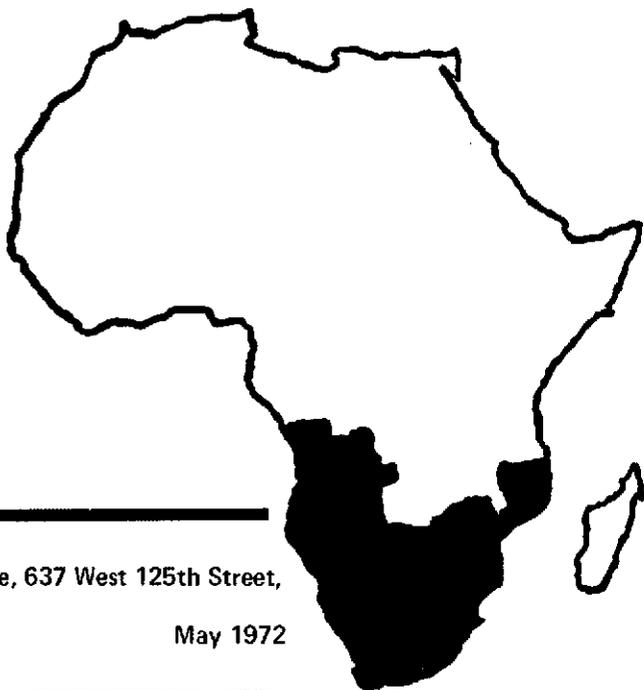


SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion



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IN THIS ISSUE:

Feature article by Judge William Booth from his presence at the trial of striking Namibians.

Special ACTION NEWS AND NOTES on black groups organizing around Southern Africa.

MAY 27 is AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY march, pickets, demonstrations in Washington, D.C.

FREE AT LAST!

The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, is pictured here on his arrival at London airport on April 15, his appeal having succeeded. In answer to the inevitable question "What are you going to do now?" he said, "Have a large gin before lunch, and a good holiday, if I can afford it," holding up his hands to indicate the size of the gin.

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FEATURE ARTICLE

REPORT: INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

Windhoek, Namibia
March, 1972

by Judge William Booth



Having been commissioned by the International Commission of Jurists to observe the trial of the 11 black and 1 coloured accused at Windhoek, Namibia, I was requested also to report to the Episcopal Church, U.S.A. of which I am a member and to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I am a member of the National Board of Directors.

The 12 accused were on trial for: (1) Intimidating other workers to strike; (2) Inciting other workers to strike; (3) Breaking their own labor contract by striking.

The trial had begun on Jan. 25, 1972 and was continued until Feb. 14, 1972 to give 11 of the accused time to secure counsel. They did secure Mr. Brian O'Linn as their advocate and the trial proceeded on Feb. 14 until Feb. 18, 1972 while I attended as observer. After I left, the trial was expected to continue for an additional three to four weeks.

THE TRIAL

The court-room procedure was most proper. The magistrate, prosecutor, and defense counsel were all diligent and fair in their various efforts. Defense counsel were able to procure a bench for the accused and note paper for them as well. The trial was recorded on Dictaphone belts. Daily copy was made available to me. My host, Bishop Colin Winter, Anglican Bishop of Namibia, made a staff assistant available for translation. There were, however, differences in procedure that struck me as a jurist and long-time defense counsel.

First, the accused were wearing on their clothing large numbers making identification (by number) easy but unreliable. Second, the advocates rarely objected to the introduction of opinion evidence and hearsay explaining that they would reserve objection on this until the closing argument. Third, the court-room audience was divided racially, and the overcrowding (150 black people packed in a space reserved for 40 to 50 persons while about 15 to 20 whites sat in a similar-size space) one day caused the afternoon detention of several black Namibians by the magistrate. Since the accused spoke several, varied tribal languages and the trial was in Afrikaans, the interpreter throughout the trial was not well able to convey to them all the gist of the testimony. Finally, all the accused but one were held without bail. Accused No. 1, Mr. Harold

Sam, has been freed on R200 (\$280) bail but must report to the police twice daily.

The accused (Except for the one coloured accused) were Ovambos, coming from the northern section of Namibia known as Ovamboland whence comes most of the labor required to support the South West African economy. They were:

HAROLD LEONARD SAM, Coloured, 22 years old, single, student for B.A. degree.

IMMANUEL MBOLILI, Ovambo, 36 years old, married, Standard of Education St. 5.

ERASTUS ABET SHANILA, Ovambo, 20 years old, single, Standard of Education St. 1.

THOMAS SHEPUMBA, Ovambo, 25 years old, single, Standard of Education St. 6.

VILIHO VILLIHA, Ovambo, 24 years old, single, Standard of Education St. 3.

CLEOPAS DAVID KAPAPU, Ovambo, 23 years old, single, Standard of Education St. 1.

MAIAKIAS HILOOHAMB, Ovambo, 52 years old, single, Standard of Education St. 2.

LASERUS SHIKANGO, Ovambo, 21 years old, single, Standard of Education St. 3.

JASON NHITUAMATA, Ovambo, 27 years old, married, Standard of Education none.

JONAS NDUILIHUFA NEJULU, Ovambo, 69 years old, married, no education.

MATUPANG SHIMUEFELENI, Ovambo, 26 years old, single, no education.

LEONARD NICODEMUS NGHIPANDULA, Ovambo, 28 years old, single, no education. (In Nghipandula's diary he said he was asked, "who advised you on how to organize the strike" to which he responded "God!")

These are the men who are charged with causing 15,000 Namibians to strike on Dec. 13, 1971. In addition to the testimony of an informer, the other evidence of INCITING the strike consisted merely of testimony that one or two of the accused stood on an oil drum inside the compound and said something to the workers in their tribal language—the police witness gave the opinion that the workers were told to strike! The evidence of INTIMIDATION consisted of testimony by the police that some of the accused had sticks, about three feet long and the size of a broom handle in circumference and that with these sticks being used in jousting position, they held back about 1,500 men inside the compound. This, together with testimony that one man knocked a piece of bread out of a worker's hand, is the total evidence of intimidation.

After a couple days of testimony, the prosecutor withdrew the third charge since police witnesses all testified that they had kept all workers inside the compound in accordance with their orders. Thus, the accused COULD NOT carry out their labor contracts and so the prosecution announced no further evidence would be offered on the charge of contract breaking.

BACKGROUND: NAMIBIA

Something must be said of the background of the country in which the trial took place. In the U.S.A., where unions have been developed to such sophistication that it is not even considered antisocial to strike, or to incite a strike, it is difficult to consider a country where such actions may be criminal. However, one must realize that Namibia is a country where the mere existence of several black tribes has been used to keep disunity among the black population. That this is a country where there is constant police surveillance of black movement; that black "informers" are paid to inform on other black people; that the press twists all news to suit its ends; that a man can be classified as "communist" because he is "active in America in civil rights"—quoting a West African Dutch Reformed pastor about me.

To illustrate the official attempt to keep all tribes disunited, let me relate one of my visits to the Ovambo compound. The compound is the place where workers are put up by their employers while in town under labor contract. The employers pay for the housing and feeding of the workers. The cost runs to about R12 (\$15) per month, of which it was estimated by courtroom witnesses that food cost is about 20 cents per day for each worker. The men are housed in barracks-type buildings with only a concrete locker-type bed for each man. The kitchen is quite unsanitary with flies all over the place and cats chasing each other throughout the place. The food is served through openings in a wire fence separating the cooking area from the dining area. Porridge is slapped in a bowl with a shovel, a conglomeration of liquefied vegetables is poured over the porridge and a piece of bread is also given each man. For meat, a hunk of bone is given on which there is some slight bit of beef. When I noted this at a press conference, it was reported in the local newspaper. Later, a letter to the editor inquired if I thought research could develop boneless cattle.

It is local knowledge, though, that at stores there one can buy meat for whites, meat for blacks, and meat for dogs, all in descending quality. The men also get free beer at all times. This is a specially prepared brew that tastes not at all like our beer. It is said to be a major source of their protein. These workers come from far off (500

miles) Ovamboland where their families must remain while the men are at work. There is no conjugal living in the compound. The area used is a fenced-off part of the black township, Katutura, six miles out of Windhoek. This township is the area designated for all black people to reside. Interestingly, by the way, the "Coloured Township" is on the exact opposite end of Windhoek.

Inside the compound, I asked our official guide why the Ovambos were kept there separated from the rest of the Katutura township and, particularly, separated from the Damara workers who are kept in hostels on the far side of Katutura. He said that if they were permitted to live together they would naturally fight each other to the death! Later, representatives of all the black tribes heatedly denied this allegation pointing out that Damaras, Ovambos, Herreros, and all other tribes do live together in peace and harmony in the township. I couldn't help reminding myself how white America has always driven wedges in the black community by separating the "field niggers" from the "house niggers," and now by separating dark from light, northern from southern, and West Indian from American! I thought, too, how convenient to make a white minority superior by lumping together under the category "white" the warring Irish, German, French, English—there as here, creating a "majority" which in fact doesn't exist.

REHOBOTH CONFERENCE

In Namibia, however, the black and coloured populations have finally organized themselves. On the day of my arrival, a meeting was being held in the city of Rehoboth, 50 miles south of Windhoek. At this meeting were representatives from all the tribes. They met for 12 hours, privately, and without the presence of the press who were kept outside the meeting. This was the first such meeting of recent years. A committee was formed whose function it shall be to determine and call the next general meeting of all tribes. Though none of the participants publicly discussed the meeting, the local newspapers loudly trumpeted that bloodshed, violence, and revolution were the topics of discussion! Another attempt by whites to discredit black efforts at unification.

As an aside, but to illustrate how the press twists interviews, I said to a reporter, on arriving at the Windhoek airport, that I would report to the N.A.A.C.P. and spelled it out as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The reporter made precise notes, but the paper said I would report to the "Coloured Defense Board," thus subtly indicating that I was commissioned by a "banned" organization, the British-based International Defense and Aid Fund.

When Bishop Winter was interviewed at the airport later, a Dutch Reformed minister suggested that he walk over and meet his incoming guest, Pastor Richard Wurmbbrand, the self-styled communist fighter. The bishop had met the pastor on the plane, had read books given him by the pastor, and said, "I have met the pastor, I have read his writings, I know he's anticommunist, and I totally disagree with his methods." This came out in the newspaper as headlines: "I have met . . . etc., and I TOTALLY DISAGREE WITH HIM. Thus, Bishop Winter was depicted as a "fellow traveler" or a dupe for the communists. It was this same pastor who told the bishop I was a communist.

Two more observations on background should be noted: surveillance and the low base pay of black

workers. At the airport, we noted a non-newsman snapping pictures of me. He showed up at many places I happened to be throughout the trip, even in the courtroom. No newsman knew him, so it was concluded he was working for the secret police. When I visited the people of Katutura, and was driven to various homes of black people, we were always followed by car and on foot. When I stayed overnight at the Katutura home of the chief of the Herreros, Chief Clemens Kapuuu, police in unmarked cars followed us and circled the house all night. There were police (black) in all my audiences in the churches and police (white) were always seen at the open church doors during my speeches.

A gasp in the courtroom audience was, in effect, heard throughout both Namibia and South Africa when a witness, paymaster for the Pupkewitz stores, stated that accused No. 8 was paid by Mr. Pupkewitz for a full week's work (8½ hours a day for six days a week) R1.54 or about \$2.06 per week! A newspaper editorial in Johannesburg commented acidly on such a low wage. Unfortunately, this is not an unusual wage. Reliable sources confirmed to me that the American companies that own the Tsumeb mines (American Metals Climax and Newmont Mining Co.) in northern Namibia pay R1.65 or \$2.21 for a full week's work!

THE STRIKE CONTINUES

Interestingly, the strike that commenced on Dec. 13, 1971 has not yet been broken despite news stories to the

contrary. Of the 15,000 strikers, it is said that some 3,000 to 4,000 have returned to work. The truth is that, at Grootfontein, where an "agreement" was allegedly reached, the workers were offered 30 cents per hour (this was conveyed to them through their headmen, appointed and paid by the government since the government would not deal with the strikers directly).

But, when the few thousand who did accept this figure arrived at Windhoek, the employers actually offered only 15 cents per hour. The strikers want an end to the contract labor system, to the migratory system, and they demand free access to their families and free travel throughout their country, in addition to decent wages. Also, it should be noted that the Tsumeb Mining Co. closed one of its mines near Windhoek and has sent the workers from that mine to the larger one at Tsumeb in the north. Further, while the mine at Tsumeb is open, normal operations are not in effect there. Instead, the workers who are there are being used in finishing operations, not actual mining.

In Windhoek, there is evidence of the continuing strike. Some of the construction operations so vital to the needs of a growing, bustling city have been suspended because of the scarcity of workmen. One can see huge cranes idle at construction sites. On the streets, too, are large numbers of black men standing idle. Also, the usual open truckloads of black workers coming into town early in the mornings are fewer in number than usual. Finally, at the courthouse, in addition to the 150 daily spectators in the courtroom, there are many others crowded into the courtyard outside, all of whom are exhibiting their support for the 12 accused.



Windhoek, capital of Namibia

OVAMBOLAND

To visit the area from which most of the black workers come to work in Windhoek requires a government permit. Bishop Winter's permit was withdrawn by the government, although most of his congregation lives in Ovamboland. The government refused me a permit, without giving any reason for the refusal. Four persons did come into Windhoek to advise me of conditions there. They saw soldiers and police shooting down people, loading them on trucks and hauling them away. They saw people being detained under arrest packed in trucks since the jails are too full. They saw and heard groans, yells, and other evidences of torture at three jails, in Oshihango, Ondangua, and Oshihati. Another witness had seen South African Army convoys drive through Windhoek on Feb. 8, 1972 between 2:00 and 4:00 A.M. with driving lights out and while the town lights were extinguished, thus verifying the South African Army presence in Namibia. Emergency regulations were established for Ovamboland on Feb. 4, 1972.

KATUTURA

At this place, the black township providing residence for Windhoek's black citizenry, I spoke with many people—in public meetings, in churches, and in private meetings in their homes. I also spent one night in the home of the Herrero chief, Mr. Clemens Kapuu. His typical, four-room home is neatly kept but without running water or bath facilities. Though I resided with Bishop Winter and his family each other night without special permit, I needed and secured a pass to spend one night in Katutura.

The major impression I gained from the people of Katutura is their blind faith in the United Nations. They believe that the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights is self-fulfilling, that the Security Council is all powerful and that the resolution adopted at Addis Ababa will end the reign of South Africa over Namibia. Thus, they looked to the proposed visit of Secretary-General Waldheim with great anticipation. I felt compelled to be realistic in my discussions with them. Being careful to avoid at all costs "advising," I did nevertheless suggest they ought to prepare alternatives to United Nations action. I tried to inform them that U.N. documents were meaningless unless the great powers used their resources to gird them up.

A second impression gained from visits in Katutura was of great compassion. In a church, an old man, dressed in ragged clothes, offered me 10 cents to help my organization, as he expressed it. Similarly, in town, a black teenager offered me 70 cents to buy for me "bread" at lunch-time.

In Windhoek, I met with members of the bench and bar, and with pastors of various religions. But in none of these meetings did I feel the warmth and deep concern expressed in Katutura.

CONCLUSIONS

The shortness of my stay in Namibia provides little evidence for far-reaching conclusions. But some of the flavor of the South African way of life cannot but rub off. The blind faith of the black Namibian in the United Nations must head the list in this respect. Only time will tell, of course, if that faith is justified.

Next, the fear of the whitypopulation is strongly expressed. There is fear of losing their good life if the black majority ever gains strength. There is also the ever-expressed fear of the possibility of a communist takeover of the African continent with all the violence and instability that can be augured up by such a takeover.

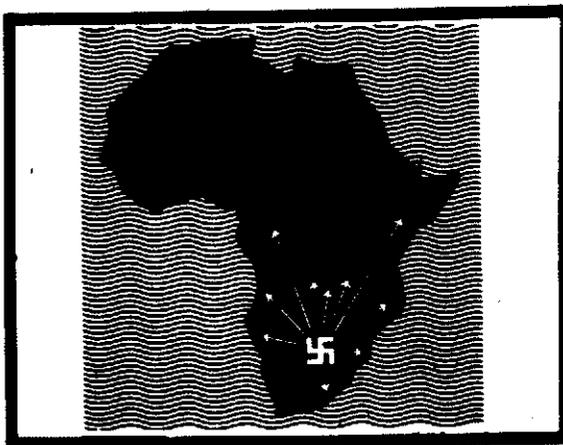
Finally, there is expressed (by whites) the idea that things are changing for the good of the black man. When a representative of the American Embassy called me to warn that the government felt I was "interfering" in the trial instead of observing, he said that any such interference might upset the delicate efforts being made at progress for the black South African and Namibia. By the way, all persons on the scene in Windhoek denied the allegations of interference by me. The sadness is that the American Embassy should deign to give credence to them and should walk as on eggs for fear of crushing the so-called progressiveness of the South African government.

It is my firm belief, though, that the human indignities imposed on so many by so few cannot but arouse the many sooner now than before since there is some communication between them and the outside world. ■

INSIDE

SOUTH

AFRICA



WHITE ELECTIONS

In a parliamentary by-election on Feb. 23 and in city council elections in early March, the Nationalist Party suffered a significant setback. The election results are important as they accentuate an anti-government voting trend that has been manifesting itself now steadily since 1966. Members of the Nationalist Party, which has ruled uninterruptedly since 1948, were visibly shaken by the results.

In the Brakpan by-election, the government's majority was reduced from 3,725 in 1970 to 1,392 in 1972. In the Johannesburg city council election, the Nationalists lost seven seats to the United Party. Thus United Party control of the council continues, and for the first time, the United Party controls the Randburg city council, winning 8 of 10 wards. (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972)

Reasons for the decreased support of the government appear to be due mainly to rising living costs, dissatisfaction about government maladministration, and anger over financial scandals—but not specifically over race policies. (Guardian, London, Feb. 25, 1972)

The importance of the election needs to be kept in perspective. If a general election were held immediately it is clear that the Nationalists would win. They hold 118 of the 166 seats in Parliament, with the United Party holding 47 and the Progressive Party 1. Nationalists claim that in a general election, involving the question of who is to rule South Africa, Nationalist Party supporters would come out in far greater numbers than for a by-election for city council positions. (Financial Times, Feb. 23, 1972)

Only whites vote in South African elections. Africans, who number over 15 million, have no voice in the government and would not share any power if the United Party were to replace the Nationalists. They would simply be controlled by a slightly different policy. Whites in South Africa number 3,750,000. (United Nations, Unit on Apartheid, "Population of South Africa," New York, N.Y. 1971)

SECURITY DETAINEES

The head of the Security Police, General Tiny Venter, has announced that "Nobody is being held incommunicado under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act anymore." The announcement came a day after the release of Mohammed Timol, brother of Ahmed Timol who died while in police custody.

Venter said anybody who had not yet been released might be held under other laws, such as the Criminal Procedure Act. Such people would, however, not be held incommunicado. The Attorney General, Mr. K. D. M. Moodie, would not say how many former detainees were being held as witnesses for future trials.

There are strong reasons to disbelieve Venter. The Johannesburg Star says that its records show that five people are not accounted for. Venter claims the newspapers figures are incorrect but who is to know in a state that can hold people in solitary confinement, incommunicado for months? (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

POLICE SUED

Damages claims totalling \$26,600 have been instituted against the Minister of Police by 29 people arrested at a multiracial party in Johannesburg on Jan. 28, 1972. The host, the Rev. Basil Moore, has since been served with a five-year banning order (see March, 1972 SOUTHERN AFRICA).

Twenty-eight of those arrested were acquitted of a charge of disturbing the peace. Two of the group were allegedly assaulted. Claims are expected to be dealt with on an individual basis in the magistrate's court. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

TRIBAL DILEMMA

Chief executive officer of the Zulu Tribal Authority, Gatsha Buthelezi, has called his people "citizens of nowhere." The Zulus have received Zulu citizenship certificates but there is no Zulu country. Buthelezi stated that Zulu solidarity was a priority. As 4½ million people, speaking with one voice, they would then make bonds with other blacks, seeking the kind of union that whites have established among themselves despite differences in language and culture.

A representative of Buthelezi spoke at a Tswana function in Soweto, the Johannesburg African Urban township. The Tswana have been labelled as the most

tribalistic of all the Africans. The Zulu spokesman said, "Not only do I speak here for the Zulu nation, but for all blacks in the country. It is time to forget that there is a Tswana, a Zulu, a Pedi, or a Xhosa, and to speak for all people." (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972)

The Meadowlands Murder and Robbery Squad is investigating the alleged murder of a member of the Zulu Royal Council, Prince Barold Nkossyiake Ka Soloman Zulu. The prince died at his home on March 11. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

TRAIN SABOTAGED

On March 31, a train was sabotaged 170 miles north of Johannesburg; 38 Africans were killed and 174 were injured in the derailment, when about six of the train's coaches plunged over a bridge. Plates connecting the rails which span the bridge had been disconnected and nuts and bolts had been removed.

Although all the dead and injured were African, many on their way to a religious meeting 30 miles down the line at Potgietersrus, 4 of the 11 coaches were filled with white holiday makers on their way to pleasure resorts in the Northern Transvaal. None of the coaches occupied by whites were derailed.

The train was one of seven specials running overnight from Johannesburg and Pretoria to take worshippers to the six-monthly gathering at Potgietersrus of the Church of Zion, a popular African sect.

According to the police, there was no clear indication at whom the sabotage was aimed, whether at whites, at the African sect, or just at South Africa in general. The line normally carries refined copper from a mine on the border with Rhodesia. It is possible that the saboteurs were not aware that crowded passenger trains would be passing overnight, since the line is seldom used for passengers.

The Commissioner of the Railway Police was quoted as saying, "I am afraid that this tragedy could be the first of a whole series in a new campaign of sabotage in South Africa. Experience has taught us that this sort of thing occurs in waves." (Observer, London, Apr. 12, 1972)

FOUR ACCUSED OF "PARTICIPATING IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES"

Mr. Mohammed Essop, Mrs. Amina Desai, Mr. Idris Moodley, and Mr. Yusuf Essack were brought before a Johannesburg magistrate on an allegation of "participating in terrorist activities." (Star, Johannesburg, March 11, 1972)

Mohammed Essop has been the center of a controversy resulting in the Security Police being ordered to restrain from assaulting, unlawfully interrogating, or applying undue pressure on Mr. Essop. The order was originally granted last October on an application by Essop's father. It was upheld in a hearing on Feb. 26. Essop was arrested at 11:00 P.M. on October 22, 1971. At 8:30 A.M. on Oct. 26 a district surgeon found him slumped, distressed, semi-conscious, and in a state of severe hysteria, against a wall of an interrogation room at police headquarters in Johannesburg—the same building from which another political detainee, Ahmed Timol, allegedly jumped to his death that same day.

At the February hearing, nine doctors and nurses gave evidence. One nursing sister stated that she had been told to say that Essop was not there when inquiries about him were made. Nurses testified that Essop had cried and groaned and been in a semi-conscious condition. A Security Police colonel said that Essop had been interrogated for three hours. He denied that force was used, saying, "It is better to treat people under question decently."

Essop was taken from police headquarters to the Johannesburg General Hospital. From there he was sent to a Pretoria hospital and then to a prison hospital. Since his arrest, his family, doctor, and lawyer have been refused access to him. (Guardian, London, Feb. 23, 24, and 26, 1972) His appearance before the magistrate was the first time he had been seen publicly since October.

In spite of objections by the defense lawyers, the trial of the four has been remanded until May 8. In terms of the Terrorism Act under which they are being tried, bail cannot be granted without the consent of the attorney general.

Moodley, a lecturer in pharmacy at the University College in Durban, had been in detention since Oct. 23. Essack, a Durban student, was arrested in February and appeared in court the same month. He asked that his case be heard with the other accused. (Star, Johannesburg, March 11, 1972)

Mrs. Desai, held in detention since Oct. 23, has been released on bail of \$7,000. Conditions attached to the granting of bail are that she surrenders her passport and other travel documents, reports daily to the police, and refrains from discussing her detention with anyone except her legal advisors. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)



Mohamed Timol

STRIKE CONTINUES

Facing strict security measures and violent police methods, the Namibian people continue to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with South African control of their country and the conditions under which they are forced to live and work. (See also the "Feature Article" in this issue.)

At the port, Walvis Bay, more than 700 African employees struck coastal fish canneries for several days recently, affecting the New Western, Namib, and Tunacor factories—all controlled by South Africans.

New demands at Walvis Bay called for day-time shifts with overtime pay for night work. Reports from Windhoek, Namibia's capital, indicate that management negotiated with the strikers, and that grievances were resolved, but no details of an agreement have been made public.

Adjacent plants continued to operate throughout the dispute, though the entire industry functions as a group with wages and employment conditions determined in common. This led London's Financial Times to comment that the strike was a political action, aimed at the South African government.

Walvis Bay is the only deep-water port on Namibia's coast, and though considered legally a part of South Africa, it is administered as part of Namibia. The status of the town is sure to be debated in United Nations-South African negotiations on Namibia's future. While the economic impact of the strike was slight—leased trawlers were simply dispatched to neighboring facilities—the political significance of the move has not escaped the South African government, nor, one may presume, the millions of African workers in the Republic itself.

Recent visitors to Namibia speculate that labor incidents such as the Walvis Bay walk-out will be part of a continuing pattern of confrontation between Africans and the authorities. In the earlier strike, workers were told that their demands had been met, but those who returned to work found conditions largely unchanged.

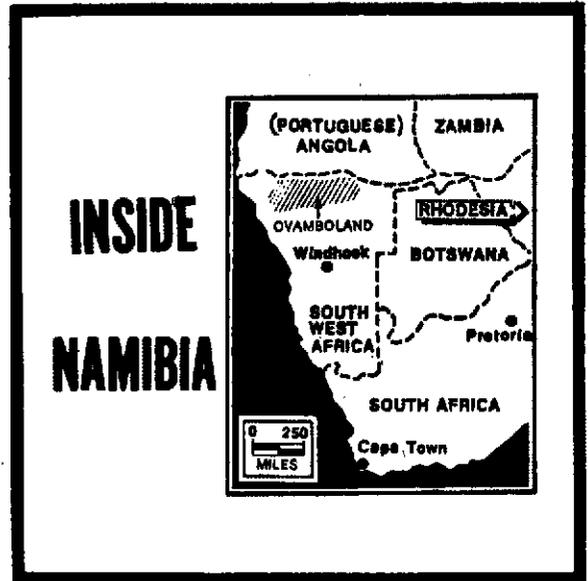
Ovambo workers, who represent the largest ethnic group in Namibia, returned to the fenced-in compound in Windhoek where they live during their spell of work there. Upon discovering their beds were still slabs of concrete, they destroyed 4,000 bunks before being stopped by police.

Last month in Otjiwarongo, 52 municipality workers struck for higher pay. Reports that 70 laborers at the Berg Aukas zinc and vanadium mine had also stopped work were denied by the management.

WALDHEIM VISITS NAMIBIA

Meanwhile, other political developments indicate that South African control, which the U.N. and the World Court have said must end, will be under increasing fire. The visit last month of U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim focused new attention on conditions in the territory where all political power is in the hands of a white minority. Waldheim's trip followed an initiative by the Western powers to promote a dialogue with South Africa on Namibia, and to head off a confrontation over the Namibian issue.

Amid African nations' fears of a sell-out, Waldheim talked with government leaders and announced agreement on the aim of "independence and self-determination" for the people of Namibia. South Africa talks of a measure of self-government for each of the tribal groups of Namibia, while the U.N. position is for freedom for the territory as a whole.



During a three-day stop in Namibia, Waldheim was greeted with a succession of appeals for U.N. aid to oust South Africa. When his plane landed in Ovamboland, 50 American demonstrators in a battered pickup truck broke through heavy police lines to present petitions. Waldheim also received leaders of two branches of the Lutheran Church who earlier called for U.N. intervention, and Chief Clemens Kapuuo of the Herero people. Kapuuo came representing a new National Convention which unites the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the South West African National Union (SWANU), and several smaller African organizations. SWAPO and SWANU both have branches outside the country, which have called for armed struggle to liberate the territory.

Most interesting of the petitioners who came to see Waldheim were a Bushman man with his elderly parents who had walked and hitched through miles of desert to complain to "the Big Boss" that encroachments into their traditional hunting grounds were creating a scarcity of game. Amazed and frustrated journalists, trying vainly to follow the progress of the Secretary-General through the area, reported that the family must have set out on their journey before the official announcement of the visit. How the trio even knew about Waldheim in this vast barren area with minimal communications is a mystery.

Most of the indigenous population of Namibia are members of the Lutheran Church, and dissent has tended to be phrased in biblical language. A letter circulating among workers calling for strike support invoked the example of Moses and the delivery of the Israelites from bondage. At the continuing trial of 13 strike leaders (see "Feature Article"), the answer to the question "Who told you to strike?" was "God did."

Anglican Bishop Colin Winter, expelled from Namibia on the eve of Waldheim's visit, says that repression is more brutal every day. In an interview with the Guardian (London), Winter claimed it is impossible to distinguish police from military troops. "They wear the same khaki combat uniform and carry sten guns," he said. He reported that four men who were killed by police leaving a church meeting were Anglicans who were shot while walking home "with prayerbooks in their hands."

Winter is a British subject, and is presently visiting the U.S. where he is travelling and speaking on the situation in Namibia. While in New York he met with Waldheim and with the U.N. Council for Namibia.

Attention to Namibia in this country is likely to grow as the annual stockholder meetings of mining companies with Namibian interests draw near. Both American Metals Climax and Newmont Mining Company, who own the lucrative Tsumeb Corporation, have had proxy resolutions filed by the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (see "Action News and Notes," this issue and last month's issue). Original resolutions called for recognition of U.N. authority and a halt to operations while South Africa was in control. A ruling of the Securities and Exchange Commission allowed only the inclusion of a call for disclosure of information about Namibian operations. (Peace News, London, March 24, 1972; Sunday Times, London, Feb. 6, 1972; Observer, London, Feb. 6, 1972; Times, London, Feb. 3, 1972; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, March 12, 1972)

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

MPLA MILITARY ACTIVITY

Various communiques from MPLA reported over 100 Portuguese soldiers killed from February to mid-March, including 39 in Cabinda and 19 in southern Angola. An armored vehicle, 3 troop carriers, and several buildings were destroyed, prisoners were freed, and weapons captured. (Radio Free Portugal, Feb. 9, 1972; Nationalist, Tanzania, March 2 and 20, 1972; Times of Zambia, Feb. 29 and March 11, 1972; Zambia Daily Mail, March 11, 1972)

SUMMARY OF ANGOLA ACTIVITY 1971 REPORTED BY PORTUGUESE

Portuguese military communiques, issued monthly, reported a big increase during 1971 in the use of helicopters on the two main fronts in the north and the east. The Portuguese mentioned 16 code-named operations in the north in 1971 and in more intense eastern activity they mentioned three or four code-named operations per month throughout 1971. These were reported mainly as destruction of guerrilla camps but place names were seldom given. In the north the Portuguese attributed guerrilla activity to both MPLA and to FNLA, in the east mainly to MPLA although UNITA was also mentioned near the Benguela Railway. Trains were derailed on July 29 and Sept. 2. (U.N. General Assembly document A/AC.109/L.766, 21 March 1972)

PORTUGUESE ADMIT HEAVY LOSS IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The Portuguese announced that they had suffered a serious attack by guerrillas the second weekend of March in Sumbundo in northeastern "Portuguese" Guinea. They reported that 150 guerrillas participated in the assault and left 14 dead and 12 seriously wounded and destroyed a hamlet. (New York Times, March 14, 1972)

FRELIMO MILITARY ACTIVITY IN TETE AND CABO DELGADO

FRELIMO Communiques indicated that in December-January in Cabo Delgado Province, FRELIMO destroyed the Portuguese Camp Agna, made three other major attacks, 15 large-scale ambushes, and eight sabotage operations, resulting in death for 97 Portuguese soldiers, destruction of 16 vehicles, freeing of prisoners, and the capture of a variety of equipment and documents. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Feb. 29, 1972) Also in December in Tete Province FRELIMO carried on 18 sabotage operations destroying 16 vehicles, one boat, one bridge, and killing over 140 Portuguese soldiers. (Nationalist, Tanzania, March 8, 1972)

The Sunday News of Tanzania and the Sunday Times of Zambia both reported on March 5 that a Rhodesian bus (with only one driver and conductor aboard) had been blown up by a mine in Mozambique. Both occupants were killed.

TRAIN ON BEIRA-TETE LINE BLOWN UP

The Portuguese reported that a landmine wrecked the engine, tender, and eight wagons of a train bound for Cabora Bassa on the Beira-Tete line the third weekend in March. (Nationalist, Tanzania, March 21, 1972)



MPLA Guerrillas

ZAIRE QUELLS MUTINY IN ALNA CAMP

The Zaire army was sent to Kinkuzu military base in late March to put down a mutiny in the A.L.N.A. (Angolan Liberation Army of FNLA). The camp was disarmed without a shot being fired, and leaders were arrested. (Le Monde, Paris, March 22, 1972 and Nationalist, Tanzania, March 20, 1972)

UNITA MILITARY REPORT

The UNITA Military Communiqué for December 1971 through Jan. 15, 1972 indicates six actions, four of them when UNITA people were attacked by the Portuguese. The Portuguese captured 15, killed 5, and injured 3. UNITA killed 20, wounded many, killed 15 cavalry horses, destroyed 2 jeeps and 2 lorries, captured 20 weapons, hundreds of rounds of ammunition and valuable documents. The same communiqué indicates that on Jan. 20, 1972 UNITA commandos clashed with a Portuguese patrol at Vila Paiva Couceiro in Huila Province, in the Cunene dam area, thus opening a new front for UNITA in conjunction with the fighting across the border in Namibia. UNITA claims to have begun political organization in Huila Province in 1969 laying groundwork for this move.

CABORA BASSA STAGE ONE COFFER DAMS SUFFICIENCY QUESTIONED

African Development (U.K.) of March, 1972 indicated that the two coffer dams of the Cabora Bassa dam project through which the Zambezi River flow is diverted can handle a peak capacity of one million gallons of water a second, only two-thirds of the flow regularly reached during the flood season of the Zambezi. This year's flood will be the first test to see if the dams are sufficient. Only in May will the river level start to recede and reveal what damage the dams may have sustained.

PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER IN BRITAIN

Portuguese Foreign Minister Dr. Rui Patricio visited Britain for talks with Sir Alec Douglas-Home the first week of March. It was the first time in 11 years that a Portuguese Foreign Minister had been to London, although Douglas-Home visited Portugal last June. The agenda for talks included Africa, especially Southern Africa; European security prospects; European trade pictures; Portugal's desire to become closer associated to the European Common Market, and the British blockade of Beira which the Portuguese want lifted. Coinciding with the visit was the announcement of the establishment of an Anglo-Portuguese Industrial Cooperative Committee designed to foster closer economic ties between the two countries. (Financial Times, London, March 6, 7, and 10, 1972; Daily Telegraph, London, March 6 and 10, 1972; Guardian, London, March 6, 8, and 10, 1972)

COREMO ACCUSES FRELIMO

Paul Gumane, President of COREMO (Mozambique Liberation Committee), claimed on March 1 that FRELIMO had shot and killed three of its men the preceding week inside Mozambique and that three others were missing. This followed reports from Tete and Beira from the Portuguese side, that the Portuguese had captured Raul Azarias Cossa of COREMO, who was wounded and told them the story of fighting between a group of 10 COREMO fighters and FRELIMO people in the area of the Zumbwa River.

A spokesman for FRELIMO has denied reports of fighting between FRELIMO and COREMO. (Daily Telegraph, U.K., Feb. 23, 1972; Agence France Presse, Feb. 29, 1972; Guardian, London, March 3, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972; Times of Zambia, March 2 and 4, 1972; Zambia Daily Mail, Feb. 28, 1972)

MOZAMBICAN GOLD REPORTED EXTENSIVE

The Manica area of Mozambique has larger gold deposits than South Africa, according to Mr. Ronald Cummings, a Rhodesian mining executive, who is director of prospecting and mining operations for five companies (three South African and two Portuguese) that have pooled their resources to reopen some of the Manica mines. (Agence France Presse, March 7, 1972)

PORTUGUESE ARMY DOCTOR HELD IN ZAMBIA

The Star (Johannesburg, March 18) indicated that Malawi was intermediary between Portugal and Zambia in trying to get the release by Zambia of a Portuguese doctor, Captain Joao da Cunha Ferreira, and two male

African nurses who landed in Zambia when intending to land in a village on the Mozambique side of the border on March 2.

GENERAL KAULZA de ARRIAGA TO STAY IN MOZAMBIQUE

The commander-in-chief of Mozambique's armed forces, General Kaulza de Arriaga, has had his term of office extended a year. It was to have expired at the end of March. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

U.S. POLICY: A NEW RETRENCHMENT

In a long feature article (New York Times, April 2, 1972), Terence Smith documents basic changes in the Nixon Administration policy toward increased contact and support for whites in Southern Africa. As signs of the change, he notes the sale of Boeing 707's to Portugal, allowing Union Carbide to import from Rhodesia in 1972 a shipment of chrome allegedly purchased before the embargo, the Azores agreement, a decision to permit South Africa to resume sales of gold to the International Monetary Fund in 1970, abstentions and negative votes at the U.N., the appointment of oil man Hurd as ambassador to South Africa, and the refusal to work against the Byrd Amendment lifting sanctions on Rhodesian chrome.

The basic decision in favor of this "tarbaby" (once you start it you can't let it go) or "green bay tree" (like the hardy green bay tree flourishing in a hostile environment, the black majority in South Africa will ultimately break the barriers of apartheid) policy was adopted in January, 1970 and its effects were seen shortly thereafter. Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom defends present U.S. policy of "communication" (dialogue) with white governments of Southern Africa in terms of relaxed visa and entry policy of South Africa (witness trips of black Americans Rowan and Wilkins), increasingly militant U.N. motions, European and military policy considerations, and the continuing "strong" U.S. position against South African control of Namibia.

The Nixon policy was apparently an option, according to reporter Smith, chosen as a compromise between the Pentagon's favorite "Dean Acheson" policy, one of

complete, normal relations with South Africa regardless of the national internal politics; and the State Department-backed "More of the Same" policy of Johnson/Kennedy vintage which would mean more verbal anti-apartheid maneuvers. These alternatives were prepared in a paper for the National Security Council at the end of 1969. The "tarbaby" selection came in part because of the Kissinger view that the U.S. has "marginal influence" in Southern Africa with Indochina still of pressing concern, but also because of "vast American corporate interests in South Africa." The evidence of a shift to the right came in mid-1970 in speeches by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa David Newsom, although apparently having been made on the executive level even at that time.

Smith correctly points out that the Nixon move, while engendering a hostile reaction among an "informal lobby of civil rights, church, and academic groups," has "generated unconcealed delight among corporate and other interests that make up the powerful Rhodesian and South African lobbies. . ."

Smith notes mounting protest against this policy, signified by the picketing of the arrival of the first shipment of chrome, a resolution by the Black National Political Convention (meeting at Gary, Ind. March 11-12) against U.S. alliance with repression in Africa, and the transfer of U.S. investment from South Africa to independent Black Africa, the Washington conference on U.S. investments in Southern Africa held March 24-25, and Congressman Diggs (D-Mich.) resignation from the U.N. delegation in protest to U.S. African policy. He also observes the impact made on Adlai Stevenson III and

other Congressional participants in the Lusaka Conference in January and the bills pending in Congress calling for denial of tax credits to U.S. companies operating in Namibia, the extension of fair employment practices to U.S. company operations in South Africa, and submission of the Azores' agreement to the Senate for confirmation.

COMMENT: The New York Times front page (on Sunday, no less) revelation of the "new" Nixon policy toward Southern Africa is no news to people concerned with American policy in Southern Africa, or to readers of SOUTHERN AFRICA. For years groups have informed the press, including the New York Times, of each of the moves by the Nixon Administration retrenching relations with the racist and colonial powers in Southern Africa, moves which simply accelerate the precedents of earlier administrations. The Times has paid little or no attention to these known developments. The Times' editorial support for the reported Wilkins position on South Africa (i.e. if the U.S.—corporations in this case—is there they should stay and do a "good American job") gives some clues as to why the Times has not found Nixon's policy all that uncomfortable. But it's election year, and defeat Nixon we must, so showing dirty linen is important, even if one's own wash is just as sooty.



The New York Times/Lee Romere

David D. Newsom of the State Department

U.S. TO SHARE ELECTRONIC BATTLEFIELD TECHNIQUES WITH NATO ALLIES

The U.S. has invited the 10 other members of NATO to a demonstration of the electronic "bugging" of battlefields and other military installations in late May in West Germany. Portugal is one of those allies and may have immediate use for such previously secret "sensors." (Wisconsin State Journal, from New York Times News Service, March 26, 1972)

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

CARGO OF SHAME

Two cargo ships have landed in the United States and unloaded a cargo of chrome and other Rhodesian minerals. The minerals are now on barges going up the Mississippi River to plants in Ohio and Illinois where they will be transformed into beautiful shiny bumpers for your next car or into some other American product. Americans will never know that those products originally came out of a slave market, an economy in which the workers are paid to live but not to develop, an economy in which workers have no rights, political or otherwise. Most Americans will also never know that the products came into this country against international agreements, to which the United States was party, to bar all products from Rhodesia. In an editorial on Jan. 14 the Herald-Tribune called it a "cargo of shame."

Entry of Rhodesian chrome into this country is the result of persistent lobbying by Foote Mineral of Philadelphia and Union Carbide of New York City, two companies that have controlling interests in the Rhodesian companies. Through parliamentary tactics, Senator Byrd of Virginia, who is a senior in the Armed Services Committee, attached the Rhodesian chrome rider to a Military Procurement Bill that prohibited the President from refusing entry of Rhodesian minerals in the country. The United States to that point has been a supporter of international sanctions against Rhodesian products, and many interested group attempts to change the situation have been stopped by both Congress and the President. President Nixon did not raise a finger in this case. (Virginia Weekly, March 11, 1972)

The United States does not really need the chrome. The U.S. government announced that it had a stockpile surplus of 2½ million tons of chrome and was recommending the disposal of 1,313,600 tons from the stockpile. (ACOA Fact Sheet, April 7, 1972) But Rhodesian chrome is cheaper because it is produced with the slave labor of African people who have no political rights in Rhodesia.

The Argentinian (Portuguese-related) ship Santos Vega brought in the first 25,000 tons for Foote Minerals on March 19. Because the Longshoremen support the struggle of the working people of Zimbabwe, they refused to unload the boat. The ship docked later at Burnside, La. where it was unloaded by non-union workers. A country-wide Committee of Blacks Against Oppression organized demonstrations against the unloading of the chrome with the help of students and faculty of the Southern University, many of them members of SOBU (Student Organization for Black Unity). (See

SOUTHERN AFRICA, April, 1972) Further demonstrations were held in North Carolina and New York and several other demonstrations are planned throughout the country. The chrome issue will also be focused upon by those who participate in the May 27 **AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY** events in Washington, D.C.

A second cargo of 26,000 tons of chrome was unloaded from the Greek ship Agios Giorgis on Easter Sunday. The Union Carbide cargo was again unloaded by non-union workers under armed guard at Devant, another small town near Baton Rouge, La. Union locals, the Committee Against Oppression, and several other organizations are now working for massive demonstrations against Union Carbide and Foote Mineral, including a major campaign by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (see **ACTION NEWS AND NOTES**, this issue). The President of the International Longshoremen, Thomas Gleason, has called on all unions and "the people of America to boycott Rhodesian goods and continue to support sanctions in the best tradition of American democracy and respect for the rights of the people." (ACOA Fact Sheet, April 7, 1972)

The United Nations Security Council has again voted to stiffen enforcement of sanctions against Rhodesia. The resolution was passed with 13 votes for and none against, with the United States and Britain abstaining. The resolution reiterated that the sanctions "were fully in force" and nation states that were party to the agreement should assist to enforce the sanctions. The United States was party to the original sanctions agreement. (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972) All major U.S. papers pointed out that the U.S. government was knocking out a big hole in the enforcement procedures of the United Nations by implementing the Byrd Amendment. The Johannesburg Star (Jan. 29, 1972)



Rhodesia
From EULENSPIEGEL, West Berlin

pointed out that the Bill as passed would allow the importation of at least 17 products, including most of Rhodesia's minerals. The main blow to the Rhodesian economy—sanctions on the tobacco industry—has now almost been corrected by diversification. Rhodesia's second foreign exchange earner, and now first, is minerals, most of which can be included under the label "strategic."

BUSINESS WANTS THE MARKET

Faced with a united solid NO! from the Africans of Zimbabwe, the international business community is putting its men to work to salvage a YES! from the British government in spite of African opinion. According to the Observer (London, Jan. 30, 1972), the business community is working on a bombardment of the Pearce Commission and of the British government with petitions for enforcement of the settlement no matter what the findings are. In Rhodesia employers were taking time to address their African workers on the "benefits" of the settlement. The most quoted statement was that if they turned down the settlement there would be no jobs for them. Before the Commission left it was more and more under pressure to consult with the government on "proper methods" to assess African opinion. The commission was being pressured to make a "qualitative assessment" rather than a "quantitative one." The rightwing weekly, The Citizen, made it clear that "The only reason we negotiated at all with Britain was to stop sanctions."

The Rhodesian economy is in trouble in spite of successes that have been made in diversification of agriculture and industry. According to Hill Samuel's quarterly economic review, Rhodesia's current account balance has fallen from R75 (\$105) million (1964-65) to a precarious R24 (\$33.6) million (1970) and exports have fallen considerably, although the country should have been ordering foreign equipment to diversify. A settlement would solve the short-term balance of payments problem, but would still leave Rhodesia with serious long-term problems. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972) South Africa's devaluation of the Rand and the United States' devaluation of the dollar does not help the situation of Rhodesia with its serious foreign exchange problems. British Foreign Minister Douglas-Horne made it clear that if the settlement was not agreed to, Britain would not give her promised R100 (\$140) million. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

COORDINATING OPPRESSION

During a visit to South Africa, Rhodesia's Prime Minister Smith outlined a plan for an integrated Southern Africa economic bloc. Smith's "economic and financial bloc" seems to coincide with South African Prime Minister Vorster's plan of an Africa-south-of-the-Sahara economic market dominated by what Smith calls the "earl stars." Speaking of Rhodesia, Smith said it was "one of the most peaceful places on earth.... Since independence there had been a welcome decline in violence." In the two months before the speech, 30 people had been killed, 250 wounded, and 100 arrested in riots protesting his proposed settlement with Britain. (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972) The Portuguese are also happy about the settlement because it will enable them to link up their power grid from the Cabora Bassa dam to Rhodesia and South Africa. (Jerusalem Post, Israel, Jan. 17, 1972)

TODDS UNDER HOUSE ARREST

Former Prime Minister Todd and his daughter Judith were released from solitary confinement in prison to house arrest at their ranch following many protests from Britain and the Western world. (Guardian, London, Feb. 23, 1972) Todd and his daughter had been detained without trial for their opposition to the British-Rhodesia settlement. Hundreds of Africans arrested at the same time and scores of others who have been detained in the past ten years for their opposition to the government are still detained with no prospect of any public hearing of their cases.

A secret tribunal set to review the cases of the Todds and some of the recently detained Africans recommended that all continue to be detained. (Herald-Tribune, March 3, 1972) The Todd ranch, 300 miles southwest of Salisbury, has been declared a "restricted area." Under the six-year-old state of emergency in Rhodesia, this means that written permission has to be granted by the government to anyone wishing to see or speak to the restrictees. Mr. Todd confirmed this by letting all friends know that they "are not allowed to be seen or spoken to by anybody. They are not allowed to receive or write letters and they are not allowed to use the telephone."



Garfield Todd on restricted ranch.

ON THE ACTION FRONT

Strikes seem to have broken out in many mining areas throughout the country. (Herald-Tribune, Feb. 27, 1972) A strike of 1,200 Africans was reported at the sugar mills and at Hippo Valley in the South. Strikes were also reported in many mining centers. The strikes were reported to be asking for a rate of pay that would qualify them to be voters. Meanwhile, reports from all sections of the country, including the most remote parts, were telling the Commissioners NO! (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972)

The African National Council (ANC), which has led the opposition to the settlement, has dissolved as an ad hoc group and reformed as a party. Bishop Abel Muzorwa remains the president of the new party, with a governing council of 100 people. The party does not seem destined to a long life despite its denial of any connections with exiled groups abroad or to violence. Smith has blamed all his troubles, including the NO! vote, to the ANC and has warned that the people who work to destroy the work of the Commission "will not be allowed to succeed." Minister of Internal Affairs Lance Smith said the "nationalist hooligans" would not be allowed to jeopardize the Commission's work. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5 and 12, 1972) Whatever the Smith government does, there is a working organization in the country. There is hope that they have learned from the experience of the parties banned before them (ZAPU and ZANU). The fact that the newly formed organization represents all spectrums of the African peoples, a united front of all Africans, and gives hope for Zimbabwe.

BRITISH M.P.'s ATTEMPT TO AID A.N.C.

In the meantime all attempts by British members of Parliament and lawyers to go to Rhodesia to aid the African National Council in its presentation of the case against settlement or to observe the charges and countercharges of intimidation by both sides, have failed. A party of five M.P.'s led by Liberal Party Chief Whip Davis Steel was informed that they were banned from

Rhodesia. (Sunday Times, March 30, 1972) British lawyer Antony Steel and several other lawyers before him have also been told they would be persona non grata if they ever came to Rhodesia. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972) An all-party parliamentary delegation to observe the situation in Rhodesia also fizzled out after Smith made it clear that Labor shadow Foreign Secretary Dennis Healey and some of his labor and Liberal Party colleagues were not acceptable to Rhodesia. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 4, 1972) Debate on the settlement in the Rhodesia Parliament itself was cut off immediately after a motion for debate had been placed, on the grounds that debate will charge the already emotionally charged atmosphere. African M.P.'s did not get the chance to try and make themselves look understandable to their fellow Africans. If they cannot debate a constitutional settlement, what are they there for? is what every African will continue to ask. (Guardian, London, March 1, 1972)

WHITES GANG UP

Rhodesian settlers are expecting a yes vote from the Pearce Commission, irrespective of the findings. According to the Star (Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972), Cabinet Ministers and many knowledgeable settlers are confident Pearce will say yes. Leaks from Rhodesian "informed sources" suggest that the Pearce Commission has a "foregone conclusion." Rightwing settlers are regrouping under a more rightwing party to pressure Smith from the right. The Mashonaland division of the Republican Alliance agreed at stormy meetings to merge with the even more rightwing group known as the United Front under Jim Desmond. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 26, 1972) A white suburb of Salisbury is organizing vigilante groups "to take care of trouble makers," i.e., to whip everybody in line. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 26, 1972)

There were many reports of the commissioners being pressured to prepare a "sample survey" outside the official report of the commission. Spokesmen for the Commission denied that Lord Harlech's return home had anything to do with reports of a secret survey for British Prime Minister Heath. However, another spokesman said later that the Commission had "abandoned" the idea. (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972)

ANTICORPORATE CAMPAIGNS—INFORMATION AND ACTION

The Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches is in the process of publishing extensive briefs on a dozen U.S. corporations and their activities in Southern Africa. The studies (running about 35 pages each) include the latest details on a company's Southern African ties, and also background on the general situation in Southern Africa, general analysis of and statistics (officers, directors, operating and stock data) about the corporation, and action suggestions. To date the CIC has produced new briefs on GULF OIL IN ANGOLA; I.T.T. (a timely choice), and GENERAL ELECTRIC. Write for your copies now to: Corporate Information Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

In its monthly newsletter ("The Corporate Examiner"), the March issue, the CIC summarizes the Southern Africa proxy campaigns in this manner:

"Resolutions were filed with six corporations with major involvement in Southern Africa by a coalition of national Protestant church agencies. The corporations were GULF OIL, GENERAL MOTORS, GOODYEAR, IBM, MOBIL OIL, and GENERAL ELECTRIC. The latter five all received the same resolution. This called for full disclosure of the corporation's involvement in the Republic of South Africa in a written report to all shareholders within four months of the annual meeting. The resolution requests a history of the involvement, including the size of the investment and annual profits; numbers of employees and racial classification; contractual relations with and taxes paid to the Southern African governments; listings of all grants or gifts made in or with respect to South Africa; wages, benefits, job classifications, and a comparison of these over the past decade between white and nonwhite workers; listing of grievance procedures for African workers if any, and any restrictive trade union contracts; training, educational and other fringe benefits available by race categories; plans for investment in "border areas"—the restricted areas for black populations; the total number of non-South African personnel employed and recruitment programs for such persons; a description of the laws affecting the corporation's employment and working conditions and its compliance or attempts at modification of these laws; and products or services sold to the government.

"IBM has agreed to supply this information in special post-meeting reports to all stockholders, in return for withdrawal of the proxy resolutions sponsored by the Episcopal Church. On March 9, the United Church of Christ announced a similar settlement with MOBIL OIL. GENERAL ELECTRIC refused to consider the resolution on the legal technicality that the resolution was filed after the appointed day in early January. The corporation will be addressed on this issue at its annual meeting. The other three corporations, GENERAL MOTORS, GOODYEAR, and GULF OIL, have all been required to place the resolutions filed on their proxies.

"The GULF resolution differs slightly in that its focus is on GULF's involvement with the racist Portuguese colonial regime in Angola. Called for is a post-meeting report on all contracts between GULF and the Portuguese government; all payments, taxes, royalties, or agreements for military protection; any gifts or charitable contributions in or with respect to Angola; and a detailed functional job listing with current wages and benefits.

"Other related challenges have been filed with AMERICAN METALS CLIMAX and NEWMONT

MINING by the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, regarding the operations of their jointly owned TSUMEB MINES in Namibia." A resolution calling for full disclosure will be on the Newmont and AMAX proxies; two other resolutions relating to U.N. authority in Namibia and calling for profits to be placed in escrow were not accepted by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The anticorporate campaigns are receiving more public exposure this year. For example, the March 19 New York Times Sunday business section carried a long article on investments and the institutional dilemma: financial need vs. social concern. The story highlighted the role of the newly-formed African-American Institute's "Africa Policy Information Center" (funded by Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations), which has been conducting seminars for various university and other institutional personnel on the question of investments and Southern Africa. AAI's interest in this subject mirrors its new-found post-Polaroid-experiment popularity. The meetings at which various Southern Africans, pro-disengagement Americans, and corporate people have spoken have not involved the core of the most concerned Americans—the students and the black community—but rather have approached the subject from an academic, intellectual, top-down vantage. The Times article also reported the

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corporate proxy campaigns as led by some of the churches, and mentioned several university studies, including a report done by the Assistant to the President of Harvard on Gulf Oil Corporation. (New York Times, March 19, 1972)

For more information on proxy challenges this spring, contact: CHURCH PROJECT ON INVESTMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1609 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. (202) 387-3216.

BLACK GROUPS MOVE TOWARD NEW DYNAMISM ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Two new publications produced by Black American groups have appeared in recent months. A monthly newsletter, AFRICAN AGENDA, which contains analytical and descriptive articles, aims to "challenge the position of U.S. imperialism in Africa, and expose the dangers that lie ahead for African countries." The publication, according to its editors, will be especially sensitive to South Africa's role in the capitalist system, Israel's involvement in Africa, the liberation movements, and the major ideological issues, including Pan-Africanism. Write AFRICAN AGENDA, 1762 East 71st Place, Chicago, Ill. 60649. Cost is \$1 per year.

The PAN AFRICAN INFORMATION CENTER is producing a news clipping survey on Southern Africa (collecting articles from publications such as Muhammed Speaks, Christian Science Monitor, British and African press) called AFRICA IN ARMS, News Notes from the Liberation Struggle. Write for this twice a month publication (20 pages legal size) from the Pan African Information Bureau, P.O.Box 2368, Stanford, Calif. 94305. (\$5 for students; \$10 for non-students; \$25 for institutions.)

In the Boston area, the PAN AFRICAN LIBERATION COMMITTEE has escalated its actions on Harvard University's ownership of Gulf Oil Corporation stock. On Feb. 24 the group of 54 was denied a meeting with Harvard's President, Derek Bok, and they proceeded to occupy for an hour the first floor of Harvard's University Hall. On March 6, 500 black crosses, representing the Africans killed by the Portuguese in the past two years, appeared starkly in the snow of Harvard yard. The group has also organized a teach-in on Southern Africa, and arranged a meeting with the Harvard Corporation. It has received support from the Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students, and the Harvard Association of Black Faculty, Fellows, and Administrators, as well as the Southern Africa Committee and the Africa Research Group. The committee calls for

19, 1972) IFCO-ACTION announced a five-prong program on the chrome problem, including (1) meetings with Union Carbide and Foote Mineral Corporation; (2) legal action to end the chrome shipments; (3) work with church stockholders on proxy fights; (4) support for the "courageous black people" of Burnside, La. who protested the arrival of the chrome; and (5) action on the Black National Assembly (emerging from the Gary, Ind. National Black Convention in March) to take unified steps against the chrome importing corporations cited above. (African World, April 1, 1972) For information, write IFCO-ACTION, 907 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C.

A COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED BLACKS has been formed recently in New York, and has issued a long statement analyzing the South African situation and calling for Afro-Americans to fight Southern African oppression at home and not by touring South Africa to lecture or entertain. The Committee praised the cancellation of South African tours by Aretha Franklin, Muhammed Ali, Eartha Kit, and Sammy Davis, Jr., and urged others not to go there. It also condemned the statements by NAACP director Roy Wilkins, that supported U.S. investment and "dialogue" with South Africa. The COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED BLACKS statement was signed by scholars Louise Merriweather and John Henrik Clarke. For more information, write COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED BLACKS, 1691 East 174th St., Apt. 7D, Bronx, N.Y. 10472.

The AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY Coordinating Committee has announced plans for the commemoration of May 25 (founding day of the Organization of African Unity) by pickets and demonstrations on Saturday May 27 at the Washington embassies and offices of South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia, and the U.S., as well as actions in Montreal, San Francisco, and the Caribbean. The actions will also be aimed at U.S. support for racism in Southern Africa. At a press conference in New York on April 4, Imamu Baraka said the day's activities were being sponsored by a committee that includes the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy of SCLC, H. Rap Brown, Erika Huggins, Julian Bond, Congressmen Charles Diggs, John Conyers, and Louis Stokes; Angela Davis, Betty Shabazz, Huey P. Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Lucius Walker, and a host of other black notables. Local organizations are involved as well as African and West Indian groups. The African Liberation Day committee held another conference at the office of Congressman Walter Fauntroy at which it gave its support to the Southern University students and Black longshoremen who had protested the chrome shipment from Rhodesia when it arrived at Burnside, Louisiana. (African World, April 1, 1972; Amsterdam News, New York, April 8, 1972) For more information on AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, write the Coordinating Committee, 2207 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

NAACP DIRECTOR VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

The New York Times (March 28, 1972) gave front-page coverage to certain statements made by NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins during his recent visit to South Africa. The Times, which does not give extensive coverage to Southern Africa issues, is the only paper that carried this story. Other papers, such as the Christian Science Monitor, which has regular news coming out of South Africa, did not. It may be that Wilkins' views parallel those of the Times so that the paper sought out and forced elaboration on the issue.

AND NOTES

the sale of the Gulf stock by Harvard, which is the largest institutional holder of Gulf shares. (New York Times, March 7, 1972; African World, April 1, 1972) The group then reoccupied one of Harvard's administration buildings on April 20 in protest to Harvard's refusal to vote on behalf of any of the resolutions before Gulf's spring stockholders meeting. (Harvard's Board had voted to abstain on all resolutions.) At the time of writing this article, the group still occupies the building, despite a restraining order issued against them.

The INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION announced the establishing of an independent group called IFCO-ACTION at a press conference in mid-March. The aim of the action-oriented body will be to politicize Americans about U.S. racism and racist policies. Rev. Lucius Walker, Director of IFCO, said that they were "outraged at our government's continued blatant and deliberate support of apartheid, mass murder and white colonialism in Southern Africa." The head of IFCO-ACTION is Owusu Sadukai of Malcolm X Liberation University, who announced that the new organization will focus on such issues as the importation of Rhodesian chrome into the U.S. and U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa. (New York Times, March

Wilkins, it was reported, defended the involvement of U.S. businesses in South Africa, suggesting that blacks would be worse off without it and that the emphasis should be on improvement of working conditions for the black laborer. He also said that "Changes should be made legally. I am not advocating the violating of laws." Wilkins addressed a meeting in Port Elizabeth of the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans of South Africa (which has received funding from Polaroid), and lectured at Witwatersrand and Cape Town universities, meeting students also at Stellenbosch University. Wilkins declared that he was "not impressed" after seeing nonwhite townships near Johannesburg.

The interesting thing about the Wilkins visit and his subsequent statements is that they have been denounced by a wide range of black groups, from SOBU to CORE to the Black Panthers, to the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, to members of the Congressional Black Caucus. His statements created enough stir that he tried several times to clarify his position, saying in another statement from South Africa that he did not defend the role of American business there but rather questioned whether or not companies should stay or leave. While in Port Elizabeth he visited the General Motors facilities. (New York Times, March 21, 1972) Upon his return to the U.S. he said that he had been "encouraged" by the "determination and dedication of the so-called nonwhite Africans" and the "noticeable expanding mood of doubt" of some young whites in South Africa. (New York Times, April 6, 1972) Dr. John Morsell of the NAACP said that reaction to Wilkins was "overblown and hysterical" and that Wilkins had simply said that one job is better than none at all, and that U.S. businesses in South Africa should provide better working conditions! (Amsterdam News, New York, April 8, 1972)

The Committee of Concerned Blacks stated in response to Wilkins' statements that black people should reject "any dialogue with South Africa which is not concerned with the abolition of apartheid itself and the enfranchisement of the Africans, Coloreds, and Asians."

PROTESTS MOUNT OVER CHROME IMPORTS : LAW SUIT INSTIGATED

The 25,000 tons of Rhodesian chrome ore destined for ferrochromium production at the Steubenville, Ohio plant of Foote Mineral Company (32.1% owned by Newmont Mining Corporation, which has huge investments in Namibia) were unloaded at Burnside, La. by the Operating Engineers Union and scab laborers hired especially for the purpose. The chrome arrived aboard the Argentine (related to Portugal) freighter Santos Vega on March 19 and is the first shipment of an expected 150,000 tons of chrome during the coming weeks, to be followed by asbestos and other materials from Rhodesia, all in accordance with the U.S. lifting sanctions against that regime. Burnside, La. is 20 miles downstream from Baton Rouge and was apparently chosen in order to avoid large-scale protest. As it was, the predominantly black local in Baton Rouge of the International Longshoremen's

Association refused to unload the ore and 300 black students (many of them related to the Student Organization for Black Unity) from Southern University in Baton Rouge came to Burnside, La. to protest the unloading. (New York Times, March 16, 20, 22, 1972)

Several days later deputy sheriffs with shotguns in hand held off 40 protesters where the chrome was being unloaded and arrested two for "trespassing." Spokesman Alex Willingham for the Committee of Blacks Against Oppression said, "We're not going to tolerate their making profits on the backs of African people." (International Herald Tribune, March 17, 1972)

In Washington, D.C. 100 people from the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) and the Government employees United Against Racial Discrimination (GUARD) marched for two hours in the rain in front of the State Department building protesting U.S. policy vis-a-vis Africa. Other new black groups have shown support for the mounting protests against U.S.-Africa policy. (African World, April 1, 1972)

Union Carbide Corporation has imported the second shipment of chromium ore (26,400 tons) via the Greek ship "Agios Giorgis" which unloaded at a desolate and almost inaccessible coal terminal in Davant, La. on Easter Sunday. It is believed that the remoteness of Davant, plus the fact that the ore had to be unloaded with coal equipment by scab labor, and the holiday date, were attempts by Union Carbide to avoid a repeat of the Burnside events. A Union Carbide spokesman said that chromium was going to plants along the Ohio River and justified the import on strategic grounds (The Department of Defense, however, has recommended that more than one million tons of chrome ore in U.S. stockpiles be disposed of!).

Organizations and groups have developed various strategies to protest the import of chrome. One group, the Emergency Coalition for Sanctions Against Rhodesia, will place major emphasis on demonstrations at the annual stockholders meetings of Union Carbide (New York, April 18) and Foote Mineral (Philadelphia, April 27). Legal proceedings have also been initiated in the Federal courts to say that the imports are illegal. The Coalition calls upon concerned people to protest U.S. violation of U.N. sanctions and aid to the racist Smith regime.

(1) WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN (legislatively it is feasible that Congress could declare that chrome is not a strategic material and therefore exclude it from the Byrd Amendment which calls for the import of only "strategic commodities").

(2) WRITE UNION CARBIDE CORPORATION (270 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017) and FOOTE MINERAL COMPANY, Route 100, Exton, Penna.

(3) For more information, contact the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 and IFCO-ACTION, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

The Legal case against the shipment of Rhodesian chrome is a precedent legal suit relating to the U.S. breaking sanctions as imposed by the United Nations. The defendants are Treasurer Connally, Union Carbide, Foote Mineral, and a commissioner of the U.S. Government. The plaintiffs include such groups as the American Committee on Africa, the Southern Africa, Committee, IFCO-Action, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Zimbabwe African National Union, the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, and others. Ruling on an injunction against further importation is expected in late April. (Information based on ACOA fact sheets.)

ON THE EUROPEAN FRONT

In the NETHERLANDS, GULF OIL will end importing crude oil from Angola. Although a company spokesman said the change (Gulf did previously export to Holland) was for "technical reasons," it appears that the growing power of Dutch anticolonial concerns affected Gulf's decision. The successful boycott of Angolan coffee did not seem tasteful to Gulf. (Agence France Presse, March 18, 1972)

At the annual meeting of SIEMENS ELECTRIC COMPANY in WEST GERMANY, the company director stopped people from speaking on Siemen's involvement in Cabora Bassa and limited the discussion to only 15 minutes. Shareholders trying to raise the issue were bodily removed from the rostrum. (Nationalist, Tanzania, March 18, 1972)

SHARPEVILLE COMMEMORATIONS

Conferences or meetings on Southern Africa were held during the week of Sharpeville (March 20-25) at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), and the University of Connecticut (Storrs). In Washington more than 500 gathered to discuss strategies on Southern Africa on

March 23, and in New York groups gathered for a meeting at the United Nations sponsored by the Special Committee on Apartheid to commemorate International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (March 21). A leafletting was held at Columbia University protesting the university's holding of stock in companies involved in Southern Africa.

GULF BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN

The Gulf Boycott Coalition has produced a leaflet showing the close connection between the Mellons of Pittsburgh (with major holdings in Gulf and six other multinational companies) and the Republican Party. The flier is entitled "All in the Family (The Mellon Family That Is!)"

FLASH - FLASH - FLASH - FLASH

At the time of going to press it has been learned that Columbia University has agreed to divest itself of all its Gulf stock as a result of an evaluation process relating to social responsibility criteria.

ECONOMICS



ECONOMIC CRISIS

South Africa is experiencing its worst economic crisis since the Nationalist government took office in 1948. There is a general sense of gloom, not to mention doom, in the pronouncements of government minister, economists, and industrialists and businessmen.

After starting the year with a record balance of payments gap of \$1,767 million, there followed massive cost of living increases, slumping car sales, diminishing economic growth rate, and warnings of possible heavy unemployment. Mr. Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, admitted that 1972 was probably the "most difficult... period this government has gone through." (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972) He was speaking during the railways budget debate, when, for the second year in succession, he was budgeting for a deficit. For years revenue from railway operations regularly exceeded expectations to provide fat surpluses, and in this respect what is happening to the railways is a good indicator of what is happening to the economy. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, March 9, 1972)

What is happening is that South Africa's real growth per head of population is among the lowest in the world, according to the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce). (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 29, 1972)

GOVERNMENT CALLS FOR CURBS ON WAGES

For 1971 the total value of imports was \$3,795 million and exports \$2,004 million. Compared with 1970 imports increased by \$444 million and exports by a meager \$9.9 million. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1972) Car sales for the first two months of 1972 were 27,226—a drop of 4.58 percent over last year—with industrialists expressing fears of a crisis in the industry unless the budget provides some relief. (Star, Johannesburg, March 18, 1972)

The Minister of Planning, Mr. Loots, called on trade unions to curb wage and salary demands, which appeal was rejected by Mr. Tom Murray, president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, March 2, 1972) Murray said it had become essential, against a background of authority's inability to control price increases, for trade unions to continue protecting living standards of their workers. At the same time, Mr. L. C. Scheepers, vice president of TUCSA, warned the government that mass unemployment would be the inevitable result if the economic growth rate fell from its present level. He stressed that this would particularly affect Africans. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1972)

Harry Oppenheimer continued to tell the government that the economic problems of South Africa would not be solved until the black labor force was properly trained and used. Speaking at Stellenbosch University, he also attacked growing "nationalization" of the economy. He said public corporations were moving rapidly into the general business field without any regard to the special purposes for which they were supposed to have been formed. They operated with public money and were therefore able to carry on their operations largely free from normal business disciplines imposed by responsibility for shareholders' money.

Mandy Moross, chief executive of the Schlesinger Organization, warned that the time available for solving South Africa's economic problems was beginning to run out. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 28, 1972) He saw this as the key to ensuring political stability. It required a switch in government labor policy, a reduction in personal taxation, a new approach to government spending, and greater cost control throughout the economy.

Mr. C. H. J. van Aswegen, chairman of Santam Bank, and Dr. Jan S. Marais, chairman of Trust Bank, also attacked government handling of the economy. Several trade union leaders called for better deals for African workers through better training and closing of the "pay gap." The Amalgamated Engineering Union asked members to support the idea that "non-white workers be organized to bring an end to the exploitation that is taking place by the employment of these workers under exemption from industrial agreements at lower rates of pay." (Star, Johannesburg, March 4, 1972)

SKILLED LABOR "SHORTAGES"

A member of the South African Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, Mr. Leslie Lulofs, announced that top-level negotiations had opened the way for at least a partial solution to South Africa's skilled and semi-skilled manpower "shortages." (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 26, 1972) He said: "Certain broad principles with regard to labor availability and training have been hammered out as a result of negotiations thus far made between employers, employees, and the government."

While this may or may not herald the change in government labor policy that businessmen and industrialists have been demanding for years, both TUCSA (the Trade Union Council of South Africa) and political reporter Stanley Uys think that apartheid is crumbling. Stanley Uys finds his hope in the decision by two government departments to relax the color bar. (Guardian, London, March 22, 1972)

The railways will experiment by allowing each white bricklayer to train two blacks who will work with him in a group. The post office will train blacks as telephone mechanics, and later possibly as more advanced technicians. Uys found it significant that to make these moves the cooperation of two white trade unions in the two departments was secured.

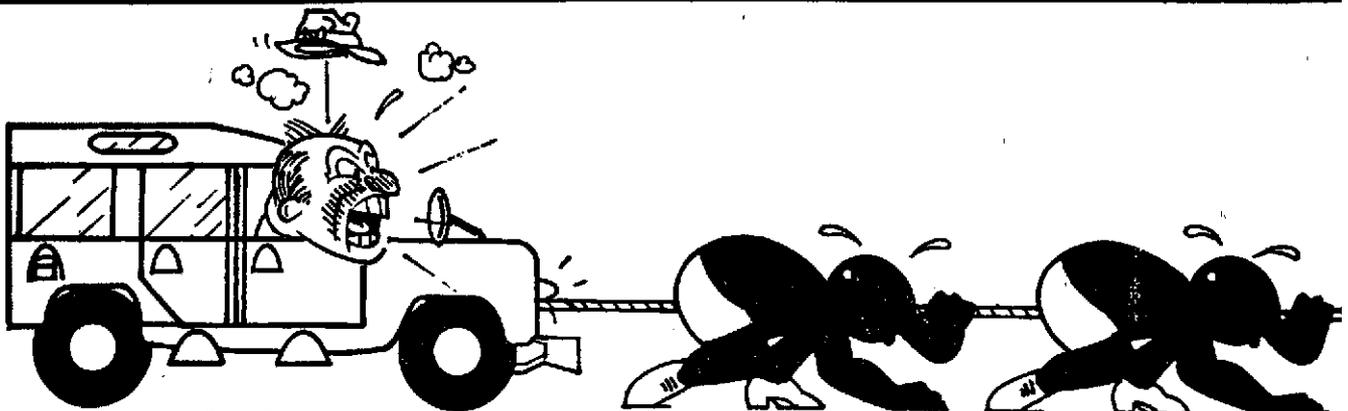
TUCSA bases its analysis on the growing dependency of the economy on "nonwhite" workers, particularly Africans. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Jan. 20, 1972) In six major employment areas—mining, construction, manufacturing, electricity, and transport and communications—the ratio of black to white workers is approaching five to one.

Unfortunately Uys's optimism is unfounded. Apartheid is not collapsing as a result of the government having to relax job restrictions due to its skilled labor shortage. As pointed out by Ruth First (see "Feature Article," SOUTHERN AFRICA, March, 1972), "revisions in government policy all serve to show that apartheid, far from buckling at the seams, is resourceful, even 'flexible' in solving some of the bottlenecks that have developed in industry and at the same time entrenching white control and privilege. As the economy has grown more efficient, so have apartheid controls." The government is more than powerful enough to cope with the flexibility needed due to growing industrialization, and to absorb dissension within its ranks. The industrialists are perfectly aware that their economic interests are best served by the Nationalist government and the policies of apartheid.

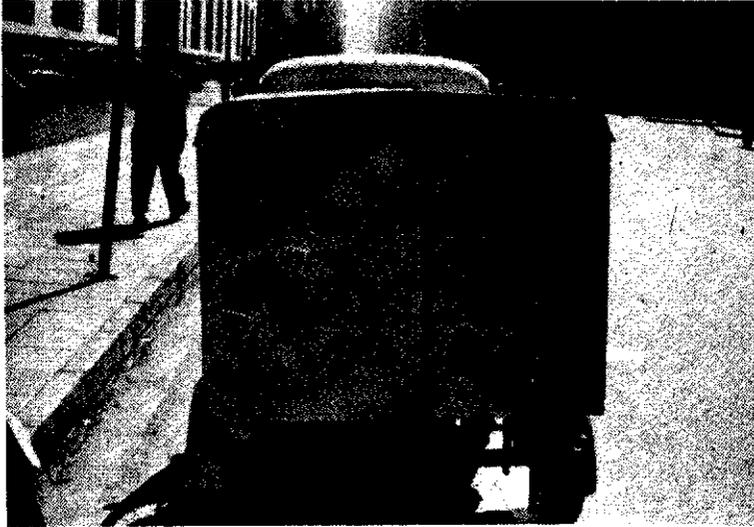
HARBOR PROJECT

The South African government is to go ahead with the giant harbor project at Saldanha Bay in spite of the shock of Japanese withdrawal from the scheme. The port was to be developed to handle bulk iron ore for which large orders were anticipated from Japan. Mr. S. L. Muller, Minister of Economic Affairs, told parliament that because of an extraordinary economic recession in Japan and the international monetary situation, ISCOR (Iron and Steel Corporation) was being requested to postpone negotiations of these orders. The request had come in a communication from the Japanese steel industry during February.

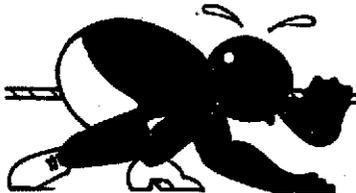
He said that negotiation of long-term iron ore contracts would be postponed for one or two years—until an improvement in the Japanese steel industry has come about. But the communication confirmed Japanese interest in the large source of high-grade South Africa ore which they regard as one of the most promising sources of supply for the foreseeable future.



Richard Yeend



**From Viet Nam to South Africa:
yet another U.S. corporation benefitting from apartheid.**



THE

LIBERATION

MOVEMENTS

DANISH GOVERNMENT TO GRANT FUNDS TO MOVEMENTS

During a trip to Tanzania and Zambia, Danish Foreign Minister Kurt Andersen announced that his government would give \$840,000 in educational and humanitarian assistance to the anti-Portuguese liberation movements. He also announced that Denmark would suspend credit guarantees to fellow NATO partner Portugal, plus work within NATO on the Portuguese issue. In Africa, Andersen visited the OAU Liberation Committee, met with President Nyerere of Tanzania, and went to FRELIMO headquarters. The PAIGC has appealed to the Danish government for funds to build a prefabricated hospital in neighboring Guinea-Conakry. The Danish government grants follow on the heels of increased Swedish aid, and preceded an announcement that the Norwegian government was to give \$168,000 to PAIGC. The Portuguese and South Africans have condemned the new Danish move and Portugal recalled its ambassador from Copenhagen. At present a Swedish government-financed radio transmitter system is being used by PAIGC to double its school enrollment in liberated Guinea. (Guardian, London, March 10, 1972; Standard, Tanzania, March 19, 1972; Daily Telegraph, London, March 20, 1972; Financial Times, March 27, 1972; Agence France Presse, March 20, 1972; Zurcher AZ, Switzerland, Feb. 29, 1972)

STUDY OF TECHNICAL INSTITUTE UNDER WAY

The Swedish government agency SIDA and UNESCO have sent representatives to Africa to discuss with MPLA and FRELIMO about a feasibility study for a technical institute to be built for the movements in Congo-Brazzaville. (Nationalist, Tanzania, March 16, 1972)

RED CROSS TO DISCUSS STATUS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

The International Red Cross Society is to confer on changing the Geneva Convention related to prisoners of war to encompass freedom fighters and guerrilla warfare participants. The Assistant Director of the Society is travelling in Africa to elicit more African participation in the meeting. (Nationalist, Tanzania, March 14, 1972)

THE O.A.U. AND THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Mr. Timothy Kankasa, who led the Zambian delegation to a recent OAU Ministerial Council meeting, said that member states had mostly paid up funds to the OAU Liberation Committee. The Council, he said, was pleased with the progress of the struggle in the Portuguese territories, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. (Times of Zambia, Feb. 21, 1972) Current OAU Chairman Ould Daddah met in late February on an informal basis with President Kaunda of Zambia whom he called the OAU's "front-line commander." He said the visit to Lusaka gave him a chance to convey OAU support to the liberation movements there. He also said that the Pan African organization was displeased with French justifications for the sale of Mirage jets to be assembled in South Africa. (Nationalist, Tanzania, Feb. 28, 1972) At the opening of an OAU Labor Ministerial Conference, Uganda President Amin said his country would continue to aid the Southern African liberation movements. (Agence France Presse, March 7, 1972)



The well-designed pavilion, flying the flags of the countries represented, aroused great interest among Kenyan and foreign visitors to the fair. The specially built "FRELIMO House" contained a display of photographs and literature on the liberation struggle and also Mozambique handicrafts such as ebony and ivory carvings. MPLA showed weapons used by the Portuguese, show down or captured in Angola, including American-made helicopters and jet fighters. They also had a display of books prepared for use in the liberated territories; reading primers, math books, and instruction books for medical clinics. PAIGC photographs showed clinics and people suffering from napalm wounds. SWAPO distributed lapel badges and small flags as well as literature on the struggle in Namibia. MOLINACO displayed Comoro Islands produce (spices and essential oils) and literature on their campaign against French rule in the islands. ZANU and ZAPU displayed side by side, as did ANC and PAC.

A number of Kenyan and foreign dignitaries visited the pavilion, among them President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who pledged Kenyan support for the movements fighting to free countries still under colonial rule. Other visitors included Dialo Telli, Secretary General of the OAU, Robert Gardner, and several ambassadors.

DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE TO VISIT LIBERATED AREAS

In April the United Nations Committee of 24 on Decolonization met to hear front-line reports on Southern Africa in Conakry, Lusaka, and Addis Ababa. The Committee recently voted to send delegates from Sweden, Tunisia, and Ecuador into the liberated areas of Portuguese Africa. (Standard, Tanzania, March 17, 1972)

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AT THE FIRST ALL-AFRICA TRADE FAIR

Liberation movements were well represented at the OAU First All-Africa Trade Fair, held in Nairobi, Kenya between Feb. 23 and March 5, 1972. Movements from a total of seven countries exhibited at the special pavilion in a central part of the fairground; MPLA (Angola), FRELIMO (Mozambique), PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau), SWAPO (Namibia), MOLINACO (Comoro Islands), ZANU and ZAPU (Zimbabwe), and PAC and ANC (South Africa.)

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

ANGLICAN DEAN EXONERATED, LEAVES SOUTH AFRICA

Anglican Dean Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh has been cleared on charges of violating South Africa's Terrorism Act. On April 14, the South African Appeals Court threw out the dean's earlier five-year conviction by a lower court on Nov. 1, 1971. The former dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg left for London soon after the Appeals Court decision, declining an invitation to accept a second seven-year term at St. Mary's.

In a decision that ran to 226 pages, Chief Justice Ogilvie Thompson of the Appeals Court noted that it was clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that the dean intensively disapproves of many of the laws on the statute books, particularly those on apartheid. But, the chief justice added, it was also clear that the dean was not a supporter of terrorism, because terrorism would result in domination of whites by blacks. Concurring with Chief Justice Thompson were Justices D. H. Botha and W. G. Trollop. (Religious News Service, April 14, 1972)

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE REPORT ON GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT OF CHURCHES

The Christian Institute, an ecumenical, interracial organization based in Johannesburg and Cape Town, has been one of the few outspoken institutional opponents of apartheid. In a report released recently, the Institute summarized actions the South African government has taken over the last few years against church people opposed to government policies. The report stated that:

-Since the beginning of 1968, the state has penalized more than 80 clergymen in some way;

-Between 1957 and 1967 only 25 clergymen were penalized by the state or put under surveillance by security police;

-Those against whom the state has acted include more than 40 Anglicans, 13 Lutherans, 11 Methodists, and 11 Catholics. Clergy of other faiths who have been penalized include Baptists, Presbyterians, Moslems, and Moravians;

-Penalties include deportations, passport refusals, visa refusals, withdrawals of temporary residence permits, and security police interrogation or raids of the homes of the clergy or of people related to them or working with them;

—Since the beginning of 1971, 11 clergy, including Dr. Andre Appel, secretary-general of the Lutheran World Federation, have been refused permission to visit Namibia.

The offices of the Christian Institute itself, both in Johannesburg and Cape Town, were thoroughly searched by South African Security Police in a raid in February, 1971. (NC News Service, March 20, 1972)

CHANGE IN MOZAMBIQUE BISHOPS ANNOUNCED

Pope Paul VI announced several changes among the bishops of Mozambique, where some missionaries recently accused the bishops of siding with the Portuguese government against basic human rights for the blacks. Last May the White Fathers congregation withdrew all 40 of its missionaries from Mozambique in a symbolic protest against the white minority government there. The following month, the bishops of Mozambique (all Portuguese) deplored this withdrawal and insisted that neither they nor missionaries should be involved in politics. The bishops said there has been an ever-increasing participation of all races in public life and educational opportunities.

Two weeks later, superiors of the White Fathers issued a statement describing the bishops as servile to the Portuguese regime. "After several centuries of continued presence and work by the church in Mozambique, how many African bishops are there? How many African priests? How many Africans in positions of authority or responsibility?" the White Fathers asked.

One missionary in Rome (not a member of the White Fathers) said that the new episcopal appointments would not alter the situation in Mozambique. "Moving people around is something, but really, the ingredients in the soup are still the same, so the soup is not going to taste any different," was the missionary's appraisal of the situation.

Last July one White Father charged that systematic terror and torture are the Portuguese regime's "arguments to convince the blacks of Mozambique to be Portuguese." In April, 1968 the French-speaking bishops of West Africa condemned Portugal for continuing its colonial policy. (NC News Service, Feb. 25, 1972)

U.C.C. JOURNAL SCORES I.B.M., G.E.

An article in a United Church of Christ publication has accused IBM and General Electric of making "strategic contributions" to apartheid and white control in South Africa. The article appeared in SOCIAL ACTION and was written by Timothy Smith (of the Southern Africa Committee), an associate for African Affairs of the United Church's Council for Christian Social Action. The article appeared at about the same time as the report of the recent trip to South Africa by a 16-person ecumenical team that went to investigate conditions of Africans employed by U.S. firms in that country.

Some of the team addressed the U.N. Committee on Apartheid in March urging a stepped-up campaign against corporations doing business with South Africa and encouraging support for the liberation movements of Southern Africa. In addition, others testifying were Bill Johnston of the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, the Rev. Donald Morton of South Africa, Richard Fagley of the World Council of Churches, and Canon Collins of the International Defense and Aid Fund (London), as well as Tim Smith.

Archbishop Edward Crowther, expelled from South Africa several years ago, also testified that "if churches

played their part in the fight against racism, the course of history might be changed." (Religious News Service, March 22, 1972)

The report of the 16 who visited South Africa stated that U.S. companies there (there are more than 300 now) are not more "enlightened" or "sensitive" to the situation of non-whites than South African firms. They found that U.S. firms reflected the "customs and practices" of apartheid, and that U.S. corporations do not give non-whites equal pay for equal work. Some do not even pay a living wage. (Religious News Service, Feb. 16, 1972)

ANGLICANS TO FIGHT RACISM

The Anglican Church in South Africa will establish multiracial "Challenge Groups" in each parish to watch out for and attempt to eliminate any sign of racism in the congregations. "For the first time," said Anglican Dean E. L. King of Cape Town, "we are taking a long, hard, honest, and even brutal look at ourselves, and not at the government."

"We are always passing pious resolutions attacking racism," said King, "but the issue of church schools that are attended only by whites, and the fact that no black or coloured priest has ever been appointed over an all-white parish, shows that there is one-way traffic that is rightly seen as racist by black and coloured Anglicans. . . ." (NC News Service, April 10, 1972)



AT THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N. VOTE ON SANCTIONS

The United Nations General Assembly voted to censure the U.S. for sanctions busting, while the U.S. and U.K. both abstained on the Security Council resolutions calling for continuing sanctions. Most recently the U.S. has prosecuted two small companies and several individuals for breaking sanctions by trying to set up a chemical plant in Rhodesia, but apparently sees no contradiction between this move and the government's own more massive importation of Rhodesian chrome. (New York Times, April 13, 1972) The O.A.U. has again condemned any move by Britain or the U.S. to confer legal status on the minority ruled government of Rhodesia, and pledged more aid to the Zimbabwe liberation movements. (International Herald Tribune, Feb. 21, 1972)

"Sanctions must remain. . . . Sanctions are the only weapon we have. . . . The inconvenience for Blacks is merely the price of freedom."

—Bishop Abel Muzorewa,
Chairman, African National Council

"We call on the government of this country, the trade unions, and the American people, to boycott Rhodesian goods and to continue the support of the sanctions in the best tradition of American democracy and respect for the rights of free people."

—Thomas W. Gleason, President
International Longshoremens Assoc.

SOUTH AFRICA'S HOSTAGES

"DEVELOPMENT" IN BOTSWANA, SWAZILAND, AND LESOTHO: With a little help from the land of apartheid.

A number of articles have been written recently about "development" projects in these three nations that are captives of South Africa, due to their territorial situation and economic dependence. Part and parcel of these plans is the prime role of South African capital and "know-how."

Botswana is on the verge of a large mining project. One will be run by De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines (of Namibia fame) at Orapa, on the fringe of the Kalahari Desert. Another is a copper-nickel project at Selebe-Pikwe, run by Roan Selection Trust, in which American Metal Climax (also of Namibia fame) has a 40 percent interest.

De Beers has built a 140-mile road and a \$21-billion dam to accompany its mine. A coal mine for a thermal station and a 30-mile railroad that will connect with the South Africa—Rhodesia—Zambia route, and a \$5-million dam all come with the copper mine. Between them, the two projects are expected to generate \$50 million to the country's infrastructure, and \$21 million to the treasury annually, double the present figure.

Botswana says it intends to use the spun-off wealth as

part of a \$140-million rural development plan. That plan also contemplated a road to Zambia, which has caused opposition and consternation from security-conscious South Africa.

Swaziland is involved in British-led development totalling \$65 million aimed at, among other things, irrigation, paper production, and forestry. However, the managing agency, Commonwealth Development Corporation, is also associated with the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa in a huge iron ore project in Ngwenya and the Swaziland Railway which carries the ore to Mozambique. Mineral production value is expected to approach \$28 million a year.

The agency also holds an interest in a new Holiday Inn built for the booming tourist trade that accommodates gambling and other activities worth approximately \$4.2 million a year to the economy. Most tourists come from South Africa and Mozambique.

In Lesotho, a massive scheme, the Oxbow Project, will soon go ahead. A study financed by the U.N. Development Program, supervised by the World Bank and run by a London-based firm, has presented a feasibility study that was accepted by the Lesotho government. The project will be built on the Malibanatso River, and water will be sold to South Africa. (New York Times, Jan. 31, 1972; Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5, 1972)

ZAMBIA

INTERNAL THREAT TO ZAMBIA?

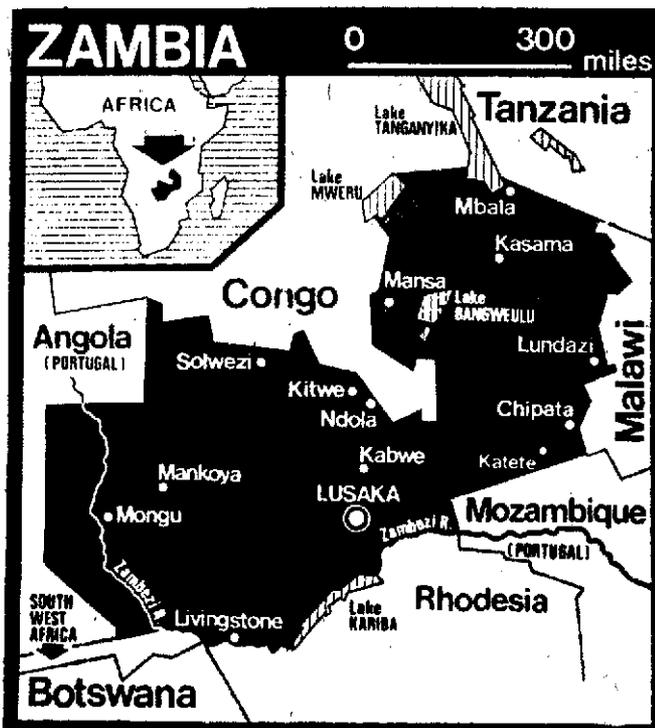
The Johannesburg Star (Feb. 5, 1972) reports an alleged incident where Zambian villagers near the Angolan border accused MPLA of "plundering their food and women." The Star reports scores of villagers fleeing the area. MPLA's Zambian representative, Jacob Kamaleta, described the whole story as "nonsense."

The Star also went on to report on a new book published in South Africa by an American, Dr. J. Bowyer Bell, entitled: "The Myth of the Guerrilla," in which the author totally discounts the possibilities of effective armed action below the Zambezi. Bell writes: "The remaining guerrillas cannot be kept in Zambia forever, if for no other reason than that the Zambian government is quite aware of the danger of armed and disgruntled aliens to the fragile structure of the State." Bell continues: "The O.A.U. and various sympathetic governments may not take the strain."

Apparently Bell's analysis leaves out any connection between the movements' struggle in the Portuguese colonies and those below the Zambezi. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 5 and 12, 1972)

ZAMBIAN REFUGEES NUMBER 17,000

In a report on the subject, Zambia News (Jan. 1972) placed the number of refugees from white-ruled Southern African countries in Zambia at 17,000. The report gave details on how the government goes about settling the refugees in rural areas, with the exception of students and professionals. Funding is shared on a tripartite basis between the government, the United Nations, and the Lutheran Church. Apparently a number of skilled, urban refugees present problems and frustration for the nations "Zambianization policy."



BOOK REVIEWS

Don Barnett and Roy Harvey, THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA: MPLA, LIFE HISTORIES AND DOCUMENTS (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1972), Hardcover, \$6.95.

Barbara Cornwall, THE BUSH REBELS: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF BLACK REVOLT IN AFRICA (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), Hardcover, \$6.95.

These two books tell in different ways the story of the revolutionary struggles going on in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Of the two, the Barnett-Harvey book is of most interest, as it is the first in English to tell the story of the Angolan struggle from the point of view of the liberation movement. In format it consists of interviews with MPLA leaders, many of which have already appeared in the pamphlets produced by the Liberation Support Movement, and four life histories of participants in the guerrilla struggle. These life histories are the heart of the book, the personal stories of Economia do Pais, 52 years old; Marsha, 14 years old; Paulo Candonga, 21 years old; Kufa Kua Angola, 26 years old. Their stories reveal in the telling much about both Portuguese colonialism and the development of the struggle against it.

Barbara Cornwall, the wife of a leader of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of Cyprus, went inside Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau with FRELIMO and PAIGC cadres. The book is the story of her trips, with much detailed description and personal observation, and comparatively little analysis. It is the story of the two struggles from the point of view of a sympathetic observer, well and simply written.

NOTE: Other previous books with some detail on the liberation struggles include:

FOR ANGOLA:

Robert Davezies, *LA GUERRE D'ANGOLA* (1968), and *LES ANGOLAIS* (1965). Personal stories from both MPLA and UPA.

John Marcum, *THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION* (Vol. I, 1950-1962), 1969. Academic. Much background information.

Douglas Wheeler and Rene Pelissier, *ANGOLA* (1971). Academic survey. Includes information on early nationalism.

FOR MOZAMBIQUE:

Eduardo Mondlane, *THE STRUGGLE FOR MOZAMBIQUE* (1969), by FRELIMO's first President, assassinated in 1969.

FOR GUINEA:

Amilcar Cabral, *REVOLUTION IN GUINEA* (1969). Selected texts by the Secretary-General of PAIGC.

Gerard Chaliand, *ARMED STRUGGLE IN AFRICA* (1967, 1969).

Basil Davidson, *THE LIBERATION OF GUINE* (1969). Trips to liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau by perceptive French (Chaliand) and British (Davidson) observers.



Basil Davidson, author, with Agostinho Neto, president of M.P.L.A. in Angola.

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SOUTHERN AFRICA has for five years avoided a formal subscription basis, largely because it is our belief that the people who should read our newsletter most (such as certain Congressmen, Southern African students, etc.) either cannot afford the subscription cost, or would not receive it if they were required to subscribe.

ONLY IF OUR READERS CONTRIBUTE AS THEY CAN will we be able to continue this service.

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1-10 copies at \$.25 each only for movement organizations.

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No. 8 - September, October, 1968

Volume II:

No. 8 - October, 1969

Volume III:

No. 1 - January, 1970
No. 2 - February, 1970
No. 3 - March, 1970
No. 4 - April, 1970

Volume IV:

No. 6 - June-July, 1971
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THANK YOU!!! THANK YOU!!!

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