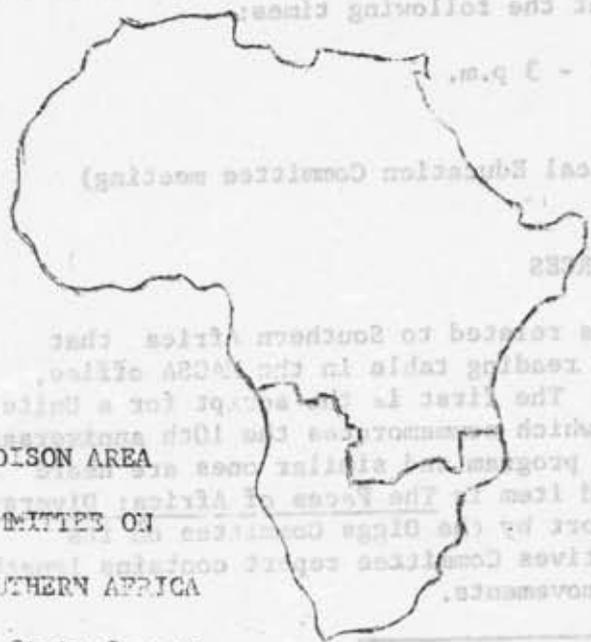


Members of a volunteer staff will be available, and the MACSA office (731 State Street, basement) will be open, daily at the following times:



MACSA

news

MADISON AREA  
COMMITTEE ON  
SOUTHERN AFRICA

731 State Street  
Madison, Wis. 53703

Number 29 August 1973

**DO MORE THAN READ MACSA NEWS -- WORK WITH MACSA**

If you are concerned with Southern Africa and would like to do more than read about it, consider working with MACSA. We can use your help. Please call one of these people:

- Steve Vogel Political Education Committee 836-9177
- Wandile Kase Fundraising Committee 256-1359

**MACSA CALENDAR**

- Sunday, Aug. 12: General Meeting at 2 p.m. 731 State Street, basement
- Monday, Aug. 27: Deadline for notices and articles for Sept. MACSA NEWS. Submit them to MACSA office or Political Education Committee.
- Monday, Sept. 3: Newsletter assembly workshop 7 p.m. 731 State St. basement.
- Sunday, Sept. 9: General Meeting at 2 p.m. 731 State Street, basement.

Political Education Committee

The MACSA Political Education Committee meets weekly at the MACSA office (731 State Street) on Friday at noon. Bring your ideas and your lunch. Contact Steve Vogel (836-9177 evenings); for details.

### MACSA OFFICE HOURS

Members of a volunteer staff will be available, and the MACSA office (731 State Street, basement) will be open, daily at the following times:

Mondays: 1 - 3 p.m.  
Tuesdays: Noon - 1 p.m. and 2 - 3 p.m.  
Wednesdays: 1 - 2 p.m.  
Thursdays: Noon - 3 p.m.  
Fridays: Noon - 1 p.m. (Political Education Committee meeting)

### NEW MACSA RESOURCES

In addition to the series of periodicals related to Southern Africa that MACSA receives and that are available at the reading table in the MACSA office, MACSA has recently received two other items. The first is the script for a United Nations radio program broadcast on April 25 which commemorates the 10th anniversary of the Apartheid Committee of the UN. (This program and similar ones are heard locally over WIBA-FM on Sundays.) The second item is The Faces of Africa: Diversity and Progress, Repression and Struggle, a report by the Diggs Committee on its mission to Africa. This House of Representatives Committee report contains lengthy chapters on South Africa and the liberation movements.

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### SECRET BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA REVEALED

In the face of worldwide opposition to apartheid--and yet out of sight-- a consortium of U.S., Canadian and European banks have made \$215 million of loans to the white minority regime in South Africa. The operation came to light in recent weeks when confidential bank documents were leaked to a source in West Germany.

The secrecy surrounding the loans, however, has in some ways continued. There have been reports about suppression of these disclosures in the press due to pressure from American banks. An expose written for publication in the New York Times (in June), for instance, was suddenly pulled from that newspaper at the last minute. The Times had been willing--last summer--to risk publication of the Pentagon Papers. But at least <sup>one</sup> bank implicated in the June expose possessed sufficient financial leverage at the Times to kill the story. Over 40 banks in North America and Europe have been channeling the loans to South Africa through the Nassau, Bahamas branch of the European-American Corporation, a U.S.-based multinational bank. The Caribbean branches have been used for the loans since 1970--apparently to avoid public scrutiny and criticism.

The loans are revolving credits in Eurocurrencies, and almost all are provided to South African government departments or state-owned companies. Approximately \$150 million, for example, went to the South African Ministry of Finance. A government-owned iron and steel corporation received another \$20 million.

Because the funds are a form of direct assistance to the racist regime in South Africa, disclosure of the loans is being met with loud protest from churches, black leaders, students and politicians. A similar series of credits back in 1969 was terminated precisely because of this type of public opposition--opposition to U.S. business involvement in South Africa. Commenting on the loans, George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, said, "Such loans bolster South Africa's balance of payments position, help white South Africans become economically self-sufficient, and are an international vote of confidence in apartheid."

In the most recent of the loans, several participating banks requested the European-American Banking Corporation not to reveal their identities. Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, 33rd largest bank in the U.S. and largest in the Southeast, was one of these. The new arrangements show that foreign credits to South Africa are being made with greater care and secrecy. The banks are sensitive to currents of protest about the political implications of their dealings.

SECRET BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA (continued)

American banks and their dollar participation are:

Wells Fargo Bank (N.A.), Luxemburg \$2.0 million  
Central National Bank in Chicago \$1.0 million  
Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis, Nassau Branch \$1.0 million  
City National Bank of Detroit, London Branch \$.5 million  
Republic National Bank of Dallas, London Branch \$3.0 million  
First Israel Bank and Trust Co. of New York, Nassau Branch \$2.0 million  
First National Bank of Louisville \$2.0 million  
Maryland National Bank, Nassau Branch \$2.0 million  
United Virginia Bank, Nassau Branch \$2.0 million  
Wachovia Bank and Trust Co. \$2.0 million

(from Africa News)

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RHODESIAN SANCTIONS BILLS -- UPDATE

According to the Washington Office on Africa, legislation designed to renew U.S. compliance with UN sanctions against Rhodesia is about to receive floor action in both houses of Congress. 28 co-sponsors have joined Sen. Hubert Humphrey in support of Senate bill S. 1868, while 106 co-sponsors have joined Congressmen Donald Fraser and Charles Diggs with their bill in the House of Representatives, H.R. 8005.

Senate action is expected any time. Key Senators to be contacted are:

Robert Taft (Ohio)	Richard Schweiker (Pa.)	Marlow Cook (Ky.)
William Saxbe (Ohio)	Hugh Scott (Pa.)	Walter Huddleston (Kyl)
William Roth (Del.)	Lowell Weicker (Conn.)	Robert Griffin (Mich.)

The vote in the House will be probably after the August Congressional recess.

General addresses are:

The Honorable (full name)	The Honorable (full name)
United States Senate	U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510	Washington, D.C. 20515

Both MACSA and the Washington Office on Africa request copies of any communication from Senators or Congressmen on this issue.

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CITY OF MADISON CONDEMNS AMERICAN TIES WITH RACISM IN AFRICA

On June 26, 1973, the Common Council of the City of Madison passed a resolution urging President Nixon and the U.S. Congress to end support of racist regimes in Southern Africa. Introduced by Alderman Eugene Parks, the resolution was passed on a vote of 16-5 (Emmerich, George, Imm, Thorson and Wexler against) with one alderman absent. Parks defended the resolution against arguments that the Council should not debate matters of foreign affairs by pointing out that one reason the U.S. continues to pursue such policies is that there is "no viable grass roots" opposition to them.

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THANKS TO MADISON SUSTAINING FUND

The Madison Sustaining Fund has voted \$120 per year to MACSA. \$10 for the first month has been received. MACSA friends are encouraged to support MSF fundraising efforts via the Community Cache and Community Chip.

## A LIBERATION WORKSHOP AT EDGEWOOD

The workshop on Liberation held at Edgewood College from July 23 thru August 3 was a brainchild of Sister Esther Heffernan and other moving spirits who work closely with her. The two-week workshop was very comprehensive.

Sister Heffernan kicked off the proceedings with an address on St. Paul's theology of "Liberation". Her paper was followed by a discussion of the salient points she raised. Then came a theological panel which was led by Fr. James Hinde. The evening was rounded off with prayer growing out of the day's thoughts. The second day started with a critical paper by Dr. John Murphy entitled "Economic Background Reactions". One of the major conclusions of the session was that the models for development based on Rostow's "Stages of Economic Growth" have proved to be unhelpful in most countries of the "Third World". In the afternoon, Dr. Joseph Elder's talk on the "The Non-Western World" elaborated upon the themes of the morning's address. Response sessions occupied the evening. Wednesday's morning was elevated to three workshops on the liberation of Southern Blacks, Migrant Workers, Latin America and Native American reservations.

The program for Wednesday afternoon called for MACSA representatives to be resource persons. Prof. Kunene, Ofose Akyea and Wandile Kuse talked about Africa (especially South Africa). After showing the filmstrip (with tape-recorded commentary) "Partners in Apartheid", the three persons constituted a panel. A lively discussion followed. A focus of part of the discussion was the question raised at the end of the tape: "On which side will America be?" when the impending confrontation escalates in Southern Africa. The lines are clearly drawn already, it was pointed out. The question, as stated, obscures the fact that the U.S. government and corporations have taken sides already. In spite of obfuscatory rhetoric, they have ranged themselves against the liberatory movements and supply aid to the oppressors in overt and covert ways. The title "Partners in Apartheid" goes to the heart of the matter. That international capital -- which reaps profits upwards of 18% -- helps to lighten the burden of oppression for 80% of South Africa's population, compelled to live below the bread-line (\$65 p.m.), cannot be sustained.

The liberation struggle in Southern Africa can sometimes be seen in the context of the more recent history and politics of Africa. There is the history of slavery, the land grabbing by European powers (known as the "scramble for Africa"), the primary and secondary resistance to political and cultural imperialism. By the 1960's some form of political independence was gained in those African territories which were not heavily settled by Europeans. The struggle was more fierce in areas like Kenya and Algeria. Political independence is still to come in the Portuguese territories of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. Here the guerrilla movements have liberated part of their homelands. However, the hard core of white political and racial hegemony in Africa remains as Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Namibia, and the Republic of South Africa. The financial investment by major powers in these territories and the strategic importance, militarily, of these areas, is a major factor in making liberation so much more difficult to obtain. Conversely, if the support to the oppressive regimes were withdrawn, liberation would be brought proportionally nearer.

The history of the liberation movement in South Africa is a case history that brings certain points into broad relief. Some encounters with the Europeans were friendly. But there were nine frontier clashes with the Xhosa alone -- the so called Anglo-Xhosa wars. The Boers and the English fought the Basotho and the Zulus as well as other groups in many bloody battles. The decisive triumph of the Europeans towards the end of the nineteenth century laid the groundwork for the exploitation of indigenous labor, as well as the political and economic domination symbolized by the Act of Union (1910). The Land Act which followed three years later gave definitive form to an escalating oppression. The draconian laws of the land were instruments to deal with the people's liberatory movements. These movements were non-violent until this tactic became manifestly untenable in 1960 and the years which followed.

The struggle for liberation in South Africa is not completely understood without reference to the "war on three fronts" against the Portuguese government. The industrial strikes for improved working conditions and adequate wages in Namibia (at the beginning of 1972) and within the Republic of South Africa (at the beginning of 1973) are another front against alien domination in Africa. The news of the strikes might come as a surprise to those who know the heavy penalties for such action, according to South African law. These actions, therefore, are encouraging testimony to the indomitable quest for human liberation. The Black Power movement which has surfaced in the Black and ethnic colleges, set up by the government to inculcate the spirit of Apartheid, is further evidence that oppressive Apartheid will not have the last word.

The discussion that followed the showing of "Partners in Apartheid" showed that it had been a surprising and perhaps frightening revelation to many participants. Some were overwhelmed by a sense of powerlessness. Suggestions of what could be done were exchanged. An examination of the meaning and implications of solidarity with and between liberation movements led to a discussion of the sharp distinction between ideological isms and the relevance of methods used to mobilize people in particular concrete situations.

The afternoon ended with dinner and a celebration of the Eucharist in "Liturgy of Hope." The workshop itself continued until August 3. It included:

- Middle Class White -- An Oppressed Person?
- Ministry to the Elderly
- Ministry to Prisoners
- Self-liberation
- The Power Structure (discussion led by Rep. Midge Miller)
- The Response of Religious Organizations

MACSA literature was on display throughout the workshop.

Addendum: A similar showing of "Partners in Apartheid" took place in Ripon College, Wis before a United Methodist Church Conference on "Outreach".

## MEETING WITH FRELIMO REPRESENTATIVES IN CHICAGO

Two Frelimo representatives, Jorge Robello and Sharfudine Khan, held a special meeting with members of the midwest liberation support groups in Chicago on June 25, 1973. Robello, Frelimo's Minister of Information and a member of the Central Committee, was in the country to address the U.N. "Committee of 24" (Decolonization Committee). Khan is Frelimo's representative to the U.N. and the United States. Attending were representatives from MACSA; Liberation Support Committee in Iowa City; Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique, and Guine; Black Workers' Congress; African American Solidarity Committee; and Southern Africa Liberation and Information Group (all in the Chicago area).

The Minister of Information talked in some detail about the progress of the struggle in Mozambique following the regional divisions of the country. The topics covered included agriculture, political and military developments, schools, women, health, and racialism.

Agriculturally, the minister reported that cooperative food-farming has increased with the result of increased food production. These increases are directly related to the military successes in increased anti-aircraft fire-power, forcing the cessation of Portuguese herbicide spraying campaigns against farms in the liberated areas of Mozambique. There has also been an increase in export crop production marketed through a network of buying centers inside the liberated areas where "transportation teams" are organized to carry the crops by headloads to Tanzania for export.

Politically, two problem areas have been dealt with recently. First, three special seminars of representatives from the liberated areas were held on the questions of health, improvements in schools, and the liberated role of women in the freedom struggle.

The health seminar concluded that the health cadres working for the movement should be made aware of the wider political role of their duties beyond pure technical and isolated health work. In effect, the health cadres were being asked to "love their patients more and see their work as an integral part of the freedom struggle." The minister also called attention to other health needs in the liberated areas due to the lack of essential materials, trained cadres, and difficulties in transportation, and welcomed any help in meeting these important demands. The emphasis in the health work of the liberation movement has been on preventive medicine, namely immunization campaigns, attempts at improving sanitation by promoting public and personal hygiene.

The school seminar was called to discuss the upgrading of education in the "liberated schools." Teachers from the liberated areas attended, and problems of inadequately trained teachers and inappropriate Portuguese textbooks were identified. Efforts were to be made to train more teachers and prepare textbooks that suit the goals of the liberation. The problem

however, is that the present teachers are the few who attended the Portuguese colonial administration schools. There are not many of these teachers, whose competency is generally low. It is realized that it will take some time before the goal of qualified teachers can be reached. Help is therefore welcomed in this area and in the preparation of appropriate textbooks for the "liberated schools."

The women's seminar was a sensitizing activity to get traditionally subdued women to speak up and take an active role in the liberation struggle. Many traditional and colonial values and practices have to be overcome to achieve the increased participation of women in the struggle. For example, parents will not allow their daughters to attend Frelimo schools for fear of losing the traditional "lobala" (dowry) on the marriage of the girls. On the military level, women commanders of platoons complain that the men would not take orders from them. Intensive education about the need for trained women at all levels of the struggle is the goal of Frelimo in the villages. The women decided to form a new "Organization of Mozambitan Women" within Frelimo, as a means of recruiting more women into the liberation movement. The women were clear in not identifying the enemy as "men" per se, but as the traditional and colonial structure which kept women in positions subservient to men.

#### An Answer to Portuguese Propaganda

The second political event is the start of military operations and political education campaigns in Monika y Sofala. This is the central region of the country and contains such important towns as the port city of Beira and the major railway links to Zimbabwe and Zambia. The region also has a large number of Portuguese settlers. The present status of operations in this region is exploratory. It is not considered a liberated area because the cadres operate from outside the region and have no permanent bases there. The essential ingredient in this operation, according to the minister, is the invitation extended to Frelimo by a delegation of leaders from the region who said critically, "why have you waited so long to come to our region?" This fact is set against the Portuguese claim that they successfully win back their former enemies." Obviously the kind of "winning back" the Portuguese army does are the massacres reported in the front pages of the London Times and cited in Newsweek (July 30, 1973). The minister was clear in pointing out that they have connections with people in the whole country, including the southern provinces. Recently in Lorenzo Marques were 1000 workers were arrested and forcibly detained for what was described as "having links with Frelimo." Besides, Africans are forcibly conscripted into the colonial army, dressed up, and presented to the public as evidence of "African endorsement" of continued Portuguese presence. Sometimes the Portuguese force the African conscripts to masquerade as Frelimo militants and have them terrorize the local population.

An important new aspect of Frelimo's political work in countering Portuguese propaganda and intimidation is the new radio station in Lusaka,

Zambia, broadcasting one hour a day into Mozambique. Different days are oriented towards certain populations: to those in liberated areas, to unliberated areas, to Portuguese soldiers, and to African conscripts in the colonial army. One day is devoted to international news, and another to musical requests.

The minister told a joke about a newsman who reacted against the usual restrictions imposed on all Europeans and foreigners in Tete Province, especially around Cabora Bassa Dam. The restrictions were as a result of intensified military activity of Frelimo against the building of the dam. This newsman jokingly told the commander of the troops around Cabora Bassa Dam that maybe if he asked permission from Frelimo to visit the countryside, he would immediately obtain that permission. This of course got the newsman into serious trouble, but it illustrated the anxieties of the Portuguese commanders and the effectiveness of Frelimo in the area.

In Monika y Sofala Frelimo leadership had to face up to the problem of defining the enemy not on white-black lines. The fighting cadres have increasingly come into contact with white settlers in the region and are inclined to view all whites as enemies. The leadership is trying to reduce this racial definition that will necessarily fragment the real targets of the revolution. The real target, according to the leadership, should rightly be the Portuguese colonial system propped up by Western imperialism, which seeks to continue the oppression and exploitation of all the human and material resources of Mozambique.

We left the meeting after four hours with the understanding that the operations in Monika y Sofala are of crucial importance to the total revolutionary effort of liberating Mozambique from Portuguese rule.

The minister was happy to see the intensity and dedication of support groups in the Midwest. His positive experiences rekindled his hope that support groups can really help in restraining the involvement of imperialist governments, like the U.S., from supporting the war machinery of Portuguese colonialism.

Throughout the discussion the minister stressed the importance of support from progressive groups within the imperialist countries. Both material and political support are vital and welcome. For example, the Committee for a Free Mozambique (New York) recently sent transistor radios which are greatly needed with the opening of the new Frelimo radio station. More transistor radios are needed. Political support, especially aimed at reducing U.S. support of Portugal, is a special task of U.S. support groups. Frelimo would appreciate more news items from this country about the struggles against imperialism and the news of support work.

**A Luta Continua!**

J. Ofosu Akyea

CORPORATE INFORMATION CENTER LITERATURE LIST

Recent and upcoming publications from the Corporate Information Center, National Council of Churches, Room 346, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027, which does research and resourcing on the social impact of U.S. corporations:

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- includes social profiles of 15 major companies in Southern Africa and brief survey of 38 other companies doing business there
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I enclose \_\_\_\_\_.

The Withdrawal Debate: U.S. Corporations and South Africa

The Frankfurt Documents: Secret Bank Loans to the South African Government

HERBICIDE LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

Congressman Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.) has recently introduced two bills in the House of Representatives dealing with control of herbicides. He has requested support for the bills from MACSA NEWS readers.

Bill H.R. 8573, the Herbicide Export and Control Act of 1973, will halt all exports of 2, 4, 5-T herbicide. This is the chemical ("Agent Orange") that was used to defoliate nearly 6 million acres of South Vietnam, one-seventh of that country's total area. In 1970 after the National Cancer Institute showed this herbicide to be fetus-damaging, the U.S. Department of Agriculture placed 2,4,5-T under severely restricted use. However, control at home has not hampered U.S. Government efforts to unload stocks of the chemical on governments in South Vietnam, South America (especially Brazil) and Southern Africa.

The second bill, HR 8574, the Chemical Warfare Prevention Act of 1973, will ban the export of all herbicides to Portugal and South Africa. The Portuguese began using 2,4,5-T on crops in Angola in April of 1970. The effect of the herbicide's use became apparent when the Times of Zambia reported (8/23/72) that 1300 Angolans had fled into Zambia seeking food after their own fields had been chemically destroyed. Rep. Rangel points out the interesting fact that sales of herbicides to Portugal and South Africa (begun in 1965) shot up after 1970, when the herbicide was made a "civilian commodity" and control over it was transferred from the State Department Office of Munitions Control to the Commerce Department.

Cong. Rangel objects to such sales as illegal violations of the Washington Conference resolutions (1922), the Geneva Protocol (1925), the 1961 embargo on military goods to Portugal and South Africa, and the NATO agreement (1961). One will recall that in late 1966 the U.S. voted along with its Indochina ally, Australia and Portugal against a UN resolution, which passed 80-3, condemning chemical warfare. Rangel also points out the moral and ethical issues of U.S. involvement in "the brutal aggression being waged against...the citizens of Angola and Mozambique."

Both bills were introduced in the House in June and have been referred to the House Committee on Banking and Currency, Subcommittee on International Trade, for action. A list of the members of the subcommittee and the full committee is available from the MACSA office. Note that Henry Reuss from Wisconsin's 5th District is on the full committee.

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NEWS ITEM--- FRELIMO has reported that three battalions of South African troops are stationed around the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique.

DEFENSE AND AID FUND

The Defense and Aid Fund for South African political prisoners and their dependents has reached \$453.01. August is the last month of the campaign. If those who have not yet contributed could give just \$3, we can put the fund over our \$500 goal. Use the form below and GIVE NOW!!!

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Return to: Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa  
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Madison, Wisconsin 53703

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\_\_\_\_\_ I can't spare \$2 but intend to be active on Southern Africa issues  
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