de Angola 0.25

Guinea-Bissau

PAIGC Actualites (recent issues) 0.50
Our People are Our Mountains(Amilcar Cabral speeches
fall 1971 in Great Britain) (CFMAG) 0.50
Revolution in Guinea:Selected Texts by A.Cabral (MR) 2.00
The Struggle in Guinea by A.Cabral (ARG) 0.50

Mozambique

Aspects of the Mozambican Struggle (LSM) 0.25
Getting Hip to Imperialism:ALCAN & Cabora Bassa (LSM) 0.40
Interview: Marcelino do Santos (LSM) 0.50
Mozambique's FRELIMO (ARG) 1.00
Mozambique Revolution (recent issues) 0.75
Our Dream Has the Size of Freedom (CFM) 0.10
2, 3, Many I:1 (CRV) 0.10
POSTER:"Mozambique Will Be Free"(shows FRELIMO Pres.,
Samora Machel) (CFM) 1.00

TOTAL ORDER

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Total Enclosed

(Make checks payable to M.A.C.S.A.)

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KAFFIR TEA



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**16
BAGS**

Kaffir "Tea" is the dried leaves of the Rooibusch Shrub which grows on the highlands above Cape Town, South Africa. It has been used as a healthful beverage there for many generations.

Kaffir "Tea" resembles orange pekoe tea in general appearance, flavor and delightful aroma. Yet it is entirely free of caffeine or theine.

This delicious beverage will please the most discriminating tea drinker as to flavor and aroma, yet leave him free from all the undesirable effects of the high caffeine and tannin content of ordinary tea.

Kaffir "Tea" can be served in any of the ways in which ordinary tea is served; hot, iced, spiced or as a basis for punch. It may be served plain, with cream and sugar or with lemon as desired.

DON'T SUPPORT SLAVERY

BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTS

Would you buy a product labeled "Nigger Tea"? That is the meaning of "Kaffir Tea", a product of South Africa where "Kaffir" is a term of abuse applied only to blacks by the ruling white minority.

This product is sold in many Madison stores, and the profits made by the sale of this and other South African goods helps to keep the racist South African regime in power. Profits from "Gant" guavas, Rock lobster tails, South African wine, and even diamonds, mined by underpaid black labor, help to perpetuate this regime whose leaders were Nazi sympathizers during World War II.

In March 1960, 69 blacks peacefully protesting the abhorrent pass laws (which control their movements, determine where they may work, who they may visit, whether a man and his wife may live in the same area, and which demand that the black man must produce a pass-identity on demand by a police officer) were killed by the South African police. Men, women, and children were among the 69, with several hundred wounded, many seriously.

To abolish slavery in your own country and indirectly support it in another, is something that most people would not do knowingly. That is why we bring to your attention these products of a modern day slave system.

Buying South African products is to support this system.

Boycotting South African products is to take a meaningful step against it.

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa

731 State Street

Madison, Wisconsin, 53703

Frelimo has announced the extension of armed struggle in Mozambique to a fourth province, Manica and Sofala, a province in central Mozambique, bordering Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This is the first time FRELIMO has indicated fighting that far south, although a South African press report recently included parts of Manica and Sofala in its list of areas threatened. The three northern provinces, Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete, now have areas which are under FRELIMO control and where schools, clinics, agricultural development, trading networks, and judicial and administrative systems are being developed by the local populations, with FRELIMO. Portuguese forces can still bomb these areas but they have lost control of the ground. The three northern provinces also include some areas still actively contested on the ground and limited areas of Portuguese control, notably larger settlements, plantations, and strategic hamlets into which the Portuguese have herded local populations. Manica and Sofala is the first province actively involved in armed struggle which has no border on Independent black Africa. Extension of the struggle to this central portion of Mozambique is a significant advance for FRELIMO.

MOZAMBIQUE FILMS AVAILABLE FROM MACSA

MACSA has the following films and filmstrip for rent. Contact Bill or Ruth Minter, 22 Sherman Terrace, Madison, Wisc. 53704 (phone 241-1137) to schedule them.

1) We Shall Win (Venceremos), Novotsi Films (Yugoslavia), 1967, 16mm., black and white, 20 minutes. The first documentary about the liberated areas in Mozambique and the military/political role of FRELIMO. Filmed with FRELIMO in northern Mozambique. Rental: \$12.50

2) Mozambique, Dutch Kenmark TV, 1969, 16mm., color, 40 minutes. A study of the Mozambique Liberation Front, its political organization, programs of national reconstruction inside liberated Mozambique. Includes speeches by Mozambicans about their own struggle. Rental: \$25

3) A filmstrip on the MPLA in Angola, prepared ca. 1970 by the Liberation Support Movement in Vancouver. Rental: \$1.00.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S PLANK ON AFRICA 1972

Our ties with Africa are rooted in the heritage of many Americans and in our historic commitment to self-determination. We respect the hard earned sovereignty of Africa's new states and will continue to do our utmost to make a meaningful contribution to their development. We have no illusions that the United States can single handedly solve the seemingly intractable problems of apartheid and minority rule, but we can and will encourage non-violent, evolutionary change by supporting international efforts peacefully to resolve the problems of southern Africa and by maintaining our contacts with all races on the Continent.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S PLANK ON AFRICA 1972

The central feature of African politics today is the struggle against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. There should be no mistake about which side we are on. We stand for full political, civic and economic rights for blacks and other non-white peoples in Southern Africa. We are against white minority rule. We should not underwrite a return to the interventionism of the past. But we can end United States complicity with such governments.

The focus of America's concern with Africa must be on economic and social development. Economic aid to Africa, without political conditions, should be expanded, and African states assured an adequate share of the aid dollar. Military aid and aid given for military purposes should be sharply reduced.

(1) All military aid to Portugal should be stopped and the Nixon \$435 million deal for unneeded Azores bases should be cancelled. (cont. next page)

(Dem. Plank on Afr. cont.)

2. U.N. sanctions against the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia should be supported vigorously, especially as they apply to chrome imports.
3. The U.S. should give full support to U.N. assertion of its control over Namibia (South-West Africa), in accordance with the World Court's ruling.
4. The U.S. should make clear its opposition to the racial totalitarianism of South Africa. The U.S. government should act firmly to press U.S. businesses in South Africa to take measures for the fullest possible justice for their black employees. Blacks should be assigned at all levels to offices in South Africa, and throughout Africa. The South African sugar quota should be withdrawn.
5. No U.S. company or its subsidiary should be given U.S. tax credit for taxes paid to white minority ruled countries in Africa.

MADISON ANTI-CORPORATE ACTIVITY

In August, MACSA was contacted by the Center for Conflict Resolution (CCR) (420 Lake St.) about the possibility of coordinating research and educational activities concerning multi-national corporations and their impact on our lives. Community Action on Latin America (CALA) was also contacted. As a result of several organizational meetings in September, it was decided that such a joint effort was desirable.

The project will last at least a year and will use various methods to get information and analysis of multi-national corporations to the general public. October activities include guerrilla theatre performances while Honeywell recruiters are on campus (October 19-20) and discussions on WIBA-AM's "Papa Hambone" Show during that week. A representative of the Honeywell Project (Minneapolis) is being asked to come to Madison to take part in these activities.

Other tentative activities include community workshops on multinational corporations (possibly including specific discussions on one or two target corporations such as ITT) and aimed at education and such direct action as boycotts and "economic guerrilla warfare." Other local groups being contacted are Wisconsin Public Interest Research Group (WISPRIG), Movement for Political and Economic Democracy (MPED), and Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE). Interested people with time or ideas should contact Steve Vogel (238-7547) evenings, as right now MACSA has no representative on the project.

S.J.Vogel

(MACSA's own anti-corporate action committee hopes to reorganize after the completion of the October campaign for funds for the PAIGC. Plan to be at the Nov. 12 MACSA meeting if you can commit time to that.)

U.S. - PORTUGAL MILITARY TIES NATO AS AN AGENT OF IMPERIALISM

Portugal by many standards remains an underdeveloped society, the poorest among the European states. But in spite of its low level of national income, in spite of its relative lack of heavy industry, it has maintained colonial wars in Africa - in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau - during the past eleven years. At least part of the explanation of Portugal's stubborn ability to devote as much as half of its state revenues to military activities rests on the foreign loans and direct assistance it receives as a result of its membership in NATO.

Portugal has not maintained its NATO commitments. In fact, following the outbreak of armed struggle in Angola in 1961, Portugal took its assigned NATO divisions, armed by other NATO countries, to Africa. Since 1960, the number of Portuguese divisions at NATO's disposal was reduced to one; and recent estimates are that this division is only up to 50% of its official strength. Of an overall army strength of 150,000 men, only 10,000 remain in Portugal. Yet the Portuguese armed forces are largely equipped through NATO and through purchases from NATO members.

(U.S.-Port. Milit Ties cont.)

After the open transfer of a substantial part of the Portuguese army to Africa in the early sixties, relations cooled between some of the Western powers and Portugal. A number of governments made explicit arrangements that no arms be sold to Portugal for use in the African wars. But some governments, notably France, continued to supply arms and equipment to Portugal. Other transfers of equipment occurred more or less surreptitiously, through the mediation of third countries, through transfers of insignias of aircraft on NATO bases, etc. Even enforcement of the condition that no arms be sold to Portugal for use in the colonies would do little and dodge the actual issue. Even equipment sold for use in metropolitan Portugal indirectly supports suppression of liberation movements in Africa simply because it frees other existing equipment to be diverted for use in the colonies. Similarly the sale of civil aircraft supports Portuguese colonial suppression since civil registered aircraft are also used by the Portuguese armed forces. For example, it is reported that many of the OGMA-built Austers (sold to the Portuguese by the British) have been civil-registered and assigned to the 'flying clubs' in Portugal and the colonies in order to form an airworthy pilots-reserve for the airforce.

It is important to ask why the NATO assistance has been sustained over the past decade. NATO was established to ensure collaborative defense of the North Atlantic States against the incursion of communism - i.e. to preserve Western capitalism and to allow for the extension of Western imperialism. Portugal is an important element in ensuring that these aims are carried out. In 1961 Portugal itself summarized the benefits to the Western states of its own membership in NATO:

1. Portugal constitutes the European area with the best connections to the United States.

2. Portugal provides the free and safe use of the bases on the Azores (the U.S. maintains a military base on the Azores; France opened an Azores base in 1965 as a tracking station for nuclear rockets launched from the southwest of France)

3. The Portuguese owned Madeira and Cape Verde Islands remain available as supply bases.

4. Metropolitan Portugal itself serves as a key position on the Mediterranean with the naval base Lagos and the air bases Espinho-Esmoriz and Montijo.

5. The accessibility of both Portugal and its 'overseas territories' guarantees the sustaining of an electronic and meteorological communications network without which, in time of war, sea traffic and anti-submarine warfare would be impossible.

6. Materially, Portugal offers the easy accessibility of products from the African colonies and a great reserve of wolfram, uranium and other strategic minerals.

7. Portuguese possession of Cabinda (officially considered a part of Angola, it is an area of particular import because of its large oil reserves now being very profitably exploited by the Gulf Oil Corporation) makes possible the defense of the mouth of the river Congo.

Note that Portugal was offering not only itself to the NATO powers, but also its possessions. It was offering not the accessibility of products or markets so much as strategic locations through which western military power and telecommunications can be maintained. Portugal's self-proclaimed assets are of significance in the context of the international structure of political and economic relations. They point to the important military and communications aspect of the present phase of capital's dominance, suggesting the mechanisms through which imperialism is now manifest. It is possible that the use of land to maintain worldwide military and communications networks could be obtained by other means, e.g. through forced concessions from politically independent states; but the arrangement with Portugal is satisfactory for the present and it perhaps appears more efficient to maintain this arrangement than to establish other networks of military control.

Special emphasis needs to be placed on the relations between the U.S. and Portugal, as NATO allies, in order to clarify the supportive role which the United States has played in the African colonial wars. In this case, as distinct from

(U.S.-Port.Milit.Ties cont.)

that of Southeast Asia, the wars are fought by the dependent European partner, Portugal, which has at stake its own national 'honor.' Yet even though U.S. direct intervention is absent in the African wars, a consequence of the U.S.-Portugal alliance is that American technology and expertise - along with those of other European powers - are used to suppress colonized peoples who are intent on restructuring their lives and societal institutions and who have a clear understanding that western capital has stunted and obviated the developmental process of their societies.

During the 50s and 60s, Portugal and the U.S. formalized a number of treaties, several promising mutual defense, one (which was extended in July '62 for a ten year period) concerning the loan of two American warships to the Portuguese navy, another facilitating the interchange of patent rights and technical information for military purposes.

About the importance of the U.S.-Portuguese alliance, the Portuguese Minister of the Marine in 1960 said that "today Portugal has great responsibilities to defend her overseas territories and U.S. assistance would facilitate the carrying out of these responsibilities and lessen some difficulties." During the period from 1949 to the outbreak of the Angolan war in 1961, the U.S. provided \$370 million in aid to Portugal, \$290 million of this being military. Officially this aid was given on the condition that it not be used in the colonies. But although during this time the U.S. noted frequent breaches of this condition, support continued. In August 1961, even after the Angolan war had begun, the House of Representatives voted to continue military assistance to Portugal. Shortly after this time, however, relations between the U.S. and Portugal became strained and the U.S. supported U.N. resolutions to investigate Portuguese military activities in the colonies. And at this time there did occur a reduction of military assistance to Portugal (from \$25 million to \$3 million). In late 1962 the U.S. representative to the U.N. first denied, then later admitted, that the U.S. government had always had full knowledge that NATO weapons were used by Portugal in Africa.

Portuguese anti-American protests, the threat that the U.S. station of Radio Free Europe in Lisbon might be endangered, and most significantly, the threat that U.S. presence on the Azores would be curtailed soon contributed to a rapprochement between the two nations. During this time (as more recently in 1971) Portugal used its ownership of the Azores (with consequent ability to withdraw permission for their use as a U.S. base - with only six months notice) as a means of gaining promises of continued U.S. assistance. The U.S. had invested \$100 million in the Azores by as early as 1957 and clearly has never had the intention of abandoning it as a base.

Rapprochement took the form of negotiations in the early 60s which resulted in approximately \$50 million credit from the American Export-Import Bank being extended to Portugal. (Such an extension of credit has had the dual effect of providing means of extending the colonial wars and solidifying ties of financial dependence of Portugal on the U.S.) Further agreement was made concerning the building of three warships, 50% paid by the U.S., and the sale of thirty fighter planes. Accompanying this supply of arms and equipment was a change of official U.S. policy regarding Portugal and the colonies. By the end of 1962, the U.S. had voted against a U.N. resolution condemning Portuguese policy and requesting the prohibition of arms sales to Portugal. The practice of voting against such resolutions has continued to the present.

In 1963, the American Secretary of State for Africa, G. Mennen Williams, stated bluntly that "it is neither in our interest to see the Portuguese leave Africa, nor to curtail their influence out there." During the period 1962-68, as if to complement this policy, official American military support to Portugal was \$30 million. Actual support, however, is very likely much greater than official figures indicate (given Senate investigations confirming that nobody can tell how many ways or in what dollar amounts the American government provides military support.)

During the past two years under the Nixon administration, the assistance to

(U.S.-Port.Milit.Ties cont.)

Portugal has become more extensive and open. On December 9, 1971, a new executive agreement was signed by Premier Caetano of Portugal and President Nixon of the United States. The new agreement allowed for continued use of the base facilities on the Azores by the Americans until February 1974. Again it was the maintenance of U.S. security and the nation's watchdog military status which provided the justification. In exchange for continued rights to the Azores base, the U.S. agreed to contribute massive aid to Portugal, facilitating that country's sustained colonial aggression. Portugal will get loans totalling \$400 million from the U.S. Export-Import Bank and an additional \$36 million and a survey vessel from the U.S. government directly.

An important aspect of America's complicity in the Portuguese colonial wars which does not take the form of direct material aid, is the special training of key Portuguese military personnel. The number of Portuguese who receive such training is classified but it is known that the following areas make up the substance of that training: operations, communications/electronics, maintenance, administration, professional specialists orientations, and missiles. It is also known that in 1970 at least one man from the Portuguese army was studying psychological operations and counter-insurgency in the U.S. at Fort Bragg.

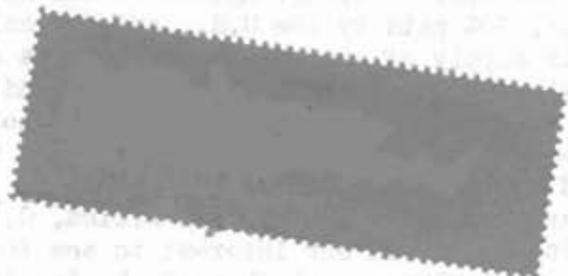
Further evidence of the openness of present forms of assistance was the delivery in late 1971 of two Boeing 707 jets for military transports between Portugal and the African colonies. These new planes are seen as particularly important by the Portuguese because of the morale boost which they give to troops who formerly had been transported by sea.

American arms and equipment are much in evidence in the attempted repression of the liberation movements in Guinea and Southern Africa. Recent reports indicate the use of U.S. helicopters in Mozambique. Defoliation materials produced in the U.S. have been observed in Angola since 1970. The Christian Science Monitor reported in January 1968 that napalm and phosphorus bombs marked Made in USA had been dropped on a number of Guinean villages. U.S. militarism clearly spreads in wide waves around the globe. Directly and through its alliances, such as those with NATO members, the U.S. supplies many of the instruments of force which guard against encroachments on the capitalist domain.

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