

southern africa

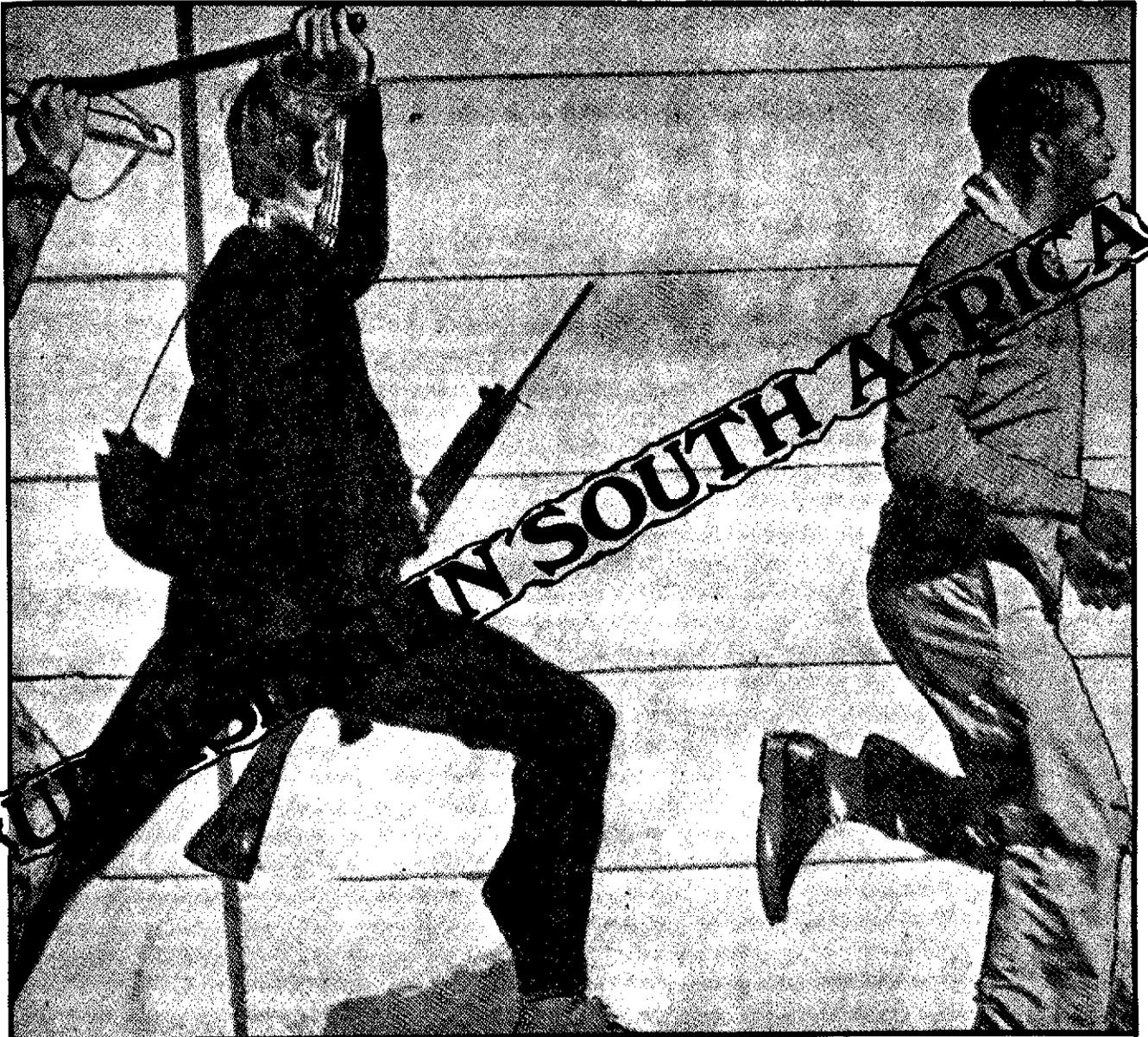


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Whites Still Wield The Guns and Clubs. But for How Long?

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OUR COLLECTIVE

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OVERVIEW

As African demands for liberation in South Africa move the African people closer to total confrontation with the white supremacists, the US administration seems intent on giving as much support as possible to the South African police state. So Kissinger has been holding friendly talks with Vorster, and here in the US the FBI is harassing the Southern Africa Committee, and other groups which support the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

We print below a report issued in mid-July by the Southern African Committee, after a visit to its office by the FBI.

On July 13, two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation visited the offices of the Southern Africa Committee, which publishes the monthly survey of news and opinion, *Southern Africa*. The agents asked to see the financial records of the Committee, stating that they wished to do so on behalf of the Justice Department, which is conducting an investigation of the Committee. The agents further stated that the purpose of the Justice Department's investigation is to determine whether the Southern Africa Committee should be required to register as an "agent of a foreign principal."

The Committee became aware early in 1975 that the Justice Department was conducting a secret investigation into our affairs. Over the months since that time, our lawyers have on numerous occasions requested information and documentation from the Justice Department under the Freedom of Information Act. It has been our suspicion, openly stated to officials concerned, that the Justice Department has been conducting its investigation on the totally erroneous grounds that the Committee is acting on behalf of a "foreign principal." But we have consistently been refused access to any information or documentation, and have been denied the right to know *why* we are being investigated, on the grounds that the granting of such information would impede law enforcement procedure.

The FBI agents who visited us on July 13 therefore confirmed our suspicions regarding the pretext for the investigation, and in so doing underscored our belief that there is no basis at all for any investigation.

What has been clear and is now clearer still, is that our Committee has become a victim of harassment by the agencies of our own government. There is absolutely nothing that is secretive or sinister about what we do,

which is to produce the magazine *Southern Africa* each month. We devote our time and energies to this task on a volunteer basis, and do so because we feel that information on this critical area in the world ought to be readily available to the public. We have often voiced our disagreement with U.S. policy with regard to African liberation movements and economic and political contacts with the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. We cannot help but feel that there is a direct relationship between the harassment of our Committee, particularly this latest development of July 13, and recent events in southern Africa. The meeting between Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa and Secretary of State Kissinger, the massacre of Black South African demonstrators by the South African police, and other occurrences will increasingly require the American public to take a stand on the issue of whether the U.S. government should support the status quo or forces for change in southern Africa. Southern Africa Committee, whose task is to provide the public with reliable information on which to base its stand, finds itself the victim of a clearly baseless investigation by agencies of the U.S. government. This, we feel, can hardly be coincidence.

At this critical time, it is vitally important that our Committee, and other organizations concerned with current developments in southern Africa, remain free from harassment and intimidation.

We call on you to support us in any way you can. We ask you to protest this direct challenge to our right to free speech by requesting that the Attorney General stop the investigation of the Southern Africa Committee immediately.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PROPAGANDA MACHINE

by Barbara Rogers

This article is a shortened version of an extensive study on South African propaganda in the United States prepared by Ms. Rogers for inclusion in a collection of such surveys in several western countries. The publication is to be released soon by the Africa Bureau, London.

Literature and other forms of propaganda from South Africa have flooded the United States to such an extent that one editor has observed, "I receive more propaganda from South Africa than from *all* other foreign governments combined."

This is only the tip of the iceberg, however. With the new regime at the Department of Information, most of the effort has been going into activities which are more sophisticated and subtle than the distribution of literature. The new Secretary for Information, Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, said in 1974 that there was to be a change of emphasis in publicity methods, and that he saw a time "when 50 to 60 per cent of the Department's methods would be 'hidden,' not in the sense of secrecy or subversion, but on an indirect basis."

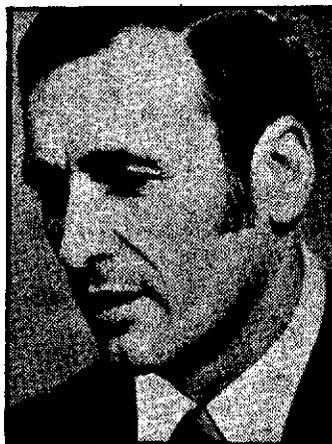
The classic example of such an operation is in the United States, with the controversial hiring of Washington political lobbyist Donald DeKieffer of Hill, Shannon, Rill and Edwards, to conduct what seems to many to be an alternative foreign policy on behalf of the South African Government. Not only has DeKieffer intervened on strictly diplomatic issues with the State Department, but he also manages a whole stable of agents across the country. He told the *Johannesburg Star* recently that he has paid a controversial priest-turned-journalist, Lester Kinsolving, to attend stockholders' meetings "to put the other side of the story" when challenges come up about investment in southern Africa; DeKieffer also bought some shares for him.

"Mr. Kinsolving is not an isolated case," according to DeKieffer. "Often I go out of my way to arrange for people to appear at public forums. I've got people around the country who are willing. If it's necessary to pay their expenses I do so." The money is of course reimbursed by the South African Department of Information.

Meanwhile, the more conventional programs have been stepped up, and funding increased. They include the massive advertising program, regular information activities conducted through the Information Service of South Africa (based in New York) and other Government offices, and the activities of a variety of other operations which include the Club of Ten and the South Africa Foundations, working more or less closely with the Department of Information which may be assumed to be providing "indirect" funds to some or all of them.

Visitors

The visitors' program has always played an important part in the Department of Information's efforts to win friends and influence people. In 1973 there were 11 official guests from the US, and in 1974, 56. Increasing numbers of members of Congress are involved, particular-



Secretary of Information, Eschel Rhoodie—painting a pretty picture.

ly those on defense-related committees. An example of the effectiveness of these visits is that of Mr. John McGoff, who visited Prime Minister Vorster while on a government tour and subsequently became one of the most effective allies of the South Africans in the US, personally introducing Connie Mulder (Minister of Information) to Gerald Ford while Ford was Vice-President. Another subject of the visitors' program was Lester Kinsolving, who was just one of the many carefully-selected media people who already had right-wing and segregationist sympathies and became an active propagandist after his visit.

In addition to openly government-paid tours, there seems to be another category which are arranged "indirectly." A tour by seven members of Congress in 1975 was ostensibly paid by Mr. Werner Ackermann, a Pretoria businessman who is close to the Department of Information and a sponsor of the new Foreign Affairs Association. Ackermann has admitted that he had never met many of the people whom he invites, nor does he personally spend time with most of them.

In connection with the seven members of Congress, a spokesperson for the Department of Information told the local press, "They are not official guests of ours, but in the normal course of events we will naturally assist them in arranging meetings with leading South Africans..." He denied all knowledge of the tour being "defence orientated," but added that Mr. Ackermann could have included a visit to defense establishments in his guests' itinerary. The *Star*, however, commented, "The trouble is that the Information department has been caught with its hand in the diplomatic cookie jar. It is now associated with 'unconventional diplomacy,' with secret contacts, with underground channels of communication, with subterfuges and all the other things that go by the name of 'dirty tricks.'"

Information Service of South Africa

ISSA is the main official organ for conventional propaganda in the US. Apart from its main office in New York, it also has operations in the South African Embassy in Washington and in the new South African Press and Information Office in Los Angeles. The work is supported by other South African government agencies such as the consulates (in New York, Washington, San Francisco and New Orleans), the South African Tourist Corporation (in New York and Los Angeles), South African Airways (in New York, Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Chicago and Houston) and the South African Railways and Airways Procurement Office in Valley Stream, NY.

The importance of the "information" activities is illustrated by the fact that the Information Controller in New York earns considerably more than the Consul General there, and almost the same as the South African Ambassador in Washington DC. The size of the official information budget is also revealing: almost \$600,000 for the fiscal year ending March 1976. ISSA is registered in Washington with the claim that it has the same responsibilities here as the USA has in South Africa, "where it operates on a reciprocal basis."

Publications distributed by the ISSA office include *South African Scope* (which is published in New York), *South African Panorama* and *South African Digest*. *Scope* alone has a circulation in the US and Canada of 35,000 and many local newspapers reproduce entire articles from it, or quote from it regularly. Much direct work is also done with media, with numerous letters to the editor, and articles contributed directly. A notable success for the South Africans was the publication of Connie Mulder's article in the *New York Times* of May 14, 1974. This was fully exploited by sending reprints of the article to all contacts, radio and television stations, newspapers and members of Congress.

There is also a bi-monthly radio program, *South African Magazine*, which is widely used by about 125 radio stations, most of them in rural areas which have no access to alternative points of view. A total of 4,000 copies of the 24 issues were sent to radio stations in 1974, and in addition a number of special editions were compiled, with 2,000 copies of these distributed.

As the Department of Information has stated, "television is the most important publicity medium in the USA." To achieve maximum TV exposure, the standard South African propaganda films have been Americanized and shortened. Ten of them were shown on television in 1974, and seen by an estimated 32 million people. Films are also shown in commercial cinemas through a distributor, Association-Sterling Film. The New York office of ISSA has a total of 1,551 copies of 53 films, and a total of 1,461 prints of 15 films distributed commercially.

Particular success was achieved in 1974 by the inclusion of the office's own film, *Floodlift to Lesotho*, in Sterling's "Theater Cavalcade" program. Between April and September it was shown 6,215 times and seen by an estimated 1,446,710 people. During the year as a whole nearly 2 million Americans saw it, obviously getting the impression of white South Africans as saviors to the poor benighted "Bantu."

In addition to the printed material, radio and TV, particular stress is laid on the conduct of "contact tours," where each information official is assigned a specific region to visit periodically. During 1974 six officials made 22 contact tours, spending a total of 176 days away from

head office. During this time they visited 118 cities and towns, seeing individuals, making speeches at sympathetic organizations, and visiting or giving interviews to the local press, radio and television. There was a sharp cut-back in 1972-3 in visits to colleges and universities, but these were subsequently started again.

The ISSA office is also closely involved with the Department of Information's guest program, making the appropriate contacts and recommendations, and following up the visitors on return. The Department reports, "An analysis of the [New York] office's guest programme indicates a rewarding result since the visits in most cases were followed by positive publicity for South Africa in the American press."

The South Africa Foundation

The Foundation receives large contributions from US and other foreign companies operating in South Africa. It operates discreetly but very effectively at high levels of the business, political and bureaucratic worlds. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* has commented:

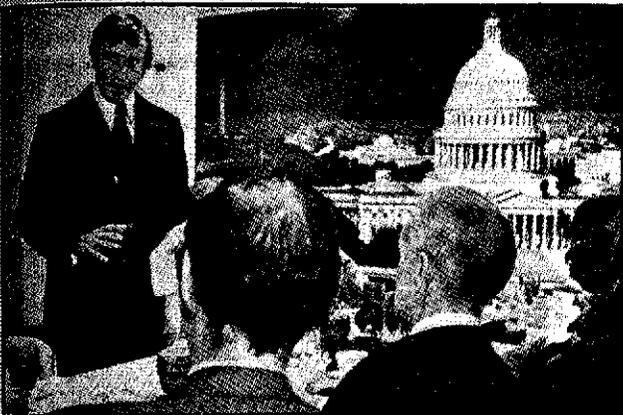
"The promotion of South Africa's image in the United States is without doubt the Foundation's highest priority . . . to convince them that a policy of friendship and co-operation with South Africa is not in the final instance irreconcilable with the best interests of America and the West."

Foundation publications (basically *South Africa International*, a "prestige" quarterly, and the monthly *South Africa Foundation News*) are circulated free of charge, not only to Foundation members but also to a selected list of contacts which include government officials, members of Congress, newspapers, various civic and business groups, libraries and educational institutions. Great emphasis is given to any signs of "understanding" in western countries of the government's policy, and any events in South Africa, however trivial, which make it seem as if *apartheid* is being "eroded." Negative information in this respect is almost always excluded.

As described by the *Financial Mail*, the Foundation aims to "appease critics abroad by applying a few cosmetics to the face of apartheid." Token Africans, Asians and Coloureds have been brought into the public activities, largely to conform to American expectations, and great stress is placed on the Bantustan policy. Particular emphasis at the moment, as in the other information agencies, is on the "independence" of the Transkei. In talking to American business executives and bankers on whether US companies should refrain from investing in South Africa, the registration statement reveals:

"The Foundation representatives pointed out the views of leading South African spokesmen on this question, including men such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Chief Kaiser Matanzima."

It should be obvious that repetitions of this theme *ad nauseam* by corporate officials is an indication of the influence wielded by the Foundation and other South African bodies in fashioning the arguments with which to combat liberal opponents. The Foundation might be seen as the Jesuits of the South African information effort. They play subtly on two major themes that help them among conventional liberals: the "communist menace" to the Cape Route and the world (and a very understated but



Foundation President Jan Marais in Washington—an appeal for “understanding”.

these meetings, Marais stressed the “independence” of the Foundation from the South African government, and claimed that it sought to “act as a catalyst in encouraging progressive and evolutionary changes in South Africa. . . .” He appealed for a “dialogue” on this between Americans and South Africans. Other topics covered were the strategic significance of the Cape Route and “the progressive elimination of discriminatory rules in South Africa.”

Other organisations

The Foreign Affairs Association was formed in April, 1975, as an “independent clearing house for information on South Africa’s contacts with the rest of the world.” Its proposed activities sound very similar to those of the Department of Information itself, namely “to make contact with similar organisations in Africa and elsewhere, undertake research, disseminate findings, invite experts to attend conferences, furnish information on the country’s international relationships and stimulate local interest in international affairs.” It is not known where the FAA’s estimated half-million dollar annual budget comes from. The scale of its expenditure has caused some surprise, particularly a lavish conference on detente in late 1975. The FAA was planning a conference in the US this year, and a further conference on the Transkei to be held in Umtata in October.

Another organization with unknown sources of funds is the Club of Ten, which is supposedly based in London and has carried out advertizing campaigns for South Africa in the US. Investigations in London turned up evidence of close connections with the Department of Information; the main themes are in fact the familiar ones used by the Department. An advertizement in the *New York Times* in February, urging US intervention in the Angolan civil war, appealed openly to fears of “the ceaseless expansion” of the Soviet Union, which “threatens our whole way of life.”

Lobbying in Washington

Donald DeKieffer and another of the partners in the

Early in 1976 the Foreign Affairs Association organized an international symposium in the Transkei to build support for the Bantustans. Guests included Prof. V.J. Belfiglio of the US (center) and Mr. J.A. Parker of Washington DC, founder of the *Friends of the Transkei Movement*, (right).



effective alignment with the Israeli lobby), and at the same time, the theme of South Africa’s dialogue or “detente” policy with independent African countries, which would make investment in South Africa more easily defensible.

During the second half of 1975, contacts made by Foundation officials extended to a wide variety of members of Congress and their staffs, including Senators Dick Clark, Edward Kennedy and other liberals, as well as allies such as Senator Harry Byrd “to discuss the progress of the Byrd Amendment.” Several of the contacts were clearly for lobbying purposes, and included discussions about gold; South Africa’s energy resources, US legislation on sugar, and the naval base at Simonstown. During many of the conversations, the possibility of visiting South Africa was raised. One notable contact was Dr. Robert Goldwin, a Special Adviser to the President, and representatives of the US Army War College and the State Department, to discuss the possibility of President Ford visiting South Africa. This could well have helped pave the way to Kissinger’s meeting with Vorster in West Germany.

A number of members of Congress have visited South Africa under the auspices of the Foundation. The Foundation is advised on this by “Man to Man” committees composed of nationals of the country involved. The visits are carefully tailored to show the members of Congress things relevant to their Committee responsibilities. Rep. David Bowen, for example, who is on several Subcommittees of the House Agriculture Committee, was shown around by representatives of the sugar industry. He also met South African government officials, politicians and business people, and saw “a cross-section of the country’s agriculture.” Even where members of Congress or other important visitors are visiting South Africa independently, the foundation lays on special events for them.

A particular coup in the visitor program was the 1973 trip arranged by the Foundation for Mr. Hobart Taylor, a prominent black business person and member of the Democratic Party, as well as the former Director of the Export-Import Bank.

The Foundation’s most important recent event was the visit to the US in 1975 of its President, Dr. Jan Marais. Among the top-level meetings arranged for him were those with the editors of the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*; nine important Senators and six members of Congress; senior officials at the State and Defense Departments; and other high-ranking politicians at a reception given by Vice-President Rockefeller. At all

lobbying law firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill and Edwards work full-time for the Department of Information at \$50 an hour. They seem to be worth the money. Among their achievements have been arranging top-level visits for South African government officials in Washington. In the case of recently retired Chief of Defense Admiral Biermann, DeKieffer managed to get the State Department overruled on its refusal to issue a visa; this was done via conservative congressional support, which led to a top White House aide taking the matter up with Henry Kissinger. DeKieffer also helped to arrange Connie Mulder's visit in 1974 and his visit with Vice-President Ford.

DeKieffer is described by the *Star's* Washington correspondent as a "political mercenary" and a highly effective lobbyist whose victories include the congressional ban on cyclamates under pressure from the sugar industry. The whole firm is in fact a lobbying operation, with particularly close ties to the Republican Party. While the major achievements of the Mulder and Biermann visits were obvious, much of the basic work is low-key and out of the public eye, involving rounding up support and keeping tight organization. This made possible the mobilization of a number of conservative members of Congress to call for the abolition of limits on Export-Import Bank exposure in South Africa. The whole effort was obviously carefully organized by DeKieffer and coordinated with other pressures behind the scenes in ExIm and other US government departments concerned. By contrast, the attempt to organize a congressional letter in opposition to the ExIm rules change was hasty and defensive, although none the less important for that. It seems that South Africa's use of professional lobbyists, with no expense spared, has given them the initiative in congressional action for the time being. And as DeKieffer has said, the prospects for further expanding South African influence are considerable for the future: everyone, according to him, has a weakness, in that a member of Congress needs to sell fund-raising dinner tickets, a State Department official fears the Congress, and every bureaucrat can be overruled by a higher bureaucrat. It all seems to be a matter of manipulation.

One controversial element in the operation is channeling contributions to congressional candidates standing for reelection, often in the form of buying fund-raising dinner tickets. Among the recipients are many key supporters of the Byrd Amendment; Rep. Thomas Morgan and Rep. Vander Jagt, both opponents of Rep. Charles Diggs on African affairs; Sen. Louis Wyman, who secured a high-level Pentagon meeting for Mulder; and Rep. Robert Bauman, who did the same for Biermann. DeKieffer has described the donations as "a normal practice for lobbyists in Washington."

Image Industries

At the other end of the scale, the South Africans are also very interested in influencing American schoolchildren. For this purpose they recently hired Image Industries, Inc., whose regular business is described as "development, marketing and distribution of educational media." The contract, signed in August 1975, is for production of 50,000 copies of a glossy promotion brochure for mailing to educational institutions, on the basis of a mailing list purchased from Market Data Research. This advertizes a multi-media kit consisting of a sound filmstrip, wall chart/map, teacher's guide and South African flag. About 10,466 kits are to be produced, with editorial control by the ISSA office in New York. Image describes the job as to:



Other American guests included a US Gymnast team who took part in a gymnastic competition. Winners Janette Anderson and Wayne Young congratulate each other.

"Create, produce, manufacture and promote a social studies/geography multi-media kit on South Africa for distribution to intermediate, junior and senior high schools in the US. The kits will be sent without charge to anyone requesting one.

"It is an educational program telling about South African history, peoples, industry, problems, natural resources, geography, life styles and culture."

To The Point

This intended rival to *Time* and *Newsweek* was distributed free in the US until recently, and then became a subscription magazine, at least for individuals. Free copies are sent to all foreign embassies and missions to the United Nations. In July, 1975, there were reported to be 1,400 American subscribers to the edition produced in Antwerp.

At the moment there is no US edition of *To The Point*, but there seem to be plans to produce one. Mr. John McGoff, a strong ally of South Africa, is said to be hoping to get the contract to print it.

Meanwhile the ostensible publisher, Hubert Jussen, has hired consultant Harry C. Thompson to launch a massive subscription drive with the aim of building US circulation to one million. A test mailing to 70,000 potential readers was reported to have elicited "a moderately encouraging response" with the claim that its editors "remain unbiased in reporting." In late 1975 some 250,000 business people, educators, government officials and media representatives were circulated with invitations to subscribe.

Although its content is heavily pro-South African, *To The Point* claims to be "independent", and no mention of South Africa appears in the editorial credits. However, the

organization appears to be involved not only in transmitting the official government line through the magazine, but also in other Department of Information activities. For example, it prepared the 32-page South African advertising supplement placed in *Business Week* in November 1975.

Conclusions

It is not possible here to detail all the known activities of the Department of Information in direct or indirect propaganda in the US; moreover, there is obviously much activity which is not known. This relates in particular to the activities of corporations with major interests in South Africa, which all have their own lobbyists in Washington and are known to be very active in pressing the State and other government departments to weaken the arms embargo against South Africa, and step up ExIm exposure there. Corporation efforts are no doubt carefully coordinated with those of the professional lobbyists, the official

information representatives and the South Africa Foundation.

The annual budget of the various propaganda agencies in the US alone can be estimated at something like \$1.3 million. This is probably an underestimate, since official salaries are not always adequately reported in registration and other statements of expenses. On top of this is the cost of supporting services of the Department of Information and its various agencies inside South Africa, and the matching propaganda operations focused on other western countries—although the US does seem to receive top priority in this respect.

Barbara Rogers is a freelance researcher and writer specializing in Southern Africa. She has written extensively for the United Nations. Her book, *White Wealth and Black Poverty: The American Investment in Southern Africa*, has just been published by Greenwood Press.

special

U. S. SHIPPING: Bolstering South Africa, Exploiting Namibia

by Allan D. Cooper

Allan D. Cooper is a member of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa and is a graduate student in political science at the University of Wisconsin. He has completed an investigation of U.S. corporate interests in the Namibian fishing industry tentatively titled "The Politics of Indirect Investments." The following article is extracted from a chapter of this book.

Of all the American corporations investing in southern Africa none are perhaps more strategic than three shipping companies—Farrell Lines, Moore-McCormack, and Lykes Brothers Steamship Company. These shipping lines make possible economic relations between the United States and South Africa and are responsible for the import of Namibian minerals and fish products in violation of international law. But even more important is the fact that these shipping companies can, and do, supply military supplies to the apartheid regimes in Pretoria and Windhoek, subsidized by the U.S. Government.

The contracts which subsidize operations of these so-called "private" corporations are part of an overall design by Washington to establish a merchant marine "to promote the commerce of the United States (and) to aid in the national defense." In 1936 Congress passed the Merchant Marine Act, which granted subsidies for the construction and operation of ships travelling on routes that the U.S. Maritime Commission deemed essential to the foreign commerce of the United States. Today there are over 30 such "essential trade routes," linking North America with every corner of the globe; two such routes have been allocated for southern Africa—one originating from Atlantic ports, the other from Gulf ports. Moore-McCormack operates its Robin Lines along the former trade route along with Farrell Lines, and Lykes Lines monopolizes the Gulf route.

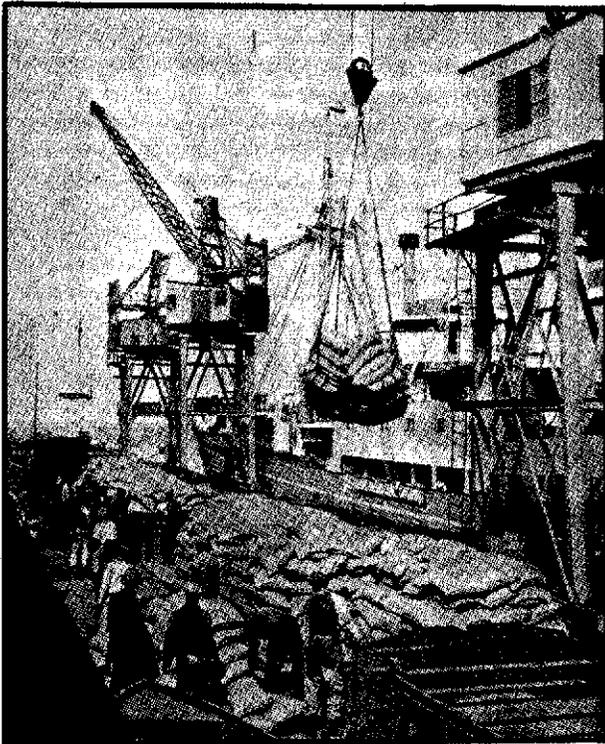
Without U.S. Government subsidies these shipping lines would be unable to operate on a profitable basis, and

South Africa would be denied much-needed foreign exchange. Namibia's largest industries, mining and fishing, are presently oriented toward American commercial interests who would have a much harder time financing these industries without the government subsidies to the shipping lines.

Namibia provides a number of interesting legal questions in this regard. The 1971 decision by the International Court of Justice demanded that all States:

- 1) . . . ensure that companies and other commercial and industrial enterprises owned by, or under direct control of, the State cease all dealings with respect to commercial or industrial enterprises or concessions in Namibia;
- 2) . . . withhold from their nationals, or companies of their nationality not under direct government control, government loans, credit guarantees and other forms of financial support that would be used to facilitate trade or commerce with Namibia;
- 3) ensure that companies and other commercial enterprises owned by the State or under direct control of the State cease all further investment activities including concessions in Namibia;
- 4) . . . discourage their nationals, or companies of their nationality not under direct governmental control, from investing or obtaining concessions in Namibia, and to this end withhold protection of such investment against claims of a future lawful government of Namibia.

Since then, the United Nations has determined that exploitation of fish resources off the Namibian coast is illegal, that fishing licenses issued by the South African occupation administration in Namibia are null and void, and that marketing of fish taken from Namibian waters is



South African controlled Walvis Bay, fishing center and main export-import port for Namibia.

illegal and subject to confiscation. The largest American violators of this last specification are the Del Monte Corporation, Star Kist Foods Inc., and Durkee Famous Foods.

In addition to the illegalities being committed by these American food corporations, the United States Government itself is in direct violation of the 1971 decision by the International Court of Justice prohibiting loans, credit guarantees, and other forms of financial support to companies engaging in trade with the South African colonial regime in Namibia. Department of Commerce subsidies to shipping companies and Department of Defense contracts with Star Kist Foods Inc. for canned fish supplies are not in compliance with the International Court's decision.

Besides these strategic commercial operations the aforementioned shipping companies also furnish the U.S. Government with vital shipping tonnage wherever an international crisis develops. Lykes Lines, for instance, had eleven of its newer ships assigned to the Navy's Military Sea Transportation Service for utilization in the Vietnam War. Farrell Lines supplied ships to the CIA for undercover operations against Cuba in 1962. Any U.S. military intervention in southern Africa will rely on Lykes, Robin, and Farrell Lines for assistance in transporting military supplies. The Secretary of Navy has already certified to the Maritime Commission that all vessels utilized by these three shipping companies in trade with southern Africa are suitable for economical and speedy conversion into a naval or military auxiliary. In return the U.S. Department of Treasury grants various tax exemptions to shipping companies with what are called "operating-differential contracts," under Section 607(h)

of the Merchant Marine Act 1936.

Efforts to reform present merchant fleet legislation will most likely meet stiff resistance from any one of several industry lobby groups organized by the shipping companies to maintain their interests. James Farrell was chiefly responsible for establishing the Committee of American Steamship Lines (CASL) in 1952, which is essentially a committee of steamship presidents maintaining continuous contact with the U.S. Maritime Administration over matters connected with the contractual relationship between the lines and the government. CASL is headquartered in Washington D.C. and keeps in constant touch with the appropriate committees on Capitol Hill. James Farrell is also director of the venerable National Foreign Trade Council, founded by his father.

The Farrells are responsible for organizing the South African Reciprocal Trade Committee; in its name they have, among other things, successfully lobbied the Department of Agriculture to modify its ban on South African fruit. The American Merchant Marine Institute, which handles maritime labor relations, also carries on similar relations and numerous other activities concerning the industry as a whole. The Propeller Club annually brings together several hundred leaders of the industry for a three-day conference to analyze various shipping problems.

Another major obstacle to reforms in the Merchant Marine Act is President Ford, who has been the leading supporter and proponent of merchant fleet legislation during the last decade. *Maritime*, the publication of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, has often devoted lead articles to Mr. Ford's efforts to strengthen the merchant fleet. Senator Henry Jackson is another of the heavy supporters of maritime legislation who are likely to obstruct necessary reforms.

Efforts to insure that Federal Maritime Board operating-differential contracts not be renewed after December 31, 1979, expiration date must be initiated now, since these contracts are allocated on 20-year terms and would thus be beyond substantial reform after that date. A test case could be implemented against similar agreements with Farrell Lines, which expire December 31, 1977. A first essential step is to initiate Congressional hearings. ■

South Africa

politics



African students—finally the dam was bursting.

MASS UPRISINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA—ONE THOUSAND KILLED

Over one thousand people have been killed and many more wounded, beaten and arrested in mass uprisings that are sweeping South Africa. The killings started in Soweto, a black township outside Johannesburg, on Wednesday, June 16th, when police fired into a crowd of students, 12,000 strong, protesting the use of the Afrikaans language in the teaching of history and math. In the days that followed, the protests spread to other black ghettos, to black and white universities and to some of the bantustans.

An early account of the Soweto outbreak comes from Alf Khumalo, a black reporter for the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*:

"I arrived in Soweto at about 11 a.m. The children were marching with banners. Police troop carriers arrived. Men poured out of the vehicles and fired tear gas. At this stage there was no hint of the trouble to come. The children were laughing and joking amongst themselves. They advanced on the police, but when they saw guns being held at the ready they turned and walked back to the Orlando West School.

"The police circled round the marching children, who had swelled to a mob of about 12,000, and fired tear gas into the crowd.

"The children began stoning the police. Some surrounded the policemen and began stoning them from all directions.

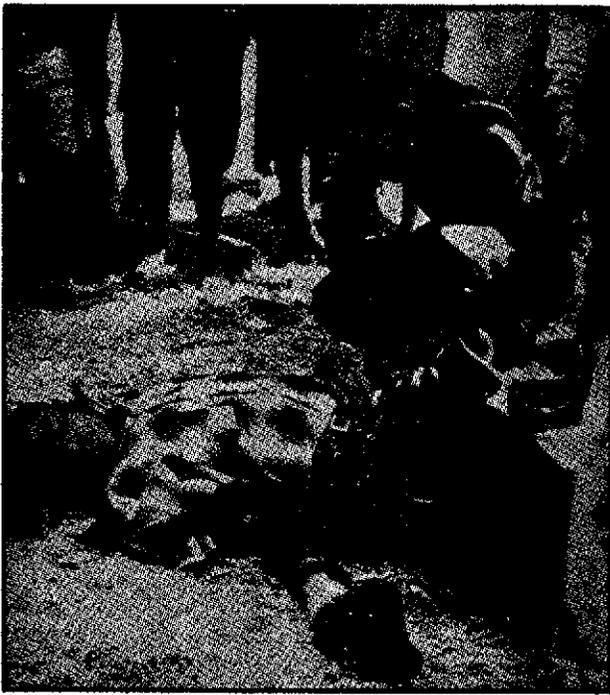
"The police began shooting. I remember looking at the children in their school uniforms and wondering how long they would stand up to the police.

"Suddenly a small boy dropped to the ground next to me. I realized then that the police were not firing warning shots. They were shooting into the crowd.

"More children fell. There seemed no plan. The police were merely blasting away at the mob.

"What frightened me more than anything was the attitude of the children. Many seemed oblivious to the danger. They continued running towards the police—dodging and ducking.

"I began taking pictures of a little boy who was dying next to me. Blood poured from his mouth and some children knelt next to him and tried to stop the blood flow."



One of the hundreds killed by Police bullets.

Background to the Soweto Protests

Students in Soweto had been protesting the use of Afrikaans in the schools since mid-May. Afrikaans is the language of the white settlers of Dutch descent or Boers (Afrikaners) and, along with English, is one of the two official languages of South Africa.

Government regulations require half of the instruction given to Africans to be done in Afrikaans. In the past this regulation has not been strictly enforced due largely to the fact that few African teachers could speak the language. In 1975 the Transvaal Bantu Education Department decided to start enforcing the regulation. Many liberals warned the Government that it would "cause trouble." In May of 1975, former Deputy Minister for Bantu Education Punt Jason was asked if he had consulted "the black people" about his ruling. He replied: "No, I have not consulted them and I am not going to consult them." More recently, his successor Dr. Treurnicht said, "the government provides the buildings, gives the subsidies and pays the teachers, it is surely our right to determine the language divisions."

For Afrikaners, who dominate the ruling Nationalist Party, the issue of Afrikaans is important ideologically. While English and Afrikaans have equal status, many Whites of English descent do not speak Afrikaans. Virtually all Blacks speak English. Few Blacks know any Afrikaans except that learned from the police when they ask demandingly "Waar's jou pas?"—"Where's your pass?" To Africans, Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor. To Afrikaners it is at the base of their cultural/political identity and a rejection of it by Blacks represents a rejection of apartheid.

For students there is also another aspect besides the insult of having to "learn" the white man's view of history in Afrikaans. Since they do not know Afrikaans it is very

difficult for them to suddenly have to learn complicated technical subjects in this language. It greatly slows what little education they are allowed.

The Soweto students' response to the enforcement of the language rule was to launch a strike. The strike started at the Phefeni Junior Secondary School in the middle of May. It grew quickly to involve more than 2,000 students at seven Soweto schools. By June 16th, over 10,000 school children were demonstrating against the use of Afrikaans. It appears that the strike was organized by the South African Students Movement, the junior wing of the South African Students Organization (SASO), which is very active in the black universities.

The level of tension in Soweto rose as the strike continued. In early June the students of the Naledi High School set fire to a police car when police tried to detain a student.

On the morning of June 16th, students marched to Phefeni Junior Secondary School but when they got there, found their way blocked by some 300 police with dogs. According to Sophie Temba, a reporter for the *Johannesburg World*, many of the police were black, but only the white officers were armed. Two of the white officers had sub-machine guns.

As students approached the school they were singing black nationalist songs. The police arrived provoking taunts from the students. No warnings were given to the students to disperse. Then some tear gas was thrown to which the students responded by throwing stones. According to the *World* reporter, a white policeman drew his gun, pointed it, and fired. The other white police followed suit. A student was fatally wounded. Students started running and throwing stones as they went, while police continued to fire killing several children including a boy of about seven. As the uprising grew the police quickly surrounded the township.

Shadrack Kaunsel told David Barritt of the *London Observer* about his experience after his arrest. He was kept in a small room with the dead and injured:

"There was blood everywhere. I saw the bodies of small children with gaping bullet wounds and I even saw old grannies lying dead on the floor. Some of the injured were groaning and covered in blood, but the police who came into the room just laughed and kicked those who were lying on the floor.

Protests and Uprisings Spread

As word reached outside the township some white students of Johannesburg's University of Witwatersrand demonstrated in support carrying signs reading "Pigs kill again" and "We stand by you, Soweto." A strong group of hostile whites attacked the students. Police stood by and watched as the vigilantes beat up the students. University of Cape Town students also demonstrated against the killings.

The protests spread quickly to other black townships surrounding Johannesburg, first to Alexandria and then to Benoni, Germiston, Boksburg, Krugersdorp and Kempton Park, also reaching country areas hundreds of miles from Johannesburg. At the University of Zululand, in the KwaZulu bantustan, students burned down a new administration building and set fire to several others.

By Monday, June 22, demonstrations were taking place in 11 black townships in the triangle around Johannesburg which encloses the largest single concentration of industry, coal, and gold mining in South Africa. Once again police killed as they moved in to "restore order." By

noon, the Security forces, armed with sub machine guns and grenade launchers, had sealed off the townships.

There were more confrontations in the Bantustans. At a teachers' college in the QwaQwa Bantustan students burned a laboratory. Incidents were also reported in Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, and Venda Bantustans, although no details are available due to the success of the South African Government in restricting such information. In Bophuthatswana schools were closed.

Those "outside agitators"

On Friday, June 28th, Prime Minister Vorster addressed Parliament in a speech that was broadcast to the nation. He claimed that the disorders were organized, the product of "agitators." "I cannot come to any other conclusion but that we are dealing with here not a spontaneous outburst but with a deliberate attempt to bring about polarization between whites and blacks. Certain organizations and persons, working together to achieve this, are doing this with a view to obtaining obvious objectives. . . . The government will not be intimidated, and instructions have been given to maintain law and order at all costs."

The theme that the uprisings are part of a plot against the government was also sounded by the Minister of Police James Kruger when he said "We did not expect anything like this," and later, "It started off without any apparent reason; any particular spark. Over the past three to four weeks there had been incidents that could have started a thing like that but didn't."

It is indeed clear that these were not merely chaotic riots. The main targets were the Bantu Administration buildings, post offices, busses, and cars, schools and the state-owned liquor stores. In Soweto virtually all Government buildings have been gutted and numerous records that are important to the implementation of apartheid regulations destroyed. (Unfortunately, however, all pass book information is intact in the central computers supplied to the South African Government by the British firm ICL.) It is clear that there was some organization involved in these widespread uprisings. However, only a government cynical enough to blame the protests for polarizing Whites and Blacks instead of blaming apartheid would try to sell the notion that protest against this inhuman system must be instigated by outsiders and that organized uprisings are not within the capacity of Blacks. It is clear that when the shooting ends the South African Government will use the uprisings as an excuse to arrest and detain members of the student movement and other political activists in the same way that it crushed the black political movements after Sharpeville.

The June uprising has shown again that the Black population of South Africa totally reject apartheid or the myth of "change underway." As Winnie Mandela, a prominent black leader, put it, "The language issue is merely the spark that lit the resentment that is building up among black people. Every car that looked like a white man's car was burned. That had nothing to do with Afrikaans."

White response has been interesting, if expected. As one Afrikaaner put it, "If it can happen in Soweto, there is no reason why it can't happen in town. Let's put it another way, I went straight home last night and checked my revolver." There were long lines outside stores selling guns in Johannesburg.

From the white Government there is no talk of abandoning apartheid. As one liberal Witwatersrand stu-

dent put it, "I have an uneasy feeling that when it comes down to it we—all of us, the liberals as well as Mr. Vorster and the members of the Cabinet—are going to be as intractable as the Rhodesians appear now."

(*New York Times*, June 17-24, 1976; *Washington Post*, June 17-24, 1976; *Sunday Times*, London, June 20, 1976; *Observer*, London, June 20, 1976; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 22, 29, 1976.)

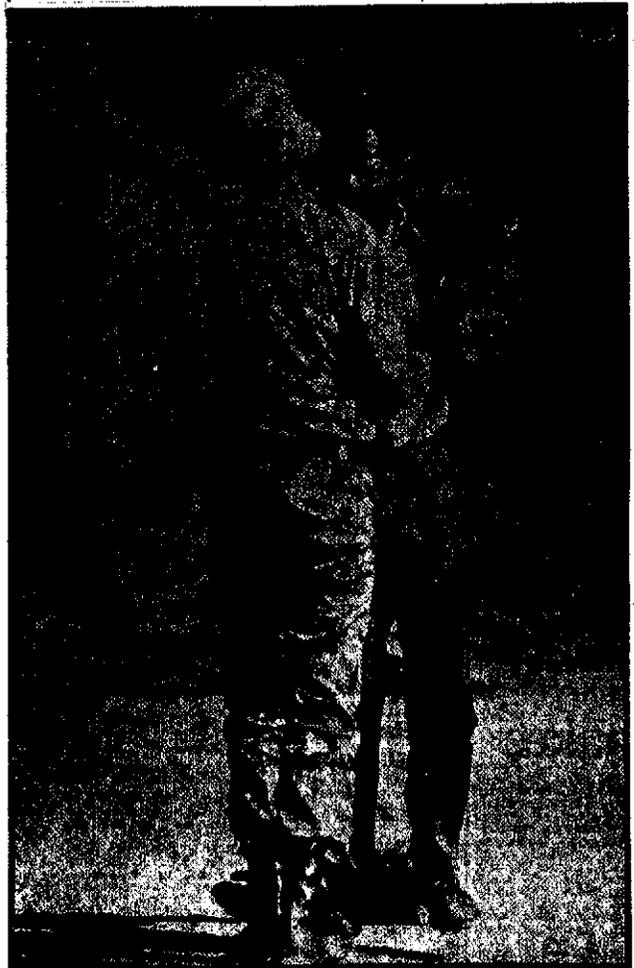
PAC MEMBERS ARRESTED

The South African Security Police have arrested four men in Soweto under the Terrorism Act. The Security Police claim to have found explosives hidden in toothpaste tubes in the possession of the men. The "toothpaste tube" detainees are believed to be associated with the banned Pan Africanist Congress. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, May 5, 1976.)

ANC MEMBERS ON TRIAL IN NATAL

The first ten of some fifty people being detained in the Natal area were brought into court on May 14th on charges under the Terrorism Act. They are alleged to be members of an underground ring of the African National Congress and are accused of having sent and received messages from ANC representatives in Swaziland and of having received, studied, and distributed subversive litera-

White policeman searches black resident of Alexandra township. (Guardian).



ture. Two of the men, Joseph Mdluli and Cleopas Ndhlovu, were kidnapped from Swaziland and face additional charges of having received political and military training abroad. The trial is scheduled for July 12th. The other eight are: Temba Harry Gwala, William Khanyile, Anton Xaba, John Nene, Vusumuzi Magebane, Matthews Meyiwa, Azaria Ndebele and Zakhele Mdlalose. [See *Southern Africa*, June-July 1976.]

Some of the Natal detainees have been badly tortured. Joseph Mdluli died on March 19th, less than 24 hours after the Security Police detained him. "My husband was not a sick man—in fact, he was in good health," said Lydia Mdluli upon learning of her husband's death. Eventually she was allowed to see her husband's body. "A severe swelling stretched across his forehead, his lower lip was bruised and cut and his stomach was dilated to twice its normal size," she reported.

Mrs. Mdluli has filed a suit for damages against the Minister of Justice, James Kruger. A post mortem was held and an independent pathologist and members of the legal team representing Mrs. Mdluli were given permission to attend, a normal legal procedure. But when they showed up they found the post mortem had already been done the day before. The pathologist and lawyer were given a copy of the Government doctor's "findings." Mrs. Mdluli's lawyer has since been detained. (*Anti-Apartheid News*, London, June 1976; *Detentions and Detente*, report from the Christian Institute, Braamfontein, April 30, 1976; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 1, 29, 1976.)

DETENTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

In another set of detentions six members of the staff and two students at the University of the North have been detained under the Suppression of Communism Act. The South African Students Organization has been very active in the area. (*Guardian*, London, May 22, 1976.)

CI MAN FLEES

Horst Kleinschmidt, a member of the Christian Institute and one of South Africa's best known white radicals, was forced to flee to Botswana. He is now living in Holland and is the Christian Institute's representative in Europe. Mr. Kleinschmidt was detained last year for 73 days, all of which he spent in solitary confinement. He said he left South Africa "on the route on which I have assisted others, and finally used myself." (*Guardian*, London, April 15, 1976; *Star*, Johannesburg, April 24, 1976.)

NEW SECURITY LEGISLATION

The South African Government has introduced new security legislation into Parliament. The bill allows for the imprisonment without trial of people "engaged in activities which endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order" and prohibits publications used to express views and information calculated to endanger State security or public order. Detainees have no recourse to the courts. Called the Promotion of State Security Bill, it was quickly dubbed the SS Bill by the opposition Progressive Reform Party.

Both opposition parties have opposed the legislation. But since the ruling Nationalist Party has a broad majority the opposition can not stop the Bill's passage. The Progressive Reform Party has pointed out that if the Government decided it was a danger to "the security of the State" the Government could act against it. So sweeping are the provisions of the Bill that even the leading lawyers' groups, the Johannesburg Bar Council

and the Cape Bar Council have attacked it. According to the Johannesburg Bar Council, "The Promotion of State Security Bill contains provisions which are contrary to the fundamental principles of our legal system and should be condemned by all lawyers."

The Government already has wide powers to arrest and detain without trial and to ban publications. However, the new legislation seems aimed, at least in part, at liberals, at non-radical, non-Communist opponents of apartheid. Such papers as the Rand Daily Mail could well be threatened; another likely target is the Christian Institute.

Nationalist Party MP Mr. Langley defending the Bill said: "Thanks to the legislation of the Government we have peace, order and prosperity." (*Guardian*, London, May 5, 6, 1976; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 22, 29, 1976; *Washington Post*, May 5, 1976.)

BANTUSTAN CITIZENSHIP

As the Transkei Bantustan approaches nominal "independence" in October the question of just who will become a citizen of the Bantustan remains unclear. According to the Status of the Transkei Bill under which the Transkei will get its "independence," not only will those who live there become citizens of the "independent" Bantustan, but also the 1.3 million Xhosa living in urban "White" areas. However, the Transkei Assembly amended its draft constitution to the effect that no African living outside the Bantustan will be forced to become a Transkei citizen, although they may choose to do so.

The revision of the constitution has caused some words between Transkei Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima and the Minister for Bantu Affairs Mr. Botha. According to Botha, those 1.3 million "Xhosa" will lose their South African citizenship and, if the Transkei does not make them its citizens, it will be the Transkeian Government's fault if they become stateless.

It is important to the ideology of apartheid that those Africans living outside the Bantustans still become Bantustan citizens. Thus when all the homelands become "independent" there will be no Africans with South African citizenship. While 70 per cent of the population of South Africa is African, the Bantustans comprise less than 13 per cent of the land area. Further, the majority of Africans do not live in Bantustans. Some half of the "Zulus" do not live in KwaZulu and in the case of the Owa Owa Bantustan only about 2 per cent of its nominal population actually live there.

A large number of Africans have never been to the Bantustans, having been born and brought up in the "white" areas. According to a recent study by the Africa Institute, 80 per cent of the Africans born in the "white" areas "have the demographic characteristics of a settled population." Yet according to the white minority Government the Bantustans are the "homelands" of the African population to which they should go "back."

The South African Government has plans to exert considerable pressure on the African population to accept Bantustan citizenship. Africans living in urban areas who apply for birth certificates for their children must first register them with a Bantustan, even if both parents and child were born in an urban area. This creates a "Catch 22" situation, since it is often difficult to obtain the necessary pass book stamp allowing Africans to stay in the urban areas without a birth certificate. Birth Certificates are often necessary to get housing permits or admission to school. Africans cannot acquire homes on leasehold unless they take out Bantustan citizenship. Jobs can also be



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affected. However, many Africans are already in the towns "illegally," and it is unclear how effective pressure will be. Certainly Bantustan independence will mean greater repression for Africans, not less. (*Washington Post*, May 13, 1976; *New York Times*, May 17, 1976; *Guardian*, May 26, June 6, 1976; *Sunday Times*, London, June 13, 1976; *Financial Mail*, Dec. 19, 1975.)

Other Transkei News

Transkei Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima has denied that he ever sought the release of Nelson Mandela. [See *Southern Africa*, June-July 1976.] "Who is Nelson Mandela to take over from me?" said Matanzima. "He has never been a leader in the Transkei and people here do not recognize him as their leader. He was only leader of the African National Congress supported by probably a thousand people in Johannesburg." (*Star*, April 17, 1976.)

When the Transkei Bantustan becomes "independent" it will inherit all of South Africa's security legislation, including the Suppression of Communism Act and Proclamation 400. These laws will enable Matanzima to jail his opponents without trial. Further, several other South African Acts will also become Transkei law, including the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act which prohibit marriages between Whites and Blacks. (*Guardian*, April 24, 1976.) 75 of the 150 members of the Transkei "Parliament" will be non-elected tribal chiefs. (*Sunday Times*, London, June 13, 1976)

The South African Parliament has passed a bill which will allow Whites who live in the Transkei to vote in South African elections. Whites living in the Transkei Bantustan

will vote in the constituency closest to their homes "along the shortest practicable route by road." (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 1976.)

Chief Matanzima inspects his future army—being trained for him in Capetown by Commandant Martins (left) of the SA Defense Force.



economics

LITTLE OR NO PROGRESS IN COMPANIES' SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES

In 1974 United States investment in South Africa reached nearly one and a half billion dollars, up 18 per cent from the previous year. Forty five per cent of the investment was in the manufacturing sector, 25 per cent in petroleum; and 15 per cent in mining according to statistics from the Washington based Investor Responsibility Research Center. (The *New York Times*, of May 9 also refers to a 20 per cent jump in investment a year since 1972, and an 18 per cent average return in 1974) The IRRC reports that American companies in South Africa have not even taken all of the steps that the law permits towards providing equal employment for Blacks. (*Washington Post*, April 24, 1976; *New York Times*, May 9, 1976)

A similar story comes from Britain, where companies have ignored the recommendations of a Government White Paper of December, 1974 which emerged after a Select Committee of MP's studied British companies in South Africa. That Paper contained recommendations for minimum wages and corporate disclosure of information. Less than 200 of the 500 companies queried by the British Government have bothered to report and the White Paper principle of companies paying wages 50 per cent above the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) is also in shambles because most of the companies pay below this minimum or even below the PDL. The British Government seems unwilling to pursue accurate information from the corporations. It has ruled that only companies with majority holdings in South Africa need to report, which excludes giants such as Consolidated Goldfields which is "only" 49.5 per cent British yet employs one-fifth (55,000 workers) of all British company employees in South Africa.

The Guardian, which first exposed the malpractice of companies' wages and conditions, and the *Sunday Times* have both been investigating some companies, most of which refuse to co-operate, citing arguments that range from the right to privacy argument to the classic remark by an executive of Automotive Products who said: "We treat the black workers too well if anything. You should see the increase in drunkenness since their wages started going up." (*Sunday Times*, London, May 16, 1976; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 22, 1976)

HEINEMANN MANAGEMENT BLAMED

More background has emerged about the lock out and injury of workers at Heinemann Electric near Johannesburg in late March. (See *Southern Africa*, June, 1976) The company (70 per cent owned by a South African company Barlow Rand and 30 per cent by Heinemann of Trenton, New Jersey) continued to try and force the 600 workers to join government and company approved liaison and work committees instead of sticking with the Metal and Allied Workers Union. The workers rejected the liaison committee elections three times with some five-sixths of the workers petitioning for union representation. The company officials then laid off 20 workers including two shop stewards and when the company refused to meet with the workers, police were called in and, according to witnesses, charged the crowd with batons after it had begun to move away. Company management apparently approved the action although a number of its board members sit on the "enlightened" South African Founda-

tion. Managing Director Wilckens claims that two-thirds of the workers are back at the job, but the union says that only 100 dismissed laborers have returned. The Personnel Director stated that it would be too difficult for a steel or engineering company to recognize a union which is unregistered. (*Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, April 2, 9, 1976)

BANKS THE BEST

Prices on South African issues of Eurobonds have dropped so that South Africans have to pay a higher interest rate premium if they want to float a bond. "It is cheaper and less messy for South Africa to borrow direct from the international banks with which it has built up good relationships," advises the *Economist* (London, May 15, 1976). ESCOM (Electricity) and ISCOR (Iron and Steel) state corporations have borrowed more than \$300 million, making the amount of Eurocurrency credits greater for the first three months for 1976 than for all of 1975. Funds for a Richards Bay mineral project are being found via Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Barclays and German banks, while the Deutsche Bank and others are backing a coal terminal. More will be found for energy programs and Saldanha Bay projects. The *Economist* surmises that the big banks are too "sophisticated to pull the rug out from underneath South Africa," but may in fact demand higher interest rates in the future." (*Economist*, London, May 15, 1976; *Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, April 9, 1976)

One of the US banks which has admitted participation in a \$200 million ESCOM loan (see *Southern Africa*, March, May, 1976) explains its policies in a letter. First National City Bank rationalizes its participation in the 28 bank consortium (Europe, Canada and the US) by stating that "economic growth in South Africa creates pressures for social change . . ." and that the Bank cannot "accept the assumption that every project of the South African Government and its agencies must be part of apartheid and therefore oppressive." (Letter from Donald J. Colen, FNCB, Vice President, Public Relations, April 15, 1976).

NEWSBRIEFS

"The expansion of our export trade has become the economic life blood of our nation. . ." Minister of Economic Affairs Heunis stated recently. (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 5, 1976) New South African trade markets include the Far East, the US and Australia. Merchandise exports were up 19 per cent from January through November, 1975 with agricultural products (maize, fruit, sugar) and precious stones and coins up most (38 per cent). (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 1976; *Safto Exporter*, January, 1976)

In reaction to local recessionary trends British traders have turned to South Africa, increasing the number of trade missions from 8 in 1971 to 20 in 1976. The groups are financially aided by the British Overseas Trade Board. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 22, 1976)

Several British companies were the focus of corporate stockholders actions this year. A church sponsored resolution, backed by a remarkable 1.5 million shares, called on Midland Bank to stop loans to South Africa. (*Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, April 2, 1976; *Guardian*, London, April 13, 1976)

The Vice Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and Member of Parliament Bob Hughes has called upon the Government to stop the sale of Hasler message switching equipment worth £ 250,000-£ 500,000

\$142,885,000) to South Africa because it will either be used for use in Rhodesia or be part of the long range surveillance Advokaat defense system set up near Cape Town. Hughes calls for pressure on the Swiss parent company of the British Hasler, but Government action seems unlikely since the British Marconi company has already made sales to the Advokaat system. (*Observer*, London, April 25, 1976; see *Southern Africa*, April, 1976)

Canada's exports to South Africa rose 36 per cent to \$142,901,000 in 1975; imports rose 65 per cent to \$222,890,000. Canada is South Africa's eighth largest trading partner. There have been continuing protests there including consumer boycotts, and stockholder actions against the Royal Bank of Canada, and metal companies Alcan and Falconbridge for their South African involvement. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 1976)

"Foreign exchange is what we're after," affirmed Secretary of Tourism Theo Behrens. And pre-Soweto things were going well with earnings from 608,000 foreign visitors in 1974 up 20 per cent to \$230 million. (*Financial Mail*, Feb. 27, 1976)

BANTUSTAN DEPENDENCY

The economic development of South Africa's "homelands" is much publicized by the SA Government as it plans and prepares for showcase "independence." But an examination of the small (9.4 per cent) amount of the Government's budget spent on the Bantustans in 1975 (R609 million—\$700 million) shows that more than half of it went to "homeland" government expenses and salaries, pensions, resettlement projects, health and housing. Of the total some 79 million rand (\$90 million) came from the "homeland" governments themselves. (*Star*, Johannesburg, April 24, 1976)

The "homelands" depend upon Pretoria for most of their revenue (some 80 per cent in both the Ciskei and Transkei). Internally the public sector (versus subsistence or private sectors) is growing in the percentage it contributes to the "homelands'" GNP. The picture that emerges is of captive areas locked into financial, political, and economic links with the central white South African Government through budget dependence. (*X-Ray*, London, March-April, 1976; *Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, Feb. 2, 1976)

WAGE GAP FOREVER

A Pretoria University study shows that by the year

2000 the wage gap between white and black earnings in the city will still be 2:1 even if black wages go up some 175 per cent to the Whites' 61 per cent. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 1, 1976)

LABOR PROBLEMS

A conflict is shaping up in the diamond industry between white workers who want to protect their high wages and management which wants to hire cheaper black labor to cut diamonds. The Government wants to increase exports. Management is willing to process and cut smaller diamonds (which used to be discarded) via an assembly line procedure with easily trained black operators, who will be paid lower wages than Whites. Already the closed shop South African Diamond Workers Union which represents 1100 white workers and apprentices has conceded that Blacks may work on the smaller stones but now management, apparently with government approval, wants the Blacks to do even larger stones. With this trend, and the fact that there are fewer large stones being mined, the union is in trouble. Final policy decisions will indicate which way the government falls on this issue of protecting white job privilege.

The mining industry may push to hold back further increases in black wages. The President of the Association of Mine Managers, P.D.D. Pretorius said that black miners should develop "more sophisticated ways of spending money" before more increments because now all they do is buy liquor! The *Financial Mail* comments: "Would he consider a desire to live with wife and family in a proper environment too 'sophisticated' for Black miners?" (*Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, March 26, 1976) White union miners' wages recently rose between R36-47 (\$41-54) a month. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 8, 1976)

ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION—GIANT PROFITS

The annual report of major SA corporation Anglo-American showed the continuing dependency of the company on gold income (47 per cent of the total) with industrial concerns (17 per cent), diamonds (15 per cent), financial interests (11 per cent) and coal following. Profits rose by 12 per cent in 1975 despite the economic recession. The company has been attempting to operate like a major multi-national corporation. Its lack of experience has caused it serious setbacks. Thus it carried huge losses in copper ventures in Zaire, Zambia, Botswana and Mauritania. Although Anglo-American still retains some

A white and black classroom—the gap is everywhere.



of the holdings related to the rich copper mines in Zaire, it is now trying to enter more stable areas for expansion like North America. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 1, 1976; *Business Week*, New York, June 21, 1976)

OIL COMPANIES MOVE INTO THE COAL INDUSTRY

Like many western companies which have diversified into other energy areas, the oil companies in South Africa are moving in the same direction. Shell in cooperation with Rand Mines will invest in a 5 million ton coal export project, while BP and the French Total plan a 3 million ton/year exploitation of coal with General Mining through one third shares in Ermelo Mines. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 22, 1976)

foreign relations



South African Prime Minister Vorster and his wife arrive in West Germany for talks with European and American leaders.

THE APARTHEID-U.S. DIALOGUE

South Africa's rulers were initially cautious in their reaction to US Secretary of State Kissinger's announced intention to pay increased attention to the African continent, but very soon the response to his "new initiative" changed to extreme enthusiasm. After Kissinger's April 1976 visit to Africa, the *Oggenblad* wrote that "nothing really new was said. Dr. Kissinger did indeed in no uncertain manner, state his support for majority rule in Rhodesia and South West Africa, but conspicuously refrained from saying the same to South Africa." The *Cape Times* noted that "Kissinger's address in Lusaka . . . does not denote any dramatic change in American policy [towards South Africa]" (*Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, May 7, 1976)

After Kissinger conferred in Washington with the South African Ambassador, Pik Botha, there was a dramatic change in the response of the South African ruling circles from relief to outright pleasure. *Die Transvaler* wrote that "America has . . . openly declared itself willing to cooperate with South Africa in an effort to solve Southern Africa's vexed problems. . . . [The] discussions . . . gives new momentum to Mr. Vorster's purposeful efforts at seeking . . . dialogue and new friendships." In the *Sunday Express* it was stated that "we [South Africa] are impressed . . . by his [Kissinger's] realisation that the South African problem is different from that of Rhodesia." (*Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, May 21, 1976.)

Following the leak of a possible Ford-Vorster conference, *Die Vaderland* remarked that "the obvious swing to the right by President Ford is intended mainly to neutralise the success of his chief Republican opponent. The swing to the right among the American public is also an indication that South Africa's information effort is succeeding there. It is . . . encouraging for South Africa and the Whites in Southern Africa that the realism now entering American politics makes it possible that South Africa could achieve the cooperation of the strongest country in the West in Mr. Vorster's endeavour for peace in Africa." The announcement of the Kissinger-Vorster meeting on June 23 in West Germany was hailed by the apartheid regime as a major diplomatic breakthrough in its international isolation. (*Comment and Opinion*, Pretoria, May 28, 1976; *WBAI*, New York, June 4, 1976)

SA GETS NUCLEAR HELP FROM ITS FRIENDS

The French consortium of Framatome, Alsthom, and Spie Batignolles has been awarded an almost one billion dollar contract to build South Africa's first nuclear power plant. Under the authority of ESCOM, the plant will be located at Koeberg, in the Western Cape, 20 miles north of Cape Town, and will contain two 922 megawatt pressurized water-based reactors. It is due for completion in 1982. The announcement of the French sale brought rapid condemnation from the Organization of African Unity, the All-African Council of Churches, and many other bodies including the African National Congress of South Africa which denounced the French Government for selling South Africa the nuclear reactor: "France now became the major enemy of African freedom and of Africa." However the contract announced was only for the first of two projected reactors, and there is speculation that a West German consortium will be given the contract for the second reactor. (*Observer*, London, May 30, 1976; *New York Times*, May 30, 1976; *WBAI*, New York, June 1, 1976)

Originally the competition to build the reactor had been between the French consortium, a Dutch-Swiss-American consortium involving General Electric, and a West German consortium.

On May 10 General Electric applied to the United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a permit to export equipment for two nuclear reactors. GE had already received preliminary acceptance in 1975 from the US Export-Import Bank to guarantee a loan of \$242 (\$285) million for South Africa's ESCOM (Electricity Supply Commission) to buy the materials. (See *Southern Africa*, March, May, 1976) Thus, in early May it appeared that GE, together with its Dutch and Swiss corporate partners, had been granted the SA Government contract for building the two nuclear reactors. GE's \$200 million plus part of the contract was to provide boiling water reactors and fuel cores. But 19 days later the South African Government awarded the contract to the French consortia.

The French Government now seems to be getting slack despite its public pronouncements that the reactors will be used for peaceful projects only with critics pointing out that SA has never signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty. The reactors, the first of which will be ready in 1982, and the second the following year, will provide electrical power for the Western Cape area. They will also produce enough plutonium to enable the making of atomic bombs.

The United States is still involved in the project

Westinghouse Corporation has a 15 per cent interest in the French Framatome (until January, 1976 it had a 45 per cent interest). Also the United States [which has a Nuclear Cooperation Agreement initially signed in 1957 and renegotiated in 1974 to last until 2007] still plans to sell South Africa enriched uranium for use in the two reactors. The US is the only country where uranium is currently enriched on a economically feasible basis. South Africa has developed its own process and will, with the technological and financial aid of the West, become an important source of enriched uranium in the future. It is predicted that by the 1980's there will be a global uranium shortage and by then South Africa may be producing enriched uranium. (*Africa News*, Durham, May 17, 24, 31, June 7, 1976; *New York Times*, May 30, June 1, 1976; material from the American Committee on Africa, ICCR, Washington Office on Africa, June, 1976)

"MIDDLE-LEVEL" POWER ALLIANCE

For South Africa, the benefits derived from Vorster's visit to Israel seem increasingly significant. The apartheid regime anticipates that the Economic, Industrial, and Scientific Pact signed with Israel will give South African goods duty free access to the European Common Market and the US. Israel has agreements with the Common Market and the US Government which give Israel "most favored nation" status. Under the new agreement, the apartheid regime can send its "semi-finished" goods to Israel, where they would be "finished", stamped with a "made-in-Israel" label, and then sold to European and American consumers. Thus, this agreement will allow South Africa to circumvent any economic boycott campaigns. Additionally, the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research announced that there will be joint South African-Israeli conferences on scientific topics to be held annually. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Apr. 17, June 5, 1976)

Meanwhile South Africa's much declared admiration for Israel's military tactics against the Palestinian liberation groups has produced a lot of speculation that the Israeli Army is providing counter-insurgency training to the South African military. A member of the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament) from the Independent Socialist Movement, Ms. Marcia Friedman, has charged that hundreds of Israeli soldiers were attached to important units and major bases in South Africa and have participated in training maneuvers with the South African army. The African National Congress stated that "the cooperation between Israel and South Africa [has as its] design a war of aggression against their neighboring states and the liberation movements." (*New York Times*, June 1, 1976; *Noticias*, Maputo, Apr. 14, 1976)

This success on economic, political, and military affairs produced by the visit to Israel has propelled the apartheid regime to advance a new strategy to maintain itself in power. It will now seek alliances with "middle-level" world powers. On April 22, in Parliament, Vorster stated that he believed "non-communistic and anti-communistic [sic] countries can work happily together economically, in spite of differences in internal policies and differences in outlook" and it was necessary for "middle-level" powers to cooperate. Besides the states of Central Europe, the apartheid regime will probably seek a formal alliance between the right-wing police state regimes (supported by U.S. military assistance) that exist in the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. In fact, such regimes have a lot in common with South Africa's apartheid regime; they all

use violence to eliminate the democratic opposition and to prevent a redistribution of the wealth to the people. One such "middle-level" power, Taiwan, has upgraded its diplomatic ties with South Africa to the ambassadorial level. A possible European candidate for the new alliance, Austria, has recently expressed its interest in exchanging South African iron ore for Austrian technical expertise. Last April, a group of 70 Austrian professors, researchers, and students affiliated to the University of Graz's technical school toured ISCOR projects. As a result of the tour, the group's leader—Professor Waldenmarfied, who is a leading Austrian industrialist—announced that Austria wants to participate in the Saldanha-Sighen project. Meanwhile Finland, another European country South Africa would want to include in its projected alliance, has stated that it is re-examining its trade ties with South Africa. (*Star*, Johannesburg, Apr. 24, 26, May 15, 22, 1976)

DÉTENTE AND REVOLT

The jittery South African policemen, firing upon peaceful African high school demonstrators and producing the spontaneous revolt, have exposed the horrors of the apartheid system to world public opinion, and particularly to those who had been taken in by the apartheid propaganda agencies. South Africa's détente strategy has been exposed. The leaders of the independent African states who advocated dialogue with the apartheid regime have discovered that they were seeking dialogue with a regime which has the mentality of Nazi Germany. Vorster, in West Germany to confer with US Secretary of State Kissinger, has also met with the West German Prime Minister Helmut Schmidt in an effort to patch up his regime's image in Western Europe. In Britain, 12 Labor Party MP's have demanded the total cessation of British arms sales to South Africa. Western Governments are finding their relationship with the Apartheid regime embarrassing. (*New York Times*, June 19, 1976; *B.B.C.*, June 21, 1976)

defense

"SOUTH AFRICAN'S DEFENCE ROLE": THE VIEW FROM INSIDE

It would be comforting to believe that the apartheid regime, and the white South Africans who support and maintain it, find themselves increasingly isolated in a world that condemns racial injustice. But it would be naive to assume that the apartheid government feels or is, in fact, on the brink of disaster or a change in race policy due to pressures from outside the African continent. What follows here is, in the opinion of *Southern Africa* magazine, a useful and sobering corrective to the view that the war against apartheid might be won on the battlefields of Mozambique, Angola or Zimbabwe. It is a radio news broadcast, produced in May by the South African Broadcasting Company for use by the English Service, Radio Port Natal and Springbok Radio. White South Africa has long been billing itself as a bastion against the "Soviet menace" to the "free world." Its success, and growing optimism in this respect, cannot be ignored in the struggle that lies ahead. But let apartheid speak for itself:

"South Africa, says the Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, is one of the Southern Hemisphere countries enjoying growing international recognition because of its increasing strategic importance.

"In recent weeks, there has been plenty of evidence in support of Mr. Botha's contention. There's President Ford's firm commitment to a meeting with our Prime Minister and his reference to the possibility of the United States using South African bases once more. There is the new phase of US-South African discussion initiated by Dr. Kissinger and his own testimony that it was the Black presidents of Southern Africa who impressed upon him their appreciation of the key role South Africa has to play in the maintenance of peace and security on the sub-continent. And now the Senate has refused to grant funds to finance border closures in Southern Africa.

"In a wider context, there is a growing movement towards a loose alliance of medium-sized anti-Communist powers. The part South Africa would play in such a grouping which would span the southern oceans, has been sketched by Mr. Vorster in Parliament. In Latin-America, the biggest national newspaper in Argentina has added its voice to the anti-Soviet stance of countries such as Brazil, Paraguay and Chile by calling for close links with South Africa to counter the Soviet penetration of the South Atlantic. In the Middle East, close links between the Republic and Israel are being forged firmer by the day; Egypt has ended its friendship treaties with Moscow; the Shah of Iran has called for a Commonwealth of Indian Ocean states, including South Africa, to keep the area free of Soviet intervention; and Saudi Arabia continued to finance the non-Communist forces in Angola after the American Congress stopped its aid. And in the Pacific area, Australia is again viewing the Indian Ocean in the same way as South Africa, with the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Muldoon, emphasising his concern about Soviet naval expansionism in the Southern Oceans.

In this scenario, South Africa occupies a central posi-

tion: not only because of her strategic situation at the confluence of the Southern Oceans and the world's most important oil, food and trade routes, but because she is the foremost economic, technological and military power on the African continent. 'We must be worthy of our responsibility to guard this important gateway between East and West', Mr. Botha declared.

"And at Potchefstroom yesterday, South Africa gave an impressive display of her military inventiveness. There was a wide range of weapons seldom seen by the public, including the tele-guided Cactus missile system developed by the Republic in collaboration with France; the Eland armoured car which dealt so effectively with the Cubans in Angola; and a Stalin-organ captured from them there. The star of the show was the wholly-South African made Ratel combat transport vehicle. Armed with a 20 mm cannon and a machine-gun, this bullet-proof, 16 000 kg machine is capable of carrying 10 fully-armed infantrymen into the heart of a battle in almost any terrain at a top speed of 105 kilometres an hour.

"Here was an indication for the South African taxpayer of the way the Defence allocation is being used. But more yet will have to be spent on defence. Soviet imperialism has brought about a total war situation which requires a total response. And as Mr. Botha pointed out, this assessment is shared by military leaders throughout the Free World. On the eve of last week's Nato Ministerial Council meeting in Oslo, the Supreme Commander of the Alliance, General Haig declared: 'The Soviet threat has become global in character, and nothing short of a global response will suffice as an answer.' Current thinking in the circles that matter is clearly moving away from what Mr. Botha called the woolly-mindedness of our critics." ●

Namibia

DEATH UNDER THE TERRORISM ACT

Two members of the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia were condemned to death under terms of the South African regime's Terrorism Act on May 12.

Mr. Aaron Mushimba and Mr. Hendrik Shikongo received the ultimate sentence in a South African court sitting in the Namibian seacoast town of Swakopmund after a five-month trial. This is the first time that death has been imposed under the South African law.

At the same time, Ms. Rauna Nambinba was sentenced to seven years in prison, and the Terrorism Act's minimum sentence of five years was given to Ms. Anna Nghihondjwa.

Justice J. J. Strydom pronounced the four guilty of supporting persons said to have advocated the overthrow by force of "the administration of South West Africa", including collecting and passing on small sums of money. The judge denied an application for an appeal by defense attorneys, and said, "This evil of terrorism must be torn out by the roots . . . law and order must be maintained." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, May 13, 1976)

The Terrorism Act was passed by the South African parliament in 1967 primarily to crush the Namibian independence movement. The first Terrorism Trial in Pretoria in 1967/68 resulted in 20 Namibians being sentenced to life and nine other SWAPO members to 20-year terms on South Africa's Robben Island prison colony.

The Swakopmund trial was widely regarded as a concerted effort to destroy SWAPO's organization within Namibia, possibly as a prelude to its banning by the South African occupation officials. Over the years, the regime has repeatedly detained, tortured, banned and convicted SWAPO's leaders.

International protests over the sentences, especially the imposition of death on Mr. Shikongo and Mr. Mushimba, were widespread. SWAPO's London office called for action from the British Government, a call supported by trade union leaders. European Common Market officials called upon the South African Prime Minister to spare their lives. Inside Namibia, Lutheran, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist church leaders protested the sentences, saying they were "sure to cause new unrest and may lead to the spilling of blood as violence gives birth to violence."

The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva released a report by its observer at the Swakopmund trial, Irish attorney Patrick MacEntee. He said that the two condemned men were given an "oppressive and highly unsatisfactory trial", in which the prosecution evidence was selective and incomplete. The majority of witnesses had been detained for long periods, and MacEntee pointed out that "their detention, the torture and the fear of torture must render the probative value of their evidence suspect," (*Windhoek Advertiser*, June 11, 1976).

United Nations Commissioner for Namibia Sean MacBride declared, "The occupation of Namibia by South



Border terrain, the Okavango swamps in the Caprivi—hostile territory for South African soldiers, familiar ground to Namibians in SWAPO.

Africa is illegal under international law. It follows that the purported trial and the sentences imposed by a South African court illegally sitting in Swakopmund in Namibia to try charges brought under the South African Terrorism Act against four Namibian citizens is null, void and illegal. If the death sentences imposed on Mr. Aaron Mushimba and on Mr. Hendrik Shikongo are carried out, all those directly involved in the executions will be guilty of murder. Those indirectly involved will be guilty of conspiracy to murder."

The response of the South African occupation authorities was typical: on May 21, ten more Namibians were charged under terms of the Terrorism Act, alleged to have taken part in SWAPO acts of murder and terrorism over the past six months. They are: Ms. Ragel Sohifotola, and Messrs. Zachariah Nashandi, Risto Nakanyala, Albeus Heinrich, Marius Isak, Johannes Amutenga, Karel Nam-pala, Solomon Mbango, Gabriel Willem and Filemon Nangola. Their trial is set to start on June 25. An additional ten Namibians have been detained under the Terrorism Act and police said they would be indicted "as soon as investigations were concluded." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, May 21, 24, 1976).

THE SWAKOPMUND TRIAL AND LEAKS TO THE SECURITY POLICE

Barely a week after the trial, a senior partner in the firm of Lorentz and Bone who were the attorneys for the defendants discovered that another partner and an employee had been secretly cooperating with the South African security police during the trial. Both the partner and the employee were forced to resign following this disclosure. Copies of statements and other confidential documents had been made available to the police during the course of the trial. Another employee testified that he had been pressured by the resigned partner to reveal information about an investigation last year into the fraudulent and intimidatory elections in the Owambo Bantustan in the northern region. The local commander of the security police, Colonel Myburgh, denied that his branch was involved and said that it could have been the Bureau of State Security.

An application for an entry of irregularity is being made for inclusion in the trial record, with the expectation that the issue would go to South Africa's highest

court, the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. Testimony at the hearing on the application disclosed that both the discharged employee and the former partner had expressed hatred of SWAPO and of Africans in general. One witness testified that the partner, J. A. Smit, considered SWAPO as "the scum of the earth." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, May 28, June 1, 2, 3, 18, 1976).

"NO MAN'S LAND"

A "no man's land" has been proclaimed along the Namibian border with Angola by the South African state president. The thousand mile long, half-mile deep strip will require the uprooting of tens of thousands of people. The proclamation awards extraordinary powers to tribal and occupation officials. South African army personnel are given the same powers as the police. Villages can be evacuated, searches made and persons detained without warrant, travel restricted and a nightly curfew imposed. Detainees before possible release must satisfy arresting officers that they have answered all questions fully and correctly. Civilians must report the presence of "insurgents" under maximum penalty of \$700 and/or three years in jail. (*New York Times*, May 20, 1976; *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), May 20, 1976).

"TERROR"

On the day the Swakopmund Four were found guilty but the day before their sentences were handed down, a security police colonel read to the court a list of 59 instances of SWAPO "terror activities" committed in the Ovamboland area since July 1975. A number of attacks and kidnappings of Namibians have been widely made known in Namibia and South Africa, always with the implication that SWAPO is perpetrating atrocities against its own people. Despite much police & military activity these acts have never been pinpointed until the recent detentions and trials. It seems increasingly probable that this subsurface war of terror against the people of Namibia is connected with South African attempts to continue imposing its rule over Namibia.

On June 11, a Namibian man was shot dead and a boy wounded by sniper fire as they were being driven along a border road in northern Namibia by Anglican Archdeacon Lazarus Haukongo. The archdeacon (who had been briefly arrested the week before by South African soldiers) and

his party had visited the hamlet of Epinga and found it deserted. The Windhoek press reported the incident and the empty village as the results of "another terror incident". (*Windhoek Advertiser*, June 14, 1976; Reuter, June 11, 1976).

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS IN NAMIBIA

Rio Tinto Zinc, which manages the Rossing uranium mine near Swakopmund, announced at its annual general meeting in London, that it intends to stay in the Territory, replying to criticism leveled against its cooperation with South African occupation authorities by critics, including an organization of the British Council of Churches. Rossing is due to begin production in July. It will be one of the world's largest producers of uranium, eventually handling over 120,000 tons of ore per day. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, May 20, 1976)

TURNHALLE—THE "CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

The Turnhalle conference's fourth plenary session lasted three days, adjourning on June 4, leaving a committee to complete work on a draft constitution. A spokesman said the product would be put to a vote at the next plenary in about a month's time. If accepted, the document would be presented at the United Nations Security Council, which in January gave South Africa until August 31 to accede to the world body's demands that Pretoria step aside and allow the UN to enter the Territory to prepare for supervised and controlled nation-wide elections.

Some delegates at the South Africa-sponsored conclave are said to favor political parties joining the ethnically selected representatives, but the general feeling is that parties should meld with the original delegations. They are particularly anxious about SWAPO. South African Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster, while regarding SWAPO as "conceived in sin" and as "communistic" and not representative of the Namibian people, has indicated he would not interfere in any decision by the conference to ask the liberation movement in.

So desperate are delegates over inclusion of some elements of SWAPO to increase the credibility of the conference, that it appears that a Namibian living in Europe was persuaded to visit Namibian patriot Toivo ja Toivo, who is serving a 20-year term on Robben Island after his conviction at the 1968 Pretoria trial, and other prisoners to try to prevail upon them to join the Turnhalle talks. Word is that the scheme failed utterly. (*Washington Post*, May 20, 1976; *Guardian*, Manchester, May 12, 1976; *Africa*, June 1976; *Reuter*, June 4, 1976; *Windhoek Advertiser*, May 3, 1976)

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in his Africa policy speech in Lusaka on April 27 referred to Namibia. "We are encouraged by the South African Government's evident decision to move Namibia toward independence. . . . We reiterate our call upon the South African Government to permit all the people and groups of Namibia to express their views freely, under UN supervision, on the political future and constitutional structure of their country." The all-important word *control*—emphasized in UN Security Council resolution 385 of January 30—was omitted. Although lesser State Department officers have mentioned control along with supervision, the US government had by the time of the Kissinger/Vorster talks in West Germany slid into a position of talking of a timetable for granting independence to South West Africa. The *London Times*

reports ". . . it is understood that the United States would be prepared to adopt a more positive attitude towards the Windhoek constitutional talks if SWAPO were included and if the United Nations were permitted to send an observer". (*New York Times*, June 5, 1976; *London Times*, May 17, 1976). SWAPO's position toward all this non-Namibian scheming was stated by Vice President Mishaake Muyongo to the UN Council for Namibia on June 17:

"In respect of the continuing fraudulent Turnhalle tribal gathering, SWAPO has already stated repeatedly that we will have absolutely nothing to do with this sinister scheme. Frankly speaking, we actually feel insulted when the name of our Movement and Namibia are mentioned in the same breath with that hollow exercise. SWAPO and the suffering people of Namibia remain assured that you as a Council have similarly rejected and denounced the tribal talks being conducted by the Vorster regime in Windhoek. Clearly and intentionally, these talks have been conceived, instigated and in fact are being manipulated by the illegal Pretoria rulers in Namibia to effect the feeble 'bantustanisation'."

SWAPO INTERNAL WING ELECTS TOP POSTS

SWAPO's internal wing met at the port city of Walvis Bay early in June and elected exiled leaders of the liberation movement to top posts. Mr. Sam Nujoma and Mr. Muyongo were re-elected president and vice-president respectively. Mr. Nathaniel Maxuiliili was re-elected to the executive, even though he is banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Mr. David H. Meroro, who fled Namibia last year, was again elected national chairman. Secretary-General in Namibia, Mr. Axel Johannes, sentenced to a year in jail for refusing to testify at the Swakopmund trial, was confirmed in his post. (*Johannesburg Star*, June 5, 1976). ■



Sam Nujoma—re-elected SWAPO President.

Zimbabwe



Intimidation attempt—Rhodesian army displays two slain guerrillas in a "protected village".

GUERRILLA ATTACKS SPREAD AND INTENSIFY

Attacks by guerrilla forces in Zimbabwe have continued to increase, covering widely dispersed areas and mounting in intensity. As a result of the blasting of the rail link to South Africa near Rutenga (see *Southern Africa*, June-July, 1976), the Rhodesian Railway Workers Union have demanded police and military reinforcements. (*Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 1976)

Following the rail blasting there was an attack on a white farmer in the southeast border region where three white South Africans were previously killed. This attack took place "in the midst of a massive Rhodesian security force sweep." (*Guardian*, London, April 22, 1976)

An Associated Press report from Salisbury on April 25, 1976, reported further clashes with guerrillas along the southeastern border with Mozambique. The Smith regime admitted several casualties in these clashes.

On May 14, guerrillas attacked a gasoline station at Inyazura, a village 40 miles from Umtali. The attack, according to the London *Guardian's* Salisbury correspondent, "has ended the myth that the war is a cross-border hit-and-run affair. It has also shown that insurgent forces seem to be able to infiltrate traditional white farming areas without detection or betrayal." (*Guardian*, London, May 17, 1976)

The *Guardian* report also emphasized that the attack placed a guerrilla group astride the main road and rail links between the important border center, Umtali, and the capital, Salisbury, and that it showed the guerrillas had key local support. "There is no question that the African population in this area, and indeed as a whole, is solidly hostile to the Government," the report added.

On May 17, guerrilla forces ambushed a convoy of army vehicles between Fort Victoria and Beit Bridge in the vicinity of a bridge over the Lundi River. At about the same time it was reported that a white farmer had been kidnapped in the Cashel District, 40 miles south of Umtali. The Smith regime was forced by the increased insurgency to ban all night journeys on main roads to

South Africa. In addition, an elaborate convoy system was established for motor traffic on the roads. (*Guardian*, London, May 20, 22, 1976; *Tanzania Daily News*, May 26; *Star*, Johannesburg, May 1, 1976)

A new area of activity was disclosed when guerrillas attacked a farm 60 miles south of Bulawayo at Kezi. Also a locomotive was derailed on the railroad to Botswana, one of the two remaining railroad links to South Africa. (*Washington Post*, May 24, 1976). Shortly afterwards a clash took place in the Masana area a mere 35 miles from Salisbury on the road leading to the farming center of Shamva. This led to the closure of the Mermaid's Pool, a white pleasure resort 25 miles from Salisbury on the Shamva road. Commenting on the significance of this attack, the correspondent of the London *Guardian* wrote: "The importance of this incident lies not just in its proximity to the capital or in the closure of a popular resort, but in the apparent failure of the Rhodesian military to contain deep penetration by guerrilla units." (*Guardian*, London, May 27, 1976)

At the end of May, President Kaunda of Zambia announced that he would allow Zimbabwean Freedom Fighters to open a new front against the Smith regime from Zambia. (see Neighbors, Zambia)

The laying of land mines has become a significant part of guerrilla operations. On June 8, 1976, the *Washington Post* reported that a number of people had been killed and injured in a land mine explosion. Earlier a white Rhodesian member of Parliament, Fergus Blackie, was injured in a land mine explosion while "on active service." (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 1976) According to Ian Smiley of the London *Observer*, (May 9, 1976) "Landmines have been planted in almost every border district."

SMITH USES CHIEFS

A broadcast from Salisbury reported by the BBC to have been made on June 1st quoted two of the chiefs recently appointed to Smith's cabinet as saying that they were "pleased with the latest security forces successes against terrorists." Minister Senator Chief Chirau, President of the Chiefs Council, and Minister Senator Chief Mangwende warned their people "not to help terrorists." Almost immediately thereafter Smith's Minister for Internal Affairs announced that guerrillas had abducted Chief Mbika, one of the most senior chiefs, and a senator in the regime's Council of Chiefs. (*Washington Post*, June 9, 1976)

FAILURE TO STOP GUERRILLAS

The failure of the Smith regime to prevent the growth of the guerrilla's strength and spread of activity has resulted in a large-scale exodus of whites. The London *Economist* (May 8, 1976), analysing the figures disclosed by the Smith regime, concluded that the number of white Rhodesians who quit the country rose 24 per cent compared with the previous year. The new white immigrants who have entered Rhodesia have come mainly from Mozambique and Angola. (*Washington Post*, May 29, 1976) These were characterized by Patrick Keatley of the London *Guardian* as "Portuguese settlers on the run. . . . They have no stake in Rhodesia, and are essentially birds of passage aiming to get to South Africa." He said the 12,000 whites who had already departed were "the really

valuable citizens that white Rhodesia could ill-afford to lose. Professional people, skilled farmers . . . and many young men escaping from a draft." Keatley reported that the guerrilla attacks produced a "nightmare which haunts the inner thoughts of those who hold power in Salisbury under Ian Smith," namely, that a key incident could "prove to be the trigger that sets off a mass exodus of settlers heading South." He drew a parallel with Algeria where as an eyewitness to the departure of French settlers, he "watched the outflow on successive visits and was struck by the fact that the speed and volume of the evacuation was far beyond anything predicted by the experts at the time." (*Guardian*, London, April 20, 1976)

The strains on white Rhodesia are evidenced in extended mobilization, increasing the service of military recruits, and calling up men previously rejected as medically unfit. (*Guardian*, London, May 6, 1976) The *Johannesburg Star* (May 8) reported that the increased call up of territorial soldiers for "continuous service" was beginning to "hit the economy and the business sector." Paralleling the recruiting problems of the Smith regime is the growing strength of the guerrilla forces. David Martin of the *London Observer* (May 16) recently reported that "more than 3000 black nationalist guerrillas have infiltrated into Rhodesia since early December."

MERCENARIES SOUGHT

In an effort to shore up its declining forces the Smith regime is reportedly stepping up efforts to recruit mercenaries. Recruiting attempts in Australia have led to an official investigation by the Foreign Affairs Minister, Andrew Peacock. And recruiters have been active in Britain and Northern Ireland. (*Tanzania Daily News*, April 13, *Observer*, London, May 2, 1976)

THE "THIRD FORCE"

There is increasing evidence that the struggle in Zimbabwe is being organized by the guerrilla army band inside Mozambique—the "Third Force"—and that the old leadership is not playing a role in this organizing. At a recent



As guerrilla pressure mounts Rhodesian troops rely on their Western made helicopters.

meeting in Dar es Salaam, the O.A.U. Liberation Committee decided to deal directly with guerrilla forces in their base camps. This drew strong criticism from Bishop Muzorewa, leader of one of the ANC factions. (*Washington Post*, June 6, 1976)

Previously, it had been reported that the four "front line" Presidents, Machel, Nyerere, Kaunda, and Khama, were determined to build a unified Zimbabwean force, and they had therefore decided against allowing any one group of the existing political leaders into the guerrilla camps "and thereby lay themselves open to the charge that they were taking sides." (*Guardian*, London, May 23, 1976) President Machel of Mozambique is reported to have rebuked Muzorewa for his attacks on the African Presidents. Commenting on Muzorewa's complaint of being excluded from the guerrilla camps, President Machel is quoted as saying that "a real leader does not need permission to visit his fighting forces." (*Africa News*, June 14, 1976) ■

A LUTA CONTINUA

Guinea-Bissau

INSIDE THE REPUBLIC

During a recent visit to Guinea Bissau the British historian and journalist, Basil Davidson reported that the Government is enjoying great peace and a deep sense of liberty in the two years following more than a decade of war against Portuguese colonialism. Davidson noted that the regime was extremely stable and "perfectly representative." More than one million people in the sister republics of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde are now united under a single political party, the PAIGC, The African Party of Independence for Guinea and Cape Verde. (*Afrique-Asie*, Paris, May 31, 1976)

Another visitor to Guinea was Professor Barend van Niekerk, from the Law Faculty of Natal University in South Africa. He is the first South African to travel to the Republic since independence, although South African Airways still makes regular landings at Sal Island in Cape Verde. Professor van Niekerk admits that he had mixed

feelings when he arrived and "expected the worst in the way of repression, anger, propaganda, lack of amenities, and economic decay" but was "astounded" and "shocked" by what he actually experienced. In fact he noted that Bissau was "spotlessly clean", food was available, and telephones were functioning perfectly. He walked about freely and "felt safer than in any big South African city at night," observing few soldiers and no tensions. Of course, for those who have followed the PAIGC struggle closely over the years these observations come as no surprise, but even a biased reporter is forced to reach the same conclusions. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 29, 1976)

While Guinea is a poor, agricultural country, it hopes to be able to achieve agricultural self-sufficiency soon; efforts are also being made to stimulate the export economy. Two years of peace have enabled active production to begin again on much farm land, with renewed cultivation of crops including rice, peanuts and coconuts. New fishing cooperatives are helping to increase protein in the diet and earn some foreign exchange. The rapid growth of the urban population seems to have been

slowed as agricultural activities permit the absorption of refugees back into the areas which were militarily contested.

ON THE FOREIGN FRONT

Francisco Mendes, PAIGC Head of Government and of the Permanent Secretariat, traveled to Moscow to address the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. In his remarks he noted that "during the grim war against Portuguese colonialism, we valued the Soviet people's lofty feelings of internationalism. And today the solidarity of the Soviet people and their Communist Party—our true allies—is more important than ever in building the new life in our country and promoting peace and progress on our planet." (*World Marxist Review*, May, 1975)

Relations between Guinea and Portugal have deteriorated in recent months following the decision to issue Guinea's own currency, the peso. This action in late February of this year effectively put an end to the financial control of the BNU (Overseas National Bank) as the Guinea officials were no longer compatible with its own national independence. Portugal complained of the "unilateral character" of this move overlooking the "unilateral" nature of centuries of Portuguese colonialism. As a result Portugal called for a freeze on the transfer of 1.6 billion escudos to a Guinean account saying that this money represented expenses incurred during colonialism. The Council of State Commissioners in Bissau responded by saying that this would just be an attempt to "make our people pay the price of the oppression and war of which they were the victims of Portuguese colonial domination." (*Afrique-Asie*, Paris, April 5, 1976)

CAPE VERDE

CAPE VERDE SHIP JOINS BI-CENTENNIAL OPERATION SAIL

Following considerable fund-raising efforts in the Republic of Cape Verde, at the United Nations, and with humanitarian and community groups, the "Ernestina" will sail back into history as the only African ship participating in the Tall Ship regatta celebrating the American Bicentennial. In early June the Cape Verdean Ministry of Transport was doing everything possible to restore the ship to reach Bermuda for the last leg of the great race. Fifty people were working on the hull and new sails were flown in from Lisbon. The "Ernestina" was built in Essex, Massachusetts in 1894 and was known as the Effie M. Morrissey until renamed in 1945. The "Ernestina" has sailed to the United States at least eighteen times bringing many Cape Verdeans to New Bedford and southeastern New England. The Ernestina's Captain, R.A. Bartlett, was the right-hand man of Admiral Peary in his explorations of the North Pole between 1920 and 1945. After Peary's death Captain Bartlett made twelve trips to the Polar region. (*Journal Bulletin*, Providence, May 15, 1976)

In the 1940's the ship, a two-masted schooner, 97-feet long, fished off the Grand Banks in the Atlantic Ocean. In 1947 the 120-ton craft caught fire in Flushing Bay in New York and sank but was raised shortly afterward. The "Ernestina" will stay in New Bedford after the current crossing from Mindelo Harbor in Sao Vicente Island. (*Cape Verdean*, Lynn, June 1976; *Evening Bulletin*, Providence, May 21, 1976)

Mozambique

SPECIAL MISSION REPORTS ON AID TO MOZAMBIQUE

A special UN mission headed by Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, and including several UN technical assistance officials, spent two weeks in Mozambique in April. The mission was a follow-up to a resolution adopted by the Security Council in March, which had recommended that all necessary assistance be given to Mozambique to enable it to overcome the economic difficulties arising from its application of sanctions against the Smith regime in Zimbabwe. Prime objective of the mission was "the organization of an effective programme of financial, economic and technical assistance geared to the immediate and long-term needs of Mozambique."

The mission's report (submitted to the Economic and Social Council in May) contains a detailed evaluation of the damage suffered by the Mozambican economy as a result of sanctions, and of Mozambique's development needs. The study estimates the direct cost of sanctions at between \$139 and \$165 million for the next 12 months; between \$108 million and \$134 million for the following 12 months; and between \$106 and \$132 million annually thereafter. The figures, which are much higher than the tentative estimate of \$57 million given by Foreign Minister Chissano during the Security Council debate in March, include such items as: the loss of revenue from transport and transit of goods from Zimbabwe and with other areas in Southern Africa due to the disruption of the flow of traffic; loss of foreign exchange from tourism; costs of additional projects in Mozambique to replace facilities previously provided by Zimbabwe; and other costs arising from the fact that emergency needs can no longer be satisfied from sources in Zimbabwe. In addition, Mozambique will have to bear substantial indirect costs arising from the loss of employment of thousands of workers involved in sectors of the economy which were geared to servicing the trade with Zimbabwe. Even more important, perhaps, is the additional burden placed on the Mozambican Government from having to overcome problems resulting from the application of sanctions at a time when it is engaged in a major restructuring of the entire economy.

The mission also surveyed the economic needs of Mozambique above and beyond the problems generated by sanctions. The report indicates that Mozambique would need substantial amounts of international assistance because of the widespread disruption caused by the colonial war, the flight of expatriates and settlers since independence and the need to reorient the entire economy, which was geared to serving the needs of the colonial metropole and the neighboring white-minority regimes. The report estimates that Mozambique's trade deficit will be in the neighborhood of \$275 million a year over the next two years, not including the additional import costs of emergency and developmental projects necessitated by sanctions. The balance of payments deficit is estimated at \$175-200 million a year over the next two years.

The mission outlined a programme of financial, material and technical assistance "to allow Mozambique to develop normally." The program has both a short-term



A pre-independence classroom—now schools must be built quickly to give Mozambicans the tools that they need.

aspect, aiming at meeting Mozambique's immediate needs resulting from the imposition of sanctions, and a long-term aspect relating to Mozambique's overall development needs involving a fundamental restructuring of the economy and society. In the short run, the mission pointed out, Mozambique would need balance of payments support, including grants of urgently needed materials and equipment. These include oil, fertilizers, foodstuffs, medicines, textiles, machinery, spare parts and tires. In addition, there are a number of emergency projects which will have to be carried out within the year, in the field of power supplies, tele-communications, transport and programs for returning emigrants. Agricultural projects to develop food production in order to replace imports from Zimbabwe will also be necessary.

While Mozambique's first national development plan is still in preparation, and therefore no overall picture of future needs can be given, the mission indicated a number of areas which have been selected by the Government as priorities and described several projects submitted to it during its visit to Mozambique. The projects refer particularly to the development of infrastructure, the exploitation of natural resources, health, education, and agricultural and community development. The mission pointed out that "in the course of its normal development programme, Mozambique will require technical assistance on a large scale." Among the most pressing needs identified by the mission was the manpower shortage owing to the departure of former expatriates and settlers (about two thirds have left) and the shortcomings of the colonial educational system. While the needs throughout the economy have not yet been assessed, estimates made by the mission for a small number of ministries and agencies indicated that at least 650 professionals and technicians would be needed urgently. The mission reported that the Government "is anxious to obtain technical assistance personnel in order to release suitable qualified local people for instructional purposes."

In submitting the report to the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim,

indicated that a special unit in New York had been designated for the purpose of co-ordinating the vast programme of financial, material and technical assistance to Mozambique. A unit is also being established within the Ministry of Economic Development and Planning in Mozambique for dealing with all offers of assistance. The Economic and Social Council adopted the mission's report, calling on all Member States of the UN to provide "generous assistance" to Mozambique.

However, international aid has trickled in at a less than satisfactory pace. Mr. Farah—appointed co-ordinator of the UN program of assistance—reported recently that \$60 million had been committed, of which \$40 million was immediately available while the rest was in form of pledges to be fulfilled within the next three years. This amount included contributions from the United Kingdom, the United States, the Nordic countries, the Netherlands, Canada, a number of African countries including Nigeria and Zambia, and the Afro-Arab Ministerial Conference. In addition, a special program would be set up under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. Much more, however, needs to be done if Mozambique's fragile economy is not to suffer disproportionately from the imposition of sanctions against the racist Smith regime. It was with a view to mobilizing international support for Mozambique's plight that a joint mission of the UN and the Government of Mozambique visited several African, Arab and European Governments in June. (UN press releases SG/SM/2324, WS/762, WS/764, SC/3760; UN document E/5812 and Add.1)

STRENGTHENING TIES WITH TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA

Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia enjoy special friendly relations as a result of the solidarity and cooperation between their peoples during Frelimo's ten year armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Now they have agreed to strengthen the defense of their borders and the security of their countries. They will establish a joint institute to train members of their defense and police

forces. The agreement was reached at the end of a meeting of defense and security delegations from the three countries which was held on April 8 and 9 in Maputo, Mozambique.

At the start of the talks, Alberto Chipande stated that the meeting was of great importance. It would facilitate not only joint study problems common to the 3 countries, but also problems for the liberation of southern Africa.

Before the establishment of the joint institute, the countries will exchange recruits in their defense and police forces to learn from each other. The delegations also discussed easing immigration restrictions between the three countries and considered the problem of the extradition of criminals who flee from their home countries.

"Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia . . . must not permit imperialism to install bases of advancement among us. We must not permit imperialism to divide us, because each time we shall be weakened," Samora Machel told a Tanzanian delegation at the State House.

He called on the delegates to work hard to make the three countries the bases for the advancement of the African revolution. This, he pointed out, needed the involvement of the masses. "The consolidation of these bases of revolution depends essentially on the consolidation of our relations," he stressed.

"The enemies of Tanzania are the enemies of Zambia and are the enemies of Mozambique." (*Tanzania Daily News*, April 10, 11, 1976).

The Mozambique-Tanzania Permanent Commission of Cooperation began its first meeting with week long talks on April 15, in Dar es Salaam.



The Mozambique delegation arriving at Dar es Salaam airport, is welcomed by Tanzanian Minister of Finance Amir Jamal (right).

A high powered 32 person Mozambican delegation arrived in Dar led by the Minister for Development and Economic Planning, Frelimo Vice-President, Marcelino dos Santos. The Commission was set up with President Nyerere during his visit to Mozambique last year in September.

Five expert committees were set up to lay the ground and make recommendations on possible areas of immediate cooperation between the two countries. The five committees which submitted their recommendations were in Industry, Commerce and Finance; Education and Culture; Diplomatic and Consular Services; and Transport, Communications and Works. They were given two days to deliberate before reporting to the Ministers. While the

committees were discussing concrete proposals the Ministers attending the talks left Dar es Salaam for Njombe and Iringa to see rural development progress.

In addition to Marcelino dos Santos, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mario da Graca; the Minister for Public Works and Housing, Julio Carrilho; the Minister of Finance, Salomao Munguambe, and the Junior Minister of Foreign Affairs, Armando Panguene took part in the conference.

Tanzania was represented by the Minister of Finance and Planning, Amir Jamal; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ibrahim Kaduma; the Minister for National Education, Isael Elinewinga; the Minister for Agriculture, John Malecela; the Minister for Commerce, Alphonse Relegura; the Minister for Industries, Cleopa Msuya; the Minister of State in the First Vice President's Office, Hassan Nassor Moyo; and the Minister for National Culture and Youth, Mr. Sarakikya.

Marcelino dos Santos addressed the opening session of the Commission in Dar es Salaam. He said that co-operation between the two countries is vital for economic development and independence, and pledged complete cooperation from Mozambique, stressing that such cooperation was based on the power of the people.

The two countries plan to train diplomats jointly so that they will be able to serve the interests of both countries. Tanzanians will have to learn Portuguese. Those Mozambicans not well versed in Swahili and English will have to learn these languages. There will be cultural exchanges, sport exchanges and the countries will exchange educational expertise, facilities and scholarships and help each other train cadres to serve the people.

To improve physical communication and transport between the two countries a bridge will be built across the Rovuma River. The river runs all the way from the mountains of Songea in the West to the Indian Ocean in the East, separating Tanzania from Mozambique. The proposal to link the two countries directly came from Tanzania and Tanzanian peasants have been contributing to a fund towards the construction of the bridge. The planners also discussed the construction of an all-weather road which will run North and South from the Rovuma, linking major centers in the two countries.

Air and sea links have been established with Tanzania since Mozambican independence last June. Telephone and Telex lines are in operation. However, a call from Dar es Salaam must still pass through London and Lisbon before reaching Maputo.

The next meeting of the Commission will take place in Maputo later on this year. (*Guardian*, Britain, April 5, 1976; *Tanzanian Daily News*, April 7, 10, 15, 17).

Political Co-operation on Liberation Struggle

President Nyerere is Chairman of the "Four Presidents"—Group of African Nations—Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana—which meets regularly to discuss strategy on ending colonialism and white minority rule in southern Africa. (untitled source).

PRESIDENT KAUNDA VISITS MOZAMBIQUE

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was given a warm welcome by thousands of Mozambicans when he arrived in Mozambique on April 21 at the beginning of a six day visit. President Kaunda was accompanied by his wife, Betty, and led a 60 member delegation which included 6 Ministers.

He was met at the airport by President Samora Machel

and his wife Graca Simbine, along with members of Frelimo's Central and Executive Committees, Cabinet Ministers, members of the diplomatic corps and party militants. Reports indicated that during their meetings President Machel urged President Kaunda to open a third front on Zimbabwe's western border with Zambia. The Zimbabwean liberation war is currently confined to the 1,100 km eastern border with Mozambique. The two Presidents agreed to establish a Commission of Co-operation similar to the one in operation between Mozambique and Tanzania.

On April 23, President Kaunda addressed more than 40,000 people at the Machava stadium. In his speech, he encouraged the workers and peasants to work hard at building a Mozambican economy. "... the economy which used to produce all those goods was not your economy, it was the Portuguese economy. ... The people of Zambia, like the people of Mozambique must now create their own economy. The people of Mozambique ... must build their own country through their own efforts." (*Tanzania Daily News*, April 21, 22, 23, 1976).

SUPPORT FOR MOZAMBICAN ACTION

Angola, Sao Tome and Principe denounced the Smith regime's aggression against Mozambique on April 6 (*Tanzania Daily News*, April 7) and expressed total support for Mozambique's measures against the white minority regime in Salisbury. Radio Luanda reported a joint communique issued on President Neto's return from a two-day visit to Sao Tome and Principe.

On March 9, 1976, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Vietnam sent a message to Joaquim Chissano condemning the government of Rhodesia for attacking Mozambique and assuring solidarity and support for Mozambique "with a view of safeguarding their independence and sovereignty as well as the cause of national liberation of the African people."

MOZAMBIQUE: NEWS IN BRIEF

On May 17, President Samora Machel arrived in Moscow for week long talks with President Podgorny and Mr. Gromyko, the Russian Foreign Minister.

President Machel was there on an 'official friendship visit' at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet. (*The Times*, May 18, 1976)

Mozambique has created a National Directorate of Fisheries to manage, promote and regulate fishing activities in that country. The new body has the responsibility of re-organizing the fishing industry. Co-operatives of fishermen and fishmongers will be organized to direct internal and external marketing.

The national structure will also undertake scientific studies aimed at finding ways of preserving fish in their natural surroundings to combat the destructive exploitation of this natural resource. (*Tanzania Daily News*, Dar es Salaam, April 16, 1976).

In order to politicize youth more effectively a new organization—The Organization of Mozambican Youth—has been created. The launching of the organizational structure will initially be limited to the Maputo district. Thereafter, little by little, it will grow cell by cell throughout the country. The subdistrict and cell activist groups in Maputo will conduct study meetings with the people in order to realize the close connection between

the Party, the revolution and youth. Young people comprise about 70% of the total population.

An order of priests—The Fathers of Burgos—who had been thrown out of Mozambique by the Portuguese are currently back working in Mozambique. During their annual assembly they issued a resolution expressing their support of Frelimo. The resolution stated, inter alia:

.... We dissociate ourselves from any reactionary or reformist attitude or action of the Church.

Within the Church itself, class struggle is present, often masked by a false sense of unity. Our participation in the revolutionary struggle is a step towards true unity in the Church, because unity in the Church is possible only if unity exists among the people.

Remember that many priests of the Congregation of Burgos were imprisoned, condemned and then expelled from Mozambique by the former colonial-fascist government because they had denounced the various crimes of that government."

In order to educate people on the work of the Organization of Mozambican Women in the Maputo province, Ms. Rosaria Tembe, the provincial director of OMM visited all districts in the province.

After being in Matola and in Namaacha, where she met with leaders and activists on the districtal and local levels, Rosaria Tembe followed the schedule listed below:

May 8: Marracuene and Manhica; May 10: Magude; May 11: Moamba; May 12: Bela Vista; and on May 15: Maputo. (*Noticias*, Maputo, May 6, 1976).

The Portuguese Communist Party joined Mozambique in expressing total support for guerrillas fighting against the racist white minority regime in Zimbabwe in a joint communique.

The communique was drawn up after two days of talks between Portuguese Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal and President Samora Machel. It expressed mutual, firm support for SWAPO, the MPLA and demanded the unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. (*Tanzania Daily News*, March 26, 1976).

The May 6 issue of *Noticias* reported on the possibility of an intercultural exchange between Mozambique and Portugal: a Mozambican cultural week in Lisbon and a Progressive Portuguese Cultural week in Mozambique, both to take place possibly in October of 1976.

This was announced by Mateus Branco at the end of a publishing conference which took place in Maputo. Mateus Branco and Jose Garibaldi, another participant in the conference are editors of *Avante*.

With 12 other Portuguese progressive editors, the conference was held to discuss literary cultural cooperation between Portugal and Mozambique.

President Samora Machel and Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano have emphasized that Cuban troops are not necessary in Mozambique to aid Zimbabwean liberation forces. (*Tanzanian Daily News*, March 29, 1976) The Cuban presence in Mozambique has been limited to medical and technical personnel. (*Africa Confidential*, April 16, 1976).

According to the May 6 issue of *Noticias*, Cuban films

are being shown in Mozambique. A delegation from the Cuban Institute of Art and Cinematography held a conference with Mozambican representative counterparts and as a result, films showing the process of the Cuban revolution are being shown in Mozambique.

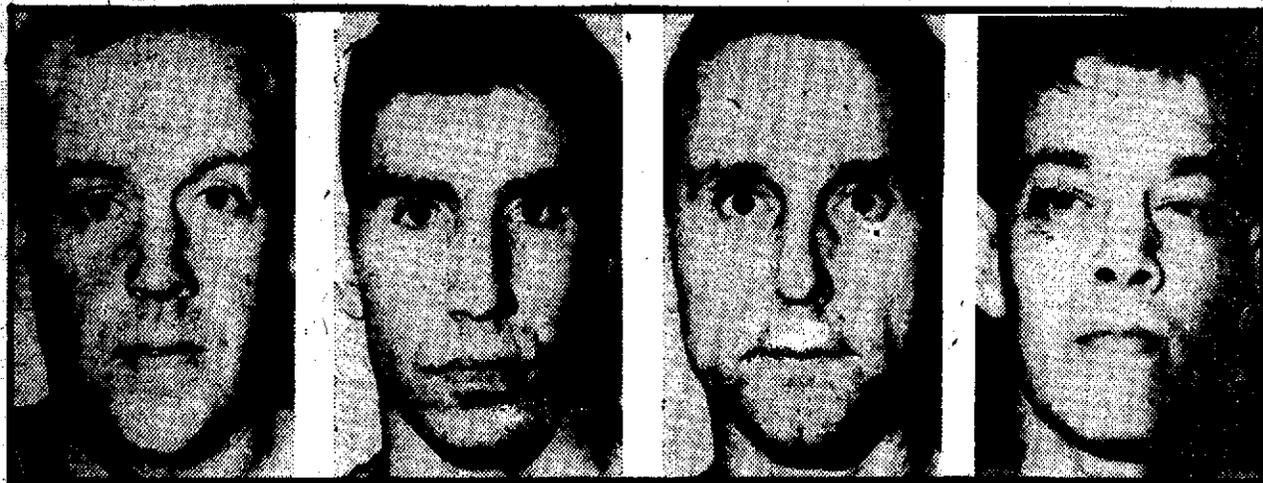
A delegation from the World Health Organization, led by the Provincial Chief of Medicine in Mozambique, has launched an anti-malaria program. Malaria is widespread in Mozambique.

During the month of May, the delegation travelled from province to province, meeting with the people, through local dynamizing groups. After the Provincial Chief explained the presence of the United Nations delegation, blood tests and necessary treatment were given. (*Noticias*, May 1, 1976).

A health resolution passed by the Eighth Session of the Central Committee was released on May 6. It calls for intensive political work in the hospitals, mobilizing all medical personnel with the aim of dissolving elitism and racism and creating a true political unity which is a necessary component for combating disease in Mozambique.

Emphasis is being placed on preventive medicine; bettering sanitary conditions, and controlling contagious diseases (*Noticias*, May 7, 1976).

Angola



Four mercenaries were finally condemned to death, others received prison sentences. Daniel Francis Costa Georgiu John Derek Barker Andrew Gordon McKenzie

ANGOLA: THE MERCENARY TRIAL

Not since the trial of Rolf Steiner, the West German "soldier of fortune," in Khartoum in 1971, has there been an effort to bring mercenaries to justice in Africa. Today the regime in Luanda is leading the way toward ridding Africa of this menace of imperialism and racism. The time has passed when white mercenaries can act with impunity as they did in the Congo in 1961, and the myth of the invincible white mercenary is dead in post-Angolan Africa.

The story of how the mercenaries were recruited to fight in Angola is a familiar one. British men with previous experience in Northern Ireland, Biafra or the Arabian Gulf; French men with prior "service" in Algeria, Yemen or the Congo, and American Vietnam veterans; all unem-

ployed and all recruited by various agents with unspecific links to governmental and business agencies.

Colyn Clifford Evans, one of the British mercenaries on trial, was told by his recruiter (himself a veteran fighter against the nationalist Mau-Mau movement in Kenya in the 1950's), "It is more dangerous to hunt lions than to hunt the blacks." Shortly after Evans arrived in Angola he was captured by the FAPLA troops of the MPLA. Evans was perhaps luckier than the rest; during the meager three week mercenary campaign in northern Angola aiding the CIA-backed FNLA, at least one quarter (more than 100) of the mercenaries in the north were killed and 13 were captured.

More mercenaries are believed to have died in Angola than in all of the African wars in which mercenaries have fought in the past 15 years. (*Liberation News Service*, Report from Luanda; *Washington Post*, June 12, 1976)

Evans is being tried along with eight other Britons, three Americans and the notorious Cypriot-born Costas Georgiou, alias Colonel Tony Callan. The three Americans included two Vietnam vets, Daniel Gearhart and Gary Acker, and an Argentine-born U.S. resident, Gustavo Grillo, a man with reputed underworld connections.

The 13 mercenaries were tried by the newly established People's Revolutionary Tribunal, presided over by Angolan Minister of Justice, Diogenes Boavida.

The mercenaries were charged with crimes against the Angolan people and against humanity, and with criminal acts against the People's Republic of Angola and its territorial integrity. (*Rádio Luanda*, May 28, 1976) In

addition to the five Angolan justices who presided, an International Commission of Inquiry was established to "investigate in depth the phenomenon of mercenaries, seeking the causes and effects, methods of recruitment and activity, with a view towards making proposals to the international community of concrete measures to eradicate this real threat to freedom and independence." The 50 member International Commission was comprised of individuals from Belgium, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Cuba, Brazil, the USA, Canada, Vietnam, Guinea Bissau, Tanzania, Congo (Brazzaville), Cape Verde and included persons such as Beatrice Allende, daughter of slain Chilean President Salvador Allende and Cuban Supreme Court Justice Francisco Yaron. (*Washington*

Post, June 5, 1976) Representatives from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) also took part.

The 13 were charged with mercenary activities which carry the possibility of the death sentence. One of the mercenaries, Callan, is also charged with the execution of 14 other mercenaries who refused to go into combat against an MPLA tank unit for which they were ill-equipped.

The involvement of the CIA was a key feature in both prosecution and defense presentations. For the defense the American mercenaries and others were portrayed as "pawns" in international adventures backed by the CIA and other major intelligence agencies. The prosecution offered concrete evidence. A principal document of the trial was a photocopy of a letter from Daniel Bufkin of Kerman, California, a principal recruiter of American mercenaries for Angola. The letterhead read "Mercenary Forces Group" and directs the U.S. men to their contacts in Kinshasa. The letter warns the mercenaries against trying to reach UNITA, the other western-backed movement saying, "you will bomb out there," explaining that Americans were not accepted there at the time. The letter optimistically alluded to possibilities of contracts for up to 15 years in Rhodesia. (*New York Times*, June 6, 1976) Evidence of Euro-American business financing of the mercenary effort along with allegations of assistance from the CIA, was presented in the fact that mercenaries were paid with fresh \$100 bills, three such bills being paid to each of the approximately 150 mercenaries in northern Angola for a week's work. (*Christian Science Monitor*, June 8, 1976)

Gustavo Grillo, commander of the US troops in northern Angola and responsible for the training of 360 FNLA troops, was quoted as saying, "I knew from the start it was logical that the CIA was behind all of this." Grillo also said he was sure the equipment he used in the northern town of Sao Salvador came from the CIA as well. Grillo's testimony also claimed that US society had bred into him a sense of greed which ultimately led him to fight in Angola for money. (*Observer*, London, 6/13/76)

Colonel Tony Callan, perhaps the most seasoned of the mercenaries, took responsibility for the actions of the paid soldiers under his command.

The trial ended June 18 amid praise from the international community and from the US press for the dignity, respect and decorum displayed by the Angolan tribunal. Attorney Robert Cesner, who defended the two US vets, summed up his defense stating that the US was derelict in its enforcement of its laws against fighting for a foreign force as a mercenary. (*Providence Bulletin*, June 19, 1976) Cesner also blamed the FBI for allowing the men to sign on. "If the defendants were permitted by the FBI to come here, how could they know it was wrong?" Cesner ended with a plea for clemency for the "dregs of humanity" referring to the calibre of men recruited to be mercenaries.

The South African government is believed to be anxious to negotiate for the release of the captured South Africans in southern Angola. The PRA is expected to demand compensation for damage caused by the South African invasion into southern Angola as part of any such agreement. (*Washington Post*, May 5, 1976)

In an editorial, the *Tanzania Daily News* (April 4, 1976) stated that Africa must begin to deal firmly with

the mercenaries and called for the PRA to make an example of the mercenaries now in the hands of the Angolan people.

U.S. JOURNALIST EXPELLED

Angolan authorities expelled Robin Wright, reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Washington Post*. The PRA charged that she had worked for the FNLA and had been named by one of the mercenaries on trial as a former FNLA liaison agent. (*New York Times*, June 9, 1976) Wright claims she was expelled because she refused to testify at the mercenaries' trial because, she claims, she never saw a mercenary in combat. (VOA, June 10, 1976)

ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT

After several months of chilly relations between the People's Republic of Angola and Portugal, Angola severed diplomatic relations on May 18. The MPLA government had previously accused the Lisbon government of giving support to FNLA leaders, adding that Portugal had become the meeting place of reactionary, anti-PRA forces. (*Washington Post*, April 28, 1976) The Angolan government had also held Portugal as irresponsible in not acting firmly after the bombings of the Cuban Embassy in Lisbon and the MPLA office in Oporto. (*Africa News*, May 24, 1976)

As relations with the former colonial power were frozen, ties between the PRA and the Soviet Union warmed. President Agostinho Neto declared during an early April visit to Sao Tomé that the Soviet Union and Cuba are Angola's best friends and that these two countries will continue to provide Angola with aid and cooperation in various fields. (*Granma*, Havana, April 18, 1976)

Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento headed a delegation from the PRA to the Soviet Union on May 23 which was met in Moscow by CPSU Secretary General, Leonid Brezhnev, thus underscoring the importance of the visit. Prime Minister do Nascimento on several occasions expressed the gratitude of the Angolan people for the Soviet assistance during the imperialist-led war of aggression. He referred to the longstanding support of the Soviet Union from the outset of the liberation struggle 15 years ago. (*New York Times*, May 24, 1976) The week-long visit culminated with joint communiques which highlighted prospects for Soviet aid in technical, agricultural and industrial fields. The May 31st communique said the two countries would continue to develop "all-round cooperation" including trade, cultural and scientific agreements as well as cooperation in setting up fisheries. (*New York Times*, June 1, 1976; *Daily World*, June 2, 1976)

Late in May it was confirmed that Cuba would begin to withdraw its troops from Angola at the rate of 200 men per week. Even as the first Cubans were leaving, the two governments laid plans for future cooperative agreements including medical, military and education specialists. Cuba's Ambassador to Angola, Oscar Oramus, has said: "the ties between Cuba and Angola are far more than the classical diplomatic relations." "These relations have been cemented by the blood with which the sons of the Cuban and Angolan people have fertilized the soil of Angola," Prime Minister do Nascimento added. (*Washington Post*, May 26, 1976) It is estimated that 1500, or about 10% of the Cuban forces, died for the cause of Angolan independence from colonialism and imperialism. There are still estimated to be 3000 to 4000 Cuban troops involved in sporadic fighting in Cabinda and southeast Angola where remnants of FLEC and UNITA are still holding out.

Late in April, Raul Castro, First Deputy Prime Minister of Cuba and brother of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, made a private visit to Angola. The visit was not widely publicized and some observers speculate that Raul Castro was preparing for a much desired and long-awaited visit of Fidel Castro to Angola. (*Washington Post*, April 27, 1976)

ZAMBIA RECOGNIZES THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

Zambia, one of the few African countries which had withheld recognition of Angola, announced in April that it had granted full diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of Angola. Zambia, which shares a 600-mile common border with Angola, had been a supporter of the rival UNITA. (*Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1976)

FURTHER INTERNATIONAL TIES ESTABLISHED

The People's Republic of Angola has been admitted to the International Labor Organization. In his speech the Angolan delegate, David Machado, hit South Africa, Portugal, United States and China for "aiding Angola's enemies." (*Star*, Johannesburg, June 5, 1976) Angola also became the 151st member of the World Health Organization after being elected by acclamation at the 29th WHO Assembly in Geneva, and the 154th member of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). (*Daily World*, May 26, 1976) The PRA has also announced plans to join the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Lopo do Nascimento said. (*Tanzania Daily News*, Dar Es Salaam, March 29, 1976)

MPLA CONSOLIDATING MILITARY CONTROL IN FORMER REACTIONARY STRONGHOLDS

Angolan Defense Minister Iko Carreira has stated that remnants of the puppet groups, FLEC and UNITA remained in the provinces of Cabinda, Bie in the north and Malange in central Angola. President Neto accused both Zaire and South Africa of continuing to back armed incursions into Angola. Jonas Savimbi is still said to be directing his UNITA supporters in a "protracted war" against the MPLA, continuing UNITA's historic role of fighting the MPLA in Angola. Savimbi's army is thought to consist of about 100 guerrillas and is understood to be set up at Sessa, west of Gago Coutinho. As yet the MPLA has not made a final, determined effort to oust the remnants of UNITA. According to a South African report the guerrillas are reported to have more than an adequate supply of weapons since most of the stored arms in Kinshasa for the defeated FNLA were flown into southeast Angola for Savimbi. (*Star*, Johannesburg, May 15, 1976)

MPLA is consolidating its support in Huambo, the former "capital" of the bogus FNLA-UNITA government, by restoring water and electricity to all parts of the city and by controlling the food supply, none of which through political rather than military means. (*Radio Maputo*, May 12, 1976)

UNITA was able to do. Defense Minister Carreira stressed that the MPLA strategy to combat these isolated groups is

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Early in May the Angolan government announced the nationalization of 20 Portuguese enterprises, including Angola's main cement and steel producers and several major textile, beer and sugar companies. With the Angolan economy operating at an estimated 20% of its capacity, economic reconstruction is of the highest priority. Wall posters throughout the country remind the people, "There is no political independence without economic independence."

The virtual crippling of the Angolan economy resulted from the mass exodus of some 350,000 Portuguese professional, technical and managerial personnel from Angola and the war which halted production. Gulf Oil in Cabinda, Angola's main source of revenue, is now producing at about 50% of its pre-war capacity and should be back to normal in a few months. (*Washington Post*, May 7, 1976)

Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento announced that the PRA will launch a three-year development plan in 1977 to establish the skeleton structures of a socialist state and another five-year plan to be introduced in 1980. (*AFP*, May 14, 1976) The Prime Minister said in the closing speech at this year's Luanda International Trade Fair that Angola was totally committed to socialism and aimed to become a model socialist state on the African continent.

On the political front, MPLA has again called for the integration of former members of FNLA and UNITA into the task of national reconstruction. In a broadcast to the nation President Neto said, "We must not confuse the battle against reactionaries and ultra-leftists with a battle against a class or a race, and much less with feelings of personal vengeance." He went on to say that "it is crucial that black, white and mestizo be integrated into the new society without any unusual difficulties." (*Tanzania Daily News*, Dar Es Salaam, April 5, 1976)

Maria Da Assuncao Vahekeni has become the first woman to form part of the PRA cabinet. At 25 years of age she heads the recently established Secretariat for Social Affairs of the Council of Ministers. The work of the Secretariat will be primarily concerned with the training of social workers. (*Granma*, Havana, April 18, 1976)

Western contentions that Soviet and Cuban involvement in Angola put the country in danger of communist domination have been sharply disputed by the Methodist Bishop of Angola, Emilio Carvalho. During a visit to the U.S. Carvalho said that Angolan churches were enjoying religious freedom, and no action has been taken against the Catholic Church which always supported the colonial regime. Bishop Carvalho referred to President Agostinho Neto, who is the son of a prominent Methodist minister, stating that while the President no longer attends church, Carvalho said he shows evidence of feeling for his past associations. (*Christian Science Monitor*, March 30, 1976)

Neighbors

ZAMBIA DEPORTS LECTURERS, PLANS TO RE-OPEN UNIVERSITY

The Government of Zambia released four expatriate University of Zambia lecturers from detention on March

28, and immediately ordered them deported from the country. South-African born Robert Molteno, British lecturer Lionel Cliffe, and two Dutch nationals, George Siemsenma and Klous van den Berg, had been held since

mid-February in connection with anti-government agitation at the University, which resulted in the school being shut down. A fifth expatriate teacher, an Italian, Dario Longhi, had been released and deported earlier. No charges were brought against the five.

A Zambian lecturer, Younas Lulat, a journalist, and some 15 students are still being detained by police and have not yet been charged.

All of the detainees had been arrested because of participation in turbulent University demonstrations held at the height of the Angolan civil war. The protestors contended that the Zambian Government had betrayed the African liberation struggle by supporting UNITA—which was backed militarily by South Africa during the war—against MPLA. The Government claimed that foreign—specifically Russian—subversion was behind the turmoil, allegations denied by the detainees.

The Zambian Education Minister, Fwanyanga Mulikita, announced on April 8 that the University would be re-opened in late May. He warned students and staff who are re-admitted to guard against foreign interference and subversive elements, and urged them to foster healthy relations with the Party and Government. "Those who will be deliberately misled will be dealt with and removed from the University," he cautioned. (*Times of Zambia*, Mar. 29, April 1, 1976; *Zambia Daily Mail*, Mar. 29, April 8, 1976)

ZAMBIA ANNOUNCES NEW ZIMBABWE FRONT

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia announced in March that the only remaining solution to the Rhodesian problem is armed force. "Rhodesian whites led by the infamous Rhodesia Front have now only themselves to blame," Kaunda declared, because they had refused to accept "a peaceful transfer of power to the majority of the people." He later indicated that he would permit Zimbabwean guerrillas to operate from bases in Zambian territory, thus opening a new front in the escalating Zimbabwe war. The Rhodesian regime asserted in early

June that fighters had infiltrated into Rhodesia from across the Zambian border, possibly crossing giant Lake Kariba by boat. Salisbury claimed the guerrillas were responsible for sabotaging a small plane at a remote airstrip near the lake. Thus far, however, Lusaka has not confirmed that guerrilla bases are in actual operation.

Kaunda's relations with southern African liberation movements have sometimes been strained. In particular, relations with the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) have been bad over the past few years with scores of ZANU members arrested in Zambia after alleged internal factional conflicts. In March an international commission in Lusaka blamed the murder of ZANU commander Chitepo on factions within ZANU itself, a conclusion accepted by former ZANU head Ndabaningi Sithole but rejected by others in the movement.

In April it was reported that six leaders of the Namibian SWAPO movement were arrested in Lusaka, again because of internal disputes in the organization. (*Zambia Daily Mail* and *Times of Zambia*, Mar. 13; *Observer*, 5/30/76; *Guardian*, London, Apr. 28)

NYERERE'S VISIT TO BONN: TALKS ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA

West Germany is fully in favor of Black majority rule in Rhodesia and independence for Namibia, but opposes violence as a means to that end. Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher conveyed this to President Nyerere of Tanzania when the latter visited West Germany recently. At a news conference at the end of the visit President Nyerere, however, stressed that he saw no possibility that the Rhodesian problem can be solved peacefully. Asked to comment about a possible Cuban role in the Rhodesian crisis, Nyerere implied that the Cuban role will become a possibility if South Africa intervenes in favor of Smith. (*Guardian*, London, May 6, 1976)

at the United Nations

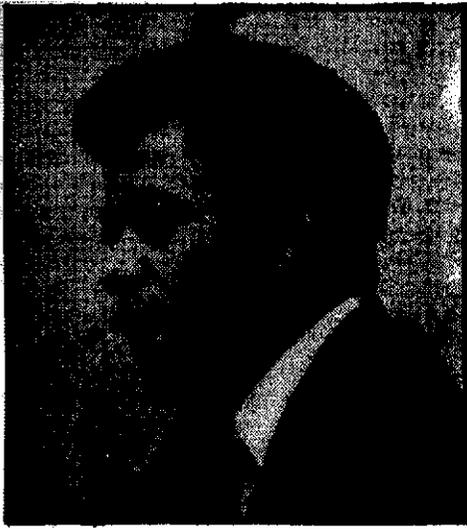
US VETOES UN MEMBERSHIP FOR ANGOLA

On June 23 US representative, Albert W. Sherer, cast the lone negative vote in the Security Council against Angola's application for membership in the UN. Because of the US's power of veto in the Council, Angola's application had to be rejected despite the concurring votes of thirteen Council members. (China refused to participate in the vote).

The US delegation used the veto after trying unsuccessfully to have consideration of Angola's application postponed until August, namely, until after the Republican Convention. Already at the beginning of May, the US had been able to convince the Angolan Government and the African group at the UN to accept a delay. Clearly, the Ford Administration wanted to prevent the Reagan forces from turning Angola into a major issue at a delicate point in the electoral campaign, as they had already threatened to do at the time of the MPLA victory earlier this year. According to the *Washington Post* of May 12, a high Administration source said that US Ambassador to the United Nations, William Scranton, had explained to the Africans that "the issue had become embroiled in the American presidential election campaign." The Ford

Administration, however, issued official denials that political considerations were behind the delay request, its stated position being that the reason lay in the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Calling the veto "a sad moment in the history of the UN," Ambassador Salim of Tanzania pointed out that the US had no legal grounds under the Charter to reject Angola's application. In fact, Art. 4 of the Charter states that "membership in the UN is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." In a 1948 advisory opinion, the International Court of Justice stated that no UN Member was juridically entitled to make its consent to the admission of an applicant State dependent on conditions not expressly provided by Art. 4 of the Charter. Ambassador Alarcon de Quesada of Cuba called the US stand "cynical," pointing out that the US itself has troops and military bases all over the world, including many countries which are members of the UN.

Despite US reassurances that deferring the issue until August "would maximize the chances for positive action by the Council," the Angolan Government and the Afri-



Angolan Ambassador Elisio de Figueiredo addresses UN Security Council following US veto.

can group—supported by other Third World and Socialist members of the Council—decided to press for reconsideration of the issue in June. The reason for their refusal to delay the issue further, despite the expected US veto, was apparently due to a desire to test Kissinger's vaunted "new policy" on Southern Africa at a time when Kissinger was about to meet with Prime Minister Vorster. The Council meeting, in fact, was called a few days before the scheduled talks, and significantly, the US veto came on the same day as the Kissinger-Vorster meeting. African reaction to the Ford Administration's strategy was briefly summed up by Elisio de Figueiredo, Angolan representative at the UN: "The veto today was a vote against all of Africa," he said. "But victory is certain in the end."

It is clear that, as time goes on, the US finds itself increasingly isolated in its opposition to the People's Republic. Recognized by over 100 countries, Angola is now a member of the OAU, and of the non-aligned group; it has been admitted to the World Health Organization and the International Labour Organization (two UN agencies); and its representatives have been warmly welcomed at the recent UN-sponsored "Habitat" Conference in Vancouver. In a diplomatically unorthodox move, Secretary-General Waldheim himself (who is not known for his radical sympathies) expressed his "regret" that the US had vetoed Angola's application. The Western countries and Japan all supported Angola's admission to the UN in the Security Council, although they were willing to go along with the US request for a postponement. Angola's application is expected to be put before the Council again in mid-August (the deadline for final consideration by the General Assembly this year), at which point the US will be very hard pressed to justify its opposition any longer. (UN press release SC/3765; UN document S/12109; *New York Times*, May 13, June 21, 25, 1976; *Washington Post*, May 12, 1976).

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS ON SOUTH AFRICAN UPRISING

The uprising in Soweto and other African townships in South Africa prompted an emergency session of the Security Council at the urgent request of the liberation movements and the African group at the UN. The Council

held two meetings on June 18 and 19, at the end of which it adopted a resolution condemning the South African Government "for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people including schoolchildren and students and others opposing racial discrimination"; reaffirming that "the policy of apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbs international peace and security"; recognizing "the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination"; and calling on the South African Government "urgently to end violence against the African people, and take urgent steps to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination."

The resolution, submitted by a group of Third World and Socialist countries, was intentionally mild in order to obtain a quick consensus in the Council. It was important to the African countries at this stage that the Council act as rapidly as possible and express the world's revulsion against events in South Africa without getting bogged down in a long debate over possible measures against South Africa, which might prompt a veto from the Western powers as in the past. Thus the African countries and the liberation movements had to forego proposing measures under Chapter VII of the Charter—namely, mandatory sanctions—which are one of the few effective actions that the UN could take against South Africa. The wording of the resolution is also carefully hedged on the question of support for the liberation struggle, on the question of whether the situation in South Africa is a "threat to the peace" (a formula which would pave the way for mandatory measures), as well as on whether apartheid is a "crime against humanity," despite countless General Assembly resolutions to this effect.

The Council, however, decided to await further events, indicating that the African group intends to repropose the matter to the Council at some point in the near future,

South African Ambassador Botha addressed the Security Council shortly before it unanimously adopted a resolution condemning South African violence against Africans in Soweto and elsewhere.



perhaps before or during the next General Assembly session, when the political situation in Southern Africa has developed further and after extensive consultations have been carried out concerning possible strategies.

The killings in South Africa were also vehemently condemned in two meetings of the Special Committee against Apartheid, at one of which the Committee heard representatives from several US support groups, including SAC. The Committee issued a statement appealing for international assistance through the UN Trust Fund for South Africa and other agencies for the families of the dead and wounded and for legal assistance to the hundreds arrested. It also called on the UN Development Program and specialized agencies to consider special programs of assistance. Statements condemning the brutal repression in South Africa were also issued by the UN Secretary-General, the Committee of 24 (on Decolonization), and the Council for Namibia. (UN press releases WS/767, GA/AP/572, NAM/233; UN documents S/PV.1929, 1930, and S/RES/392).

ANTI-APARTHEID CONVENTION SCHEDULED FOR JULY

The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid is scheduled to come into operation on July 18, as the twentieth ratification was deposited by Syria on June 19. In a press statement issued on the occasion, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid declared: "This Convention will arm the international community with a new legal instrument in its struggle to eradicate apartheid. It is a warning to the racist regime that its crimes will not go unpunished." (UN press release GA/AP/570).

NIGERIA RECEIVES CHAIRMANSHIP OF ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE

Following the return to Guinea of Jeanne Martin Cissé to take up the post of Minister of Social Affairs, the Special Committee against Apartheid elected the new Nigerian Ambassador, Leslie O. Harriman, as its chairman. Mr. Harriman, who has had a long career in the Nigerian foreign service, is the second Nigerian to serve as chairman of the Committee in less than a year. Nigeria's important position in Africa and its militant new policy in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa since the overthrow of Gen. Gowon last year make it politically very appropriate that it should take the helm of the Committee again at this stage.

ANTI-APARTHEID SEMINAR MEETS IN HAVANA

A four-day international seminar "on the eradication of apartheid and in support of the struggle for liberation in South Africa" recently concluded its deliberations by issuing a Program of Action and specific recommendations for increasingly strong pressure on South Africa's apartheid regime. Sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid in consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), this year's seminar was held in Havana, Cuba, from the 24th to the 28th of May. It was attended by some 200 representatives of Governments, inter-governmental organizations, trade unions, international non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, liberation movements, and UN specialized agencies.

Participants in the Special Committee's previous seminars, held annually, tended to agree that this year's gathering (with the highest attendance ever) reflected the

new sense of immediacy and urgency present in the southern African situation itself. With the independence of Mozambique and Angola and the intensification of conflict in Zimbabwe, there is increasing pressure on the apartheid government of South Africa to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia and to abandon white minority control over the black majority of South Africa. Moreover, the location of the seminar, in Havana, provided an atmosphere charged with the significance of Cuba's role in turning back the South African invasion of Angola. Cuba is the first Latin American country to host the UN anti-apartheid seminar and to a greater degree than in past seminars, Latin American and Caribbean countries were represented and spoke out in a manner suggesting an increased interest in the apartheid question in that part of the world.

On the last day of the seminar, a Final Declaration reflecting three days of intense deliberation and debate was issued. In particular, the Declaration pointed to South African aggression in Angola and Namibia, growing military build-up and integration with major Western powers, and, in the face of these realities, the right of the African liberation movements to pursue armed struggle and to seek and receive international support. The Declaration condemned all military, political, and economic collaboration with the South African government and also condemned the apartheid plan to confer a "sham independence" on the Transkei in October of this year as a part of the bantustan policy.

In addition to the Declaration, a Program of Action was issued, which deals with specific recommendations for the following: 1) implementing and extending a successful arms embargo against South Africa; 2) ending all economic collaboration with the apartheid regime, as well as potential investment in the border industries and Bantustans; 3) the coordination of trade union efforts and actions against apartheid; 4) counteracting the heavily financed propaganda campaigns of the South African government; and 5) increasing the efforts of international sporting bodies to isolate South Africa from all sporting competition, including the creation of a U.N. International Convention on Apartheid in Sport that would impose sanctions on sporting teams, organizations, and individuals competing in sports activities involving South African participation.

Other topics covered in the Program of Action included Namibia, Assistance to Liberation Movements, Assistance to the so-called "Front Line" states bordering South Africa, and the issue of political prisoners.

In conclusion, the seminar called upon H.E. Mr. Leslie O. Harriman of Nigeria, Chairman of the Seminar and of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid to transmit both the Declaration and the Program of Action to the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, to the OAU, to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, to the specialized agencies of the UN, and to numerous other international organizations opposed to apartheid. ■

U.S. and Southern Africa

IMPLEMENTATION OF KISSINGER POLICY

Carrots for South Africa

Nearly two months after Secretary of State Kissinger's Lusaka speech, [Southern Africa, June-July 1976] the major thrust of current US policy in southern Africa is amply clear. The rioting of outraged South Africans in June disproved the assertions from both the South African and United State Governments that South Africa is a stable country which will wait for "evolution toward equality of opportunity and basic human rights." Nevertheless, South Africa is seen by the US as the least of western problems in southern Africa, and as the key to helping to find moderate solutions to the impending crises in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

After the Secretary's Africa trip, the US is now making its most public overtures toward South Africa in two decades. At the end of June, Kissinger and South African Prime Minister Vorster met in West Germany for what the State Department termed "exploratory talks" but which South Africa hailed as a major breakthrough in their supposed isolation from the west. Following the talks, Kissinger issued only a vague statement that "a process is in motion" to produce a negotiated solution and avoid a racial war in southern Africa, and to date, more specific details of the talks remain undisclosed. Prior to the meetings, the main topics on the agenda had been given as finding a solution to the Rhodesian crisis and accelerating the "independence" of Namibia. The relatively sophisticated Nationalist rulers of South Africa have realized for some time—certainly since the Portuguese coup—that they could not defend Rhodesia and Namibia indefinitely, and have been moving toward trying to impose moderate solutions there.

In spite of the fact that these moves are in South Africa's own interests as it tries to establish "detente" with independent Africa, the United States appears to be planning to reward South Africa for being its partner in finding a "solution" in Rhodesia and Namibia. There are several "carrots" that Kissinger could offer Vorster at their June meeting: expanded Export-Import Bank sup-

port for South African transactions, further loosening of the arms embargo, recognition of the Transkei in November, or assisting South Africa in the World Bank and the IMF.

Kissinger had told the House International Relations Committee on June 17 that he was not planning to make any concessions to Vorster during the talks, but, in fact, some concessions are already being offered. The rationale for this approach was clearly laid out by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Blake in an exchange with Senator Dick Clark on May 27. Blake was specifically supporting the sale of nuclear reactors and fuel to South Africa in this hearing. (The contract for the first reactor was subsequently granted to a French consortium, but the State Department is hoping that South Africa will still import the fuel from the U.S. [see South African Economics Section]). In this exchange Blake noted that "South Africa's co-operation and understanding [are now] important to us in endeavoring to achieve the objectives the Secretary outlined in his Lusaka speech" and went on to say:

"I find it somewhat contradictory to expect us to play any constructive role in our relations with South Africa on these issues . . . if we do not have a continuing dialogue and some positive aspects in our relations with South Africa."

The first such "positive aspect" for South Africa upon Kissinger's return from Africa was the above-mentioned nuclear deal, which the Government seemed willing to license. The Export-Import Bank had also made a preliminary commitment to guarantee the deal in the amount of \$200 million [See South African Foreign Relations]. The second favor was a special, late invitation from Kissinger to the South African Navy to send a frigate to a massive July 4 naval review. It is the first time a South African naval vessel has visited the US. (*Johannesburg Star*, May 22)

Of more substantive importance is the growing support being given to economic transactions with South Africa by the Export-Import Bank. Sources on Capitol Hill are

John Vorster and Henry Kissinger—a friendly meeting in West Germany



expecting notification shortly from the Ex-Im Bank of approval of a guarantee of at least \$225 million for Fluor Corporation of California to construct Sasol II, a large state-owned coal gasification plant in South Africa. If this guarantee is granted, it would almost double Export-Import Bank exposure in South Africa overnight. This loan would not only illustrate the confidence of the US government that white rule will last in South Africa for the next dozen years so that the loans will be repaid, but also gives assistance to the South African regime in their strategically important endeavor to become self-sufficient in energy.

Vacillations on Byrd Amendment Repeal

Probably the single most important symbolic issue by which independent African countries have judged US support for minority rule has been the continued existence of the Byrd amendment allowing the US to violate sanctions against Rhodesia. For this reason, Kissinger had to pledge to work for repeal of the amendment in his April 27th Lusaka speech. But for an equally strong reason, namely Ford's unanticipated difficult battle against Reagan for the Republican nomination, the White House has not followed through on the Secretary's commitment in Washington. Senate staff members suggest that the White House might be prepared to give the minimal support that would be needed to break a filibuster and pass a repealer in the Senate, where similar action was taken before at the end of 1974. But a pessimistic article in the May 11 *Washington Post* suggests that no efforts have been made in the House—where they would be necessary for a successful repeal effort. The *Post* quoted senior Republicans who have historically been staunch supporters of the Byrd provision, indicating that none of them is yet prepared to change his position.

Angola Veto

For the same political reasons, the Ford Administration has taken a very hard line against recognition of the People's Republic of Angola and vetoed Angola's admission to the UN in the Security Council (see UN section).

Now You Have It, Now You Don't

The Administration has vacillated on another key question raised in the Lusaka speech—compensatory aid to Mozambique for its implementation of Rhodesian sanctions. In one of the most specific points of that speech, Kissinger committed the US to give \$12.5 million to Mozambique for this purpose, from already authorized funds. In Congress, an amendment to the military aid bill by Senator Clark for \$25 million for southern African countries "affected by the crisis in that region" was strongly opposed by conservatives who wanted to ensure that none of it would find its way to "Africa's first communist country"—Mozambique. In the Senate, the Administration left the fight to the liberals, who gave in to amendments from Alabama Senator Allen restricting any aid to Mozambique until one American missionary was released from detention, but then cut out that stipulation in conference. In the House, however, the Administration did get two senior Republicans to give the \$25 million their support, so the Administration would not be accused of failing to back up its small but specific Lusaka pledge.

Arms for Friends

One other major thrust of the new US "interest" in

Africa which was rarely alluded to during the Secretary's public pronouncements in Africa is arms sales to black Africa. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld flew to Africa in June to continue arms discussions started by Kissinger in Kenya and Zaire. As a result, Kenya will likely purchase 12 F-5 fighter planes, worth about \$75 million, and Zaire will probably get antitank and other land defense equipment worth around \$50 million. Both of these sales will require Congressional approval. The Defense rationale for the sales is ironic, though all too familiar—"nations of this continent should be free from foreign force"—by which the US means the Soviet Union, not itself. (*New York Times*, June 18)

MOBIL ACCUSED OF BREAKING RHODESIAN SANCTIONS

The People's Bicentennial Commission has awarded the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ a prize of \$10,000 for producing evidence that Mobil Oil Company based in the US and/or its officers may have been guilty of breaking sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian regime by supplying it over a ten year period with most of its requirements for gasoline, diesel fuel, aviation gas and lubricants.

In a dramatic press conference held at Washington's Statler Hilton on June 21st PBC director Jeremy Rifkin handed over a check to the Rev. Laroid Schulz of the Center and at the same time revealed the contents of a 50 page report outlining how oil has been getting through to keep white rule alive in Rhodesia. The report was based on information and documents which had been passed to the Center by Okhela, a clandestine organization of "white South African patriots who, as militants, are engaged in providing invisible support to the National Liberation struggle, headed by the African National Congress of South Africa." Okhela had gathered the material during a period of intensive and secret research with infiltration and intelligence work lasting over a year in South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Britain, the Netherlands and the United States.

According to the report Mobil (Rhodesia) was asked in the mid-sixties by a secret Rhodesian government agency called Genta to set up a "paper chase" of intermediary companies, many of which were bogus, through which Genta could import all of Rhodesia's gasoline and diesel requirements from Mobil (South Africa). A confidential memorandum within Mobil (Rhodesia), reproduced in the report, stated:

"When orders for lubricants and solvents are placed on our South African associates [i.e. Mobil (South Africa)], a carefully planned 'paper-chase' is used to disguise the final destination of these products. This is necessary in order to make sure that there is no link between MOSA [Mobil (South Africa)] and MOSR's [Mobil (Rhodesia)'s] supplies. . . .

This 'paper chase' which costs very little to administer is done primarily to hide the fact that MOSA is in fact supplying MOSR with product in contravention of U.S. Sanctions Regulations. . . ."

The report alleges that while Mobil was assigned the task of supplying most of Rhodesia's gasoline, diesel and aviation turbine fuel, other companies such as Shell, B.P., Total and Caltex supplied other oil products. Mobil (South Africa) and Mobil (Rhodesia) used Freight Services

Ltd., a shipping and forwarding company based in Johannesburg to help set up the "paper chase" by inventing such bogus companies as Minerals Exploration, Ltd., Rand Oils Ltd. and Western Transvaal Development and Exploration Company.

Both Rifkin and Schulz called on the Congress, the Treasury and Justice Departments to commence an immediate investigation to see whether Mobil or the officers of Mobil (South Africa) who are U.S. citizens are guilty of violating U.S. sanctions regulations issued under the authority of the United Nations Participation Act. Violations of such regulations are punishable by fines of up to \$10,000, or, imprisonment for not more than ten years or both. Any officer, director or agent of a corporation who knowingly participates in such violations can also be punished in the same way.

Rifkin pointed out that Kissinger would in two days' time be talking to Vorster in Bavaria in order, among other things, to get him to enforce sanctions but that he could have saved himself the trouble if he had caught the Metroliner to New York to talk to Mobil.

The chances of inducing the Ford Administration to prosecute Mobil are rather dim. While sanction regulations apply to Rhodesian subsidiaries of US companies, the Treasury Department has administratively taken the position that the Rhodesian subsidiaries are not liable for

actions which are "controlled or mandated" by the Rhodesian regime. Furthermore, South African subsidiaries such as Mobil (South Africa) are deemed not persons "within the jurisdiction of the United States" for purposes of the sanctions regulations." However, it is illegal for goods of US origin to find their way to Rhodesia. It is also not at all clear that Mobil Rhodesia was compelled to deal solely through Genta. In the case of lubricants it dealt apparently with intermediaries other than Genta. Another avenue of approach would be the culpability of such US citizens as Everett S. Checket, Executive Vice President of the International Division of Mobil, the person to whom the Chairman of Mobil (South Africa) and (Rhodesia), Mr. William Beck, has to report.

In response to the accusations, Mobil denied that it had violated US sanctions regulations. Only time will tell whether a prosecution can be sustained. But meanwhile, a damaging blow had been struck to the political credibility of the United States adherence to the UN sanctions program. Thanks to the laxity of US enforcement procedures, it now appears that a US multinational corporation has been supplying Rhodesia for some ten years with petroleum products which are the lifeblood of the Rhodesian economy. ■

u.s. action news and notes

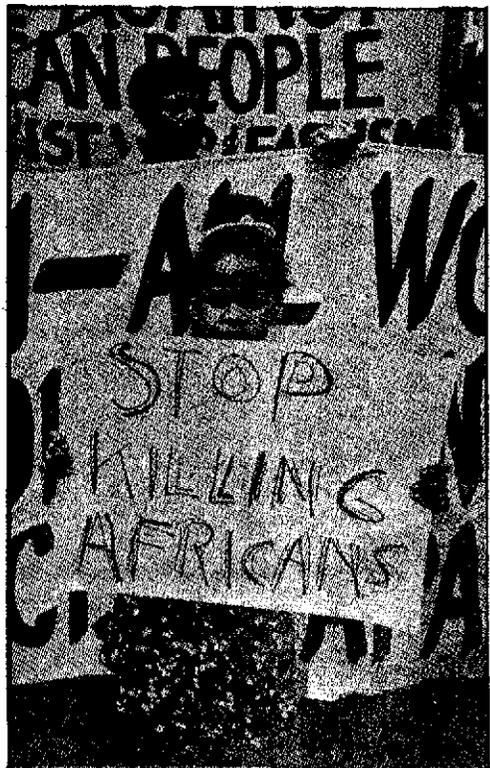
PROTEST SOWETO MASSACRE

Two men ripped apart the offices of SA airlines in New York, and someone bombed the SA embassy in Washington, in response to the massacres of hundreds of Africans in Soweto the end of June. Thousands of Black and White Americans took to the streets in protest in cities around the country.

In New York, major demonstrations occurred on Saturday, June 19 and on Wednesday noon June 23 outside the offices of the South African Mission to the U.N., called by the Pan African Students Organization and the American Committee on Africa, respectively. 1,000 persons attended both, the latter featuring a rally across from the U.N. with labor, community and liberation movement speakers. 300 persons attended a rally at a Harlem church Friday evening, June 25 sponsored by the Southern Africa Freedom Day Committee with numerous endorsers. The program featured the ambassadors from Mozambique & Angola and African liberation movement representatives. Reports reaching *Southern Africa* before press time indicated major demonstrations in San Francisco June 23, in Boston and in Chicago June 26 called by PUSH, in Washington, DC June 26 and in Boston, in Madison June 23 attended by 80 persons, radio presentations and a forum sponsored June 29 at Syracuse University.

notes

The South African frigate President Kruger, participated in the Bicentennial celebrations in New York harbor July 3, receiving a late invitation approved by the State Department, thus violating the U.S. arms embargo of South Africa, and making a mockery of the celebrations. South African armed forces were also aboard the Chilean clipper Esmeralda, which participated in "Operation Sail"



In New York hundreds of demonstrators protest South African brutality (Guardian photo)

July 4. The Esmeralda was used as a torture chamber following the military coup of the Allende government. The American Committee on Africa and the Chile Solidarity Committee jointly sponsored a plane flying over the ships July 5 pulling a banner reading "Free South Africa & Chile: Stop the Kruger & Esmeralda". (ACOA memo)

The General Secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, Bishop James Rausch, issued April 7 an open letter to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger urging the government to "proclaim to the world that the U.S. intends, in this bicentennial year, to put the full weight of its influence on the side of freedom rather than repression in southern Africa." The letter notes that "the liberation movements are legitimate expressions of the people's desire for human rights" in southern Africa, and urges among other things that the Administration "discourage U.S. business and investment in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa." (letter)

American Friends Service Committee southern Africa representative William Sutherland returned to the U.S. for extensive speaking engagements with Quaker and other groups around the country this spring. Recently, the AFSC has produced an extensive "Action Guide on Southern Africa" as part of its non-violent training program. The 25 page guide covers action ideas, suggested steps, and resource groups (see Resources section for ordering information.).

June 1 the Bay Area Namibia Action Group held a picket outside the South African Consulate, protesting the death sentences for two Namibians (see Namibia section). They report handing a petition to the SA consul who "could barely get out 5 civil words." The group also reports harrasing the president of Standard Oil of California at the annual meeting May 11 concerning SoCal's purchase of 30% in AMAX, co-owner in Tsumeb Copper in Namibia; circulating an alert to 200 persons on the death sentencing, and participating in the day-long African Liberation celebrations in Oakland May 29 as well as the July 4th "parade" as part of the Southern Africa Coalition in the Bay Area. (report).

The African Liberation Support Committee of Hanover, New Hampshire has sent a letter of solidarity to the United Rubber Workers on strike in the U.S. The Committee notes that "Since our Committee has urged U.S. workers to support the African peoples in their just struggles (in southern Africa) we deem it just and necessary to support the striking rubberworkers against the common enemy of the working people, poor and oppressed people—the multinational corporations." (letter)

The Gulf Boycott Coalition of Dayton, OH has reformulated itself into the South African Boycott Committee, and is seriously considering launching a boycott of ITT for its involvement in South Africa. Address: P.O. Box 123, Dayton OH 45406. (newsletter)

The French Corporation which recently won the billion dollar contract from South Africa to build nuclear reactors, Franatome, is 15% owned by Westinghouse Electric Corporation. The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility suggests that letters be sent to Robert E. Kirby, Chairman, Westinghouse, Pittsburgh, PA 15222 or call (412) 255-3800. (memo)

Allan Cooper and Jeff Engler of the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa help prepare a biweekly news program on Africa for the local radio station WORT-FM at the Wisconsin university town. They are

preparing stories on such topics as "IBM's role in South Africa and the CIA's involvement in Angola." (MACSA News, 4/76).

The Committee for a Free Mozambique sponsored an educational evening of solidarity with the People's Republic of Mozambique to honor the 1st anniversary of the nation June 23 attended by 75 persons at the Church Center for the UN in New York. Mozambique ambassador Carlos Lobo, filmmaker Bob Van Lierop and Ruth Minter, recently returned teacher in Mozambique, spoke.

The DC area SA task force of the United Church of Christ has begun a clothing drive for Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique, contacting local churches for contributions. They also raised \$400 for legal investigation of the disappearance of attorney Edson Sithole, former publicity secretary of Bishop Muzorewa's ANC inside Rhodesia. They have produced a two page sheet on "'Independence' for the Transkei: What it Really Means" (minutes)

The Patrice Lumumba Coalition sponsored a "Conference of Pan African Patriots" May 14-16 in Westchester, NY to devise a black nationalist common strategy for supporting the total liberation of southern Africa. Groups represented supported the MPLA in second war of liberation in Angola (Guardian, 6/2/76)

5,000 persons attended the African Liberation Day Rally in Washington, DC called by the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party. In addition to New York, May 1 Anti-Apartheid Day rallies were also held in Chicago and Norfolk, VA (Billalian News) (see Southern Africa, June-July '76)

SOUTHERN AFRICA RALLY IN HARLEM

More than 500 people gathered at a church in Harlem on June 25th for a rally in solidarity with southern Africa. The rally was originally planned to commemorate the first anniversary of Mozambique's independence and celebrate the founding of the People's Republic of Angola. The recent massacre in Soweto added a special significance to the event. The rally was sponsored by the Committee for Southern Africa Freedom Day, a black coalition representing several groups.

Speakers included Tonata Emvula, a SWAPO representative and a member of the Namibian Women's Organization; Alex Shaw of Local 420, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Anthony Montiero, Executive secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation; Callistus Ndolovu, representative of the African National Council, Zimbabwe; Diane Lacey, of the Sydenham Coalition; Dean James Malone of the City University of New York; Louise Patterson and representatives of several black elected officials.

The main address was scheduled to be given by Duma Nokwe, a member of the Executive Council of the ANC, South Africa. But because of difficulties in obtaining a visa, Mr. Nokwe was unable to reach New York until after the rally.

ANGOLA SUPPORT CONFERENCE HELD

Approximately seventy people representing various groups involved in work on Southern Africa across the country met in Chicago on May 28 for a three day conference on Angola. One of the primary reasons for the conference was to devise means for providing political and material support for the People's Republic of Angola by

people in this country. It also served as an educational session for those interested in hearing first hand accounts of what Angola is like today. The conference was sponsored by members of the American delegation to the February 26 Angola Seminar in Havana.

The Angola Support Conference convened on Friday night with Congressman John Conyers giving the main address on "US Policy in Africa". His speech emphasized that although the US is often thought to have no African policy, it does in fact have a very negative policy. Congressman Conyers also announced that at the Democratic Convention he would nominate a black Democrat for the presidency who he felt would give America's Africa policy more prominence. Congressman Conyers' talk was followed by a panel discussion of the US policy toward Africa by Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa, Ted Lockwood of the Washington Office on Africa, and Robert Van Lierop, film maker.

Saturday's session was divided between talks by the Angola delegation and workshops. The People's Republic of Angola was represented by Miguel Neto who is the representative of the PRA to Egypt and the Middle East; Assoncao Vaikene, the Secretary of State for Social Affairs; Maria Candida Lopez and Maria Eugenia Santos of

the Department of Social Services. Each of the speakers told of the devastation in Angola caused by the war and the urgent need in Angola for all types of material aid. They told of bridges which were destroyed, factories and machines sabotaged, returning refugees with no homes to return to, a critical shortage of doctors, and thousands of widows and orphaned children to be cared for.

The significance of Angola's victory for other southern Africa liberation groups was discussed by James Moyo and Davis M'Gabe, two Zimbabweans and Rhodes Gxoyia and Wardele Kuse of South Africa. This panel discussion was followed by four workshops. Workshop topics were Material Assistance, Medical Assistance, Information and Dispelling Myths and Recognition and Political Support. Preliminary proposals for action in each of these areas were developed.

Final details for implementation was made the responsibility of an on-going co-ordinating committee. This committee which is scheduled to meet again soon, is made up of several of the original organizations. The composition of the co-ordinating committee is intended to insure the participation of more black groups and groups whose primary activity may not involve southern Africa. ■

resources

PUBLICATIONS:

The Soviets in Africa: Fiction and Fact, by Susan Rogers. An excellent four-page pamphlet aiming to "separate fiction from fact with regard to Soviet presence on the continent, and African attitudes toward that presence." Available from The Africa Fund (305 E. 46th Street, New York, New York 10017) as part of their Southern Africa Perspectives series. Price: 15¢ per copy, 10¢ for orders over ten.

Apartheid: A Threat to Peace, by Abdul S Minty, honorary secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London. A pamphlet which provides up-to-date information on South Africa's defense strategy and details of the South African regime's military links with NATO powers. Available from the Anti-Apartheid Movement (89 Charlotte Street, London, W1P 2 D Q). Price: 50¢ per copy.

Congressional Voting Record on Southern African Issues. A pamphlet showing the voting records of US Senators and Congresspeople on key votes relating to southern Africa, including those on Rhodesian sanctions, US intervention in Angola, the South African sugar quota, etc. Available from the Washington Office on Africa (110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington D.C. 20002). Price: 25¢ each for 1-10 copies; 20¢ each for 11-50 copies; 15¢ each for 50 copies and above.

Speech made by Prime Minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz, on the 15th anniversary of Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs), April 19, 1976. Discusses the Angolan war and, in particular, the circumstances of Cuba's aid to the Angolan people under the MPLA. Available from The Venceremos Brigade (GPO Box 3169, New York, New York 10001). Available also from the MPLA Solidarity Committee (P.O. Box 549, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025).

Victory in Angola! A tabloid which "exposes the real history of the FNLA and UNITA, deals with the key

questions in international aid for the MPLA, delineates the history of U.S. imperialism's attempts to crush the Angolan liberation struggle led by the MPLA, and gives a concise outline of the national liberation movement since its inception in 1956." Put out by and available from the Angola Solidarity Coalition (P.O. Box 756, Berkeley, California 94701). Price 25¢ each for individual copies; 10¢ each for bulk orders.

Reports put out by the Minority Rights Group in England:

The Africans' Predicament in Rhodesia (Revised 1973 edition). Price: \$1.00. **The Namibians of South-West Africa**. Price: \$1.50. Both of these available from the Minority Rights Group (Benjamin Franklin House, 36 Craven Street, London WC2N 5NG).

Action Guide on Southern Africa. Booklet containing ideas for actions concerning southern Africa, with a complete listing of resources and organizations. Put out and distributed by the American Friends Service Committee. (Write PED—Resources, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102). Price: 50¢.

African Youth. Newsletter of the African Youth Movement for Liberation and Unity. Contains articles of interest on all of Africa, including southern Africa. The April, 1976 issue (vol. 1, No. 2), for example, contains an in-depth analysis by Robert Molteno of the role of North American academics in southern Africa. Subscriptions available from African Youth Movement (c/o Department of Sociology, SUNY, Binghamton, New York 13901). Annual subscription rates: \$3 for African workers and students, \$5 for other friends, and \$10 for institutions.

Biweekly Newsletter of the African National Council-Zimbabwe Liberation Council. Put out by the North

American Branch of the Muzorewa wing of the ANC. Available from ANC-ZLC, North American Branch (159 West 33 Street, Suite 805, New York, New York 10001). Donations requested: \$7-\$10 for one year, \$14-\$20 for two years, volunteer labor in lieu of financial donation. Checks payable to: ANC-Treasurer.

CALENDARS, POSTCARDS, PRINTS, GREETING CARDS, STATIONERY

Africa Liberation Calendar, 1977. Calendar highlights photos from the dynamic "people's power movement" in Angola and documents recent SWAPO activities in Namibia. Price: \$2.50, 15% off for early orders. **Africa Liberation Calendar, 1976** is available for only \$.60. This calendar will keep you informed, month by month, of recent and historic events in the African and world revolution. Four colorful postcards from socialist struggles around the world—Vietnam, the Middle East, and Africa.

Price: Set of four: 60¢. Prints by artist Selma Waldman depicting people in struggle and liberation. Price for a mounted 9" x 12" print: \$2.50. Greeting cards with four popular photos and drawings, and quotes such as "We are the people in arms," "We must strengthen the people's power." Price: Packet of ten with envelopes \$1.50. Two lively sets of stationary express solidarity with women's emancipation and the MPLA-led "People's Power Movement" in Angola, one with the words "Women hold up half the sky!", the other with the words "International Solidarity with MPLA!" Price: Fifteen letterhead with envelopes: \$1.50. All these available from LSM Information Center (P.O. Box 94338, Richmond, B.C. Canada V6Y 2A8). ■

book reviews

The Rise of Afrikanerdom, by T. Dunbar Moodie. Berkeley: University of California Press, (1975). 328 pages, \$11.00.

Afrikaner Politics in South Africa, 1934-1948, by Newell M. Stultz. Berkeley: University of California Press, (1974). 200 pages, \$8.00.

The Rise of Afrikanerdom by T. Dunbar Moodie (who holds a chair in Sociology at the University of Witwatersand, South Africa) is an important book. It is important because Moodie has given us a view from the inside—so to speak—on the rise of the Afrikaner nation.

A large part of Moodie's book is a polemic against the English whom he sees as the major problem the Afrikaans faced in the creation of their "promised land", which Moodie regards as bequeathed to them by God.

As the subtitle, "Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion" indicates, Moodie makes much of the fact that there was this instinctual calling imbued with the doctrine of John Calvin. It is, we are told, under the leadership of Paul Kruger that Calvinism was instituted as an integral part of the Afrikaner civil religion. Moodie spends one whole chapter discussing the importance of Calvinism in the development of the Republic of South Africa.

Whereas Calvinism is of great importance to the understanding of Afrikanerdom, Moodie does not bring into his book the conflict (which is a much too gentle word) that arose *not* between the Dutch and English, but between the Afrikaners and the Zulus, Xhosa, Basuto, Bapedi, Shangaan, Swazi, Ndebele and other African people who inhabited South Africa long before Europeans settled there. A history written on the rise of Afrikanerdom must also deal with the history of the African people themselves or the picture that is drawn is if not outright false at least severely one-sided.

This is what Moodie has given us: a one-sided, subjective view of Afrikanerdom as if an Afrikanerdom could have come into being minus the interconnectiveness of the African people. He is content to throw in a few liberal words near the end of the book but the intent masks the book's true essence.

The underlying theme of *The Rise of the Afrikanerdom* is in Moodie's own words, to "provide the reader with an ideal typical exposition of the Afrikaner civil faith. This civil faith is grounded in the Afrikaner sacred history. . ."

As sacred as Moodie would like us to believe this history was, it was in fact a history of subjugation and exploitation of the African people who long before European contact carried on production in a fertile land, conducted intra-nation trade and were involved in military struggles among themselves.

Any one interested in understanding the history of South Africa and therefore the history of Afrikanerdom will not feel too comfortable with Moodie's analysis. The dialectics of the whole relationship between Africans and Afrikaners is not separable, that is to say, to tell the story of the Afrikanerdom (who are descendants of Dutch and French settlers) is *not* to take as given the relationship as it exists today, but to develop logically and historically answers to questions of "why" things are the way they are today. Moodie fails to do this.

Newell M. Stultz's book, *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa 1934-1948*, follows along the same lines as Moodie's. Stultz, professor of political science at Brown University, says his overall concern is that of political integration "between the two white language groups" who he sees from this integrative position in a better position to govern South Africa. One of his major conclusions is that this did not happen.

Those readers interested in getting around the academic confines of the Stultz analysis should read the book starting with chapter seven. It is here that Stultz begins a vivid account of Afrikaner politics in the period 1934-1948.

The Epilogue (chapter nine) brings the book up to 1970 offering a connectory on many diverse topics from white unity to the stand of anti-communism.

Earl Smith
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Conn.

update

PROTESTS CONTINUE IN SOUTH AFRICA TOWNSHIPS

The uprising in Soweto and other Johannesburg townships that took place in late June and left hundreds of Africans dead has been followed by further protests, including the assassination of a government official in his office by two Africa men.

In the wake of the incident the Government decided to keep African schools closed indefinitely—a move that has further angered black township residents. Protest meetings planned by the pupils' parent were banned by Police Minister Kruger, who also invoked the preventive detention clause in the country's new Internal Security Act.

KISSINGER, VORSTER SEEK SECOND MEETING

Secretary of State Kissinger is continuing his diplomatic efforts aimed at a moderate solution to the problems of southern Africa.

In early July he dispatched his Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, William Schauffele, to six African capitals, including several countries deeply involved in supporting the guerrilla campaign in Rhodesia. In addition, despite the continuing racial tensions in South Africa, Kissinger himself is reportedly planning a second meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster. Sources say the meeting will most likely take place this month in Iran, a country with close ties to both Washington and Pretoria.

At the first meeting between Kissinger and Vorster, held in June in a Bavarian resort town in West Germany, Kissinger reportedly urged South African pressure on Rhodesia's white regime to allow black participation.

RHODESIA ATTACKS MOZAMBIKAN TOWN

Rhodesian Security Forces launched their deepest penetration yet into Mozambique on June 26, attacking the town of Mapai, some 60 miles from the border.

The combined air and land attack on Mapai was led by the former Portuguese proprietor of the Ngala Transport Company, which is headquartered in the town. Sixteen civilians and three Mozambican soldiers were killed.

Mapai had served to house refugees from Pafuri, a border town attacked by Rhodesian troops in February.

A July 3rd rally in Maputo, the Mozambique capital, reaffirmed support for the Zimbabwean guerrillas fighting against the Smith regime. Over \$200,000 was handed over from the Mozambique Solidarity Bank to the Zimbabwe nationalists, and a comparable sum was designated for the reconstruction of Mapai.

ANGOLAN MERCENARIES EXECUTED

Angola's revolutionary tribunal sentenced nine American and British mercenaries captured in the final days of the civil war to prison terms of varying lengths, and ordered the execution of four of the defendants, including American Daniel Gearhart. The death sentences were carried out by firing squad in Luanda after President Neto rejected clemency appeals from the U.S. and Britain.

American mercenary recruiter David Bufkin, however, says the fate of the Angolan soldiers of fortune has not hurt business. Bufkin claims that in fact the executions have spurred a number of people to volunteer to fight in Angola with the still-active guerrilla bands of FNLA and UNITA.

Angolan officials admit that there are continuing FNLA incursions in the north, as well as a UNITA campaign in the south-central part of the country. And a separatist group, FLEC, has launched several attacks in the northern enclave of Cabinda.

MOBIL INVESTIGATES RHODESIAN CONNECTION

Mobil Oil Corporation says it is investigating charges that its South African subsidiary violated United Nations sanctions and sold oil to Rhodesia.

Investigations of Mobil are also under way at the Treasury Department and the United Nations. The U.N. special committee reviewing the case heard testimony from members of an underground group of white South Africans who support the African National Congress of South Africa, called Okhela, who gathered the information about Mobil's alleged Rhodesian ties.

ZIMBABWEANS DETAINED IN ZAMBIA

Lionel Cliff, a British-born lecturer who was detained in Zambia for alleged subversive activity and then expelled from the country, says over 50 leaders and cadres of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) have been detained in Zambian prison without trial.

According to Cliff, these include five of the seven surviving members of the military command that had been responsible for the Northeastern front attacks that were mounted from Mozambique starting in 1972.

Zambia claims the men were involved in the assassination of ZANU Chairman Herbert Chitepo in April 1975. The detainees maintain they were jailed because Zambia wanted them out of the way during the detente exercise with South Africa.

ANGOLA REJECTED ON U.N. APPLICATION

The United States has vetoed Angola's second request for admission to the United Nations General Assembly—a move that brought criticism of U.S. Africa policy from several key African states, such as Nigeria and Tanzania.

Angola's Ambassador to the U.N. Elisio Figueiredo, dismissed U.S. objections to the Cuban troop presence in Angola—the stated reason for the veto—as an attempt by the U.S. to dictate Angolan domestic policy.

NAMIBIA SENTENCES RECONSIDERED

The Supreme Court in South Africa-controlled Namibia has reopened the case of the two men sentenced to death for alleged collaboration with SWAPO guerrillas. The men had been convicted of providing "a vehicle used by terrorists" that were suspected of killing tribal chief Filemon Elifas. The reopening of the case was due partly to pressure from overseas groups such as the International Commission of Jurists and the American Committee on Africa. ■

YOU TELL ME TO SIT QUIET

—A. C. Jordan

You tell me to sit quiet when robbed of my manhood,
With nowhere to live and nought to call my own,
Now coming, now going, wandering and wanting,
No life in my home save the drone of the beetle!

Go tell the worker bees,
True guards of the hive,
Not to sting the rash hunter
Who grabs at their combs.

You tell me to sit quiet when robbed of my children,
All offered as spoils to the rich of the land,
To be hungered of body, retarded of mind,
And drained of all the spirit of freedom and worth!

Go tell the mother hen
Who sits on her brood
Not to peck at the mongrel
That sniffs at her young.

You tell me, a poor mother widowed so young,
Bereft of my husband by mine-dust disease,
To let my poor orphans be ravaged by hunger,
For fear of the gendarmes and smart pick-up vans!

Go tell the mother dove
Who loves her fledglings
Not to dare the fleet falcons
While seeking for food.

You tell me, in spite of the light I've espied—
The light, the one legacy true and abiding—
To let my own kindred remain in the darkness,
Not knowing the glories of learning and living!

Go tell the proud roosters
That perch on the trees
Not to sing loud their praises
To sunrise at dawn.

You tell me, in spite of the riches of knowledge
Unveiled all around, replenishing the earth,
To live here forever enslaved by the darkness
Of ignorance, abject, and empty of mind!

Go tell the drooping grass,
Frost-bitten and pale,
Not to quicken when roused
By the warm summer rains.

Tell the winter not to give birth to spring.
Tell the spring not to flower into summer.
Tell the summer not to mellow into autumn.
Tell the morning-star not to herald the day.

Tell the darkness
Never to flee
When smitten at dawn
By the shafts of the sun.

CITY OF LONDON PROFIT MAN
(jingle for the overseas investors in Apartheid)

-A. N. C. Kumalo

City gent
 money gent
 profit man
 louse
stuffing your guts
 with goose and grouse
golf and gin
 and dividends received
On what else does your belly feed?

FAT BUG!

From this pin-striped gent
 we understand
black labour blows its nose in hand;
And what of his civilizing spree?
grabbing grub off every tree!
SWOLLEN BUG!

When infant dies of broken tummy
ain't

 kiddies
 dying
 bloody
 funny?

Has City gent his fill?

No!

 The profit man is gorging still!
BLOATED BUG!

 City gent
 money gent
 profit man
 louse

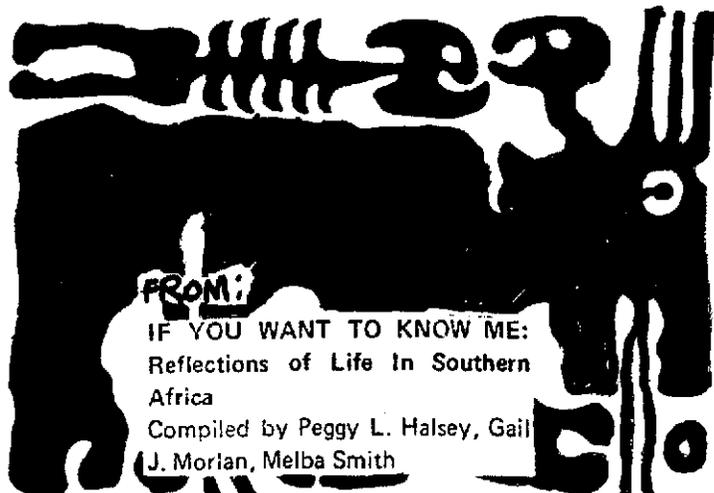
 pewking
 in his summer-house
 be-gloved-be-jewelled

 tie-fidgeting breed

BEWARE!

 We'll put
 an end
 to greed . . .

POP!



FROM:

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW ME:
Reflections of Life In Southern
Africa
Compiled by Peggy L. Halsey, Gail
J. Morlan, Melba Smith



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