



MACSA CALENDAR

- March 7 ; - MACSA literature table at Memorial Union 11am-3pm
- Special workshop on " Women in South Africa (Women's Center 836 East Johnson, 7:30 pm)
- March 8-10: Various International Women's Day activities.
- March 10:- Fundraising Committee discussion with Don's Brutus about Defense an Aid for South Africa (The Lind's home, 151 Lathrop Street, 3 p.m.)
- March 11: - MACSA general meeting : "Political Struggle in South Africa- Recent Developments " (731 State Street, 2 p.m.)
- March 12: - Public lecture by Cosmo Pieterse (South African author, actor, and teacher presently Professor of English and Afro-American Studies at University on "Shakespeare's Blacks, Moors, Blackmoors, etc. " at t Wisconsin Center, 8 p.m.
- March 13: - Black Student Symposium : Victoria Mock on "The Role of the Artist i Black Community " (1111 Humanities, 8:15)
- March 14: - MACSA literature table - Memorial Union, 11am-3pm.
- March 18-21 José Chipenda from Angola and Maxim Razafimanana from the Malagasy Repu will be in Madison sent by The World Council of Churches. Their schedule is as follows :
- 18 -Arrived, possibility of night discussion 7:30 at Pres House 731 Stat
- 19 -being worked out
- 20 - Possible luncheon for the Clergy of the Madison Area Comm. of Church
- Definitely at the showing of the two CALA films Methodist Church th will lead discussion following 7:30 showing (University Ave.- 1127)
- 21 - Tentative potluck 5:30 First Congregational Church (1609 University i corner of Brese Terr. and University Ave.) with discussion followin
- Tentative 8:15 on the Afro-American Centers " Sharpeville Massacre Commemoration" panel at 1131 Humanities.

FOR MORE DEFINITE INFORMATION CALL FRED BRANDEL AT 256-2353

- March 20 - Two Excellent Films on South Africa: "End of Dialogue," and "Witness (University United Methodist Church, 1127 University Ave. at 4 pm, 7:30 pm, and 9:30 pm- Admission= \$1.00, part of regular CALA film series; season tickets useable).
- March 21 - MACSA literature table at the Memorial Union, 11am-3pm.
- Sharpeville Massacre Commemoration- a panel discussion sponsored by the Afro-American Center will include P. Linda Gqobose of the Pan-African Congress of South Africa(1131 Humanities, 8:15 pm)
- March 23 - DEADLINE for articles to be submitted to MACSA office for April issue of MACSA NEWS.
- March 27 - Black Student Symposium : "A Black Look at Prisons. " at 1111 Humanities 8:15 pm.
- March 28 - MACSA literature table at the Memorial Union, 11am-3pm.
- April 2 - MACSA News worknight at MACSA office(731 State Street, 7pm-on)
- April 7 - Alternatives to Development Conference (CALA). One workshop will focus on Southern Africa and will include the "Partners in Apartheid " slide/tape show. (see insert for more information).
- April 8 - MACSA general meeting (731 State St., 2 pm.).
The CALA film schedule(most will be shown at 731 State Street) 4pm, 7:30 and 9:30 pm. Individual tickets : \$1, season tickets are useable.
The Passengers (March 6); Mexico, the Frozen Revolution and Yo Soy Chicano (March 13); End of Dialogue and Witnesses (March 20 at Univ. Methodist Church 1127 Univ. Ave.); Valparaiso Mi Amor (March 27).
Political Education Comm. meets Friday noons, 731 State Street.
Fund-Raising Comm. meets irregularly, contact:
Bill Minter (241-1137)
Wandile Kuse (256-1359).

INTERIM

The West Interim Study Experience (WISE) at West High School took place January 17-26, 1973. Teachers who, offered their services on a voluntary basis and defined and structured their own courses, came from both the teaching profession and from the community at large. As reported in earlier Newsletters, Dan Kunene taught a course entitled South Africa- A Study of human degradation.

With such a depressing title, and with many "fun" courses being offered by some teachers, and also taking into account the youth of the participating students it is perhaps gratifying that there were any enrollments at all for the South Africa course. Ten students enrolled, of whom nine attended regularly. It says something for the serious purpose that motivated these students to take this course, that only one of them dropped out (after the first meeting) even as the human tragedy that is South Africa unfolded.

The course highlighted the act of armed robbery by which the Whites who came into South Africa at different times beginning in 1652, dispossessed the Black Africans of their land and their freedom. The 1913 Land Act, the 1923 Natives(Urban Areas) Act, the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, the 1950 Group Areas Act - and all allied Acts and their numerous Amendments- were seen as one long, tragic process of uprooting the Africans from the land- making them landless and homeless, so that they could be moved about from place to place(or made to stay put)according to the labor demands of white industrial interests. The African now had to earn the "privilege" to occupy a house on municipal-owned land by being needed for labour in that area. The Africans were now politically defenceless and economically exploitable. The dumping of "superfluous" labour in barren, waterless parts of the country under the Resettlement Scheme was given prominence.

The pass laws(already on existence since the nineteenth century) were more and more systemized and strictly applied, until it resulted in the bloody Massacre of Sharpeville in 1960. These were studied in all their complexities by the class, showing how they are an instrument of control, and how their implementation must necessarily lead to continued harassment of the people by the police- demanded at any time of the

day and night, on the streets or in ones' house.

Where possible the laws defining certain do's and dont's for the non-whites were separated from the punishment laws against those who complain or try to change the inhuman conditions. The suppression of the Communism Act, the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act are good examples of this.

It was gratifying- and a fulfilment of the aims of the course- that towards the end the students themselves asked "What can we do about it?" The answer was necessarily elaborate, encompassing American business involvement, their participation in exploiting cheap labour which is denied the right of bargaining through recognized trade unions, and whose strike action is a criminal offence. A parallel was drawn with Vietnam; it was shown that intervention in a liberation crisis had already taken place with dollars as instruments during Sharpeville and after. The question was, when dollar intervention would not suffice, what then? Military intervention had to be considered a strong possibility.

Some of the students expressed the wish to be on the MACSA mailing list, and their names and addresses have been deposited with the MACSA office.

The course can be considered to have largely succeeded in achieving its purpose in spite of the smallness of the enrollment.

"BLACK JOURNAL" PRESENTS PROGRAM ON STRUGGLE
AGAINST OPPRESSION IN AFRICA

Angola.... Guinea/Bissau.... Mozambique.... Zimbabwe.... South Africa;
places familiar, if not important, to us all.

Apartheid.... Oppression.... Exploitation.... RACISM; that's what it's about, that's what's happening "over there". But it's not just "over there".

Boycotts.... Strikes.... Liberation Struggles (both with guns and with pens); that's how the oppressive Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African governments are being answered.

These were just a few of the places, topics, and events mentioned on "Black Journal" (WHA-TV) Tuesday, 13 February in a program intitled "War in Africa". The program, through the use of interviews, videotaped excerpts of speeches, and a few film clips from and about FRELIMO, accomplished, in the writers' opinion, two primary things: 1) to those who are unaware of what is happening in Africa, it informed them; 2) to those who are aware and are trying to do something about it, it added to their existing understanding.

This was not, I feel, merely a "war documentary". I say this because not only did the program cover the training of guerilla troops but also included the humanitarian work being done.

Much emphasis seemed to have been placed on the FRELIMO-trained "para-medics and campaigns and appeals for food, vitamins and other daily essentials but invariably they returned to a fighting sequence (Could the purpose of this have been to show not only is the struggle in fighting but in providing humanitarian needs of the people

The speakers seemed to "hit" upon one topic,-- Unity. Unity both within the continent of Africa as well as worldwide. Unity not only of Africans, Afro-Americans, and people of African descent worldwide but also anyone else who is sincerely(and I emphasize that word sincerely) interested in and committed to the struggle.

If any of the readers saw the program, I am confident that they will agree with what has been said in this article; if you missed the program, I guarantee you did miss something.

-Jim Jones

Wandile Kuse and Meg Skinner addressed four classes at Janesville Parker High School February 27, in the context of their section on black and white Africa, of the Integrated Social Studies Program. The two showed the Yugoslav FRELIMO film to the morning classes (cut short by a pep rally for the sagging basketball team), and the slide show done by the Southern Africa Committee to the longer afternoon classes.

Discussion following the morning sections was dominated by one of the Social Studies teachers, Chuck Roberts, who had done an MA thesis on U.S. involvement in South Africa and came up with all the wrong conclusions: i.e. "The South African economy should be allowed to operate at full capacity, with full participation by U.S. firms, and then the economy will demand that blacks be allowed to hold some of the skilled jobs." (Like last year, after 12 years of precisely what you recommend, Mr. Roberts, blacks were first allowed to hold jobs as brick-layers ?)

The talk was perhaps appropriately timed given that twelve students from the classes were to go the following weekend to Washington, and had scheduled interviews at both the Tanzanian and South African embassies, as well as U.S. government and congressional offices. A number of students missed part of the pep rally to question the M.A.S.A. people following the regular discussion period. Among them a girl who has been selected as an AFS exchange student for next year and who has among her alternatives for country choice South Africa and Rhodesia. Hopefully the added information supplied to her may influence a more informed choice on her part.

COLGATE- PALMOLIVE FIRES
BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN STRIKERS

The American Committee on Africa has just learned that the Colgate Palmolive plant in Boksburg was one of those affected by the recent wave of black workers' strikes in South Africa. The management there acted swiftly and brutally to prevent the strike from spreading. Ten black members of the laboratory staff, who, according to the firm, had been given jobs previously held by whites, presented a letter demanding 28%-40% wage increases. They refused to work for a day- and were immediately dismissed. According to a company spokesman two of the men have been rehired, but "not the known agitator". (It should be remembered that loss of a job may also mean endorsement out of the city under South Africa's pass laws.)

Not surprisingly the company has been very defensive about the incident, refusing to release any substantial information about the strike or general condition at the plant. In 1966 Colgate Palmolive employed 830 workers- there is no information about the number of black and white workers, pay scales or job categories. But Colgate Palmolive's management in South Africa appears very comfortable with the system of apartheid. In a 1966 article the General Manager, Roy Hill commented "The majority of Bantu, having no industrial skills of their own, are employed as manual workers, while the trained workers... are drawn from the white population... There is therefore a good supply of unskilled and semi-skilled labor currently available in South Africa." And "South Africa has an impressive record of industrial peace... This lack of dissatisfaction among workers is largely attributable to the advanced industrial legislation governing wages and working conditions." This is the way Colgate sees laws which specifically exclude Africans from the definition of "employee", which prohibit African workers from striking and deny Africans the right to organize in recognized trade unions.

Consistent with this racism and acceptance of South African attitudes is Hill's report that "Another employee benefit is a medical aid scheme which the company administers for white employees. In line with local policy non-whites are excluded from schemes, as they are able to participate in free Government hospitalization and medical care. But blacks have access to almost no medical care at all.

There is almost \$1 billion of U.S. corporate money invested in South Africa today. Observers as diverse as Congressman Charles Diggs, Fortune Magazine and the Ecumenical Church team which visited South Africa in 1972 have found that U.S. corporations go about their business in a way no different from South African companies, and serve to re-inforce the whole white regime. The case of Colgate Palmolive supports this argument. But U.S. corporations are now being called to account for their actions by the American people. In this spirit the American Committee on Africa calls on those who believe in the rights of all workers to equal access to jobs, to training, to wages and organization, and above all to the power to participate in their own government, to protest Colgate's actions in South Africa.

ACOA urges us to call on Colgate Palmolive to make a full public disclosure of all its operations in South Africa, including details both about investment and profit, as well as the size and racial composition of management and the work force, the distribution of black and specifically African workers in each job category and the relations of Colgate with the South African government.

ACOA asks us to call on Colgate to immediately re-instate all workers victimized because of their support for the strike and to comply with the demands of the workers in a just manner. Contact:

Colgate Palmolive International Inc.
David R. Foster Chairman of the Board
President of the Parent Company
J.H. Carpenter President,
300 Park Avenue
New York City

Colgate Palmolive Ltd.
Boksburg
South Africa

STATEMENT OF FRELIMO WOMEN ON "OUR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE"

In recognition of March 8 as International Women's Day we include excerpts from a statement of FRELIMO delegates at the All-African Women's Conference held in Dar es Salaam July 24-31, 1972. The delegates, members of the Women's Detachment organized by FRELIMO in October 1966, spoke concerning the position of women in the Mozambican liberation struggle.

Women participate in decision making bodies at all levels of FRELIMO and village organizations in liberated Mozambique. In 1969, two members of FRELIMO's women's section were elected to sit on the Central Committee, the highest level of party organization.

"We are supposed to talk about the role of the women in our struggle. We find this somehow difficult, since in our organization women and men fight and work together, side by side in every kind of activity; we women participate in the actual fighting, integrated in military units; we work as political commissars, mobilising the people, enlightening them on all aspects of our struggle; we transport war materials to the front lines; we defend the people against enemy incursions; we participate in production; we are active in the schools and in the hospitals. So, if it is true that some tasks, by nature, fall more under our responsibility- like taking care of children (we have several nurseries and creches which are run by women)- in general we can say that we do the same work as men. And this we consider as one of the greatest achievements of our revolution. Specially if we consider against which background the situation arises. Traditional society, which kept women absolutely dependent on men, deprived women of any initiative, left them with no voice in the affairs of the community- their only being the bearing of children and the undertaking of domestic work. And then came colonial society in which women became instruments of labour, even more exploited than men."

"All this is being changed now in our country. And we wish to draw your attention to this special point, which tells of our experience: these changes have been accomplished through our political engagement. It has been our militant role in a political organization having a correct political line that has given us the proper orientation necessary to make our efforts more effective. It is political awareness that has enabled us to find the most correct path to our emancipation. At the same time, we feel that it is within this political perspective that we, the Mozambican women can formulate the best forms of coordinating our efforts with other African women. Our experience- we repeat- taught us that we must organize ourselves and struggle within a movement, that is, our women's organization must be an arm, an instrument of a political movement."

CHURCH GROUP REPORTS HEADWAY IN DISCLOSURE
BATTLES AS OPENING OF PROXY SEASON NEARS

As corporate America prepares to swing into its proxy season, the request of the Protestant church coalition, (Committee on Social Responsibility in Investment for information about American subsidiaries in South Africa becomes more imposing- and already several agreements have been reached between corporations and the church groups.

Burroughs Corporation, General Motors, Texaco (for Caltex) and International Telephone & Telegraph have decided to disclose South African information voluntarily, without going the route of a proxy battle. There are indications that Xerox will disclose voluntarily also.

Since last year's campaign, when General Motors included a disclosure resolution in its proxy material, the corporation has made some disclosure of information pertaining to the labor situation in its South African operations.

Even prior to last year's GM annual meeting, the company divulged some information. But last year's early disclosure failed to placate some critics, many of whom felt, as did Harvard, that the GM information had fallen "far short of the data itemized in the shareholders resolution."

Exxon, has decided to include in its proxy material the resolution filed by an agency of the Unitarian Universalist Association calling for the company to set up a committee that would examine the implications of a corporate presence in Angola in view of the fighting going on there.

According to Episcopal Church spokesmen, no indication has been received from Phillips Petroleum that the oil company will now include their resolution in its proxy material. The Phillips resolution asks that the company amend its certificate of incorporation to preclude any involvement in Namibia.

Continental Oil is also faced with a resolution that would disallow exploitation of Namibian prospecting rights; no word has come from Continental on whether it intends to include the resolution in its proxy material.

In large part, the corporations faced with resolutions from the church coalition have not had to make decisions about their proxy material yet because annual stockholder meetings, are still months away. With early May meetings, neither American Metal Climax nor Noront Mining has had to come to any decision. Both companies are faced with calls for their withdrawal from Namibia.

There are three wars going at this very moment, between the black people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and their Portuguese oppressors. The purpose of this article is to show the role of the Church in these confrontations.

Portuguese colonization of these three territories began almost simultaneously with the establishment of Christian missions to christianize the black African population. At the present time the religious denominations still operating there are Catholic, Protestant and Moslem.

The present confrontation between the Portuguese oppressors and the Liberation Forces has become a dramatic challenge requiring the churches to decide whether they will align themselves with the forces of oppression and the dehumanization of man, or with the Liberation Movements that seek to reaffirm the dignity of man.

The Portuguese Catholic Church of Mozambique approves of, and completely identifies itself with, the Portuguese overseas policies. Consequently the education preached by the missionaries to the blacks of Mozambique constitutes a form of cultural alienation aimed at prejudicing the mentality of the Mozambicans and thus subjecting them to Portuguese sovereignty. Even religious instruction is strongly oriented towards this goal. It attempts to generate a "christian" resignation to the evils of the oppressive Portuguese regime.

There are also non-Portuguese Catholic missionaries in Mozambique. They do not approve of the policies of that regime. This, however, places them in a dilemma -- whether to serve according to their beliefs, or in the interests of the Portuguese government. Recently some of them took a clear position: in the middle of 1971 the missionary community of White Fathers consisting of 40 members completely withdrew from Mozambique.

In their official statement on the reasons for their leaving Mozambique, the White Fathers point out the dangerous confusion which had come to exist between the church and the state in Mozambique, the ambiguity of the situation in which their presence had become a negative witness, and in which there was collaboration between the church hierarchy and the colonial authorities. All of these factors were offensive to basic principles of honesty as the White Fathers interpreted them. These were in fact the basic reasons for their decision. But the immediate reason that hastened their departure is also important, though not contained in the official document nor as yet given adequate publicity. Quite simply this factor was the intensification of the repressive action of the Portuguese political police and troops against villagers, directly witnessed by these fathers in Mozambique, especially after FRELIMO started the armed struggle in the southern part of Tete Province. Thus they saw ruthless acts of brutality, massacres of populations, destruction of entire villages.

The missionaries tried to protest, but were told by the colonial authorities to "shut up and not to mix in politics." And it was precisely the demoralisation caused by their impotence in the face of the arbitrary terrorism of the Portuguese police and military; that convinced the White Fathers that their only effective protest would be to leave Mozambique, hoping in that way to call the attention of the world public opinion to the evils of Portuguese colonialism. The White Fathers left after presenting the statement. They had planned to leave Mozambique on July 1, but on May 25 they were served with immediate expulsion orders by the Portuguese authorities.

Two other recent incidents were reported in the international press concerning the opposition of churchmen to the Portuguese colonial regimes in Southern Africa: Early in 1971 Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade was finally brought to trial after twelve years' harassment and sentenced to 3 years in prison. Since 1959 he had been arrested seven times without specific charges being laid against him; he had been transferred from prison to prison, moved from Angola to Portugal, placed under armed guard in a remote Portuguese village, interrogated, intimidated, etc. -- all because he was critical of the Portuguese government's barbaric policies, had supported the liberation movement, and had assisted the families of

political prisoners. Officially Father de Andrade was said to have engaged in actions calculated to undermine the security of the state. Father de Andrade had, following his conscience, of course been involved with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, of which his brother Mario, was a prominent member.

There have been many similar incidents, such as the arrest and imprisonment of two Spanish missionaries, Fathers Alfonso Valverde and Martin Hernandez who were stopped in Rhodesia as they attempted to leave, were returned to Mozambique, and are now in detention at the Machava political prison near Lorenzo Marques.

Before July 1, 1970, the Pope was an undisputed ally of the Portuguese government and of the administration of its so-called "overseas provinces." On the above date, however, Pope Paul VI received the leaders of the liberation movements in these territories in a private audience in which he expressed the Catholic Church's concern "with all those who are suffering, particularly the African peoples," and stated that the Catholic Church also "supports the struggle for justice, for freedom and national independence."

Although denied in some quarters, this concern of the Pope for the suffering of the African peoples under the yoke of colonial oppression can only mean a recognition of the validity and moral justification of the African people's struggles.

The Protestant churches in Angola were suspected by the Portuguese of being "subversive," and the leaders were persecuted, particularly after the beginning of the armed struggle there in 1961. Actually the stance of these churches has been ambiguous, sometimes opposing Portuguese colonialism, but more often cooperating with it. However, in Mozambique in June 1972, the Portuguese security police arrested 39 leaders of the Presbyterian church of Mozambique on suspicion of having contact with the liberation movement, FRELIMO. Two of the top leaders in this group of churchmen died in prison, allegedly as suicides, before the group was released at the end of December, 1972.

The World Council of Churches has, for the last several years, made grants to organizations opposing racism, among them a large number of African liberation movements, including the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), and the African National Congress (ANC - South Africa), through the Luthuli Memorial Foundation. These grants were made for assisting the non-military programs of these movements.

One must thus conclude that, as the struggles for independence have gained impetus, and their humanistic goals recognized, the conscience of the church and its leaders has been stirred to action, and the church has truly begun to realize its inescapable obligation: To be its brother's keeper.

S.K.

SPRING FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGN

This spring MACSA's fundraising campaign will focus on South Africa itself, and in particular on support for the defence and aid of political prisoners and their families. Since the Republic of South Africa is the center of the repressive system in Southern Africa, it is of special importance to educate people about what is going on there. Programs that fit into this emphasis include the films on March 20 in the CALA series, the March 21 Sharpeville Commemoration panel at the Afro-American center, and, we hope, visits by several speakers in April and May, including one or two black South African lawyers. The MACSA general meeting on March 11 will focus on discussing recent political developments in South Africa, such as the strikes in Durban discussed in the Guardian article reprinted for this issue of MACSA News. The funds collected this spring will be channeled to the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which has for over fifteen years provided legal defense and aid for political prisoners and their families in the countries of Southern Africa.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
(report from the fundraising committee)

One common mistake made by observers of the Southern African scene is to look only within the borders of the Republic of South Africa, and to talk as if military confrontation is a matter for the future, not a thing of the present. This ignores the fact that Southern Africa is a region, in which military forces of the white South African regime have already joined their Rhodesian and Portuguese allies in counter-insurgency operations, as well as maintaining the police-state system of South Africa itself. To have a correct picture of the military realities one must look at the region as a whole.

Within it there are three primary subregions in which the military situation is significantly different. In Angola and in Mozambique, as in Portugal's other colony of Guinea (Bissau), the liberation forces (MPLA and FRELIMO) are well-established in substantial areas of each country. In Mozambique the recent advance into Manica e Sofala province marks a major step forward, extending so far south as to pose serious problems for Rhodesia and South Africa as well as for the Portuguese. In Angola the recent agreement between MPLA and FNLA (the Zaire-based movement led by Holden Roberto), resulting in new access for MPLA forces to the Zaire border, and, it seems in a joint military command, presages a major step up in the fight against Portugal in northern Angola.

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the liberation forces are confronted with the white settler regime headed by Ian Smith. Until late last year, guerrilla attacks had been limited and sporadic, and, most important, had not succeeded in establishing base areas within Zimbabwe. Now, it seems clear that the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), under the united command of ZAPU and ZANU, has succeeded in establishing itself, at least in northeastern Zimbabwe, provoking panic reactions from the white regime: the closing of the border with Zambia, "collective punishment" for the villagers who fail to report the guerrillas, and public accusations from Smith's white rivals of "lax security." The weakness of the Smith regime is illustrated by these measures, as well as by the fact that the number of South African police (around 5,000) involved in the counter-insurgency campaign outnumbers, according to some reports, the troops of the white Rhodesian regime itself. There is talk that the Smith regime is now desperate for a settlement with Britain, which could enable British troops to aid in maintaining "law and order."

In areas under control of South Africa itself, namely the Republic of South Africa and its illegally controlled dependency South West Africa (Namibia), guerrilla military action has been primarily confined to sporadic action by SWAPO in northern Namibia. In South Africa the buffer zones of the other white-controlled territories seem so far effective in keeping the fighting away. But there is no confidence by the South African military authorities that this will continue to be the case. Their hope is that ultimately a "superpower," i.e., the United States, would become more actively involved in supporting white rule, as protection against "communist" penetration that could affect the security of the strategic Cape Routh for Middle East oil. In the meantime, in spite of the continuing economic and military aid from the west, South Africa is faced with a dilemma - to allow the situation in Mozambique and Zimbabwe and Angola to continue to deteriorate, or to intervene with South African troops on a much more massive and overt scale than at present. The first alternative means that guerrilla action moves closer and closer to the borders of South Africa; the second a dispersion of the limited military manpower available, precisely at a time when there is renewed unrest in South Africa itself. Portugal's reluctance to admit its failure in Mozambique and thus openly to accept more South African aid constitutes another obstacle. South African military manpower, in numbers of mobilized troops less than Portugal has either in Angola or in Mozambique (about 60,000), cannot replace the Portuguese troops, but only supplement them. A callup of the reserve, well trained as it is, would make the shortage of skilled white manpower for the South African economy even worse than it is now.

And following the Portuguese example by attempting to use African conscripts has risky consequences (although South Africa has been trying it out on a small scale in Namibia).

It is in this overall context that political action in the various countries of Southern Africa must be seen. In Angola and Mozambique clandestine political mobilization in the areas not yet touched by fighting, and the political organization of the liberated areas, are vital aspects of the struggle. Leaders of the movements there emphasize again and again that the struggle is not, and cannot be, purely "military" in character. In Rhodesia and in South Africa the context for political struggle, unlike that in the Portuguese colonies, still includes some possibilities for open protest of certain kinds, in spite of the repression that invariably follows. This kind of struggle - as in the Namibian strike of last year, the rejection by Africans in Zimbabwe of the settlement with Britain, and the student strikes of last year and the recent strikes by workers in Durban, South Africa - is of vital importance. It is vital not because it can by itself lead to liberation without an armed struggle - the determination of the white rulers to stop any such possibility is clear - but because even in the limited concessions made by the white regime it reveals to the people their own power, when organized and unified. Legal or semi-legal forms of struggle can reach wider masses in many cases than the purely clandestine network that must be preparing for the time when conditions make armed struggle a viable possibility. And the threat of such unrest makes more difficult for the white regime the dispersion of its troops, which may have to be called in again, as they were in Durban, to help put down the protests.

Thus, while it is important to support the armed struggle going on in Southern Africa today, and the new societies being built in the liberated areas, it is also important to provide what support can be given to the political struggle in the areas not yet touched by military action. In the Portuguese colonies one can, it seems, do little more than publicize the fate of political prisoners. In the remaining areas, however, the court system still gives some scope for legal action in defense of political prisoners, and there are still some possibilities for aid to prisoners and their families. One should be under no illusions that this aid could make any basic changes in the repressive systems of Southern Africa. As a gesture of solidarity, however, it can have some impact on sustaining the political struggles going on. In fundraising for aid for political prisoners, moreover, there are opportunities for letting wider and wider sectors of the American public know what is going on in Southern Africa.

This is a very important step as well. For there is the danger that the news media, and the administration, may succeed in portraying the confrontation in Southern Africa as merely a military confrontation between "terrorists" and the forces of "law and order," thus justifying to large numbers of Americans the increased American involvement that is almost certain to come. Clark MacGregor, former campaign manager for Nixon and now an official of United Aircraft, just recently returned from a trip to Rhodesia and Mozambique, talking about U.S. policy changes "for the better," such as recognizing the Rhodesian regime. In practice, the last few months have seen restrictions on sales of American planes in Southern Africa fading away, with a recent sale of 12 Bell helicopters to the Portuguese in Mozambique only the most obvious case. From 1970 to 1972 the U.S. trained 83 Portuguese air force officers, as against an average of only 4 per year during the previous seven years (Pentagon figures). The pace of events is escalating in Southern Africa - on the military level, on the level of political struggle, on the level of U.S. identification with the white regimes. Support here in the United States for the struggles of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa must also escalate.

STRIKE WAVE HITS SOUTH AFRICA

By Barry Rubin

GUARDIAN - FEBRUARY 21, 1973

Over 50,000 African and Asian workers struck dozens of companies in white-ruled South Africa during January and February, demanding higher pay. Police attacked the workers in several areas.

The strike wave centered on the city of Durban but also involved workers in Johannesburg, Capetown, Pretoria and other cities as well, including bus drivers, dock workers, brickworkers, construction workers and municipal employees.

Meanwhile, in neighboring Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), liberation forces continued to wage military actions against the white settler government of Prime Minister Ian Smith.

While the current strike wave has been developing over the last five weeks, its origins go back to strikes last year. In June, 318 bus drivers in Johannesburg were arrested during wildcat strikes there and in October a strike by Durban dock workers was ended only when the government threatened to deport black workers to "Bantustans," rural reservations for Africans set up by the government where there are no available jobs.

This January, both groups of workers were in the vanguard of the walkouts, with the bus drivers meeting to establish a Transport and Allied Workers Union.

The strikes quickly spread to other workers. In Durban, 16,000 municipal workers went on strike while 4,000 more left textile mills and rubber factories, reportedly returning Feb. 9 after receiving a \$2.70 a week wage increase. The dockworkers refused a \$1.20 a week increase which would have brought basic pay to \$11.40 a week.

On Jan. 9, workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile Co., over 1000 in all, left, demanding a \$24 a week minimum wage—double the current level. In Pretoria, 57 bus drivers out of 350 were arrested when they refused to go back to work, but at Natal Safeguards in Durban, watchmen won a \$5 a month pay increase after a threatened strike.

Workers in Durban held a number of rallies and marches, all illegal under South African laws, to support their demands for pay increases. During one demonstration of 7000 workers, Feb. 7, more than 200 were arrested. Police were flown in from other cities but failed, even with their use of large amounts of tear gas, police dogs and clubs, to stop the strikes.

The condition of black workers, who furnish 90 percent of the work force in mining, construction, textile, clothing and footwear industries, has always been one of a super-exploited majority in their own country, controlled by white colonialists. Although there are 15 million Africans in South Africa and only 3.8 million whites (with 2 million people of mixed ancestry and 600,000 Asians), the white population has reserved for itself most of the land, wealth and skilled jobs in South Africa.

Black workers are faced with poor and dangerous working conditions and low pay. In early February, for example, as the strike wave was starting up, 26 African workers were killed in a gold mine fire near

Johannesburg. White workers in mining receive 20 times as much as black workers. Black workers have also been hard-hit by inflation—12 to 13 percent a year officially—and a recent South African survey showed four-fifths of black workers as being paid below the poverty level of \$25 a week.

To ensure the continuation of this highly profitable exploitative system, the South African government has made all strikes and union organizations of black workers illegal. The Native Labor Act of 1953 substituted compulsory arbitration for strikes and punished walk-outs with penalties of a \$1200 fine and/or three years imprisonment.

Little use has been made of this arbitration machinery and, indeed, much of it has never even been set up.

In addition to these worsening conditions, there are at least three other factors tending to create the strike wave at this time: large-scale unemployment, the example of the general strike in South African-occupied Namibia (Southwest Africa) early last year when black workers struck for better conditions, and the forcing of blacks onto Bantustans (tribal reservations), where their basic costs for transport and other necessities are increased. Over the last two years, the number of black strikers arrested was double that for the preceding eight years, as a result of these trends.

(continued →)



HELP
SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
and their families

Send money to:

M.A.C.S.A.

(Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa)

731 State Street

Madison, Wisc. 53703

Please label contribution: "for Defense and Aid"



Manchester Guardian

African strikers on the march this month

(cont.)

There is another trend which is greatly affecting the South African job market—an increasing shortage of white workers is forcing companies to allow blacks into more skilled jobs. The report of the South African Ministry of Planning, released last week, said there would be at least 22,000 such openings over the next four years. Companies granting promotions are seeking to keep black workers near the low wage rates they are currently getting for semi-skilled work. Another strategy has been to give such jobs to Coloured workers (people of mixed ancestry) but they, too, are starting to organize for better conditions. Along with the striking Black and Asian workers, Coloured workers in Port Elizabeth demanded 22 percent increases from the auto companies where they work, including Ford and General Motors. The workers were led by the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers, which was organized in 1967 and still has not obtained government recognition.

Unions for blacks?

The possibility of competing for skilled jobs with black workers who might be getting one-tenth of their wages has persuaded some white trade unionists that they should organize blacks under their leadership. The Trade Union Council of South Africa, which expelled black workers in 1954, has canvassed its member unions on the question of organizing Africans. Another white labor federation, the Confederation of Labor, is completely opposed to such activity.

While white unionists offer the possibility of pacification, the racist government completely panicked over the strikes. A year ago, for merely predicting such workers revolts, Minister of the Interior Theo Gerdener was forced to resign; but now, government leaders are falling over one another in agreeing to small wage increases to stem the tide. One government board has recommended 40 percent increases for dockworkers.

Opposition leader Sir de Villiers Graaff said that labor unrest among Africans was even more dangerous than terrorism and others spoke of the crisis as being the greatest since the Sharpeville massacre where, 13 years ago, white police killed 180 Africans, setting off nationwide demonstrations.

The government is careful to avoid such an upheaval now. So far, a relatively small number of arrests have taken place although the office of the South African Students Association, the organization of African students which has recently played a militant role, was raided twice. As in Namibia, the government is waiting for the situation to quiet down before it begins the arrests of suspected leaders and activists.

Still, the black workers have shown their strength and made some important gains. They also have shown they possess the organization and leadership to carry through mass actions in the repressive police state.

While the strikes seem now to be falling off, 300 more Durban dock workers went out on Feb. 14, indicating that smaller strikes may continue for some time.

The worried South African settlers also have been watching developments to the north, in Rhodesia. The guerrilla war by liberation forces has continued, forcing the Rhodesian government to close down African schools, shops and businesses in some black areas. A fine of \$100 was levied against Chikywa village, 60 miles north of the capital of Salisbury, because the people there allegedly helped guerrillas. In the neighboring white farming district of Centenary, guerrilla attacks led to five killed and 17 wounded in December.

Most important, however, has been the announcement that the fighting is being directed by a joint military command led by the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), marking the first successful move toward unity of liberation forces in over six years. This step could well mean that a protracted peoples' war may be waged in the country.

"The quarrels between ZAPU and ZANU are a matter of ancient history," said Jason Moyo, a ZAPU leader and member of the joint command. "We have eliminated areas of conflict and have widened the areas of cooperation."

With the South African strikes and the stepped-up liberation war in Rhodesia, the African liberation forces have continued the important gains made in all the remaining white-controlled areas over the past year. While the struggle could easily go on for the next decade in the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia, and very possibly longer in South Africa and Namibia, the corner appears to have been decisively turned.

GOAL: \$2000 - for legal defense and aid to South African political prisoners and their families. To be raised during spring 1973.

SEND MONEY TO: NACSA, 731 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53705

NOTES OF GENERAL INTEREST

Slide/Tape Show Available: "Partners in Apartheid"

Two church ad hoc committees on Southern Africa exist in Madison: The Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the First Congregational Church and the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the West Side Presbyterian churches. Together they have set themselves the task of doing as extensive an education on Southern Africa as they can in Wisconsin churches during 1973. As a key resource they have a half-hour slide/tape show, "Partners in Apartheid." The committee may be contacted or a booking made for the slide/tape show through:

Ms. Irene Ilgen
6006 Old Middleton Road
Madison, Wisc. 53703
phone: 608-233-6340

MACSA Membership in the Sustaining Fund

MACSA has been admitted as a member of the Madison Sustaining Fund and is budgeted for \$20 per month. However, since the Sustaining Fund is no where near raising the proposed budget it is unlikely that MACSA will get more than one-fourth that amount.

We urge our supporters to consider contributing to the alternative institutions of Madison through the Sustaining Fund. It will help us too if it helps the Fund raise its budget goal. The address to which to send contributions is:

Madison Sustaining Fund, Inc.
P.O. 1187 (or 1127 University Ave.)
Madison, Wisc. 53701

South Africa Forbids Study of Employment Policies

The South African government recently announced that it will refuse entry to foreign private groups and business executives seeking to examine employment policies of their corporations. Interior minister Connie Mulder said, "concern is forever being expressed about what is taking place in South Africa, and applications for visas are frequently received. These people admit they are concerned with whether the companies are carrying out their policies with regard to employment. I have had enough of these investigations and I will refuse to admit such persons."

(taken from African Development, December, 1972)

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE IN METROPOLITAN PORTUGAL

Portugal's colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau are relatively well known and have been formally denounced by western powers who prefer to maintain their economic domination of less developed areas through more 'civilized' and 'morally acceptable' (because they are less obvious, less direct, less well understood) means. Yet less well known is the resistance which has been sustained and in recent years increased in metropolitan Portugal and which has called forth an increasing military repression within Portugal against that nation's own citizens.

Jaime Morais, a deserter in 1971 from the Portuguese army, gives an indication of the extent of both opposition to and withdrawal from the Portuguese system in the following:

"The war is costing too much already. People are escaping from Portugal. There are 600,000 Portuguese in France; recently France agreed with the Portuguese government to send home educated Portuguese from France if necessary. The Lisbon police have a list of 5000 people who have escaped. The students in Portugal have enough education to understand that Portugal is losing the war and that the government is

lying. 9000 students demonstrated in Coimbra in February; they don't want to fight in Africa. All officers in Cabo Delgado know that I deserted. I wrote them a letter which was smuggled to Portugal. Many of them are interested in the possibility of escaping; they want to know if they can get jobs."

Resistance within Portugal cannot be treated apart from the liberation struggles within the Portuguese African colonies. For though separated geographically and in terms of the specific political and cultural traditions which characterize these geographic areas, all of these struggles are directed against the state repression of the government of Portugal. And all are in some sense expressions of Portugal's own relatively underdeveloped status within the capitalist network. Portugal is constrained from giving up its colonies as other European powers have done because of its relative incapacity to substitute for political-military domination forms of purely economic domination. That incapacity is in turn conditioned by the relatively low level of development of Portugal and by the nation's economic subordination to the more highly developed states of Western Europe and North America. But the war, which is a consequence of this incapacity to alter mechanisms of subordination, does little to stabilize Portugal's position and indeed serves rather to deplete state revenue, to divert state funds from expenditure which might stimulate economic development domestically toward the military, an apparatus of destruction.

Portuguese expenditures for defense comprised 42.6% of the budget in 1968, 40.9% in 1969, draining off capital from productive investment and contributing to the decline in the rate of Portugal's economic growth. In addition to the financial burden, the Portuguese colonial wars draw human resources away from the metropolitan area; approximately 150,000 Portuguese are currently compelled to fight on African soil.

This diversion of capital and human resources has become a source of added discontent of a population already suffering from the effects of a relatively low standard of living and a deplorable lack of social services. Per capita annual income in Portugal was \$625 as of June 1971, the lowest in Western Europe. Sixty four percent of Portugal's labor force is comprised of unskilled workers. Nominal wages have been increasing in recent years; but real wages have not. And overall the wage rate is much lower than in neighboring European countries. Social services are limited; housing is poor. According to one report, the housing situation is so bad that there is speculation in hovels and shacks.

These economic conditions have provoked a certain degree of political dissent within Portugal. Predictably enough, the war policy of the government in the colonies is the principal point of contention. But the possibility of open political opposition is difficult in Portugal, given the heavy hand of government control. Only 20% of the population, for example, have been granted the 'privilege' of the vote. And extensive censorship laws have been in effect since Dec. 1970 as well as throughout Salazar's regime. Actual political response to the economic and social conditions in Portugal must be looked for thus not within the government or at the polls but rather in terms of such indicators as rates of emigration from Portugal, the rate of desertion from the Portuguese army, the instances of mass protest, of labor unrest, and of agitation on university campuses. Finally the response to economic and political repression is to be observed in the activities of a number of underground groups.

Emigration has become a serious problem in recent years from the point of view of the Portuguese authorities. It is estimated that more than 100,000 Portuguese emigrate yearly (and this from a population of under 9.5 million). In part this outward flow is motivated by the low level of wages within Portugal; yet there is evidence that much of the emigration (in particular that which is illegal) is motivated by the desire to escape induction into the military forces. The Washington Post reported in 1971, for example, that "every year thousands of disgruntled Portuguese leave their homeland clandestinely on forged documents to avoid call-up for the colonial wars in Africa or because they are illiterate and unable to obtain a passport. 83,000 did so in 1969." As a result of such extensive migration there is now a concentration of Portuguese workers in Belgium

and Luxembourg mines and on French building sites who provide pools of relatively cheap labor for enterprises in the more advanced European nations. That the Portuguese government views the mass exodus with alarm is indicated by the fact that a National Secretariat for Emigration has been set up, specifically to create conditions to stabilize the population at home and to channel those who wish to emigrate to the colonies.

The disenchantment which motivates workers to leave Portugal legally or illegally extends to the armies fighting the colonial wars. Alvaro Lopes Tavaris, one of 34 deserters who held a press conference in Copenhagen in the summer of 1972 explained that "I don't want to take part in dirty wars against liberation movements in Africa." Fernando Ferreira added that "we do not want to take the side of the colonists and fight against guerrillas, whose cause is just."

Open protests have also occurred within Portugal. In the summer of 1972 students joined with workers to transform existing cultural cooperatives in metropolitan Portugal into organizations with a wider and more politically significant role. When their effort was met with a governmental decree abolishing the cooperatives, the students called for meetings to discuss the issue and subsequently called for boycotts. One example of the government's response to such activities occurred in July when Portuguese security police rampaged through Lisbon's Higher Institute of Economic and Financial Studies, beating students and academic staff, smashing glassware and furniture. The action was justified in a statement in the press that the students of the institute were guilty of subversive activities; the police declared that "we will use our utmost ability to repress those who decide to adopt these methods."

Worker militancy has also been in evidence and has been met with similar tactics, resulting in the arrest of many trade unionists. Strikes, slowdowns, and protest demonstrations have been banned by law but still are repeatedly organized and carried out.

But open protest is not confined to the ranks of trade unionists and students. In April 1972, 40,000 people from a population of 400,000 in Oporto, the second largest city in Portugal, demonstrated in the streets. Their voices were raised in anger against the rising cost of living, the colonial wars, and fascism.

In late 1972, a group of 200 Catholics began a peaceful vigil and hunger strike inside a Lisbon church. The group was protesting against government censorship of all criticism and of independent reporting of the colonial wars. Portuguese security forces entered the church, arresting 12 who were subsequently held in detention.

The open protest by organizations and the population at large has been paralleled and complemented in recent years by the militancy of a number of underground organizations. One of the most prominent of these has been the ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action). The ARA concentrates on military targets, particularly NATO installations. ARA activities began in October 1970 when the group announced its connection with the sabotage of a freighter that regularly sails the run from Portugal to Africa. In the next few months the ARA bombed a police training college and set off blasts which damaged the U.S. Cultural Center.

Its spokesmen have declared that the aim of the ARA is to hit the Portuguese military machine, particularly the parts that feed on the African wars. The ARA supports the liberation struggles in Africa; it acknowledges the essential unity of the struggles against the repressive forces of the Portuguese in both Africa and the metropole. It sees its own role to be in freeing the people of metropolitan Portugal from the government's fascist oppression.

Many more explosions followed in 1971. One report gives the ARA credit for an attack on a Portuguese munitions ship, the 1,230 ton *Angoche* which was found abandoned and burning off the coast of Mozambique. By mid-year the underground guerrilla group had carried off what was described as a spectacular assault of the Tancos Air Base north of Lisbon in which a hangar holding French built Alouette helicopters was totally destroyed. Four explosions were subsequently set off in Lisbon, crippling the communications of that city. Another explosion hit the NATO headquarters in Portugal.

In early 1972 the ARA claimed responsibility for a blast which destroyed a

warehouse on the Lisbon dock and which contained equipment for paratroopers in the colonial wars. Large quantities of French supplied war materials were destroyed in a bombing raid on Lisbon's Tagus River project. A supply ship which was to carry equipment to Angola was damaged by further blasts. 230 blank passports, stamps and money were seized from a Portuguese consulate in Luxembourg. And an explosion damaged a NATO ammunition factory at Cruz-Quebrada which exports ammunition to Israel and South Africa.

In addition to the ARA there are a number of other underground groups which have been involved in activities in opposition to the present regime. One has been involved in raids on Portuguese banks and consulates in a number of western European countries. Another, the Revolutionary Workers, has claimed responsibility for a number of explosions in Lisbon used to spread political leaflets over a wide area. A series of these explosions occurred during the first weeks of 1973. Still other groups make broadcasts to Portugal from Algiers and elsewhere proclaiming opposition to the Portuguese regime and giving information concerning the African wars.

The success of the underground activities and the ability of the members of the groups to escape arrest has deeply shaken the government, compelling it to declare a state of subversion in Portugal and thereby increase police control. The government's role during a state of subversion is legitimated by the Portuguese Constitution as follows:

"where grave subversive acts take place in any part of the national territory, the Government may, when a declaration of a state of seige is not justified, adopt the measures necessary to repress subversion and to prevent it from spreading with such restrictions on individual liberties and guarantees as seem to be indispensable,"

Vaguely defined powers severely threaten the peoples of Portugal, further binding them to the dictates of the state in the defence of its 'honor' at home and in the African colonies. All indications are that repression will increase in Portugal, due to the intractability of the government's position, given the dilemma which it faces as a dependency of Western Europe attempting to foster self-determined development. But all indications as well suggest that the resistance in Portugal will not cease, but will grow, and involve increasingly greater numbers of Portuguese. The unity of the struggles both within Portugal and in Africa against the Portuguese government as a tool of Western imperialism is of great significance. As the strength of this unity increases, a point must be reached where the Portuguese government's offensive must necessarily diminish.

C.B.

South Africa: Apartheid Quiz

HOW DO EARNINGS COMPARE WITH LIVING COSTS?

As far as blacks are concerned, wages fall far below the cost of living.. Extremely low wages keep blacks in dire poverty. Various surveys have shown that there is a big gap between earnings and essential household expenditure, and that few African workers are paid enough to maintain their families above the poverty line.

In 1970 the Association of Chambers of Commerce calculated that an African family of five in Johannesburg needed a monthly income of at least R73.54 (one Rand is about \$1.25) to maintain a bare minimum standard of living. With consumer prices, rents, transport charges and other items constantly rising the purchasing power of wages is steadily declining and Africans in the city insist that the absolute minimum need is a monthly income of R116. Other surveys show this to be no exaggeration. One investigation by Prof. Watts of the University of Natal came up with a figure of R105; and in 1972 the Industrial Economic Commission of the University of Cape Town calculated the effective minimum level in Cape Town to be R113.95.

ALL THESE CALCULATIONS MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF AFRICANS ARE BEING PAID LESS THAN HALF OF WHAT THEY NEED TO LIVE ABOVE THE LEVEL OF ABSOLUTE POVERTY.

1972 Average Monthly Cash Earnings

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Whites</u>
Mining	R19	R360
Manufacturing	R52	R315
Construction	R50	R326
State Railways	R53	R318

An Example of "Reform"

London Times, December 8, 1972 - Africans will be admitted gradually into the lowest semi-skilled jobs in the engineering industry, according to an agreement reached with 10 trade unions (white) by the South African Ministry of Labour. About 10,000 jobs are involved, but Black entry will be strictly controlled. No whites, coloureds, or Asians will be replaced by Blacks unless the former have been promoted to higher jobs, leave voluntarily or are dismissed for misconduct. No Black will be permitted to give instructions to or supervise people of other races.

Black Response

Johannesburg Star, December 23, 1972 - A new Black People's Convention - South Africa's first political party for Africans, coloureds and Indians since 1960 - has rejected foreign investment in South Africa. ... Specifically seeking foreign investors in South Africa, the Convention claimed such investment supported "a system designed for the maximum exploitation of Black people".