

# southern africa



504

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# contents

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VOL. VII, No. 9

1. Feature:

Translating the Spirit of the People:  
A New System of Justice in Guinea-Bissau  
by Stephanie Urdang

4  
8

2. South Africa

Courageous Resistance to Removal Defeated  
Bantustan News  
Coloured Affairs  
Church Call for Conscientious Objectors  
Pass Laws Spurs Controversy  
Vorster on Racism  
Black Instead of Bantu  
Foreign Relations with Black Africa  
Relations with Mozambique and  
Portugal

ECONOMICS

Anglo American will Recognize Black Unions  
Platinum Profits Up  
GM Plans New South African Car  
Capital Consolidation in SA

3. Namibia

SWAPO Rally in Windhoek  
"One Namibia, One Nation"  
The Cocktail Party  
Supreme Court Demonstration  
Floggings  
Inquiry in Namibian Refugees in Angola  
Investigation of Massacre

15

Contents continued on page 35.

## errata

The cover of the September 1974 issue of Southern Africa erroneously indicated that the date of independence for Guinea-Bissau was September 10. At the time of going to press it appeared that this date would be celebrated by the PAIGC. It was learnt shortly after that this date had been chosen by Portugal for formal recognition of Guinea-Bissau, not by PAIGC. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau chose September 24 to celebrate its victory, being the first anniversary of the declaration of the State.

The Southern Africa Committee joined with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in celebrating this day, and in no way wishes the use of the September 10 date to be misconstrued.

VIVA THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU!

## EDITORIAL

### NO PINTCHA! FORWARD!

A struggle against colonialism has ended in victory. After 13 years of guerrilla warfare and the liberation of two-thirds of the territory of Guinea-Bissau, the fight waged by PAIGC against Portuguese colonialist aggression triumphed.

The 1960's saw the granting of independence to the majority of African states; independence won for the most part at the negotiating table. Frequently the parties negotiating were a carefully cultivated elite who simply replaced the colonial administrators and set the stage for the growth of neo-colonialism.

Now for the first time in sub-saharan Africa, a colonial power has been forced to withdraw as a result of a guerilla war. The Portuguese government poured in thousands of soldiers, outnumbering the guerrilla army by about three to one. Portugal—itself an extremely poor and undeveloped country—relied on the support of its NATO allies, the United States in particular, for its sophisticated military equipment. And yet it could not win the war.

The PAIGC victory reverberated far beyond the boundaries of Guinea-Bissau as the tensions and contradictions generated inside Portugal by the long years of three unsuccessful wars in Africa finally exploded in the coup of April 25. In their struggle for their own freedom the people of Guinea-Bissau have also played a role in helping the people of Portugal destroy fascism.

There is another dimension to this struggle against Portuguese colonialism that makes it particularly important. Both PAIGC and Frelimo, which is now entering the final stage of the establishment of independence, saw the armed struggle as part of a political ideology that established the foundation for a completely new society. The program set up for social and national reconstruction is in keeping with this ideology, with the result that neo-colonialism is highly unlikely. It also means however, that in another sense the struggle continues. "When we are independent", said Amílcar Cabral, "then our struggle *really* begins."

It is a long hard road ahead. But the groundwork has been well laid in Guinea-Bissau, for throughout its revolutionary fight, PAIGC had two goals—the physical ousting of the colonialists from their country and the building of a new society which would mean the full liberation of all the people of Guinea-Bissau.

As the people and government of Guinea-Bissau know, they will have to be vigilant in the days, months, and years to come. As in Mozambique, there will be many enemies—some obvious, some masked—who are fully aware of the implications of successful African revolutions. These enemies will try to undermine the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau or have it appear to fail "naturally." The neo-colonialists recognize that the revolution which created and sustained the new Guinea-Bissau will affect the rest of Africa and the world. In the past, the people and the PAIGC have overcome their enemies' maneuvers, despite the assassination of their leader, Amílcar Cabral. This history bodes well for the future.

A heroic fight has been won. We wish PAIGC and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau strength and victory in the work ahead.

No Pintcha!

Front Cover: For PAIGC it is the children who are the future of Guinea-Bissau. It is for them that the armed struggle was fought and won. [photo by Stephanie Urdang]

## Feature

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# TRANSLATING THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE: A New System of Justice in Guinea-Bissau

by Stephanie Urdang

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*"Our fortune is that we are creating a state through struggle. . . . Through the struggle we created our courts and the peasants participate by electing the courts themselves. Ours is a new judicial system, totally different from any other system, born in our country through struggle. . . ."*

*"For example, we must not use the houses occupied by the colonial power in the way they used them. I proposed to our party that the government palace in Bissau be transformed into a people's house for culture. . . . This is to let the people realize that they conquered colonialism—it's finished this time—it's not only a question of a change of skin. . . . It is the most important problem in the liberation movement. The problem of the nature of the state created after independence is perhaps the secret of the failure of African independence."*

Amilcar Cabral, Oct. 1972;  
'Connecting the Struggles'  
in *Return to the Source*,  
ed. African Information Service, N.Y.

"The population knew no real justice. Justice had to be bought through 'gifts' to the administrator of the area—cows, eggs, chickens. They were real kings. If you had a quarrel with someone, you could be sure that you would be found guilty and punished unless you had money or gifts to corrupt the administrator."

This was the basis for justice under the Portuguese colonialists in Guinea-Bissau. So Fidelis Cabral, Commissioner for Justice of the Republic of Guinea Bissau explained to me, when I interviewed him during my recent visit to his country, which happened to coincide

with the coup in Portugal. Five months later on September 24, the one year old state celebrated its first anniversary as a totally independent country, the Portuguese having granted them *de jure* recognition on September 10.

In Guinea-Bissau, the system of justice goes beyond a formula to maintain 'Law and Order' or to keep the society running smoothly for those in control. I visited the country for just four weeks, and experienced the humanity, the vitality of the people, their love and respect for their country for which they have fought so hard. I felt that very spirit which is now being translated into a judicial structure.

I spoke to people in the villages about their experiences under Portuguese colonialism and the cruel injustices they had suffered. For instance, men and women were forced to work for the Portuguese without pay. One woman told me how the Portuguese had taken her baby to town a distance from her village, telling her they would return him if she came to town to work. She worked there without pay for a number of months before being allowed to return with her child to her husband and family. With enthusiasm they would tell me how their lives had changed through the process of liberating their country. I saw this for myself when I visited schools, hospitals, clinics, people's stores and as I spoke to members of elected village councils and elected people's courts. A new society is being built despite the conditions of war which meant living with constant bombing raids.

A new society. The other facet of the struggle. Amilcar always emphasized, that to throw off the yoke of Portuguese colonialism was not the only goal of PAIGC. Social reconstruction is of paramount importance—the building of a new society without exploitation of any kind. The first has been achieved. The foundation for the second has been well laid, helped by the unity forged between the people as a result of the war. "Liberation of the people", said Cabral, "means the liberation of the productive forces of our country, the liquidation of all kinds of imperialist or colonial domination of our country, and the taking of every measure to avoid any new exploitation of our people. . . . We want equality, social justice and freedom. . . . Liberation for us is to take back our destiny and our history."\*

It is achieving social justice which concerns us here.

### Creating Justice Through Struggle

By the time the 13-year-old war led by PAIGC ended, the fundamental elements of a state had been established in the liberated areas, comprising two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau. One of these elements is a sound system of justice, upon which the judicial structure of free Guinea-Bissau will expand.

As indicated above, the word 'justice' was a misnomer for the practice of the colonialists. They had divided the population into two categories—those whom they considered *civilizados*, i.e. 'civilized' and *indígenas* (natives) To qualify as the former an African had to

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\*Quoted in *Triumph Over Colonialism: the Republic of Guinea-Bissau*, by Jennifer Davis, Published by the Africa Fund, N.Y.

speak Portuguese, read and write, reject his traditional culture and adopt Christianity. Ninety-nine per cent of the population were considered *indigenas* and had no right to be judged in the Portuguese courts. The African areas were controlled by Portuguese *chefes do Posto* and their administrators (also Portuguese), who made justice according to their own will and their own pocket. They had complete power, and could kill or administer beatings at whim. Hence the peasants would try to please them through 'gifts.'

As areas of the country became liberated through the armed struggle, PAIGC began to work towards a new system of justice. There were three steps in this process. At first the commanders of the guerilla bases administered justice in the area in which they operated. This proved unsatisfactory because of lack of preparation and sufficient time. In 1966/67, a second step was taken when the regional political commissars assumed the responsibility. While trained for many different areas of political work and highly politically conscious, they too were not specifically trained for the task and also made mistakes. "Some injustices, you know", said Fidelis. "You can't avoid it if people are not prepared." They decided to establish courts. And so in 1969 the first elections for the people's courts were held, courts that would suit their own circumstances and ones in which the people themselves would be involved. "In this way we could solve the problem of lack of cadres and also give new value to traditional customs. This was very important in the political field, because the people could realize that much had changed and that *they* had power to make justice" \*

The first elections were held in the South front. Each village or group of villages elected three judges. The only condition stipulated by the Party was that candidates must support the struggle and be genuinely against the foreign domination of their country.

People's courts are responsible for all the "small quarrels" between members of the population—petty theft, divorce, land disputes, family rights—aspects arising in their daily lives. Their principal function is one of reconciliation. They cannot sentence an offender to imprisonment, but can only impose fines commensurate with the crime. Traditional law and custom is followed, except in cases where it conflicts with the principles of PAIGC. After a judgement is passed, the judges will call a village meeting to discuss and explain their decision. Records of all the proceedings are kept, written down by the teacher in the area, and sent to the Commissioner of Justice. Offenders who do not pay the fines, can be arrested by the local armed forces (FAL) until arrangements for payment are made. In each region a *responsable* for Justice administers the justice system. He is specially trained by the Party for the work.

"We are very encouraged by the people's courts" Fidelis said with enthusiasm. "Since they have been in existence the rate of crime has decreased. And we are able to educate our people through the courts, through the practice of real justice."

Verdicts can also be appealed to the next court, the Sectoral Tribunal, which is composed of five people—two elected members of the population, the regional

*responsable* for Justice, the regional political commissar and the regional *responsable* for Security. In addition to acting as a court of appeals from the people's courts, the sectoral court hears cases for more serious offenses and can impose prison sentences of up to four years for crimes such as trading with the Portuguese\*\* Decisions by the sectoral tribunals are based on customary law.

If one's case is first heard by the sectoral tribunal, an appeal can be made to the military tribunal. On this, the highest court, sit the military commander of the front concerned, the Commissioner of Justice, the political commissar for the front and two members of the population elected to serve. (presumably this will change now that the war is over) This court can impose an unrestricted number of years of imprisonment, as well as the death sentence for crimes such as spying, murder, rape. Except in cases of spying, a death sentence can be appealed to the Executive Committee of the party. After judgement, a meeting with the people of the area is called, and the sentence explained.

In answer to my question whether the death penalty will continue to be used after independence, Fidelis said, "No. I myself am against it. But in the circumstances of war we have to apply it." The work of one spy could lead to a whole village being attacked, arrested and/or killed. There are instances when cattle stealing has been treated as severely as spying. Armed with guns, grenades and machine guns, cattle raiders would cross into the liberated zones to take back cattle to the Portuguese, who were severely short of meat. "They must be treated like the enemy, like spies," said Fidelis. "There is an economic interest, but it is a political question because the Portuguese wish to encourage crimes against the population in the liberated zones."

Fidelis Cabral, Commissioner of Justice



\*\*During the war there was a lack of rice in the towns and the Portuguese would try to trade with the peasants.

## Preserving the Good, Eradicating the Bad

I asked Fidelis how the system of justice being established takes into account the different ethnic groups, each having differing customs and traditions—some diametrically opposed. Eighty per cent of the population is animist—that is, follows traditional African religion. Twenty per cent are Muslim. Of the six or seven animist groups, the largest is the Balante, who comprise 30 per cent of the population and have been solidly supportive of PAIGC from the beginning. The Muslim groups may be described as “Islamized” rather than Islamic, so that Koranic law is less strict, though this varies from one group to another. Of the five or so Muslim groups, the largest is the Fula.

Fidelis explained that in areas where the values of the two or more groups were in conflict, the ‘principle of territory’ is applied; that is, the custom of the largest group prevails. He gave me the following example.

“Take the Balante and the Fula. Cattle stealing among the Balante is done in gangs. Someone is sent to reconnoiter the area. Then the group collaborates in the stealing of the cow. According to Balante custom, if one of the raiders is caught, he will give the names of the rest of the group and all will be punished. *Each one* has to pay you one cow. So if eight people steal your cow, you will get back eight cows. This is the Balante position.

“Among the Fula no attention is paid to collaborators. Only the actual thief must repay the cow if caught. If you pay the cow—finished, that is all.

“So the Fula can say ‘but according to my law I only need pay one cow’ and the Balante can say ‘according to my law I should get eight cows’. Hence we maintain that if the Fula or the Balante are living in a Balante area, they

must pay eight cows. If they are living in the Fula area, they pay one cow. In this way we avoid any problems. We apply the law of the territory.”

What about customs that are detrimental? Customs for instance that discriminate against women?\* It has been a long held PAIGC principle to eradicate all customs that go against the spirit of equality. A party directive of 1965 states “oppose without violence all prejudicial customs, the negative aspects of the beliefs and traditions of our people. Oblige every responsible and educated member of our party to work daily for the improvement of their cultural formation. . . .” In what ways do the new laws of the country support this statement? Fidelis discussed forced marriage, polygamy and the lack of divorce for women, three customs prejudicial to women.

“The party is against polygamy in principle. But you cannot change the customs of the people overnight, or they will turn against you. It is not only a question of the pleasure of having two or three wives. Wives work in the rice fields, as well as the men. They are an economic necessity. We have to move, but we have to move slowly.”

For cadres, he said, polygamy is simply not allowed, even for practicing Muslims. For the peasant population the process is slower. Obviously one cannot go into a village and tell all the men to divorce all their wives barring one. Political *responsables* discuss polygamy continually with the population, stating that the party is against the custom. Moreover, a process of limitation has begun in so far as a man cannot take a ‘replacement’ wife if his wife divorces him or dies, unless he only had one in the first place. There is no question of forbidding

\*For a fuller discussion of women in Guinea-Bissau see September issue of *Southern Africa*, where the question of laws regarding women and other aspects are discussed.

No forced marriage—They will choose their own husbands. Fula Village in the East.





Center: member of the People's Court for a village in the East.

polygamy through law at this stage. It feels it will eradicate the custom in the future through education of the children and continued political education of the whole population.

On the other hand PAIGC has come down harder on forced marriage which they view as more oppressive. According to traditional law a young girl had to accept the husband chosen by her parents, most frequently a man much her senior because he would be in a better economic position. Forced marriages are now virtually non-existent. I was told this by many people and saw it for myself when visiting Fula villages—where the custom had been even more rigidly applied than among other groups. I asked the young women who had married in the past four or five years how many had husbands chosen by their parents. None had. (And this despite the fact that most had had husbands assigned to them from infancy). Fidelis told me that sometimes women circumvented the problem in this way: "A young woman is working for the party and doesn't want the husband her father has chosen for her. But she is afraid to contradict him. Not everybody can go against the wishes of their parents and traditions just like that. So she says yes. But she finds ways to delay, and delay. She asks to be sent to work elsewhere. Finally she becomes pregnant by the man she loves. In this way she gets out of her predicament."

Traditionally a woman could not leave her husband. She was his property. A man could 'repudiate' his wife if for any reason he felt she was unsatisfactory—lazy, disobedient, or whatever else he decided was not permissible. She was sent back to her parents in disgrace. He could mistreat her, beat her, and she had no redress. Today divorces are heard by the People's Courts for the population, by the military tribunal for party cadres who were usually married by it in the first place. Custody of

the children is left to the court to decide but in the case of the people's courts it is generally given to the father, following traditional custom. There is flexibility however, and the child regularly goes back and forth between the parents. Custody basically means that the father is responsible for education. It also means that the father does not lose the labor of his children, an economic necessity in peasant society, particularly when—as with most of the ethnic groups—the wife lives with her husband's family.

#### The Task Ahead—Government By the People

The big task ahead for the new Republic will be the codification of the law—a law that reflects justice as perceived by the people. The process has already begun, and will no doubt be speeded up now that power is being transferred out of the hands of the colonialists. The first set of laws to guide the action of all the militants was published in 1966 with 47 articles. They were particularly concerned with the problems peculiar to a war situation. The law has been revised into a new body with 200 articles. It is not yet a code as there have not had been enough trained people to work on it.

This new body of law that is being developed is based on the sentences given and the decisions made in the people's courts. "From these we can understand the spirit of our people," said Fidelis, "the way they conceive what is just, what is wrong. I am very encouraged by their decisions. They are very, very well done"

Such a system of justice may go a long way to ensure government for the people, of the people and by the people. ■

[photos by Stephanie Urdang]

# south africa

## COURAGEOUS RESISTANCE TO REMOVAL DEFEATED

More than two million Africans have been forced to move within South Africa to segregate the various population groups and to ensure that the Africans will remain a perpetual source of cheap labor for white industry.

The case of the Bapedi people in the Eastern Transvaal illustrates what these massive removals mean. Since 1905, the Bapedi have lived on a farm that their forefathers purchased from a white farmer. The land was good, and they were agriculturally self-sufficient. It was a large tract of land, with some 3,500 inhabitants.

Then the police arrived. The first to be moved was Chief Albert Ramaube, leader of the Bapedi in Doornkop. His belongings were taken from his home, and then his home was demolished by African workers of the Department of Bantu Administration. The workers were accompanied by armed Black and White policemen and about 60 Government trucks which came at dawn to move the people against their will.

After the police and government officials left, the remaining people held a mass meeting. Hundreds attended and resolved not to move.

Nevertheless the Government continued. The chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Northern Areas Mr. J.S.J. Pieterse explained what was happening. The Bapedis were being moved to Bothashoek, Praktiseer, and Hlogoyatleu. Temporary "houses" 12 ft. by 12 ft. made of corrugated iron had been erected for the people. Tents would be made available for larger families. (There are 200 brick houses at Praktiseer that were built several years ago but never occupied.)

On June 28, seven families were forced to move. Pieterse said there had been no problems but that those who resisted would be "handed over to the police." The Bapedi would not be compensated in cash for Doornkop, instead they would be given a farm at Bothashoek.

Doornkop had good soil and could support the people. Bothashoek does not. Thus more Africans will be forced to seek work in white controlled industry, and the removal will be a success from the government's point of view.

The removals continue. For more detailed information write to The Africa Publications Trust, 48 Grafton Way, London, W1, England, for their "A Place Called Dimbaza," and "Uprooting a Nation." Also see UN publication, No. 13/74, Unit On Apartheid, Notes and Documents, July, 1974. (*Star* Johannesburg, June 29, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, July 8, 1974)

## BANTUSTAN NEWS

Although the white government likes to refer to them as "homelands," the eight areas to which Africans are restricted are more accurately called "bantustans." They are not the traditional homelands of the Africans. They are artificial reserves, part of the elaborate apparatus created by the white government to control the black population and to ensure a supply of labor to the white industrial complex. Changing names is one way the government seeks to camouflage its acts. *Southern Africa* will use the descriptively correct terms, not the white ideological terms.

### Vendaland

A recent study exposes the affect of South Africa's migratory labor system on the bantustans. In Vendaland, a small reserve located in the northern Transvaal, women comprise 84 per cent of the population between 30 and 39 years, and 75 per cent of the population between 40 and 49 years. The writer of the study, Professor Piek states that it is the more efficient men, those with initiative and vision, who leave the bantustans. The result is that the reserves are almost totally without the presence and contributions of half the adult population in the significant age brackets. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 29, 1974)

### Transkei

As reported in the June and July-August issues of *Southern Africa*, the Transkei has asked for its independence within five years, and the opposition in the Transkei has rejected this move, claiming it would be an economic disaster. Now an official opinion poll among more than one million Transkeins is being conducted. They are being asked whether they want independence. The study should be completed by the first part of November. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 3, 1974)

Typical removal scene



## Bophuthatswana

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. T. M. Molathlwa, has spent six weeks in the United States studying advanced agricultural techniques. His tour began in August. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 13, 1974)

The September issue of *Southern Africa* carried an analysis of the position of Kwazulu Chief Buthelezi on the future of South Africa. Now the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Lukas Mangope, has expressed himself on the same subject. Mangope has not been an outspoken critic like Buthelezi. Thus it is interesting to see that finally the two men represent the same hope for white South Africa: Deal with them or deal with the "terrorists." Sections of two interviews with Mangope by the *Johannesburg Star* are given here.

"... We have been told that we have the power to decide our own political matters. But, increasingly, we find that Pretoria, through its representatives in the homeland, interferes in matters of purely local politics." Mangope refused to comment further on this subject, saying that he had protested to Pretoria and was waiting for their answer. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 6, 1974)

"The Whites must understand that as the threat of terrorism increases, they are being criminally stupid in alienating the vast majority of the people in this country . . . . The level of humiliation to which we are still subjected here is totally unacceptable . . . so are the restrictions on our political rights and our opportunities. If the Government wants to rescue its policy from total collapse, if it wants to save South Africa from terrorism, violence, and bloodshed, it must produce the paper promise of separate development . . . it must turn theory into practice.

"I stand back to nobody in my opposition to terrorism, violence and bloodshed. I am as opposed to these things as any White man. That is why I make this urgent appeal to the White Government to eliminate anything that will breed sympathy for the terrorists."

Mangope said he gave the Government the benefit of the doubt, believing that it was sincere and only held back because of fear of backlash from its own supporters. He went on, "But the position is too urgent for this kind of caution. The spirit of the times calls for radical changes . . . . There are so many factors which are increasing the pressure . . . ." These include the coup in Portugal which changes the situation in Mozambique and Angola; the increasing anti-colonialism in Africa which was spreading to South Africa's neighbors; and the certainty of increased "terrorism" along the borders in the near future. Other pressures include the growing frustrations and angers of Mangope's own people and the increasing militancy among young Blacks.

As Mangope said, "Our young people are not going to be as patient as we are. We have repeatedly warned the Whites of this, but they ignore our warnings . . . ."

To deal with this urgent reality, Mangope calls for an entrenched bill of rights for Blacks. Then, a multiracial council should be appointed to advise the Government on overall race matters. These, according to Mangope are the first steps to be taken. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 13, 1974)

In a less subtle way than Buthelezi, Mangope speaks the language of the oppressed man who has not said *no* to his oppressors. His language is that of the Whites:



Lukas Mangope, Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana

"homeland" instead of reserve or bantustan, "terrorist" instead of guerrilla or freedom fighter. It is clearly within the interests of White South Africans to work with Blacks like Mangope, Blacks who will aid the Whites in the fight to defeat the "terrorists."

## COLOURED AFFAIRS:

South African Government policy towards the two million Coloured people reached a crisis when the Government suspended the Coloured Representatives Council indefinitely at the end of July. This followed closely on four days of hectic debate within the Council during which the opposition Labour Party succeeded in passing by a vote of 29 to 25 a resolution of no confidence in the Coloured Council and the Government policy of apartheid. The Council also called on the Government to grant direct representation to all people so that "they can participate effectively in the government of the country." The Prime Minister agreed to meet in mid-August a delegation comprising four Labour Party members headed by its leader Sonny Leon and four other members of the Council with other party affiliation.

The Council had been set up in 1969 when the Government decided to terminate the policy of allowing Coloureds to be represented by two elected Whites in the House of Assembly. The Council was to serve in an advisory capacity and was also to approve the budget for the Coloured people. The fact that 20 of the 60 Council members were to be nominated by the Minister for Coloured Affairs had helped to keep the Council stacked with pro-Government members willing to tow the Government's "Separate Development" line. However the Council has such limited powers that even some pro-Government Council leaders were disillusioned with the farce. This helped the Labour Party, which had won the majority of elected seats in the Council, though in the opposition because of the preponderance of nominated Pro-Apartheid Federal Party members, to muster enough support for its motion of no confidence.

Over the years the Coloured question has proved intractable to the ruling Nationalist Party policy makers. The diffusion of the entire Coloured population throughout South Africa makes their separation into a "Colouredstan" impossible, while White purity ideologists find integration between the White and Coloured communities an anathema. An equivocal theory of "Parallel Development" which in practice meant accepting the status quo therefore came into vogue. However the publicity given to the failure of the CRC and the developing bitterness among the Coloureds seemed destined to shatter Nationalist pipe dreams of racial harmony. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 3, 10, 1974; *Guardian*, London, July 30, 1974; *Comments and Opinion*, August 2, 1974)

#### CHURCH CALL FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The South African Council of Churches (S.A.C.C.) adopted a resolution in early August calling on its member churches to challenge their members to consider becoming conscientious objectors to military service in South Africa. Public announcement of this caused widespread reaction and drew sharp criticism from both Prime Minister Vorster and Minister of Defence, Botha. The Prime Minister told the Nationalist Press that he considered the resolution a "calculated attempt to bring about a confrontation between the church and the state." He also sounded a warning that "those who play with fire in this way must consider very thoroughly before they burn their fingers irrevocably." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 8, 1974) Mr. Botha hinted at counter measures by announcing that he is taking legal opinion on the matter.

Within a week of the announcement the South African Parliament passed a bill making it illegal to encourage people to become conscientious objectors.

Reaction from the various churches has so far been mixed. Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, the director of the Christian Institute and a member of the S.A.C.C. executive, Rev. Theo Kotze its Western Cape Regional Director, and the Rt. Rev. Kenneth Hallowes, Bishop Suffragan of Natal, were among those to come out in open support of the resolution. Rev. Naude and Rev. Hallowes have indicated that they would even be prepared to face conviction and imprisonment should the Defence Minister decide to act in connection with the resolution.

The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, one of whose ministers moved the resolution dissociated itself from the S.A.C.C. call, pending the meeting of the executive commission of the general assembly of the church. The S.A.C.C. press officer commenting on this said that member churches were free to reject the resolution.

The Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Owen Cardinal McCann, while in agreement with many of the points considered in the resolution, was opposed to calling for withdrawal of young men from military service. He said that despite this, people should consider the statement in a serious manner. The Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev. Dennis Hurley, said that the clash indicates that "our time of crisis is very close." (*Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 3, 10, 1974)

#### PASS LAWS JUDGEMENT SPURS CONTROVERSY

In a path breaking court judgement that could have far reaching effects on the application of the notorious pass laws in South Africa, the Supreme Court in Natal recently held that an African need not have his/her reference book on his/her person at all times provided it can be produced within a reasonable period. The court also awarded defendant Mr. Manlakiso Zikalala \$480 in damages against the Minister of Police for unlawful arrest under the country's pass law system. The incident occurred two years ago when Mr. Zikalala was arrested and fined for not having his documents on him although he offered to take the police officer to his place of work where the book was in safe keeping.

The South African Government and the police reacted with dismay. The police maintain it is impractical to escort every African to the employer's premise or place of residence to get his or her pass. Mr. Kruger has warned that utter chaos would result if his policemen were uncertain of their rights to arrest Africans suspected of violating pass regulations. He said that he will seek clarification from the Minister of Bantu Administration.

The pass laws require every African man and woman over the age of 16 to carry an identity book—virtually a book of life giving details of personal particulars history of employment, and permission to be in a certain area. The pass laws are used by the government to control the influx of Africans from the tribal reserves, to industry and mines where their labor is needed. In this way the government has control over quasi-slave labor to serve their economic interests. Another object of these laws is to prevent the congregation of unemployed (and from the point of industry, useless) Africans in urban centers. An average of 1700 Africans are prosecuted each day for failure to produce valid identity documents. It takes three

National serviceman operating on South Africa's borders.



to seven days to verify a person's identity during which period that person is kept in jail, while his or her fingerprints are sent to a central register in Pretoria.

The judgment passed, however, cannot challenge the complex system of restrictions imposed upon the movement of Africans throughout the country. Although the decision can relieve the pressure upon Africans in Natal, judges in the other provinces are not bound by this decision.

### VORSTER ON RACISM

Speaking at a student conference at Potchefstroom, Prime Minister John Vorster expressed his views on racism. According to Vorster, "60 percent of the problems which arise from our multinational make-up are caused, not by big things but by rudeness on the one hand and impudence on the other hand . . ."

By stating that rudeness and impudence do more damage "than anything else I know," Vorster revealed his lack of understanding of the dynamics of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed. He fails to see that attitudes are related to systems of power. "Rudeness" expresses White contempt for Black, and the Whites' belief in their right to oppress. On the other hand, Black "impudence" is an expression of resistance in a situation of impotence, not to be controlled by the oppressor. What Vorster fails to see is that neither "rudeness" nor "impudence" will disappear until the system of oppression of White over Black is removed.

Vorster went on to speak about economic relationships. He said there was a tendency to blame the underdevelopment of the Blacks and the prosperity gap between Black and White solely on the Whites. "This is not so. It is not purely and simply the White man's fault . . . this is one of the most dangerous games you can play today." Nevertheless, Vorster said that Whites did have a responsibility towards the poorer and less-developed people. "You must help them to help themselves . . . to improve their standard of living . . . you must put your knowledge and experience at their disposal . . ." (*Star* Johannesburg, July 6, 1974)

Vorster's paternalism is apparent as well as his denial of historical reality. The economic development of South Africa has been at the expense of, not to the benefit of, the Blacks. This phenomenon of White development at the expense of an indigenous people is not limited to South Africa. For a full discussion of this thesis, see Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*

### BLACK INSTEAD OF BANTU

The white South African Government has decided to declare the word "Black" as an appropriate term in referring to the African population. "Bantu" has been the accepted government term, a word generally disliked by Blacks since it came into common usage in the early 1960's to replace the term "native." "Native" was rejected because it had connotations of colonialism and racial inferiority. "Bantu" has always been incorrect, as it refers to a huge group of African languages with a common root. Blacks in South Africa have never used "bantu" for themselves.

There is political significance in the word "Black." Not only Africans, but a growing number of Coloureds (people of mixed race) and Indians are using the term "Black" to



"Some of you used to call us 'boy,' and that's why now some of us like to call you 'mother.'"

refer to themselves, expressing solidarity with all people of color in South Africa. It is this very solidarity that the White government has sought to prevent by dividing Africans into tribal groupings and forcing Indians and Coloureds into isolated enclaves.

The Whites themselves may have political motives in allowing the use of the new term. They are skilled in the art of bending language to suit their needs. For example, the word "apartheid" came to have a pejorative meaning, with people outside South Africa understanding it to mean the worst form of racial oppression. Now, "apartheid" has been dropped in favor of "separate development." But only the label has changed. The motives behind the government's willingness to use "Black" will bear watching. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 22, 1974; *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, July 15, 1974)

### FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICA

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, stated that the Government expects that in the future increasingly "friendly" ties will be established between South Africa and Black Africa because of the eventual adoption of a more "realistic" attitude on the part of the leaders of Black Africa. Dr. Muller saw two forces behind this growing "realism": on the international level the continuation of the South African policy of "making confidential contacts with the rest of Africa," and on the domestic level, the fact that the policy of "separate development" would soon be reaching its "final stages" with the Transkei moving rapidly towards "independence." He expected that "these things would have some impact on thinking in Africa." (*Zambian Daily Mail*, June 22, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, June 21, 1974)

In order to hasten a change in the independent Black African states' policy toward South Africa, Prime Minister Vorster announced at the opening session of the 15th Congress of the International Society of Sugar Cane Technologists, meeting in Durban, June 1974, that South Africa would be willing to aid in the technological

development of the Black African states. He said that South Africans have the necessary technology. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 22, 1974)

However, South African Interior and Information Minister, Dr. Connie Mulder, seems unsatisfied with the slow pace of movement among the Black African governments in the direction of what the South African government considers a "realistic" policy toward South Africa. At the 13th Congress of the National Party of South West Africa in Windhoek, July 1974, he attacked the African states for having the "audacity" to criticize South Africa, since South Africa is one of the few stable countries in an unstable world. (*Zambian Daily Mail*, July 25, 1974) In reaction to Dr. Mulder's speech, the *Star* (Johannesburg, July 22, 1974) advised him not to "intrude into the responsibilities of the Minister of Foreign Affairs" because it has not been by outright attacks upon critics of South Africa that "the best results in foreign relations," have been achieved, but by "quiet diplomacy . . . and by practical contacts in trade and professional know how such as are going on unspoken with many an OAU state today."

Meanwhile, the South African Progressive Party's leadership is engaging in a private dialogue with the heads of the Black African governments in order to influence these governments' policies towards South Africa. According to Helen Suzman the recent events in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, the unstable situation in Rhodesia, and the additional pressure Black African governments are placing upon the white South African regime, have increased the urgency for South Africa to build a bridge with Black Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 20, 1974)

The party's initiatives at dialogue with the leaders of Black Africa, which began in 1970 with Ms. Suzman's visit to Lusaka, Zambia, have intensified over the past summer. In July 1974, Ms. Suzman held discussions with Prime Minister Prince Mahosini Dhlamini of Swaziland, and then joined Colin Eglin (Progressive Party leader) for talks with President Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana.

Helen Suzman

Prince Mahosini Dhlamini



Afterward Mr. Elgin and Professor van Zyl Slabbert (Progressive Party M.P.) saw President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, visited officials in Nairobi, Kenya, and then went to Nigeria where they spoke with President General Yakubu Gowon about the policies the Progressive Party is pursuing in order to change South Africa into a non-segregated society. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 20, 27, 1974).

An editorial in the *Star* (Johannesburg) of July 27, 1974) concludes that the Progressive Party's policy of dialogue "has value which goes far beyond the immediate news headlines and public handshaking," because it creates an awareness among the Black African leaders "that not all Whites from these parts are racist monsters." For their part, South Africans learn "that Black Africa's hostility is directed not at our people, but our system of government." The Progressive Party "emissaries . . . open a window through which we are reminded that fruitful coexistence will indeed be possible one day."

### SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL

The South African Government states that it could happily coexist with an African government in Mozambique—after all South Africa maintains friendly ties with the Government of Malawi under Dr. Hastings Banda—but what worries the South African regime is the possible political and economic policies that would be pursued by a radical African government if it is installed in Mozambique. The crux of the Government's fears centers upon the future source of contract laborers for the South African mines, South African investments in Cabora Bassa, and the internal security of South Africa. (*Observer*, London, June 16, 1974)

The South African mining industry—paying, next to farming, the lowest wages to African workers—is dependent upon the importation of African contract labor from outside of the Republic. Over 75 per cent of the African workers employed in the mines are from the neighboring countries. Each year around 100,000 African workers are recruited from Mozambique to work in the mines, thus, Mozambique provides around 20 per cent of the total African labor force in the mines. (F. Wilson, *Migrant Labour in South Africa*, 1972, p. 4; *Observer*, London, June 16, 1974). The employment of Mozambican African workers in the mines dates back to the 1909 Transvaal-Mozambique Convention, which was renewed by the South African government in 1928. The Convention allowed the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association to recruit African workers in southern Mozambique in exchange for the routing of around 50 per cent of the imports to and the exports from the Transvaal through the Mozambican port of Lourenco Marques. Additionally, the South African mining corporations withhold a major portion of the wages earned by these African contract laborers and pay it in gold to the Portuguese government. (See *Southern Africa*, July-Aug., p. 22) The net effect has been, until now, that the South African mine owners have been assured of a stable supply of unskilled cheap labor to be used in areas and tasks where voluntary African labor from the Republic refused to serve. If the new African regime in Mozambique abolishes the Convention, then the South African mining corporations will be faced with a labor problem.

## SPORTS

There has been a lot of soul searching upon the part of White South Africans in the wake of humiliating defeat at the hands of the British Lions rugby team whose tour of the country ended on July 29. Influential Nationalists are saying that South Africa's bad performance was a direct consequence of the country's sporting isolation. Pressures are building for significant change in the government's sports policy. However, the Minister of Sports quickly quashed the idea that change was imminent in the government's policy on rugby.

An interesting spin off to the rugby matches has been white reaction to the black rugby fans' open support for the Lions. Throughout the test games they were segregated in one area of the ground where they cheered every move made by the Lions and booed and jeered the Springboks. The pro-government *Ostelig* in the Eastern Cape described this spirit as treasonable and called for banning those Blacks from stadium who use "the occasion to express anti-White feelings." (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 20, 1974; *Guardian*, London, July 23, 1974)

In Cricket two members of the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control (S.A.C.B.C.) Solly Chotia and Yousef Cajee have slipped through travel restrictions and are in London to discuss associate membership in the International Cricket Conference (I.C.C.). The South African Government refused to let the organization's president Mr. Hassan Howa make the trip. Billy Griffith, I.C.C. secretary, would not speculate on the chances of success of the application after the close of this year's meeting at Lordes. However, because they arrived late they could not receive formal hearing from the I.C.C. (*Guardian*, London, July 23, 25, 1974)

In other developments, the Black student organization, SASO, resolved at a conference in Roodeport, Transvaal, to maintain contact and cooperation with all existing overseas agencies actively involved stopping sporting tours to South Africa. The organization would also form an action committee to concentrate on stopping local Black teams and clubs from participating in government sponsored "multi-national" sporting events. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 13, 1974)

## ECONOMICS

### ANGLO AMERICAN WILL RECOGNIZE BLACK UNIONS—BUT NOT UNILATERALLY!

The Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, the giant financial combine which dominates the economies of southern Africa, has announced it is prepared to recognize and negotiate with African trade unions in South Africa. But, in a clarifying statement, the company said it would not act unilaterally if the Government would not sanction the action, or if other sectors of industry were opposed.

African trade unions, though not outlawed in South Africa, have no legal standing. And African workers have no legal right to bargain collectively or strike. So, when word of the Anglo's position first became known, African workers and leaders responded enthusiastically.

According to the Johannesburg *Star* (August 17), the Anglo position was given in response to a question from that newspaper. Another large mining house, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, also responded affirmatively to the question: are you prepared to negotiate with



Loading gold bars in South Africa.

responsible African trade unions?

Recent polls have shown that most industrialists in South Africa favor some kind of union structure for Africans. Their reasoning is simple—current legislation has not provided the means for controlling African employees. For more than two years, strikes have occurred with increasing frequency.

But most owners have shown no willingness to negotiate without government approval—and the government is unalterably opposed to African unions—or at least without the backing of numerous other employers. One exception is Smith and Nephew (South Africa), a Natal-based British controlled manufacturer of surgical textiles and toiletries. In early August, the firm signed a formal agreement with the National Union of Textile Workers, a 5700-member Natal organization. Another British firm, SA Fabrics, reached a similar agreement. (*Guardian*, London, August 5, 1974)

U.S. firms, however, have shown no inclination to recognize or work with African unions. At the State Department, a commercial affairs officer says the Anglo action produced no inquiries from U.S. firms with South African investments.

The statements by Anglo American and JCI came at a time of increasing concern over the deteriorating labor situation in the country. South Africa's black workers have shown growing militance, while foreign laborers (upon which the mines are dependent) may not always be available.

During August, Malawi, one of the main suppliers of migrant workers, indicated that it would allow no more.

recruiting by South African firms after next July. And an independent Mozambique might also stop the flow of workers to South Africa. Currently, only 24 per cent of the workers in South Africa's gold and coal mines come from inside the country. Malawi and Mozambique are the largest foreign sources.

So, Anglo and JCI—both heavily involved in mining—may have sought to improve their image among black South Africans with the hope of attracting them to work in the mines.

Government reaction was fairly strong. The Minister of Labour repeated the government's implacable opposition to African unions, saying official recognition would lead to economic and then political power. And this, he said, could only contribute to racial tension.

Anglo American and other large firms would clearly like to work with African unions—"with reasonable and moderate leadership"—but remain hesitant to act alone. But, since it has investments in almost every sector of the economy, government reprisal would be almost impossible. A move towards recognition of black unions by the corporate giant would have far-reaching impact in the apartheid society. (*Africa News*, August 19; *Star*, Aug. 17, 24, *Guardian*, Aug. 12 and 5, 1974)

## PLATINUM PROFITS UP DESPITE TIGHT WORLD MONEY SCENE

Despite inflation, high interest rates, and the dumping of metals on the market by investment holders, dealing in platinum was a profitable business last year. According to a preliminary report of the year released by Impala Platinum, both profits and dividends were up appreciably from the preceding year.

Covering the year ending June 30th, the report shows working profits as \$63 million compared with \$38 million for the previous 12 months' period. Dividends for the year were \$1.13 a share, as opposed to 90¢ for the year before.

Impala attributes the rise in demand for platinum primarily to the requirements of the automobile industry in the United States and other car-producing countries, as platinum and palladium are needed for exhaust pollution control devices.

Increased demand by the giant auto-makers was large enough to off-set the several negative factors caused by tight money around the world. Demand by the jewelry industry, for example, is considerably affected by inflationary pressures. In addition, according to Impala, certain banks, dealers, and speculators have unloaded investment holdings of the metal, causing a price depression.

Impala says that the main factor limiting increased output is the shortage of black labor at the mine—a topic of continuing debate between the South African government and industrialists.

The fact that all the negative factors combined didn't lead to a drop in profitability once again illustrates the importance to South Africa of its mineral wealth. Tremendous resources, coupled with the heavy demand for them from the US and other industrialized countries, has again acted as a buffer against external pressures and internal economic contradictions. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 5, 1974)

## GM PLANS NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CAR

General Motors is developing a new car especially for the South African market. The announcement was made recently in Durban by J.E. Rhame, managing director of G.M.'s South African operation. Although no launch date for sales has yet been set, the vehicle is already in development stages with production expected to begin in the next few months.

The new car will be called "The Pug," and will be designed for farm and recreational use. Its cost is expected to be below \$3000—low for South Africa, where cars are expensive due to low volume production and high import costs.

In all aspects, the Pug has been developed in South Africa, according to Rhame, and a prototype has already been tested. Although the new car parallels the development of low-cost vehicles for developing countries, the Pug, says Rhame, is different, because it has been made especially for the South African market. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 10, 1974)

## CAPITAL CONSOLIDATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Some of the largest corporations in South Africa are working on plans to merge. In July, Barlow Rand Limited and Union Corporation announced plans for a merger. A month later, the terms of the merger were altered after complaints from Unicorp shareholders. Then another South African mineral giant, Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, announced its desire to buy Unicorp for more money than was involved in the merger. (*Wall Street Journal*, August 5 and 15, 1974)

These deals involve huge mining companies whose operations affect the lives of millions of southern Africans. Unicorp controls seven gold mines, which together produce about ten percent of the world's gold outside the Soviet Union. Barlow Rand is itself the result of a recent merger, combining the assets of Barlow and the Rand Mining group. The latter was formerly headed and controlled by the late Charles Engelhard of New Jersey. Barlow is involved in many industrial endeavors, often in joint efforts with foreign firms, including two US companies, Weyerhaeuser and Caterpillar.

All three of the giants involved in this merger are South African controlled. Consolidated Gold Fields of London, however, owns 49 percent of Gold Fields South Africa.

It remains unclear how the competition for Union's assets will be resolved. But what the consolidation makes clear is that as pressure mounts in South Africa—both from the dynamics of economic growth and the tensions of racial repression—the large financial interests must devise new ways to operate and extract their profits. ■

# namibia

## SWAPO RALLY IN WINDHOEK

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) held a rally on July 28 in Katutura township, Windhoek. It was the first public meeting since the security police round-up of SWAPO leaders earlier in the year (*Star*, Johannesburg, air edition, August 3, 1974). The large crowd was urged to be "United for Freedom," and they responded by singing freedom songs, giving the Black Power salute and shouting such slogans as "No more Caetano, no more Vorster."

Thomas Ndalikutala Komati, who was publicly flogged last year and who had only been released from detention on July 11, appeared at the rally. Mr. Komati told those assembled: "Every man, woman and child must commit himself and herself to the struggle to throw off foreign domination. Your leaders are prepared to go on to the bitter end if you give them your moral support."

## "ONE NAMIBIA, ONE NATION"

After his recent release, Mr. Komati had immediately been charged "with malicious damage to property because he wrote on his jail cell wall during confinement." With his spoon, he had scratched the slogan "One Namibia, One Nation".

In an affidavit filed with the Windhoek Magistrate's Court, the 22-year-old SWAPO Youth League leader described his ordeal in solitary confinement in several Namibian jails (*Star*, Johannesburg, air edition, August 10, 1974). He was arrested January 31, 1974, by white South African security branch policemen at St. Mary's Anglican Mission, Odibo, where he was a student, and was detained under terms of South Africa's Terrorism Act.

His affidavit is not only a record of some of his treatment at the hands of the security police, but an intensely introspective document of his personal feelings and struggle. One paragraph reads: "After about a fortnight I found myself becoming less disciplined. The task of organising my thoughts and reviewing my school subjects became more difficult as my mind tended to stray on occasions and I found difficult in remembering."

Again he says: "The horror of uncontrolled thoughts and fears over months and months was, for me, a worse punishment sensed not only as unendurable pain, but as the slow destruction of myself as a human being."

## THE COCKTAIL PARTY

Meanwhile in another part of Windhoek, on July 26, the mayor of the city held a cocktail party, to which he invited African and Coloured people—an unprecedented

Katutura Township, Windhoek, where SWAPO held a rally in July



event. (*Advertiser*, Windhoek, July 29, 1974). Hailed as "a tremendous change of heart in the ranks of Windhoek's Whites and in an increasing manner, the White had extended his hand in friendship to the non-White for the common road ahead," the soiree featured African members of two sub-committees of the Windhoek City Council and Coloured members of the Khomasdal Consultative Committee.

### SUPREME COURT DEMONSTRATION

The *Advertiser* reports on July 30 that a large demonstration occurred outside the Windhoek Supreme Court as inside the Judge President sentenced SWAPO Youth League chairman Ezriel Taapopi and the League's secretary, Joseph Kashea, to five years imprisonment with three years suspended. Watched by the police, the demonstrators held placards reading "Viva SWAPO", "Long Live All Freedom Fighters", "We Want Namibia commissioner office in Namibia", and "Independence The Only Solution To The Namibia Dispute."

### FLOGGINGS

Amnesty International in London challenged the South African Government's statement that floggings in Namibia were "tribal law and custom" and that it could not intervene to stop them. (*Guardian*, London, August 12, 1974). The Amnesty report "indicated that flogging had been introduced into the territory by a white commissioner named Hahn, who was known locally as 'Sjambok' (the whip)." The document added "that there was an understanding between South African police and the tribal authorities that African detainees handed over by the police would be flogged."

Amnesty has requested the World Health Organization to send a mission to Namibia to persuade South Africa to stop the floggings.

### INQUIRY INTO NAMIBIAN REFUGEES IN ANGOLA

*Expresso*, a leading Portuguese news weekly, reported in its July 27 issue that the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington had directed a letter to the Portuguese Government on the subject of Namibians

who had fled into Angola. Douglas P. Wachholz, attorney for the Lawyers' Committee, had written Minister of Foreign Affairs Mario Soares asking for information on the status, health and reasons for detention of the reported 300 to 500 refugees. The Lawyers' Committee is instructing attorneys in both the floggings case and that of Mr. Taapopi and Mr. Kashea, and has been directly concerned with supporting legal counsel for Namibians as far back as the 1967/68 Terrorism Trial of Namibian nationalists.

Mr. John Otto, SWAPO chairman for Ovamboland, is said by UN sources to have reached safety in Zambia.

### INVESTIGATION OF MASSACRE—GOVERNMENT TOUR TO CAPRIVI

*The New York Times* of August 27 carries a dispatch dated August 20 and datelined Katima Mulilo, South-West Africa, in which the correspondent tells of a South African Government guided tour for 29 foreign and South African journalists and television people. They were brought to this isolated Caprivi Strip region as part of South Africa's attempt to quash earlier stories of a massacre of Africans by police. (See *Southern Africa*, September, 1974) The *Times* reporter states they were "unable to find evidence of the reported massacre" in two and a half days of helicoptering around interviewing residents and missionaries. The media people were accompanied by two South African army brigadiers (the army recently took over from the police in Caprivi), local occupation authorities and officials from the South African foreign office. The two Swedish freelance journalists who first reported the massacre (see *Southern Africa*, September, 1974) were also invited by the South African Government to join the tour. They refused except on the condition that United Nations observers accompany them. The government responded that such a request was "irrelevant and unacceptable," a typical South African attitude toward UN concern for Namibia. A *Time* magazine correspondent went on the trip, an indication of how Western establishment press responds to government initiated stories—*Time* like so many others never carried anything on the year long history of floggings in Namibia. ■

# Zimbabwe

### FEARFUL WHITES REAFFIRM SMITH

All 50 Rhodesian Front candidates for Parliament won in the general election in Rhodesia on July 30. Smith called the election to show that the Rhodesian Front is the only party capable of settling the future of Rhodesia, and that any African group hoping to negotiate a settlement will have to do it with the Rhodesian Front. He has been especially upset with the Rhodesia Party, led by Tim Gibbs, who has been holding talks with the African National Council "behind his back," and offering more of a compromise than the six additional seats Smith offered to the ANC in June. More than 90 per cent of the white electorate of 87,000 voted, representing a total of one per cent of all the people in Rhodesia. Gibbs' Rhodesia Party, the extreme right wing candidates, and Rhodesia's lone liberal, A. Palley, lost, making it a clean sweep for the Front. Seven thousand Africans out of six million are enfranchised; 65 per cent of them voted.

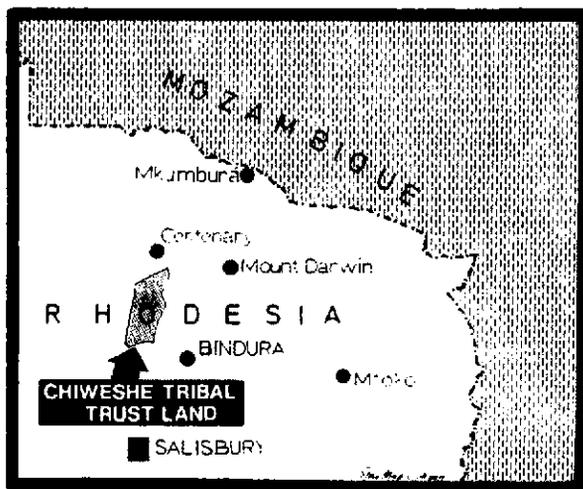
Two African parties participated, both sell-out groups willing to accept Smith's proposal for a post-election round table to settle the future of Rhodesia, even though he made clear in the election campaign that he would offer no more than the six additional seats to Africans. Bishop Muzorewa of the African National Council, which is recognized by Britain as the representative of the African people, has formally refused to attend such a Conference without the presence of detained nationalists and British leaders. The ANC officially boycotted the elections. Eight of the 16 African seats in parliament are filled by direct suffrage. The other eight are selected by "tribal colleges" of chiefs and headmen. Seven of the elected Africans support the principle of majority rule. (*Sunday Telegraph*, London, Aug. 5, 1974; *Observer*, London, Aug. 4, 1974; *Washington Post*, Aug. 2, 1974; *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 2, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, July 30, 1974; *Zambia Daily Mail*, Lusaka, June 25, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, Aug. 2, 1974)

Smith's campaign promise of a no "sell-out" position regarding African or majority rule, focused on the fear within the white population as their security is increasingly threatened, both by the intensified guerrilla activity and by the possibility of a FRELIMO governed Mozambique. The white population continues to decline in numbers as more and more leave Rhodesia for other countries, South African press coverage of the election, reported in *Comment and Opinion*, described the victory as both overwhelming and hollow and urged Smith to seek a settlement while he has a chance. "*Die Volksblad*, Bloemfontein, remarked that despite the massive victory, the answer to Rhodesia's problems—the sharing of power by different races—is nowhere in sight. The *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, poses the question: How will Mr. Smith use the huge vote of confidence he has been given? 'At present Whites of Rhodesia seem to be in a state of euphoria, untouched by the successes of Frelimo and heedless of the threatening clouds that are gathering. It could be Mr. Smith's duty to disillusion them'.... *Pretoria News* says that the disenchantment of the moderate Blacks in Rhodesia, a crumbling economy, the severance of major trade routes, the imminent possibility of a hostile Black government in Mozambique and growing South African irritation are factors which a victorious Mr. Smith cannot wish away." (*Comment and Opinion*, Johannesburg, Aug. 9, 1974)

Bishop Muzorewa said, in reference to the election, that the whites are possessed by "a demon of fear" and voted for white supremacy. "They have voted for speeding-up the confrontation of races," he said. "by voting for the Rhodesian Front in order to avoid a black government coming into power, they have in fact voted for it to come sooner than it would have if there were better policies and race relations" the bishop said. "They have set back the clock of a peaceful solution by a decade." (*Washington Post*, Aug. 1, 1974) Gordon Chavanduka, a member of the ANC executive said, "Believe me, this is the last white-run election in Rhodesia." (*Observer*, London, Aug. 4, 1974).

#### CHIWESHE REMOVALS: OPERATION OVERLOAD

In reaction to increased guerrilla penetration from the north, and to Chiweshe Reserve peoples' willingness to help the guerrilla struggle, the Rhodesian Front is



spending \$US 1,3 million to remove 60,000 inhabitants to 21 "protected villages." The displaced Africans, to be removed before December, will live in houses constructed like carparks, with burlap covering the open sides. The Chiweshe Reserve extends from near the Mozambique border to within 45 miles of Salisbury. Guerrillas have received food and shelter from the people, and other forms of coercion by the Rhodesian government have failed to halt this assistance. They hope that the protected villages, surrounded by fences, will keep the people from the guerrillas and help clear the zone. The resettlement area is near the Hunyani range, close to a strategic highway being built to protect the northern border. (*Washington Post*, Aug. 2, 1974; *Observer*, London, July 28, 1974; *Times London*, July 26, 29, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, Aug. 5, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, July 26, 1974; *Guardian*, London, July 30, 1974)

#### GUERRILLA STRUGGLE

The Rhodesian security forces used helicopters and jets to rout freedom fighters in the Bindura area in mid-August. The government says the deaths of several of these "terrorists" brings the total to 373 guerrillas killed, as compared to 42 members of the security forces. ZANU and ZAPU state that many civilians are killed by government forces and then counted as guerrillas. (*Times*, London, Aug. 16, 1974; *Zimbabwe News*, Lusaka, May, June, 1974)

Children herding cattle in the Mt. Darwin area were fired on by Rhodesian spotter planes. Three children died. The regime said that although it regretted the incident, which was a "normal operation hazard" it could not guarantee that similar ones would not happen again. (*Sunday Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, June 16, 1974)

Petrol bombs were used in attempts to set fire to parts of the University of Rhodesia in July. Four fires were started in university buildings, all in Carr Saunders residence hall. Nobody has been injured, and no apparent reason has been found for the arson. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 20, 1974)

Farmers in the troubled war zone look into TV cameras and tell their stories of attacks from "terrorists". The Rhodesian TV has started a new program, entitled "Hurricane" to show the white public how the war is

• angola •

# Portugal and Africa

## Zimbabwe contd.

going. Security troops are shown with dead guerrillas; farmers and their families give testimony to what has happened in the raid. The remarkable part of the show is that there has been an apparent lifting of the tight security blanket that previously covered the war zone. (*Star*, Johannesburg, July 20, 1974)

Up until now, the South Africans fighting in Rhodesia have been seconded to Rhodesia by the South African government. Now, these troops will be replaced by an all volunteer unit of South Africans. The new move hints at disengagement by the South African Government, just after Mr. Smith was in South Africa to talk with Mr. Vorster about the southern African situation and the Portuguese recent moves. (*Sunday Telegraph*, London, in *British Newspapers*, London, Aug. 5, 1974)

While the war rages on in the northwest, the Rhodesian government has decided to move nationalist leader Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and several other ZANU officials to the terror jail, Connemara, near Gwelo. It was in this jail that Kenneth Chisango recently died due to lack of medical attention. The food in the prison is badly cooked; the corn meal has maggots in it; the prison yard is deliberately covered with hard blue water stones and prisoners are not allowed to wear shoes; local water is not fit for drinking. No doctor visits the site. (*Zimbabwe News*, Lusaka, June, 1974, *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, July 24, 1974)

## ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION OFFICE IN LONDON

The British Foreign Office is investigating allegations that a Rhodesian Publicity and Information Service in London's Blackheath area is recruiting whites to immigrate to Rhodesia. A reporter, posing as a potential immigrant, said the house at 120 Prince Henry Road was "virtually an unofficial Rhodesian embassy" equipped with all the necessary forms, applications and propaganda for potential immigrants. (*Nation*, Nairobi, July 14, 1974)

## M.P.L.A. CONGRESS OVER: NO NEW LEADERSHIP

The M.P.L.A. Congress has ended, with the only agreement being to meet again soon, this time in Angola.

The leadership issue was not resolved at all. In an interview with the BBC (August 24, 1974) during the Congress, both Daniel Chipenda and Dr. Agostino Neto stressed the necessity for unity and a strong leadership.\*

Chipenda denied the charges of tribalism levelled against him and said that "the so-called Eastern rebellion was born because our militants in the Eastern region felt that the top leadership of our movement, under the guidance of Agostino Neto, was becoming more and more dictatorial." Chipenda claimed that disgruntled members asked him to talk to Neto about these problems, which he did, but apparently, Neto would not listen. For Chipenda, "our movement cannot continue to function on the basis of elitism and a presidential type of leadership. The leadership must bow to the wishes of the party as a whole." However, Chipenda paid tribute to Neto's role for sustaining the struggle, and for being a good leader, "but he must abandon his autocratic role," he concluded.

Dr. Agostino Neto, in the same interview, was much more general about Angola's future. "I have always been flexible in interpreting and applying the principles which have guided our struggle up to now. But what the movement cannot afford to do, is to abandon the principles themselves. These must remain intact." Neto also stressed that he "will respect the decision of the Congress as far as my future is concerned."

In another interview with "O Provincia de Angola" of Luanda, Daniel Chipenda indicates that he is against M.P.L.A. being the only party in an independent Angola. According to Chipenda, in order to negotiate with the Portuguese Government, it is imperative to unify all national forces into a common front, including the F.N.L.A. Also, he felt that a 'multiracial' Angola is the answer to the future of the country.

Vernon Mwaanga, Zambia's Foreign Minister, present as an observer at the Congress, said he was bitterly disappointed by the failure of M.P.L.A. to resolve their leadership crisis. Dr. Kaunda took with him the leaders of the various factions to the Conference of East and Central African Heads of State taking place in Brazzaville.

*Africa News* reported on September 2nd that "Portugal is apparently about to begin negotiations with ... F.N.L.A. Last week a delegation from Lisbon arrived in Zaire for preliminary talks."

And David Martin of the BBC reported that the Portuguese would prefer to deal with the less militant F.N.L.A. Observers believe the group would settle for less than immediate independence for the Portuguese colony.

Martin also believes the United States may have been instrumental in arranging talks between Portugal and the F.N.L.A. He notes "a wide-spread belief in Africa that F.N.L.A. leader Holden Roberto has been a recipient of C.I.A. funds." (*Africa News*, September 2, 1974)

According to the Johannesburg *Star* (August 24, 1974) UNITA is the group most favored by Angola's white

\* See *Update* for later developments of unity.

business community. Apparently, UNITA President Jonas Savimbi, is called "The Savior of the White Man", and constantly receives visitors at his Eastern Angola Headquarters.

In late August, a correspondent for the French News Agency reported the formation of a new right-wing organization in Angola's capital. Called "The Resistance Sons of Angola," the group has vowed to begin military action if Portugal reaches a freedom accord with the M.P.L.A. (*Times of Zambia*, Aug. 5, 1974; *Daily News Dar es Salaam*, Aug. 15, 1974; *Times*, London, Aug. 21, 1974; B.B.C. Focus on Africa, Aug. 24, 1974; *Le Monde*, Aug. 24, 1974; *Africa News*, Aug. 29, Sept. 2, 1974)

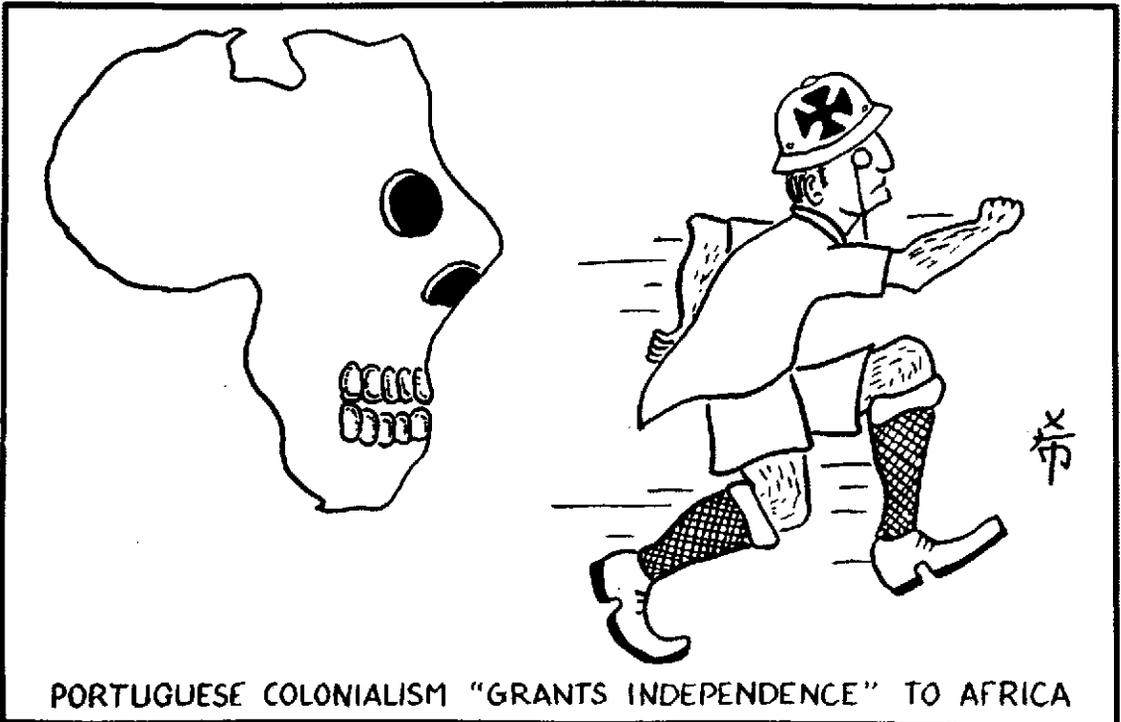
#### AFTERMATH OF RIOTS IN LUANDA

Luanda remains a city filled with tension after 6 days of rioting in July and another series of clashes in the first week of August in which several hundred persons have died and hundreds more have been injured. Only three or four whites have been killed in all the disturbances. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 10, 1974) In July the series of clashes between Blacks and Whites flared after the murder of a white taxi driver in a black district, apparently a criminal and not a political act. That night, white taximen and their supporters, about 300 armed men, demonstrated at the palace of Governor-General Marques demanding "protection against the Africans." As it turned out it was the Africans who needed protection as the armed white reactionaries invaded the Cazenga, Ranger, and Sambisango black districts and massacred some 40 victims the first night. (*Handesblad*, Amsterdam, July 24, 1974) During that night of violence neither the police nor the armed forces were called in to quell the disturbances. A number of incidents followed as thousands attended the funerals

of the dead and there were reports of attacks on white-owned shops, and even more dangerous rumors of the formation of a "secret army" of white racists. (*Daily Nation*, Nairobi, July 17, 1974; *Times*, London, July 22, 1964) Lisbon reacted by sending into Angola a special mission of military officers and civilians to investigate the incidents. In August there were clashes between reactionary whites who attacks Africans living in the "muceques" or shanty towns at the perimeter of Luanda. Reports of the renewed violence suggest that certain political struggles may be at least partially responsible for the incidents—1) that right-wing extremists with the support of UNITA and the Christian Democrats continue to challenge the pro-settlement Portuguese regime created in Angola since the coup 2) that clashes between MPLA and FNLA are responsible for the violence in the black muceques. (*Star*, Johannesburg, August 10, 1974) Meanwhile there are reports of thousands of Blacks and Whites fleeing from Luanda. Both MPLA and FNLA have condemned retaliatory acts by Africans. (*Observer*, July 28, 1974)

The climate of racial tension was heightened before the incidents by the arrival of the new Governor-General Silvino Sererio Marques who held the same post in the early 1960's. The appointment was viewed by African and pro-independence Whites as an effort to reassert the colonial image and to reassure Whites that African rule is still distant.

Representatives from a Concerned Citizens Committee, hastily formed after the July riots, met in Lisbon with Generals Spinoza and Costa Gomes and demanded the dismissal of Marques whom they hold responsible for not controlling the violence. They also demanded the total dismantling of the DGS (Secret Police) which it accused



of participating in the formation of a secret army in collaboration with South Africa known as the United Angolan Resistance (RUA). (*West Africa*, Lagos, July 1974) The Portuguese said that they had not dismantled the DGS because of its needed police functions.

Portuguese military and government officials in Luanda warn of further violence in the months that precede the national referendum on Angola's political future to be held in March 1975. (*New York Times*, July 27, 1974)

## **TWO YEAR DEADLINE SET FOR ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE**

The Portuguese ruling junta announced in August its program for Angolan independence. It pledged the establishment of a provisional government as soon as cease-fire agreements have been worked out with Angola's liberation movements. The provisional government would be comprised of a coalition of forces including the freedom movements and political parties, including whites, in the country. [The United Nations was invited to observe the transfer of power.] (WSN, August 11, 1974)

It would then work out plans for an election for a constituent assembly within two years which upon convening would draw up an Angolan constitution determining the status of the territory in relationship to Portugal. Finally upon the approval of the constitution, the constituent assembly would disappear and elections would be held for a legislature. The Portuguese seem to be sticking to a cease fire proposal before negotiation, a policy which it did not demand formalized in Guinea-Bissau or Mozambique. It appears that the liberation movements have basically rejected the two year time table and the policy to include other Angolan groups within the process. (*New York Times*, August 11, 1974)

## **UNITA CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT UNCERTAIN**

A ceasefire agreement between UNITA and the Portuguese which Portuguese military radio announced in Luanda on June 17 has been denied by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, UNITA's President. The denial came in a letter to Zambia's Foreign Affairs Minister, Vernon Mwaanga, and said that operations were suspended only in a small area of Angola where talks with Portuguese envoys had taken place. Savimbi admitted that talks had occurred but no agreements reached. UNITA again stressed its opposition to separate negotiations with the three movements. (*New York Times*, June 18, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, July 20, 1974; Radio Nigeria July 21, 1974)

In Savimbi's first interview with the press since the April coup in Portugal (published in Angola's *Provincia de Angola*), he said that UNITA does not claim to be the sole representative of the Angolan people. He denied that UNITA has ever received aid from the Soviet Union or China, and that, with the exception of Egypt, no African country has assisted UNITA. (*Times of Zambia*, Lusaka, July 4, 1974)

## **CABINDA WATCHED CLOSELY BY PORTUGUESE**

Increasingly there is talk inside Cabinda of independence for the oil-rich enclave. Although most informed observers are skeptical of such a move, it is interesting to note Portugal's interest in the new Cabindan independence movements. Spínola has invited Mr. Luis Ranque

Franque who describes himself as the President of the Cabindan Liberation Front (FLEC) which is based in Zaire. Franque apparently has ties with Mobutu of Zaire and Mobutu is said to be willing to host talks between FLEC and the Portuguese, were such independence negotiations ever to begin. (*Tanzania Daily News*, Dar Es Salaam, June 26, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, July 2, 1974)

# • mozambique •

*The next issue will cover in detail recent events in Mozambique.*

## **Text of the Speech of Frelimo President, Samora Machel, Broadcast on September 8 by the National Radio Station**

"Mozambicans! Officers, sergeants and soldiers of the Portuguese Army: Yesterday, the 7th of September, immediately after the solemn signing of the peace agreement between Mozambique and Portugal, a small bunch of white reactionaries, paid by international imperialism, took over the Radio Club of Mozambique installations in Lourenço Marques.

"This band of assassins composed of war criminals, PIDE/DGS agents, and known representatives of exploitative forces, are fighting desperately against the desire for peace of the Mozambican and Portuguese people. The objective of these people without a nation and without ideals is to prevent the independence of Mozambique. For this reason they are trying to establish a climate of racial conflict, of chaos, of anarchy that can be used as a pretext for the internationalization of aggression against our people. In this context they recruited strong mercenaries. They sought the strong support of racists and reactionaries.

"Mozambican men! Mozambican women! Officers, sergeants, and soldiers of the Portuguese Army: at zero o'clock the cease fire should have started in all the Mozambique Territory; at zero o'clock today, the peace and the construction of independent Mozambique should have started in all the territory of our nation. This is the will of all Mozambicans, from Rovuma to Maputo. This is the will of all Portuguese peoples, of the democratic forces in Portugal, of the Movement of the Armed Forces. This is the will of the Portuguese Government expressed in the signatures of three of its ministers, and five officers of the Movement of the Armed Forces in the Lusaka Agreement.

"This is that will that was directly expressed at dawn today by the Portuguese President of the Republic, General Spínola, and Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves and the chief commander of the Armed Forces, General Costa Gomes. Against this will we have this bunch of ambitious and miserable people who seek to feed on the blood of two peoples. Our duty is to immediately neutralize the colonial and fascist rebellion in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Lusaka Agreement. The popular forces of the Liberation of Mozambique and the Portuguese armed forces, who keep their word will collaborate closely in order to safeguard the public order, defend the territorial integrity and assure the process of independence in Mozambique.

## No Racial Conflict

"Mozambican Men! Mozambican Women! officers, sergeants and soldiers of the Portuguese Army: The present reactionary aggression cannot surprise us. Those who have always lived by crime and exploitation cannot resign themselves peacefully to the end of terrorist rule. In addition, we seek to understand clearly now the intention of the common enemy in order to determine our correct strategy. The enemy wants to create a situation that leads to the explosion of popular fury and creates a climate of racial conflict. Once having achieved this objective of unleashing a fight between the races they would have a pretext to internationalize the war and above all compromise the common effort of national reconstruction. FRELIMO declares firmly and clearly once more that it will not tolerate any racial conflict. In this serious moment, the popular masses should differentiate themselves more than ever from this bunch of white criminals and, in their great majority, should participate in the true aspirations of the nation in the construction of a free Mozambique. The criminals—already condemned to failure—are trying to drag into their mad adventure the less enlightened sectors of the white population.

"To the white population, essentially made up of honest workers, we repeat what we have always said: our fight is your fight, it is the fight against exploitation, the fight to build a new nation under democratic popular power. We say without ambiguities that the criminal forces of fascist colonial reaction are trying to utilize you in order to safeguard the privileges of a group that also exploits you, thus seriously compromising the enormous possibilities of building together true racial harmony in our country. To the neighboring countries that the criminals are trying to involve in their desparate act, we want to say that neither FRELIMO nor the African and non-African allies, nor the international community will tolerate what will necessarily be considered imperialist aggression. It is not our desire to start a new war when we are just ending one of 10 years. But we also say that we will not hesitate to start again to defend the independence and integrity of Mozambique.

"Officers, sergeants and soldiers of the Portuguese Army: From zero o'clock of the 8th, a new era of relations should occur between FRELIMO and the Portuguese Armed Forces reconciled by a spirit of friendship and democracy that always united our peoples. The present action of a small bunch of villains tries to prevent the implementation of the cease-fire agreement and re-start the fire of war in Mozambique, which is against the will of our two peoples. It is our duty to honor the Lusaka Agreement. To honor the courage and the effort of the Movement of the Armed Forces that on the 25th of April returned democracy and dignity to Portugal. In signing the agreement we legally extended our hands to one another. The reactionaries want us to start the war again. We want to say that it is our will to keep our hands extended. We have now a common enemy and together we shall fight the enemies of peace, the enemies of the friendship and cooperation between Mozambique and Portugal. That enemy is made up of roots, not dead yet, of the fascist colonial regime in Mozambique.

## Revolutionary Discipline

"Mozambican Men! Mozambican Women! In the home of the Mozambique people, united from Rovuma to Maputo, without distinction of race, sex, social class or religion we say: first—the population should block all the supplies and communications of the small group of fascists, fanatics, desperados, and adventurers. Second—the unconscious elements of the white population that were manipulated by the fascist colonial villains should go home immediately, refusing to be elements of the fascists. This is the best way of defending their legitimate interests, that FRELIMO compromises itself to protect. Third—FRELIMO asks the Portuguese Armed Forces in the urban areas not yet occupied by the popular forces of FRELIMO to neutralize without delay the reactionaries and the subversive agents, in order to prevent them from repeating the incidents that just happened in Lourenco Marques.

"Mozambican Men! Mozambican Women! Officers, sergeants, and soldiers of the Portuguese Army—FRELIMO solemnly respects its promises and thus the Lusaka Agreement. In this difficult moment we want to say to our people that it is our duty to keep, at any cost, the political line that guided FRELIMO during 10 years of war. That fight is not, never was, nor will be a fight against a race or a people. Colonialism has no race. Capitalism has no color. Imperialism does not acknowledge nations. Our fight is the fight of the oppressed against the oppressors, of the exploited against the exploiters. Our fight is to build a democratic popular power in independent Mozambique. In this difficult time we need, more than ever, the full execution of our word of steadfast unity from Rovuma to Maputa. Active vigilance, revolutionary discipline, political consciousness, clear definition of the enemy. In this historic moment we solemnly proclaim to our people the complete cease-fire in all Mozambique territory between the forces of FRELIMO and the Portuguese Army. The popular forces of the liberation of Mozambique should immediately cease all military operations against the Portuguese Army. At the same time they should keep the maximum active vigilance and fight all the activities of the reactionary forces in collaboration with the Portuguese Armed Forces in the spirit of the Lusaka accords.

Long live the Lusaka Agreement! Long live the Mozambique people! Long live the unity and cooperation between the Portuguese people and the popular forces for the Liberation of Mozambique and the Portuguese Armed Forces!

Long live independent Mozambique!  
(Translated from 'Republica' Sept. 9, 1974, 1974,  
Julietta A. Rodrigues)

• portugal •

## THE ROAD AHEAD

The political developments that have taken place in Portugal since the April 25 overthrowing of the fascist regime are more related to the country itself than to the African colonies. A number of them, however, pertain both to Portugal and to the colonies, until recently the

so-called "overseas provinces"

The most significant of these events is perhaps the announcement made on national television by General Spínola on July 27. At that time the president admitted that the Portuguese government had been wrong in pursuing colonial policies and that all the colonies were entitled to self-determination and independence, if their people so desired. This a far cry from earlier views expressed by Spínola, namely that Portugal should grant some form of autonomy to the "overseas territories," but keep them under Lisbon's control under a federation. It also seems to indicate that, when he made the July statement, Spínola was under pressure from the junior officers who carried out the coup and drafted a political program that included provisions for democratization of the political and social structures of the country and for a speedy process of decolonization.

Then on June 2 Portugal received the UN Secretary General for a visit of two days, during which the country reconciled itself with the UN and "recuperated 13 years". Before Waldheim left, an important communique was released stating Portugal's intentions to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau. Lisbon newspapers carried banner headlines that read "Guinea: Independent Country". Just over four months earlier this would have been impossible in the heavily censored Portuguese press. (See *Southern Africa*, September for text of Spínola's speech and Waldheim's communique)

Portugal is still confronted with some serious problems: the process of democratization has a long way to go before real changes are accomplished, the returned settlers and soldiers may put an extra burden on the wavering economy, the danger of repression and of the revival of reactionary right-wing forces are not totally unfounded fears. But the country seems to be moving in the right direction. The majority of the Portuguese people, who reluctantly saw their sons off to those costly wars, consider the independence for the colonies as an accomplished and welcome fact.

## • republic of guinea-bissau •

### VICTORY FOR GUINEA-BISSAU

On September 10 Portugal will grant complete recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It is believed that the Portuguese flag will go down in Bissau on September 24, the National Day of the one-year old Republic and the birthdate of Amílcar Cabral.

The first round of negotiations were officially adjourned in Algiers, but continued privately between the Portuguese Government and PAIGC. The Cape Verde Islands are not included in this independence, and no statement has yet been made by either side in the negotiations about their future. Newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* suggest that a referendum will be held to decide on self-determination. Details of the transfer of power to government of Guinea-Bissau have not yet been published. (*O Capita*, Lisbon, June 1, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, July 4, August 26, 1974; *New York Times*, August 5, 11, 1974; *Guardian*, London, August 9, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, July 10, 1974; *Observer*, London, August 4, 1974)

### ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau will be the 138th member of the United Nations. On August 26 the Security Council voted unanimously to admit the country, the application supported by Portugal itself. Over 100 nations have now granted it recognition, with a rush of European countries after the Security Council vote, including Great Britain, France, West Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Belgium, Ireland,



Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mario Soares. (left) and Guinea Bissau Vice-Defense Minister, Pedro Pires sign declaration in Algiers Aug. 26 granting recognition.

Luxembourg as well as Canada. Australia, Brazil and Japan had joined the near-90 countries who had recognized Guinea-Bissau prior to the August 26 vote. The United States has not yet recognized the country but a statement was made to the effect that the process of recognition would be completed after the transfer of power. Prior to the coup, it was anticipated that the United States would use its vetoing power to block its admission to the UN. (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, June 13, 1974; *Diario Popular*, Lisbon, July 18, 19, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, June 6, July 20, 1974; *Christian Science Monitor*, August 14, 1974; *Daily World*, New York, August 1, 1974)

In related diplomatic victories, Victor Maria, the Foreign Commissioner of Guinea-Bissau was chosen as chairperson of the OAU Ministerial meeting in Mogadishu, Somalia in June. The Portuguese Socialist Party (the party of Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares) voted for recognition of Guinea-Bissau. (*Daily News, Dar es Salaam*, June 13, 1974; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, June 8, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, July 25, 1974)

### NATO PLANS ON CAPE VERDE

The sub-division of NATO, known as SACLANT (Supreme Allied Command-Atlantic) has held high level strategy meetings in Norfolk, Virginia, to draw up contingency plans to protect the Southern African shipping lanes in the event that the Cape Verde Islands join with Guinea-Bissau. Much of the oil used in the United States and some 95 million tons of 100 valuable minerals pass along this route and would be vulnerable to submarine attack. (*New York Times*, July 24, 1974; *Guardian*, London, May 16, 1974).

### INSIDE GUINEA-BISSAU

At the United Nations, Portuguese Ambassador Dr. Jose Verga Simao has indicated that most of the 43,000 Portuguese troops in Guinea-Bissau will be withdrawn as soon as possible. (The date for total withdrawal has been set as October 31) Some troops may remain with PAIGC permission to complete work in engineering, road-building, and medical projects. The PAIGC has specifically requested the completion of a road for about thirty miles northeast of the capital. Meanwhile Portuguese troops have been formally withdrawn from Buruntuma in the south and other soldiers have apparently left their posts without permission. (*International Herald Tribune*, Paris, July 6, 1974; *New York Times*, August 14, 1974; *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, June 15, 1974; *Lusitania Radio*, July 7, 1974; *Daily Telegraph*, London, June 6, 1974)

Senegal has curbed the activities of FLING, a tiny rival group, never taken seriously by PAIGC. In the cities of Bissau, Bolama, and Bafata clashes were reported in May leaving six dead and 11 wounded. (*Guardian*, London, May 27, 1974; *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, Geneva, May 27, 1974)

### Calm in the Capital

In Bissau, the capital of the Republic of Guinea, the situation was peaceful. Portuguese Commander Carlos Fabiao was optimistic although he said that "peace is more difficult than war." The 2,500 Portuguese and

Lebanese merchants in the city have curbed their import of manufactured goods and prices of local items appear to have risen. Shortages of codfish, potatoes, and flour are reported. A few hundred merchants and their families have left the country. (*New York Times*, July 1, 1974; *East African Standard*, Nairobi, June 7, 1974)

### Opposing Soldiers Unite

At least 41 fortified camps have been evacuated by Portuguese troops and the PAIGC flag raised. On numerous occasions soldiers of the PAIGC and of Portuguese occupation forces have met in towns and along roads to converse and warmly embrace. The social and psychological wounds of the decade of fighting are already beginning to be healed. Sometimes Portuguese trucks are mobilized to carry PAIGC leaders to arrange details for the *de facto* cease fire and to prevent any retribution against the African commandos who fought with the Portuguese. The opposing forces have also united to remove mines from roadways and public areas; mines are still in place within the perimeter of Portuguese bases. Farmers and refugees are being urged to return to Guinea and resume their agriculture. Posters of Amilcar Cabral can be seen in most of the major towns and Cabral T-shirts are on sale in the Bissau market. (*Guardian*, London, July 23, 1974; *New York Times*, June 28, 30, 1974; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 23, 1974).

### ON THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

In the first strikes in 50 years Cape Verdean transit workers gained a 100 percent salary increase and the drivers' wages were raised by 50 percent. Wages now approximate \$3.00 per day. Construction workers have also received a wage increase which doubles their original pay; they now receive \$2.90 per day unless they are under 18 when they are paid only \$1.66 per day. Even such pitiful wages are a step in the right direction, but the chronic unemployment, the drought, scant agriculture, and modest fishing still leave the majority of the islanders in a frightful position. The Portuguese have instituted a limited food distribution program to bring milk, corn and vitamins to the people who are in desperate need. The Islands have more than a quarter of a million people but only fourteen doctors and many people live in wretched slum housing. The death rate for Cape Verde varies between 10 and 15 per thousand (the US is 9.4 per thousand), but the infant death rate is more than 90 per thousand (for the US only 24 per thousand).

### Political Mobilization

The PAIGC has been organizing in the Islands for years and many sections of the population give the nationalists very strong support as was seen in the demonstrations in the major towns such as Praia in Sao Tiago island and Mindelo in Sao Vincente island. Many of these supporters are young professionals who want immediate independence and are opposed to any referendum. Two new groups, the UDCV (Democratic Union of Cape Verde) and the UPICV (Peoples' Union of the Cape Verde Islands) have formed and call for a referendum vote to decide the question of alliance with Guinea or self-determination for themselves. (*La Croix*, Paris, July 8, 1974; *Le Monde*, Paris, June 30, 1974; *New York Times*, July 6, 11, 1974; *West Africa*, Lagos, May 27, 1974).

# UNITED STATES and SOUTHERN AFRICA

## PRESIDENT FORD'S FIRST ACTIONS ON AFRICA

As soon as Gerald Ford became President, observers began to speculate that the assumption of the Presidency might alter Ford's midwestern conservatism which had been demonstrated consistently in his 25 years in the House of Representatives. Ford's first moves in regard to Africa seem to bear this theory out.

On August 20, President Ford came out unequivocally in support of legislation to restore US compliance with sanctions against Rhodesia. At the daily press briefing at the White House, former presidential press secretary J. F. terHorst stated, "The Ford Administration supports repeal of the Byrd Amendment." This represented a complete turnaround from Ford's votes for the Byrd Amendment in the House in 1971 and 1972. This could be seen as a simple continuation of the former Administration's support for the United Nations in general and for sanctions in particular. Ford's statement was stronger, however, than his predecessor. The change may partly reflect the shift in personality, but also there were a number of people bringing the issue to his attention. Following Ford's complete omission of Africa among major world areas in his maiden speech of August 12, both African representatives and US policy-makers brought the sanctions issue before him. A group of four African ambassadors made the sanctions bill a key item in their first visit with Secretary of State Kissinger at the Ford White House. The Zambian Foreign Minister mentioned it to Kissinger in his recent Washington trip. Senator Humphrey talked with presidential advisor Alexander Haig about the bill and Senator McGee brought it up with the White House lobbying staff. Editorials in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* urged Ford to take this opportunity to affirm his support for the United Nations and to gain broader Congressional support.

The President's statement came at a critical time, for the House was scheduled to consider the Byrd Amendment repeal the following day. In fact, the House sponsors had postponed the vote from August 7 to later in the month precisely in the hope of getting such a statement. The Republican co-sponsors especially felt that the House Republican support for the bill was too low, and that only help from the White House could significantly improve it. They felt that, even if President Ford remained neutral on the bill, he might allow the White House lobbying staff to follow the Nixon Administration position in support of the bill. While this position had never been reversed, White House lobbyists had done no work on the bill since the House Foreign Affairs Committee vote in late June, because of a hostile reception from some House Republican leaders and because of preoccupation with maintaining conservative Congressional support in the event of impeachment.

## Negative Reaction from Conservatives

President Ford's statement in support of sanctions brought strong negative reaction from conservatives on

the Hill and from industry. When President Ford met with the Congressional Black Caucus on the morning of August 21, he asked for a further postponement of the House vote until after the Labor Day recess, to allow time to counter these reactions. He promised the Caucus that the bill would be scheduled and that the White House would actively work for its support after September 11. Members of the Caucus were convinced by his pledge, and Congressman Diggs joined with the other major sponsors of the bill in agreeing to the postponement.

Representatives of the steel industry, who have lobbied strenuously against the sanctions bill, were dismayed by Ford's statement, and felt that it might be the decisive blow against them. They will certainly try to soften Ford's position during the recess, and they have his ear to do so. It is widely known that many of Ford's personal friends are industry lobbyists, and Ford appointed William G. Whyte, a vice president of U.S. Steel (one of the companies which has been lobbying against the sanctions bill), to his select 'transition cabinet'.

However, Ford may not be able to change his position now, and go back on his word in one of his first efforts to woo black and liberal support. Ford might find it in his own interests to work for passage of the bill now that he has come out in its support. The new President certainly will not want to chalk up a defeat this soon. He and his advisors may find the sanctions issue a relatively painless way to win points in Africa—where US policy has little popularity. The proof of Ford's overall intent vis-a-vis Africa will be revealed in the rest of the new administration's African policy and its position on key issues such as the Indian Ocean, South African military strength, Namibia and the UN, and the entire realm of US strategic interests in Southern Africa.

## CIVIL SUIT FILED BY CONGRESSMAN

Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr., (D-Mich), chairman of the sub-committee on Africa of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and several others have filed suit in Federal District Court in Washington, charging Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent with "violating international obligations and United States laws by permitting discussions with South African authorities on the import of fur seal skins from South-West Africa." (*New York Times*, August 29, 1974).

Mr. Dent, a native of South Carolina, had been asked by Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC) to intervene on behalf of the Fouke Company of Greenville, S.C., to expedite the fur company's request for exemption from the Marine Mammal Protection Act to import baby fur seal skins from the rookeries along Namibia's Atlantic coastline. (see *Southern Africa*, September, 1974) A three-man Commerce Department team visited Namibia from August 7 to 23 despite a State Department warning that this might raise foreign policy questions.

The suit said that by his actions Mr. Dent was giving implicit recognition to "the legality of South Africa's illegal occupation" of Namibia. (The *Times* puts it "South-West Africa, also known as Namibia", a quaint phraseology the *Times* persists in utilising). The United Nations and the International Court of Justice have determined that UN member states should refrain from any acts implying that South Africa has legal jurisdiction in Namibia. ■

# at the UNITED NATIONS

## WFP AND UNDP AID TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

Agreements have been signed between the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on behalf of recipients in the liberated areas of Mozambique and Angola. Some 100,000 people are to receive \$2 million food aid over a period of a year. The aid is the first to be granted following authorization by WRP's 24-nation Intergovernmental Committee.

Mr. Anthony Gilpin, the outgoing chief representative of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Zambia, speaking in July, said that UNDP would become much more involved in projects assisting liberation movements from southern Africa in areas such as technical training at institutions in Zambia. One project will train students at the University of Zambia, the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce, and at other commercial and technical institutions in Zambia.

Mr. Gilpin also reaffirmed Zambia's right to aid in view of the costs inflicted by her decision to block her border with Rhodesia and establish new routes. Mr. Gilpin also said that the Smith regime could not expect South Africa to maintain its "charitable" stand in support of the Rhodesian economy which she cannot do alone without the help of other sanctions busters.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, formally recognized by Portugal on September 10, will also receive food aid from the WFP of \$1,318,000. The maize, rice, pulses, dried skim milk and vegetable oil will be distributed to over 90,000 people over a six month period. (UN Press Release FAO/2512, WFP 359, July 25, 1974; UN Press Release FAO/2514, WFP/360, Aug. 1, 1974; *Zambia Daily Mail* July 10, 1974; *Times of Zambia*, July 11, 1974)

## SANCTIONS COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING RHODESIAN IRON & STEEL CO.

The Security Council's Sanctions Committee announced June 22 that it was investigating a reported \$R68.5 million (US \$103 million) scheme which would provide credit and loans to the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co. (RISCO) for expansion. Banks and companies of several nationalities are reported to be involved in the scheme which would represent one of the most serious and dangerous examples of how international sanctions against the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia are being violated, according to the Committee. *The Zambia*

*Daily Mail* (June 22, 1974) reported a committee source that the investigation stemmed from a London press report earlier this year which referred to firms and banks in West Germany, Australia, France, Switzerland, and Bermuda. (UN Press Release SC/3542, June 20, 1974; UN L Southern Africa, No 27, July 1974)

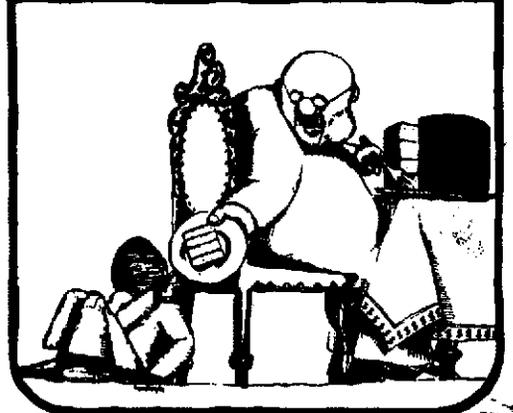
## IATA BREAKS WITH AIR RHODESIA

As a result of the decision by the International Air Transport Association (IATA) member airlines should stop their operations with Air Rhodesia under the multilateral Interline Agreements and the IATA program. This previous arrangement had been criticised by the UN Security Council's Sanctions Committee. The Government of Zambia has ordered all airlines and travel agents operating in Zambia not to issue tickets to passengers going to Rhodesia. Dr. Waldheim, UN Secretary General had earlier written the IATA director general, Knut Hammarskjöld, concerning the inclusion of agents in Rhodesia in the IATA interline Agreements, as a violation of the mandatory sanctions established by the Security Council. Mr. Hammarskjöld directed all member airlines with effect from July 1, 1974, to cease to carry out functions assigned under the Agreements with respect to Air Rhodesia and Rhodesian agents. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, July 11, 1974)

## BRUTALITY IN RHODESIA

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Umtali, Bishop Donal Lamont, gave testimony to the UN's Decolonization Committee about alleged brutality by Rhodesian security forces against the African population of Rhodesia. The Bishop indicated that he could not understand why the world seems so indifferent to a situation where racial discrimination is practised in such a manner that it differs not in essence, but only in degree from the kind of

THE POOR COUNTRIES  
ARE BURDENED WITH  
UNJUST TERMS OF TRADE.



discrimination practised by the herrenvolk in Germany. He submitted a summary of various acts of violence and brutality perpetrated by Rhodesian security forces. The *Guardian*, London, August 31, 1974, in a report by their Salisbury correspondent, Henry Miller, said a dossier containing 10 documented cases of such brutality has been compiled and circulated by 11 Rhodesian church leaders. Two of the cases are reported to have resulted in death of the victims. In an accompanying letter the church leaders declare that attempts to bring the cases to the Government's attention have failed. The letter is signed by the leaders of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and British Methodist Churches in Rhodesia. The cases show a pattern of persistent and deliberate illegal conduct by members of the security forces, including severe beatings, use of electric shock and probable murder.

The Human Rights Commission meanwhile has undertaken a field mission to Europe and Africa during July and August to receive testimony and hear evidence concerning such matters relating to both inhuman acts resulting from punishment meted out to freedom fighters or members of national liberation groups, treatment of political prisoners, allegations of ill treatment and torture of prisoners, detainees and persons in police custody in southern Africa, as well as conditions arising from apartheid and racial discrimination and the question of

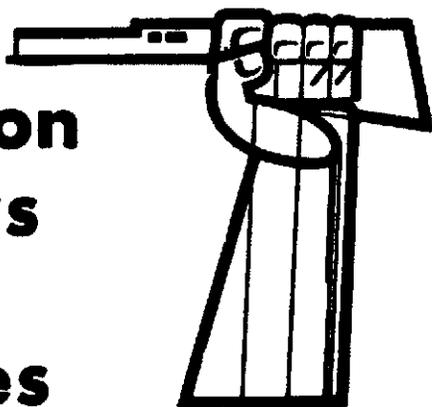
capital punishment in South Africa, and the system of recruitment of African workers and the disparity in wages between black and white workers. The Working Group was to begin in London July 15 and conclude in Geneva August 21 and to have visited Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, Zaire, and Senegal. (UN Press Release HR/1139, June 28, 1974; Johannesburg Star, June 8, 1974; Manchester Guardian, August 31, 1974).

While in Dar es Salaam, the Committee heard of a South African youth who was detained in a cell for 46 days before South African policemen made 16 holes in his genitals with a burning cigar. The youth escaped through Botswana to Tanzania. (*Daily News*, August 4, 1974).

#### APARTHEID COMMITTEE ON KILLINGS OF MINERS

The UN Committee on Apartheid in a report issued July challenged the international community over what it called repeated killings of African miners in South Africa whenever they demonstrated for better conditions. The report referred to the killing in May of two miners at the Lorraine Gold Mine in the Orange Free State and other incidents at Carletonville last Sept. and the Harmony Gold mines there in June 1974. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, July 11, 1974; *Star*, Johannesburg, July 13, 1974; UN Press Release GA/AP/400, June 3, 1974, UN Press Release GA/AP 405, June 26, 1974) ■

## action news and notes



#### MINERS AND DOCKWORKERS BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICAN COAL

The first shipload of South African coal to be exported to the United States was met by picketing miners and boycotted by sympathetic dockworkers. But, union leadership halted the boycott and a federal court injunction ended the picketing, while the coal continues to flow into the U.S.

The United Mine Workers of America is opposed to imports of coal from South Africa because it threatens U.S. jobs and is mined by "slave labor" (See *Southern Africa*, July-August 1974). In Alabama, District 20 has been making public protests about the decision by Southern Company to import 2.5 million tons over the next three years. Earlier, there were two work stoppages when miners demonstrated their stand on the issue. And,

during the national week-long memorial stoppage in August, District 20 held a rally focussed on the foreign coal issue.

The union got the Alabama attorney general on their side. William Baxley invoked an 1880 U.S. statute and appealed to the U.S. Customs Commissioner to stop the imports. The legislation prohibits importation of materials produced by forced labor. Baxley said labor conditions in South Africa make the coal imports "clearly the kind of situation which is covered by the statute."

Union officials in Washington are skeptical about the effectiveness of the action, although they endorse the initiative by the state official. They point out that the law has a loophole which allows imports produced by forced labor if they are not domestically available. The UMW contends that similar low-sulfur coal is available in the Southeast, but Southern Company argues that it is not. And the customs agency will likely take the same view, or else delay action for some time. Apparently, the statute has never before been enforced here.

The miners also enlisted the support of the dockworkers. An appeal to the leadership of the local Longshoremens Associations was not successful. But the Coalition To Stop South Africa Coal invited Tapsum Mawere, U.S. representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to speak in the area. On August 12, Mawere and Henry Lieberg of the American Committee on Africa went to the docks in Mobile. After they met a few dock workers, a spontaneous assembly of about 250 longshoremens gathered, at 7:00 am, to hear the ZANU representative speak. He told them about oppression in Zimbabwe and South Africa, about the liberation struggle being waged, and appealed for their solidarity.

Later in the week, Mawere went to a meeting of the

UMW District 20. Although he received a cool reception from District leaders, his brief remarks were greeted enthusiastically by rank and file miners.

On August 16, the first shipload of coal docked at Mobile. But an examination of the customs manifest showed it was from Australia. UMW leaders, caught somewhat off guard, decided to picket it as well. But, the Longshoremen refused to boycott the coal from unionized Australia.

### Signs of Conservatism

The UMW leaders continued their campaign against foreign coal, saying the prime target was "slave-labor produced coal" from South Africa but also opposing the Australian shipments. In addition, they sought to exclude from the campaign any non-union people, particularly the Coalition to Stop SA Coal, a Birmingham-based group made up of labor and community organizations. The Coalition sought to introduce an anti-imperialist perspective in the campaign. This was soundly rejected by UMW leaders. Sam Littlefield, district president, told the *Birmingham News* (August 23, 1974): "We haven't brought outsiders to fight our battle. We've been accused of being affiliated with the left wing, but no member can belong to the Communist Party or he would be kicked out of the UMW."

If the UMW leadership showed signs of conservatism, the International Longshoremen (ILA) local leadership took a reactionary position. On August 25, when the first shipment of South African coal arrived, the UMW pickets were there. The dockworkers this time agreed to honor the pickets. The events after that are somewhat confused, but apparently Longshoremen from another local were brought in to unload the ship. Then, they too stopped working.

But, despite the members support for the boycott, ILA local president Isom Celmon ordered the men back to work.

Two days later, the federal district court issued an injunction ordering the UMW to cease picketing. Sam Littlefield told *Africa News* that his members had done all they could. "It is up to the public across the United States to get to those power companies and stop this slave-labor produced coal from coming in here."

Meanwhile, another utility which is importing South African coal says it has faced no protest so far. A spokesperson for the New England Electric System of Massachusetts told *Africa News* that the company has received one shipment, and expects to import about 50,000 tons this year.

The New England Utility says the price and low sulfur content of the South African coal is its attraction. The company has had to shift some of its oil-using operations to coal because of rising petroleum prices. And, the coal is just not available in the northeast, the spokesperson said. She added that the price for the South African coal is somewhat lower than what New England Electric is paying for other domestic and foreign coal.

Southern Company has contended that the South African coal is more expensive than domestic supplies. A spokesperson told *Africa News* that the utility is paying about \$25 per ton and that comparable coal in the U.S. was selling for \$15 per ton when the contract with South



UMW members demonstrate at stockholders meeting against South African Coal (Photo: Earl Dotter, UMW Journal)

Africa was negotiated in December of 1973. He admitted, however, that coal is currently selling for more than \$35 here.

Press reports on the South African-Southern Company deal have placed the price for the total 2.5 million package at \$45-47 million (SA Scope, April 1974; *New York Times*, August 27, 1974). That would place the price per ton of the South African product at about \$20 per ton.

The future of the Alabama protests is uncertain. The UMW will fight the injunction, but even picket lines are not likely to stop the imports now. Clearly, though, the workers and general public in that state are better informed about conditions in South Africa, some feeling of international solidarity has been built, and power companies will have to think twice before entering into future contracts. (Sources: Telephone interviews with Littlefield, Birmingham coalition members, New England Electric, Southern Company. *NY Times*, August 17, 18, 27; *Washington Post*, Aug. 27; *Birmingham News*, Aug. 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 1974)

### NEW YORK TIMES RECEIVES STAY ON DISCRIMINATION CASE

The *New York Times*, which was ordered by the New York City Commission on Human Rights to end all advertising for employment in South Africa, did not publish any information about the case in its own paper. (See *Southern Africa*, February and September, 1974) However the fact that the newspaper received a stay on the order by a ruling of the State Supreme Court was publicized. The order suspends the Commission's cease and desist ruling on ads. The *Times* has added several other legal arguments to its case against the Commission's ruling including violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the US Constitution related to freedom

of speech, press, and equal protection under the laws. (*New York Times*, July 28, 1974) It would have been refreshing if "all the news that's fit to print" had included a basic story in the *Times* about the original legal suit, the Commission's ruling and the whole issue of discriminatory employment in South Africa. No such luck.

#### **GROUP MOBILIZES ON VIRGINIA BANK LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA**

There has been continuous action on the few US banking institutions which have refused to withdraw or state a withdrawal policy on loans to the Government of South Africa. The Potomac Association, Northern Virginia Area of the United Church of Christ is tackling the United Virginia Bank which loaned \$2 million through the European American Banking Corporation. (See *Southern Africa*, February, May, June, 1974). The group plans to investigate organizational holdings with the bank and to meet with bank officials. Also it has proposed, together with the Lawyers Committee for Constitutional Rights, a new provision to Virginia's Fairfax County legal code which would prohibit the county having financial dealings with businesses involving support for racist policies. (Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, August 30, 1974)

#### **ORGANIZING ON GUINEA-BISSAU**

The United States Government has finally come in on the tails of the post-coup Portuguese apron strings in its support for the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to United Nations' membership. Prior to this *fait accompli*, various groups had worked to develop a peoples' recognition of Guinea-Bissau as well as lobbied for US recognition. The American Committee on Africa (164 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016) had launched a campaign calling for letters and telegrams to be sent to Secretary of State Kissinger; placing advertisements and sending mailings hoping to build enough pressure to at least circumvent a US Government veto of Guinea-Bissau's application to the UN. The Committee to Support the Republic of Guinea Bissau is planning a large solidarity celebration on September 24, the first anniversary of the founding of the Republic in New York.

#### **BOSTON DEMONSTRATIONS**

More and more protests on the Portuguese African issue have occurred throughout the US. Two demonstrations were held in Boston on August 1 and 3 at the Portuguese TAP Airline office and the Portuguese Consulate. Related activities and meetings were held in the surrounding area during this period.

#### **SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE ATHLETES DISINVITED TO POLICE OLYMPICS**

After considerable national and local pressure, the San Francisco Police Department on August 7 informed the South African Consulate it was the "consensus" of the department that it "regrets it must withdraw the invitation to the South Africa Police to participate in the Police Olympics because of difficulties expected and implications that would be drawn."

The prime mover behind exposing and protesting the unprecedented invitation to the South African police was

the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, a national organization with offices in New York (14 West 11th St., New York, N.Y. 10011). Support in the form of letters and statements directed at Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco, came from Judge William Booth, President of the American Committee on Africa, and California black leaders, including Robert Chrisman of *Black Scholar* and the National Anti-Imperialist Movement.

The withdrawal of the invitation strikes a blow at South Africa's international image building efforts. (*ECSA Press Release*, August 14, 1974; *Africa News*, Durham, August 22, 1974; *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 13, 1974)

#### **US TRAVEL AGENCIES ATTACKED FOR BREAKING RHODESIAN SANCTIONS**

The United Church of Christ Center for Social Action has been working for a number of months to enlighten the public and various international and local agencies about the complex way in which American tourist institutions (including airlines, travel agencies, exporters, tourist support services) have been consistently breaking US laws and regulations regarding sanctions against Rhodesia. The US Government has always claimed to be one of the best enforcers of sanctions, except of course for the importation of chrome and other metals after Congressional legislation (the Byrd Amendment) in 1971. Actually, revealed the UCC Center, US agencies, including the Departments of Treasury, Commerce, the CAB, FAA and others, have allowed the build up of a very lucrative and well organized tourist business running from the US to Rhodesia. Aided by the active functioning of the Air Rhodesia office in New York (recently closed down after public pressure), more than 1300 American travel agencies, large and small, from East to West, have encouraged tourists to visit Victoria Falls or Wankie Game Park and other tourist attractions in Rhodesia. This has violated provisions of Presidential Executive Orders prohibiting the transfer of funds to or from Rhodesia as well as laws against airline linkages between the US and airlines constituted in Rhodesia. The UCC Center for Social Action's most recent focus has been the travel agencies to which it sent letters informing agents of their probably illegal activity in the past. The involvement of the travel agents with the Rhodesian tourist business is documented on the basis of computer printouts showing the transfer of funds or correspondence. The data emerged from the documents taken from the Air Rhodesia office by its secretary. (See *Southern Africa*, July-August, September, 1974)

Jack Anderson, sleuthing syndicated columnist, carried a story about the travel agencies' illegal activity, showing how the US Treasury Department and the FAA have over the years "winked" at the tourist activities. The column also revealed that the business goes beyond an occasional safari tourist to include such trips as Ford Motor Company sending out salesmen on incentive tours, and franchisers such as Holiday Inns now opening huge new hotels in Rhodesia. (*New York Post*, August 20, 1974).

Since July the FAA and several travel magazines have carried warnings against airlines' booking to Rhodesia (more than 15,000 tourists had been scheduled to go to Rhodesia under group tours alone in 1974), but there is

still a number of loopholes evident in laxity on the part of other government agencies. The travel agencies have now been notified by the UCC of the illegality of their past behavior—many have agreed to obey US laws, even though the US government, itself has certainly avoided full compliance. ■

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## BOOKS

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*Angola Secret Government Documents on Counter-Subversion.* Translated and Edited by Caroline Reuver-Cohen and William Jerman (IDOC) 1974. \$4.00 (paper)

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The editors of this book are not exaggerating when they claim to be providing "an extraordinary insight into the administration of Portugal's African colonies..." They are also on the mark when they suggest that the major importance of this volume is its presentation of the views, not of journalists, academics, or observers "tainted" by their support for the liberation movement, but of "the officials who were responsible for framing and implementing the policies which have led to the present situation."

Between November, 1968, and March, 1969, these officials—top Portuguese army, police and information officers connected with the administration of Angola—participated in and wrote reports for a "Symposium on Counter-Subversion." They were divided into six sections: General Plan of Counter-Subversion, Organization of Counter-Subversion, Regrouping and Control of Populations, Civil Defense—Self-Defense and Militias Psychological Action—Public Information, Social Promotion—Rural Resettlement. The symposium texts, 38 in all, remained secret as intended until late 1972 when copies of 36 were "liberated" and taken to the Angola Committee (Amsterdam) which published Dutch translations of extracts with commentary in 1973. IDOC then took on the job of English translation—a formidable one given the use of specialized terminology and acronyms reminiscent of the phrases and terms created by U.S. government and military personnel for the Vietnam war.

For readers who have already gleaned from "unofficial" sources and histories the facts of racial discrimination in jobs, wages and treatment in Angola and who are aware of the dismal failure of Portugal's 400 year old "civilizing mission" there, these extracts will hold few surprises. They do, however, present interesting details,

and of course, the real point is that these are *Portuguese officials* describing this discrimination and discussing this failure. In addition, however, the documents are particularly significant in that they reveal both the psychology behind Portuguese actions and the extent to which virtually all Portuguese activity in Angola (from the creation of militias and an African "identification" system, the use of chiefs, inter-marriage, the recognition of African culture, to better wages and treatment, road building, and the provision of medical assistance, education and employment for Africans) was undertaken to consolidate Portuguese power in Angola. "Portugalization" and counter-subversion—these were the twin goals which Portuguese colonialists sought in vain to achieve until a few months ago.

In addition to the extracts of documents from the "Symposium on Counter-Subversion," IDOC has included in this volume translations of the Concordate and the Missionary Accord, both official Vatican-Portuguese documents (1940) which reveal the extent of Catholic Church complicity in Portuguese colonialism, and of the Portuguese Missionary Statute (1941). The final document included is the All Africa Conference of Churches statement (1973) protesting the equation of "Christian civilization" and Portuguese colonialism implied in these three documents.

From these and other heretofore secret official sources, the history of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and elsewhere in Africa will eventually be written. It seems likely that this history will confirm the worst suspicions of so-called radical and left wing anti-colonial writers. In the meantime, IDOC has taken a valuable first step in this process. ■

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# RESOURCES

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## Active Groups

*The Tidewater Africans*, P.O. Box 6289, Norfolk, Virginia 23508. Group of Blacks involved in research on militarism, counselling Black GIs, and in local area Southern Africa oriented activities.

*African-Latin Help Committee*, connected with L.E.S. Health Council South, 225 Henry Street, New York, N.Y. 10002, Telephone (212) 964-3370. Established a program to collect donated clothing and medicines to be distributed to groups in Latin America and Africa. ALHC's leaflet cites FRELIMO, MPLA and ZANU, also mentioning Sahel and Ethiopian drought victims' needs.

*FRELIMO POSTER*, 500 Years of Colonial Oppression. 4 color poster by FRELIMO artist; all profits go directly to FRELIMO. Write Solidaritatskomitee Freis Afrika/ Regensburg, c/o B. Keil, D-84, Regensburg, Wollwirker-gasse 17, Federal Republic of Germany. Cost DM 3.50.

*NO COMPROMISE WITH APARTHEID*, No. 5/74 in the U.N. Unit on Apartheid *Notes and Documents* series, is a collection of statements made by H.E. Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria) Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid. Copies are available from the United Nations Information Office, Washington, D.C. (April, 1974, 8 pp.).

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A LUTA CONTINUA

### THE WOMEN'S STRUGGLE IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Stephanie Urdang will talk and show slides about her recent four week visit to Guinea-Bissau to any groups interested. She met and talked to many women about their experiences in fighting "two colonialisms"—Portuguese and men.

She can be contacted through:

Southern Africa Committee  
227 West 27th Street  
Fifth Floor  
New York, New York 10001  
(212) 741-3480

or call: (202) 797-9164

# Review of African Political Economy

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# update

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## GUINEA-BISSAU ANNOUNCES NEW CAPITAL

The government of Guinea Bissau has announced that the country's new capital will be Madina Boe, in the far eastern hills. The town was the site of a guerrilla encampment, and it was there that a national assembly met to declare independence last September.

The announcement was made by the mayor-designate of the west coast town of Bissau, which was the capital under Portuguese rule.

Moving the capital is in line with the new nation's policy of decentralization, and the development of rural areas. Bissau is already the country's largest town, and is sure to remain important because of its port.

Naming Madina Boe as the capital will help stimulate the development of the eastern part of the small country, which is about the size of the Netherlands. The choice is also a symbolic one, as it was in the east that control was first taken from the Portuguese, and the establishment of an independent state began.

## ANGOLA: MPLA UNITY

The three factions of the M.P.L.A. have signed a provisional settlement of their differences. The ceremony took place before three African heads of state, and the Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

The parties to the agreement chose a provisional leadership to guide M.P.L.A. policy until the next party congress takes place. That meeting is not expected until after Angola's independence from Portugal.

News of the accord was aired on M.P.L.A.'s "Voice of Angola" radio broadcast.

In the settlement, Dr. Agostino Neto remains president of the organization, while leaders of the other two factions, Daniel Chipenda and Pinto Andrade, will be joint Vice-Presidents. A new central committee of thirty-nine members will be established, sixteen chosen by Neto, thirteen by Chipenda, and ten by Andrade. The committee will name a political bureau of three members from each faction.

According to BBC correspondent Tony Avirgan, who interviewed Neto, the M.P.L.A. now feels it can spend its energies for the liberation of Angola. When the central committee meets, a negotiating position towards the Portuguese government will be worked out.

## MOZAMBIQUE: WHITES REBEL

In the wake of a short-lived white rebellion and black riots that left 78 dead, the Mozambican capitol of Lourenco Marques was calm as Portuguese authorities prepared to hand over power to the leaders of Frelimo. Mozambique's popular liberation movement. Workers returned to their jobs and streets were again jammed as the first delegation of Frelimo representatives arrived to work out the details of the country's interim government.

The ranking member of Frelimo's delegation was Joachim Chissano, the Party's Defense Secretary, who is expected to be named as Prime Minister of the interim government. Samora Machel, president of Frelimo and prospective president of the temporary government, remained at his headquarters in Tanzania to map out the structure of his new administration.

Mr. Chissano and other members of the Frelimo delegation, behind a heavy veil of security, have been meeting with local Frelimo supporters and the new Portuguese High Commissioner in Mozambique, Rear Admiral Victor Crespo. The High Commissioner will share authority with Frelimo leaders until formal independence next June 25.

Frelimo will appoint the Prime Minister and six cabinet members for the temporary government. The High Commissioner will appoint cabinet members.

## Chipenda, Neto, de Andrade



High Commissioner Crespo and Mr. Chissano both held press conferences in their first few days in Lourenco Marques. Both expressed confidence that the new leaders will work toward an equitable multiracial society, and stressed the importance of the present spirit of cooperation between Portuguese and Frelimo troops and political leaders.

This sense of harmony has already withstood one major test: the white revolt known now as "The Settlers' Rebellion". After Portugal's sudden announcement that it would turn over all power in Mozambique to Frelimo, whites in Lourenco Marques seized the radio station and broke into a local prison. Portuguese and African troops worked together to put down that rebellion. Admiral Crespo said the leaders of the Settlers' Rebellion should be severely punished, but he added that the Frelimo leaders have assured him they have no desire to extract vengeance from the masses of whites who were simply swept along by the emotional tide. Frelimo supporters are presently touring the city with loudspeakers, urging blacks to be calm and assuring whites that they have nothing to fear from a black government.

One reason for the whites' rebellion was their objection to a one-party system under Frelimo, which they feared would not give whites a voice in the government. Mr. Chissano, at his news conference, did not say that Mozambique would have a multi-party system, but he did promise that his government will be representative.

In addition, Chissano expressed the new administration's position toward the neighboring white-ruled states of Rhodesia and South Africa. He said that the government will study its relations with all neighboring countries before a stance is taken, but that Frelimo adheres to a policy of "noninterference".

Asked about South Africa's massing of troops along its border with Mozambique, Chissano said that his government must determine whether South Africa intends the deployment as a provocation or is just looking out for its own interests. Mozambique, he emphasized, does not intend to provoke anybody.

Chissano has reason to be cautious in his attitude toward South Africa. Thousands of Mozambiquans cross the border each year to work in South Africa, and the new regime would be hard put to find employment for them if it broke off relations with South Africa. In addition, South Africa has one of the most formidable military machines on the African continent.

South Africa, in turn, has adopted a conciliatory attitude toward its new neighbor. South African Prime Minister Vorster has said that his country will not antagonize the Frelimo government unless it threatens South Africa. And, although the white separatist state is attempting to assimilate Portuguese refugees from Mozambique, leaders of the Settlers' Rebellion who fled to South Africa for protection have been told to leave the country.

#### Our New Letters Column

*Southern Africa* is initiating a "Letters" section in forthcoming issues. We encourage readers to supply information, criticism and comment about the magazine. Letters writers' initials will be used unless permission to publish full names is indicated. For reasons of space we reserve the right to select or edit any letters received.



joy to the Afrikan World  
The Republic of Guine-Bissau  
is born!

O Guine-Bissau  
Your Nativity is truly an immaculate conception  
cleansed in blood,  
purified by fire, and  
Born of the *Unity* of the People  
of the Guine-Cape Verde Nation!

Born of the protracted *Struggle*  
of liberation from portuguese colonialism—  
and NATO, imperialism's protector!

Born of the social *Progress*  
initiated by the democratic principles  
of the Afrikan Party for Independence  
of Guine-Bissau and Cape Verde!

—Elombe Brath

# Contents contd.

<b>4. Zimbabwe</b>	<b>16</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fearful Whites Reaffirm Smith</li> <li>Chiweshe Removals: Operation Overload</li> <li>Guerrilla Struggle</li> <li>Illegal Immigration Office in London</li> </ul>	
<b>5. Portugal and Africa</b>	<b>18</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ANGOLA</li> <li>MPLA Congress Over</li> <li>Aftermath of Luanda Riots</li> <li>Two Year Deadline Set for Angolan Independence</li> <li>UNITA Ceasefire Agreement Uncertain</li> <li>Cabinda Watched Closely by Portuguese</li> <li>MOZAMBIQUE</li> <li>PORTUGAL</li> <li>The Road Ahead</li> <li>Blanket Amnesty</li> <li>GUINEA-BISSAU</li> <li>Victory for Guinea-Bissau</li> <li>On The Diplomatic Front</li> <li>NATO Plans on Cape Verde</li> <li>Inside Guinea-Bissau</li> <li>On The Cape Verde Islands</li> </ul>	
<b>6. United States and Southern Africa</b>	<b>25</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>President Ford's First Actions on Africa</li> <li>Civil Suit Filed by Congressman</li> </ul>	
<b>7. At The United Nations</b>	<b>24</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>WFP and UNDP Aid to Southern Africa</li> <li>Sanctions Committee Investigating Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co.</li> <li>IATA Breaks with Air Rhodesia</li> <li>Brutality in Rhodesia</li> <li>Apartheid Committee on Killings of Miners</li> </ul>	
<b>8. Action News and Notes</b>	<b>26</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Miners and Dockworkers Boycott</li> <li>South African Coal</li> <li>New York Times Receives Stay</li> <li>On Discrimination Case</li> <li>Group Mobilizes on Virginia Bank Loans</li> <li>Organizing on Guinea-Bissau</li> <li>Boston Demonstrations</li> <li>SA Police Athletes Dis-Invited</li> </ul>	
<b>9. Update</b>	

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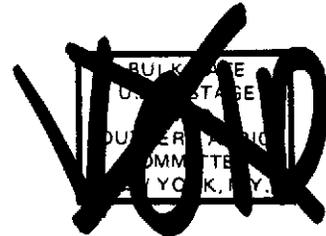
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