

S O U T H E R N A F R I C A

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL READERS:

If you wish to receive the final two issues of the Newsletter this year, and if you want to keep your name on the mailing list for next year, we urgently request that you send us your summer and fall addresses AND A CONTRIBUTION TO COVER PUBLICATION AND POSTAGE. Each issue costs approximately 32¢ to print and mail!

Editorial

"WAR"

Mr. Balthazar John Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa recently declared war on the guerrillas invading Southern Africa from the North. In a statement to the South African Parliament, Mr. Vorster said that terrorists would be treated as invading forces are in wartime. And then reassuringly, he told the members of the House that South Africa is well prepared to meet the challenge.

Yet although the South African government has few illusions about the developing struggle in Southern Africa, most Westerners are comfortably lost in illusions behind their curtain of ignorance. They refuse to see the war Mr. Vorster talks about. But this will become a great war in the future, and the peoples of the world will find themselves caught in the vortex of another great struggle. So many in the West are asleep and they will wake to find embarrassing fellows in their bed. Mr. Vorster and Mr. Smith do not enhance a Lady's reputation, even if this Lady stands at the entrance to New York Harbor.

The embryonic war has been born. It is small but growing and anyone who looks will see it. At the United Nations, a harassed Britain is cajoled to show her teeth and make the Rhodesian sanctions bite, then urged to use the force which the Brittanic Lady cannot muster. But if Britain cannot fight, the Africans can. The guerrilla battle goes on and on. The shooting war is here. Zambia asks the United States for weapons to protect herself from racist reprisals and Messrs. Smith and Vorster talk of the long war ahead.

Wake up Western Ladies; the war has begun.

ESCALATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The burgeoning military strength of South Africa is, of course, of considerable importance as the Republic spreads its tentacles throughout the whole of Southern Africa. The lead article in Newscheck, Mar. 15, 1968 ("Armed to the Teeth") stressed South Africa's increasing independence as an arms manufacturer. The extent of this "self-reliance" was revealed in Defense Minister Botha's statement to the Senate when he congratulated South African scientists on the development of a sophisticated napalm bomb from local materials, and then listed a number of other items being made locally, including anti-tank mines, and armoured cars. The article goes on to emphasize that it is common knowledge that the Republic is now manufacturing both missiles and aircraft.

Despite this assertive independence, military ties with the West are still important --strategically and symbolically. Rebuffed by the British refusal to sell £200 million of armaments (the biggest foreign order ever offered the British arms industry), the South African Government turned again to France. Aside from the sale of jets, missiles and helicopters, the French are training submarine crews for South Africa to take over the three submarines recently bought from France. Even more alarming is the recent story in the Johannesburg Star (Mar. 2) that U.S. Senator Eastland (D-Miss.) had disclosed a secret arms supply agreement between the United States and the South African Government that had been authorized by former Ambassador to South Africa, Satterthwaite, at the time of negotiations for the tracking sites in 1962. Neither the State Department nor Pentagon would comment on this.

It is not difficult to speculate on the meaning of this build-up for the Republic's role in Southern Africa and the implications of these military ties with the West. For one thing, the stage is being set publically for an open confrontation with freedom fighters in the Portuguese territories and Malawi as well as in Rhodesia. As Mr. Gerdener, the Administrator of Natal, said in a speech at Durban recently, "To fob terrorism off as the actions of a few thousand disorganized and ill-trained insurgents was dangerous and irresponsible...it was time South Africans realized that if the 80,000 Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique and Angola had to be withdrawn tomorrow, South Africa would become involved in the terrorist war within weeks" and he further stated that South Africa would have the fullest justification for getting involved. (Sechaba, official organ of the A.N.C. of South Africa, Feb. 1968 ; Times of Zambia, Nov. 27, 1967). A Mozambique Soldiers' Comfort Fund has been set up by South Africans to aid Portuguese soldiers fighting in Mozambique. (Johannesburg Star, Feb. 3, 1968).

In Malawi, where President Banda has also been harassed by guerrilla fighting, it is reported that around 150 white South African police and military troops are operating to defend Banda's government (Sechaba, op. cit.). (In an atmosphere reminiscent of the recent "Terrorism Trials" in Rhodesia and South Africa, nine alleged "terrorists" are facing trial in Zomba, Malawi--the first to be tried under a penal code Amendment Act passed in April 1965 providing a mandatory death penalty for treason (Newscheck, Mar. 15, 1968). The South African military presence in Rhodesia is well-known and has been referred to earlier.

The former British Protectorates are in an increasingly ticklish position--African nationalists have levelled charges against the Botswana government for arresting and sentencing freedom fighters who inadvertently crossed Botswana on their way to South Africa (Sechaba, Feb. 1968). The London Times (Feb. 9) reports that South Africa has started exploratory talks with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland on new extradition treaties which lapsed when South Africa left the Commonwealth, and the Daily Dispatch (London, Feb. 5) states that Lesotho may enter into a security pact with South Africa to fight "terrorism and communism". Chief Jonathan affirmed that his Government has not been unaware that these freedom fighters and political refugees were nothing but "communist agents" employing "communist" tactics to topple newly elected governments and have them replaced by "communist puppet governments."

This tendency for the South African Government and her puppet governments to label the freedom fighters as communist agents is, of course, nothing new. What may be new is the changing international situation. As Noel Mostert points out in an analysis of the British withdrawal southeast of Suez (The Reporter, Mar. 7, 1968), the ultimate effect of such a withdrawal may be on Southern Africa, particularly if Russia decides to fill the power vacuum in the Indian Ocean. South Africa's Acting President, Naude, in his opening address to Parliament, has already indicated that "Britain's withdrawal from east of Suez makes it incumbent on the South African Government to develop the defenses of the Cape route." (Johannesburg Star, Feb. 3, 1968).

The real danger is that South Africa could use this as a sanction for strengthening her military position still further and increasingly repressing the freedom fighters throughout all of Southern Africa and that policy makers in the West could be misled into thinking that South Africa might be a real bulwark against a direct confrontation with Russia via the Indian Ocean.

GUINEA-BISSAU: "More War Than Most" -- Part II, Organization of a Movement

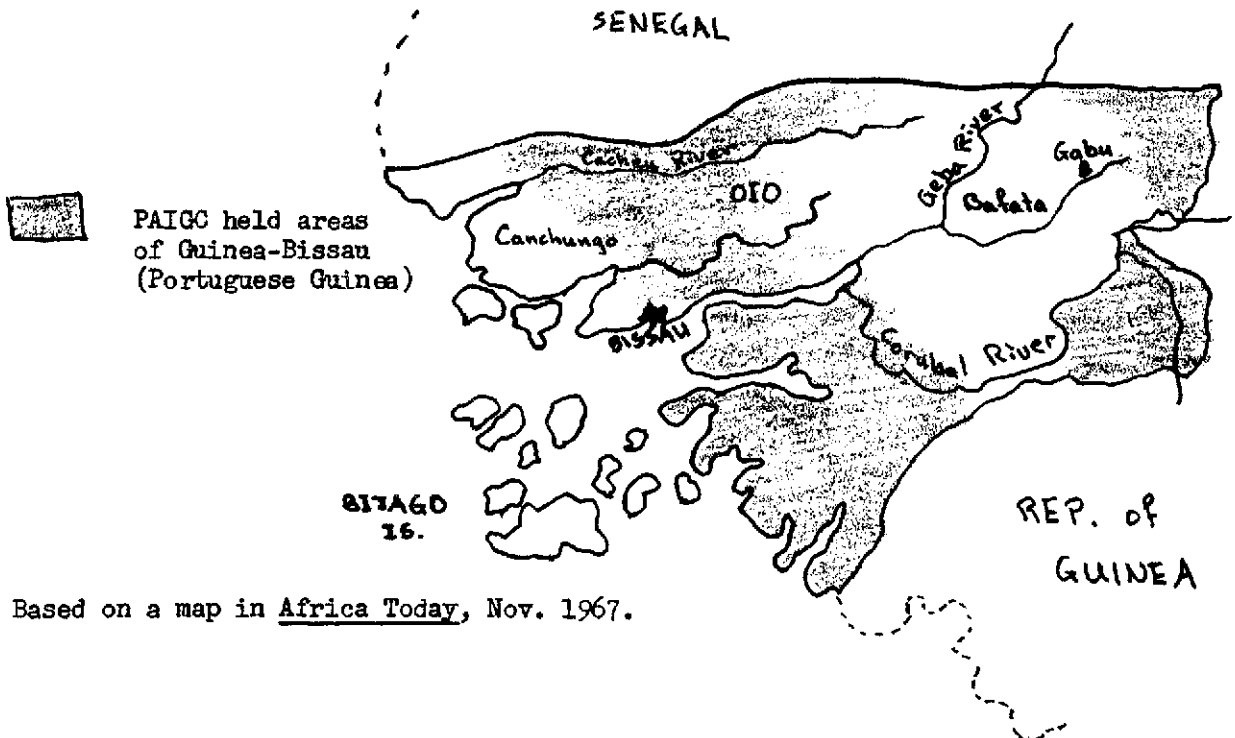
The major political and revolutionary factor in Guinea-Bissau is the Partido Africano da Independencia de Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC). I. William Zartman has produced the most recent, thorough, and readily available analysis of the growth of nationalism and the PAIGC (a condensed version appeared in Africa Report, November, 1967). Zartman points to four general conditions present in Guinea which bound together in a nationalist movement, the small urban or island (Cape Verde) elite and the masses. These were: (a) a political, national consciousness resulting from educational and external contacts; (b) a social consciousness resulting from the inequities of the Portuguese colonial system, particularly in urban areas; (c) the traditional animosity towards Portuguese power, especially in areas of first and greatest penetration, i.e. along the coast, among the Balantes and Bijagos; and (d) economic dissatisfaction.

In the historic development of the nationalist movement four stages can be discerned over the last fifteen years. It is interesting in view of the recent political crisis over the Olympic-South Africa question that one of the major turning points in the early days of movement was the vanning in 1954 of an African Sports and Recreation Association, which numbered among its members both assimilated and Africans. A number of leaders were forced into organizing clandestine groups, and in September, 1956, after several earlier attempts at the formation of political parties, the PAIGC was created under the leadership of a Lisbon-trained agronomist, Amilcar Cabral. Only a year later the Portuguese introduced the PIDE (Policia Internacional e Defesa do Estado) into the territory. During this

initial period, the PAIGC leadership directed its organizational efforts towards the urban labor population, during which time a series of strikes occurred. In late July, 1958 a port shutdown in Bissau led to violent Portuguese repression; the slaughter of 50 dockstrikers ("the massacre of Piquiquiti quay") and the subsequent arrest of African nationalist leaders.

At a meeting in Bissau in September, 1959 the PAIGC set forth a new plan of action which grew out of its urban experience. The party decided to organize/educate the rural population in areas where Portuguese colonial control was less entrenched, as well as to maintain the underground organizational complexes within the cities. Thus the movement was broadened to a national level, marking the second stage of development. This effort at preparing the peasantry for revolutionary activity has been lauded by the French author, Gerard Chaliand, in his book La lutte armee en Afrique, and compared favorably to the lack of socio-psychological preparation for warfare in Angola (see John Marcum, "Three Revolutions," Africa Report, Nov. 1967). The 1959 PAIGC program also called for the reduction of social and ethnic cleavages among the population and the wider coordination of the party with other anti-Portuguese nationalist movements in Africa.

In August, 1961 the PAIGC announced the beginning of direct action, thus opening a third phase, with the first major guerrilla attack occurring in the beginning of 1962. The party during 1961 had been plagued with more arrests, the growth of rival groups and the continued rejection by Lisbon of all demands for a negotiated independence. Interacting with these events, PAIGC cadres opened sabotage attacks in June, 1962 against Portuguese lines of communication which bloomed late in the year into full-scale guerrilla activity aimed against the military and economic symbols of Portuguese power, and to the creation of nationalist "free zones" (a "free zone" is defined by Zartman as "regions where free movement is denied to the Portuguese and enjoyed by the nationalist movement" in spite of Portuguese garrisons and fortified hamlets). Fronts were opened up by the PAIGC in the Southern region between the Geba River and the Guinea border in early 1963 and a second one in July near the Oio forest between the Geba and Cacheu Rivers (see map). A year later two more open regions were established in the northeast Gabu region and in the northwest Manjak populated area between Senegal and the Cacheu River. In mid-1965 the southeast Boe region was also liberated. Thus by August, 1966 the PAIGC had isolated the Portuguese in the central east region near Bafata and the coastal west Canchungo area near Bissau.



Based on a map in Africa Today, Nov. 1967.

The PAIGC held its first party conference in February 1964 near Como Island. There it was decided to construct a more centralized military organization. The rebel military forces were divided into (1) guerrilla forces, (2) a militia and (3) the Armed Revolutionary Forces of the People (FARP). This conference marked the passage from two years of guerrilla warfare to an open military period which allowed armed clashes with the increasing numbers of Portuguese troops. By 1965 Portuguese forces had mounted to 16,000 while PAIGC fighters were estimated at 10,000. (Basil Davidson estimates in his London Times article of January 10, 1967 that there are 3,000 FARP forces and 6,000 guerrillas; Portuguese forces at present being over 20,000.) In the new PAIGC military structure, commanders were designated responsible for troops and operations rather than for certain territorial areas, while the administrative/political control remained in the hands of zonal leaders.

Experience and increased power in the "free zones" came in the wake of a series of Portuguese offensives from 1964-66, under the new Governor of the territory and military commander, Gov. Arnaldo Schulz. In early 1964 the Portuguese attacked Como Island and after a 75-day seige were repulsed by PAIGC forces. In May of the same year the Portuguese tried to cut off the party's activities from the Guinea border, but FARP attacked southern Portuguese posts. These Portuguese forays continued until January, 1966 with other raids occurring in the Oio PAIGC region. But the Portuguese maneuvers were repulsed or evoked counter-attacks and ambushes by the nationalists. Gov. Schulz was recalled in October, 1965.

Thus up to the present the party has theoretically traversed through four major phases: 1952-1959 is cited by Zartman as a reform period; 1959-60 is the period of nationalization of the movement; 1962-64 is the guerrilla stage; and from 1964 to the present is the military stage. The task ahead for the PAIGC is to defend its liberated areas which encompass from one-half to two-thirds of the rural area and to counter the massive build-up of colonial troops and air power. Inherent in this process is the implementation of the alternate political and economic systems in nationalist regions. Recent military activity on the part of the PAIGC forces has been the shelling of cities, and on February 28 the mortar shelling of the Bissau airport outside the city (PAIGC Communique, March 5). Other communiques claim that the "rebels" have killed 300 Portuguese troops in December and January (and even Lisbon admits the death of 34 of her soldiers - Suzanne Cronje, Washington Post, Feb. 22, 1968). The Portuguese have been forced to concentrate on air attacks with their NATO supplied Sabre and Fiat jets through the bombing of African villages with phosphorous bombs and napalm; and the upgrading of its psychological warfare tactics (i.e. through the erection of colonial controlled strategic hamlets, granting amnesty for Africans, and exacerbating tribal antagonisms). These techniques have not assured Portuguese success, for even after the erection of strategic hamlets, the PAIGC forces have been able to liberate and evacuate the villagers from the hamlets.

Amilcar Cabral has described the war as one of attrition; a process of eating away at remaining Portuguese strongholds; continually harassing; constantly attacking the Portuguese forces when they attempt to reach back into liberated areas. There is evidence of steadily growing power in the hands of the African nationalists (one such index is the amount of gasoline used by PAIGC vehicles. In 1965 only 75 gallons were used per month, while today according to a recent Christian Science Monitor article, 10,000 gallons are used each month.) The PAIGC is faced with time; time to counter the revitalized Portuguese airpower with anti-aircraft operations; time to continue to organize in the free zones. PAIGC arms and goods (medicines) are supplied by Czech and East German sources; training for troops from other eastern countries. (Appeals to western nations were rejected.) Beyond its organizational and military ability, the PAIGC is blessed by its geographic position, surrounded by "friendly nations". But also it can now control its own organization from headquarters within Guinea-Bissau. (Atlas, February, 1968.) The Portuguese do not improve the situation by such incidences as the bombing of Guinea (Conakry) villages about which Guinea delegates have complained at the United Nations.

As a nationalist movement the PAIGC is, as described by Zartman, "optimistic and pragmatic." (In the next issue: Portugal's "friends" in Guinea-Bissau.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMY

" G o l d "

It is still too early to tell what effect the recent gold crisis and the measures adopted to cope with it will have on South Africa's gold production. Even Mr. Diederichs, South Africa's Minister of Finance, has issued cautious statements about the benefits which might accrue to the gold mining industry from the two-tier market established in Washington by representatives from Belgium, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Britain and the United States (New York Times, 3/18/68). Hobart Rowen in the Washington Post (3/30/68) speculated that the price of gold could even fall under the new system, while Stanley Uys, reporting from Cape Town, speculated that if the price of gold were to double, South Africa would be in serious economic difficulties. "South Africa does not have resources to cope adequately with the current spending power of industry and the public," much less a surge in that spending power (Washington Post, 3/17/68). Should the price increase, a spin-off effect would bolster South Africa's production of uranium, according to The Economist (3/9/68). It is now too expensive to extract uranium, a by-product of gold production, in large quantities unless gold production becomes more lucrative than it is today. Since the announcement of the two-tier price structure, gold traded among speculators has not fluctuated significantly far from the traditional \$35 an ounce.

" U r a n i u m "

The Economist, in a lengthy article on uranium, predicted a buying surge in the early 1970's at prices most attractive to the suppliers. Currently South Africa has the world's fourth largest uranium reserve. While the U.S. has the largest reserves, it is expected that by 1973 its production capacity will not be able to meet domestic needs, and the U.S. will have to look outside its borders for additional supplies. Canada and Sweden are the likeliest suppliers, but it will be interesting to note whether South Africa obtains a significant share of the market. After all, Charles Engelhard, through the American-South African Investment Co., Ltd., is a major shareholder in South African gold mining firms. Uranium, as mentioned before, is a by-product of gold mining.

" P l a t i n u m "

Engelhard's intimacy with the federal government was recently suggested by Senator John J. Williams (R-Del.) in connection with platinum (New York Times, 3/24/68). The government was prepared to sell 115,000 ounces of stockpiled platinum to Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corp. at a price \$12 million below the prevailing market price for the metal. In defense, G. L. Tugwell, Executive Vice-President of Engelhard, said, "The thing that annoys us is that we have struggled through this to maintain a fair and reasonable price. Then this silly jerk stands up in the Senate and insinuates we're making a windfall." But the Senator bolstered his charge by seeking to amend the platinum disposal bill by setting the price at \$216 to \$225 an ounce, which is double the current price paid by Engelhard and Matthey-Bishop, Inc., the only two U.S. refiners of platinum, but which is the price charged in Western Europe.

" C a t t l e "

In the area of cattle-raising, 60 American cattle-ranchers visited South Africa on a 6-week tour (South African Digest, 3/8/68). The sponsor of the tour was John Cholis editor of the Western Livestock Journal.

"A i r p l a n e s"

Moving from the plains to planes, Boeing recently sold three 747 jumbo jets, one 707 long range jet and one twin-engine 737 jet to South African Airways. The value of the order was placed at \$71.5 million. Negotiations are still under way to create flight-service from South Africa to Rio de Janeiro to New York on South African Airways. (Wall Street Journal, 3/14/68).

" Cahora - Bassa "

More news on the Cahora-Bassa Dam project in Mozambique. The Morrison-Knudsen consortium (French-South African-Portuguese-American) submitted the highest of the three bids - - \$340 million. The German-French-Swedish-South African consortium submitted the lowest bid of \$246 million. There is no word as yet which bid has been chosen. A report has been issued by the Mission for Development and Settlement of the Zambezi which shows the agricultural, mining and industrial implications of the hydro-electric project. The Zambezi could become a major river-way to the Indian Ocean for produce from the Zambezi Valley. Coal, iron, manganese, titanium nagnetite, flourite and copper deposits have been surveyed and found to be in relative abundance. The Portuguese government has invested \$175 million to undergird the developmental possibilities. (South African Financial Gazette, Reuters, New York Times, 1/19/68, 3/12/68 and 3/13/68 respectively).

On the output side, South Africa's exports to the U.S. have been gaining. Pig iron, steel, copper, and lead goods sell particularly well, as well as tinned fish, chicory, wines and grape juice, and canned fruit. South Africa is the largest foreign supplier of canned sardines to the U.S.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

A recent editorial in the Diario de Noticias of Lisbon, February 23, 1968, states, "while others made colonies, we made Portugal." By this the author means that the overseas provinces are so integrated into the Portuguese system that they cannot be termed colonies at all. There is another sense that can be given to these brave words, however, because in a way the Salazarist regime of 40 years standing continues to "make" Portugal at the expense of her overseas provinces.

The same paper reiterated the often expressed desire to send one million underemployed Portuguese to settle in Angola, to counteract their illegal escape to Central and Northern Europe. A deputy of the National Assembly, Nunes Barrata, bewailed the need for developing the overseas provinces and suggested that four priorities be adopted:

- (1) The prospecting of mineral wealth.
- (2) The development of agriculture and livestock.
- (3) Industrialization.
- (4) Increased settlement of demobilized soldiers.

He said that of the 4,800 soldiers who had remained in the overseas provinces, to date only 152 have been integrated into the agricultural sector of the economy.

The economy of all the overseas provinces is effectively controlled for the benefit of metropolitan Portugal through a common market system, whereby interprovincial finances can only be paid with metropolitan "escudos".

The current Portuguese press stresses the need for increased white settlement from Portugal as a means to encourage and train Africans for participation in modernization. Angola needs personnel with the skill for development. However, Protestant organizations who have provided training for these skilled occupations have been subjected to harsh restrictions.

The Central Government in 1961 blamed Protestant organizations for instigating and encouraging revolt among the African population. Since then it has denied visas to agriculturists, teachers, medical personnel and church workers from overseas skilled in community development leadership techniques. It has harassed African leadership possessing the same skills. Schools and clinics run by African employees of the indigenous Protestant churches have been closed; severe travel restrictions were imposed on the leadership - both medically and educationally trained.

In an answer to these severe restrictions and a recent increase in arbitrary arrests of African leaders, the United Church of Christ in the United States and the United Church of Canada have ordered all their missionaries, due or overdue for furlough, to leave Central

Angola by June 1968. This action will recall 16 people and reduce a staff that numbered 45 in 1960 to three. (The United Church Observer, 2/1/68) This will mean that all but 2 of the 30 major educational and medical institutions will be without expatriot staff.

The Portuguese territories play a considerable part in cancelling the effectiveness of sanctions against Rhodesia. Harry Reedman, Rhodesia's "Ambassador" to Portugal in Lisbon, is a concrete symbol of Portuguese determination to profit from the defiance of the United Nations and black Africa shown by Mr. Smith and Mr. Vorster. (The Globe and Mail, 3/19/68).

Rhodesia now claims to have a years' supply of oil, a much better state of affairs than in November 1966. In spite of the ban on oil delivery at Beira, most of it now comes openly by rail from Lourenco Marques. The refinery at Lourenco Marques is owned by SONEREP, a Portuguese company in which the French campagne Francaise Des Petroles, better known as "Tota", has a minority holding of 27%. The refinery has a capacity of about 800,000 tons a year and it supplies at least 200,000 tons a year to Rhodesia.

Even while this commerce has been going on, the Ambassador of Portugal to the United Nations presented a third in a series of three notes to U Thant in February, claiming that Mozambique has suffered a loss of some 17 million lbs. sterling because of sanctions against Rhodesia. From September to December 1967 the note declares 2 million pounds sterling have been lost by four agencies that previously earned transport fees and handling fees. The agencies cited are The Port of Lourenco Marques, The Port of Beira, The Rail Line of Limpopo and the Beira Rail Line.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese main concern is with the nationalist military activity in her overseas provinces. A recent armed forces bulletin covering the week of February 11 to 17 is illustrative of other recent dispatches. It mentions seven clashes in Angola, resulting in six dead and several wounded Portuguese soldiers. Some of these clashes occurred 400 miles inside the territory on the rail line which runs from Bengela to Katanga. Col. Machado Souza, second in command of 5,000 troops for all of the Eastern part of Angola, admits that nationalist's attacks are increasing. The FRELIMO forces in Mozambique have opened their schools and rudimentary economic structures in Northern territories, according to the Portuguese. Brigadier Bessa, the commander of the army in Mozambique, says there are ten training and supply camps in Tanzania. Mueda, a northern town, is completely surrounded by FRELIMO forces and their intensive activity in the nearby bush has made the Portuguese garrison completely withdraw into its stronghold (The London Times, 3/11/68).

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST

"South African Military Parts for U.S. Army - Call for Protest"

A call for letters of protest to the U.S. Department of Defense, the State Department and Congressmen is made in the most recent issue of the Southern Africa Bulletin (March 1968, published by the American Committee on Africa), regarding a \$1,260,000 order for specialized military equipment, placed by the U.S. Army with a South African company, Plessey South African Ltd., in conjunction with a South African Government Agency, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (i.e. CSIR, which is NASA's partner at the U.S. tracking stations in South Africa).

The article cites a news story which appeared in the Johannesburg Sunday Times (7/7/67) headlined "U.S. Army places big electronic order with South Africa." The equipment measures distances through the use of microwaves, and is modeled after a device called the Tellurometer. According to this report, 200 such instruments were being exported to a Plessey subsidiary in New York in a "knocked down" condition for reassembly for U.S. Army consumption.

Upon inquiry the Departments of Defense and State denied any specific knowledge of the purchase. Months later, however, a communique from the Army explained that the Army had not actually purchased the South African "end product" described in the Sunday Times but had bought only certain component parts manufactured in South Africa. The Southern

Africa Bulletin cites the letter from the Army to the effect that "end products of electronic distance measuring equipment being supplied to the Army by United States firms contain 19.5% South African component parts, which is well within the Buy American Act classification of a United States product." This however does not alter the fact that the U.S. in purchasing S.A. technical devices for military use, according to the Bulletin.

Exiled Kimberley Bishop E. E. Crowther has protested the purchase in an interview published in the January 1968 issue of Dissenter. He insists that the military sanctions against S.A., to which the U.S. subscribes, should work both ways, and asks the question whether the equipment will be used in Vietnam.

"Call for Additional U.S. Action Against Rhodesia"

Following the recent execution of five Africans by the illegal Rhodesian government and the request of 36 African governments for a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to examine the Rhodesian situation, the American Committee on Africa has issued a circular appealing for letters to Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and to individual Congressmen urging that the U.S. assume greater responsibility for making international action effective. (This letter preceded Goldberg's resignation and his replacement by Ball.)

Support for the following courses of action is urged: (a) U.S. support at the United Nations for comprehensive (as opposed to limited) sanctions, and implementation of U.N. decisions; (b) the cutting of remaining U.S. economic and political links with the Smith administration; (c) the offering of assistance to African countries hurt by sanctions and blockade action, and, if necessary in the event of comprehensive sanctions, to the United Kingdom as well.

It is suggested in addition that individuals can help the resistance movement in Rhodesia by aiding political prisoners and their families through contributions to the Africa Defense and Aid Fund, 164 Madison Avenue, Second Floor, New York, N.Y. 10016.

"Comprehensive Sanctions: Capitulation or Force"

An important effect of the Rhodesian executions has been to point up the failure of selective sanctions in bringing the rebel regime to heel. Britain is now reported to be seeking comprehensive mandatory sanctions in consultation with African countries at the U.N., but Prime Minister Wilson still insists that Britain will not use force (Reuters, 3/27; New York Times, London Times 3/28/68). A hint that the USSR might contribute troops and arms to a U.N. force comes from a Tass report expressing willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to take part in U.N. action to halt racism in southern Africa (London Times, 3/21/68).

Meanwhile Britain's Labor Government finds itself under pressure from the currently strengthened Conservative Party to consent to a negotiated settlement with Smith. Opposition Leader Heath has expressed support for this course, declaring that sanctions have failed (London Times, 3/27 and 3/28/68). Former Conservative Prime Minister Douglas-Home has reached a basis for settlement in his talks with Smith, according to former Conservative Cabinet Minister, Mr. Julian Amory, speaking in Johannesburg. A Conservative Government would have negotiated immediately and there would be every likelihood of a settlement, he said (Johannesburg Star, 3/23/68).

Zambian leaders, meanwhile, have reacted strongly against present British proposals. The Zambian and general African position was presented by Zambian Foreign Minister Kamanga to the U.N. Security Council on March 26. Implying that sanctions of any kind could only work if they included South Africa, he said that "the British Government insists it will not use force against Rhodesia nor impose economic sanctions...in direct confrontation (with) South Africa." Yet Her Majesty's Government says it intends to extend and strengthen the application of sanctions.

Kamanga recalled that Britain had said she would not intervene with force in Rhodesia unless law and order broke down. He pointed out that Rhodesia had taken illegal administrative actions, denied freedom of movement and assembly, muzzled the press, browbeaten the courts into accepting legislation in contradiction to all U.N. and Western codes of justice, perpetrated hangings under the legislation and killed Africans in (guerrilla) skirmishes inside Rhodesia, while Rhodesia and their South African supporters were "swooping down" on Zambia by air and land. "Is it not time that it was recognised that law and order have broken down?" he asked. "Is Britain waiting until the throats of Europeans have actually been slit?" Kamanga also noted that extended sanctions ineffectually enforced could ruin Zambia before they worked on Rhodesia (Amax, 3/29/68).

In addition, Zambian President Kaunda has laid the blame for present bloodshed in Rhodesia squarely on Prime Minister Wilson's head. Speaking in commemoration of the South African Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, he said that Zambia had foreseen such developments. Scoring Western collaboration with the southern African regimes, he said that Western capitalism was allowing itself to become an instrument of oppression and murder. Only the big powers can bring South Africa and other minority governments to heel and stave off a racial war that is otherwise "sure to come", he asserted. He scored Washington's policy of letting Rhodesia remain a British problem. Although he had adhered to non-violence, "if I were to choose between non-violence with slavery and violence with freedom, I would choose violence with freedom," he asserted (Amax, 3/29/68).

A petition calling on the British Government to overthrow the Rhodesian regime by force has been signed by 275 Britons in Zambia and about 300 more have been collected from various parts of Zambia but not yet added to the petition. It was handed to the British High Commissioner in Zambia, Mr. John Pomphrey, by Prof. Ronald Frankenburg of the University of Zambia (Johannesburg Star, 3/30/68).

"Israel as a Model for Anti-Guerrilla Action"

Indications of the way in which certain circles in South Africa would like to deal with guerrillas are given in the comments of South African newspapers on the present situation in the Middle East, Israel being scored at the same time for providing military support to independent African nations.

A cartoon showing a two-faced Eshkol firing at a symbolic Jordanian and offering a gun with the other hand to a symbolic African was featured in Dagbreek (3/24). The caption read: "In Jordan the Israeli Government kills the saboteurs (which is right), in Africa it is supplying certain black states with military training and arms. Will Israel continue this?"

Israel was not the only country facing guerrilla subversion, according to Die Vaderland (3/23). A similar situation had long existed on the Rhodesian borders with African states openly supplying bases to terrorists for attacks on South Africa's neighbor states, with South Africa as their target. "But it is not only tolerated by the U.N. by the U.N. but by implication enjoys the blessing of influential Americans like Vice-President Humphrey, while the role of Canadian and Israelite army trainers in African states certainly demands investigation."

Scoring the U.S., Die Beeld (3/24) stated that "like Britain she condemns S.A. policemen crossing the Limpopo to stop terrorists who seek to make their way through Rhodesia to murder our women and children. But against the behavior of Zambia and Tanzania who arm and train and maintain these terrorists-no, against these London does not even whisper direct objection."

Die Vaderland (3/27) comments in an editorial on the fact that Israel could dare to indulge in ventures because it had powerful friends on her side viz. the U.S.A. This friendship was "an insurance policy against any drastic retaliatory measures. Should South Africa, Rhodesia or Portugal slam down on the cancerous growth of terrorism, which is swelling up beyond her borders, the world would certainly have three convulsions."

The paper compared the hysteria which was generated regarding the manner in which South Africa dealt with her terrorists with the silence of world opinion on Israel's handling of suspected terrorists in the Gaza strip. It was estimated that since the June war last year, about 100 of them had been shot dead in clashes with the Israeli Security Police, and that about 800 had been imprisoned. In addition they were threatened that unless they spoke, their houses would be razed. "With about 100 houses already razed to the ground, Israel's Security Police has no shortage of evidence concerning terrorist activities."

Mr. Ian Smith probably wishes he could strike in the same way against the base of the terrorists invading Rhodesia, said the Friend (3/20): "Unfortunately Rhodesia does not enjoy the same world support as Israel... And external aggression by Rhodesia is perhaps just what the African guerrillas would like to provoke." (Press reports from Press Digest, 3/28/68).

"U.S. the Base for 'Liberal Menace'"

In an extensive article in Dagbreek (3/24) the "verkrampte" (ultra-conservative) Nationalist Member of Parliament Mr. Jaap Marais discusses the "menace" of liberalism with particular reference to the U.S.:

"The U.S.A. as the centre of the English-speaking world is today the liberal base from which the campaign is waged to flatten also in South Africa national, cultural and racial boundaries in the name of human rights and democracy. And the liberal authority order in the U.S.A. has an apparatus of subversion which is probably more comprehensive and complex and just as skilled as the communist apparatus of subversion of the Kremlin," said Mr. Marais.

The U.S.A. was officially committed to place South Africa on the road to a black government and a great deal of the influence exercised by the American authority order through the English language churches, universities, press and organised business life.

The dangerousness of liberalism was not primarily in the stupidity of the idea of "liberty, equality and fraternity." It lay rather in its displeasure with life and the realities of differences and boundaries and attachment. Hence the drive to reject authority by which the organic order of life was maintained and hence the drive to chance and disintegrate.

In addition the extreme right wing South African Observer (March 1968) asks, in the course of an attack on the South African Minister of Defense, Mr. P. W. Botha, what he has done about warning and securing South Africa against such "highly dangerous revolutionary organisations" as the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations and its agencies such as the American Field Service and the U.S.-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program "which have made such deep inroads in South Africa." These organisations have come under repeated attack by the ultra-conservatives during the past year.

"Proposal to Emulate the U.S. Un-American Activities Committee"

While the ultra-conservatives or "verkramptes" in South Africa score the influence of American liberalism, the South African Government is reported to be preparing a parliamentary "Un-South African Activities Committee" on the model of the U.N. Un-American Activities Committee (Johannesburg Star, 3/23/68). This is aimed primarily at the curbing of "ascertainable factual lies" in newspapers, but also at individuals whose activities and statements provoke official disapproval.

The committee to be set up would have the power to summon any person to give evidence. It would have proportionate representation of the political parties, so giving the Nationalist Party an automatic majority, and would have a permanent investigating staff. The Attorney-General would be asked to prosecute in certain cases.

The Star report cites Dagbreek to the effect that politicians believe it would be unfair to direct the activities of such a committee solely against newspapers. "What would happen, for example, in relation to a person who makes an ascertainable factual lie in a speech and is then reported in good faith in a newspaper?" asks Dagbreek, recalling that Prime Minister Vorster has said that action would be taken against South Africans who harm their country overseas.

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN SOUTH AFRICA

"Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill"

South Africa's Parliament has heard, and is about to pass, the "Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill", which in effect prohibits a member of one race from being in any way associated with a political party that has members of another race. The primary and immediate response has been some fast planning on the part of the Liberal Party in order to prevent itself from becoming politically paralyzed. It may be forced to disband, since it would be an illegal organization if the law is passed. Although the Liberal Party is not now represented in Parliament, the Progressive Party is (Helen Suzman), and the "Progs" will thus be dealt a crippling blow. Although the law will force the party to shed its multiracial character, it will carry on as a uniracial party and "continue to work for the day when once again there will be freedom of association in South Africa," in the words of Dr. Jan Steytler, the Prog leader (New York Times, 4/7/68). It is difficult to say what other groups will be effected, and how. Mr. Vorster, in a statement recorded in the Daily Dispatch (East London, 2/29/68), made no reference to the position of groups like the Institute of Race Relations and NUSAS, who in terms of the 1966 Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Bill which led to the current commission's being appointed, would also have been banned together with mixed political parties. The Daily Dispatch suggests that the Government will now probably follow the majority recommendations and ban only multi-racial political parties.

"Playwright Refused Passport"

Mr. Athol Fugard, one of South Africa's best known playwrights, has again been refused a passport to travel to Britain, where he was to produce a television play this month. In June of last year he had his passport taken away from him without any explanation. Mr. Fugard said in an interview: "I accuse the Government of blatant and bitter bullying. I want it to make public the reasons for the refusal of my passport. Of course, it won't do this for the simple reason that the Government has got nothing on me... The Government cannot stand honest opposition to its policies and resorts to this form of intimidation." (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 3/3/68).

Mr. Fugard's play, "The Blood Knot", ran successfully in London and New York and he was acclaimed by the overseas press for it. It was a play in which Mr. Fugard himself acted.

"State Expenditures on Bantu Education"

According to Muriel Horrell's (Institute of Race Relations) research, in 1967 a total of R 13 million (\$18.2 million) was allotted for education, which comes out to approximately R12 per child. However, when broken down according to race, the figures come out like this: per white child - R74.30; per African child - R2.39. No matter what other contingencies or considerations, this seems a strange and telling ratio. (Race Relations News, February 1968).

"Former NUSAS President at Harvard"

Ian Robertson, President of NUSAS at the time when Robert Kennedy was invited to South Africa, was forced to leave South Africa precisely for the role he played in Kennedy's visit. He is now doing graduate studies at Harvard. In a recent article he wrote for the Boston Globe (2/24/68), he illustrates graphically the extreme right-wing tendencies that are developing among students in South Africa - Afrikaner students in particular. Extracting some quotes from his article:

"The largest Afrikaans university is at Pretoria, where the student government will fine up to \$280 any female student caught smoking on the campus, 'because smoking, noisiness, and the use of alcohol are not in keeping with Afrikaner womanhood.'"

"Folk singing is banned as well, because 'it pokes fun at existing institutions and is subversive, Communist, and threatens the future of the Afrikaner.'"

"When Pretoria Classics Prof. P. V. Pistorius was found to be a member of the moderate Progressive Party, the student body met and demanded his sacking on these grounds. The professor subsequently terminated his activities in the party."

"At Potchefstroom University, even dancing is prohibited, on or off the campus."

"But at teacher training colleges conditions are even stricter. Expelled from the Heidelberg College hostel last year, Miss Johanna de Beer told the press: 'I support the government, but I rebelled against not being allowed to wear sandals in summer because the authorities held that a native cleaner might see my naked toes. They called me a liberal.'"

"Nearly two-thirds of South Africa's college population continues to regard uncritical conformity as the highest virtue, and to treat the prevalent ideology as a national sacred cow."

"'Bonnie and Clyde' Banned in S.A."

The Publications Control Board of South Africa prohibited the showing of "Bonnie and Clyde", but South Africans can see it anyway. An airlift has been established to Lourenco Marques, in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), where the picture opened March 31 and will show during the Easter Holiday season. The Johannesburg Film Society organized the airlift at excursion rates in order to enable South Africans to see the popular film.

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

"France and South Africa"

Accusations that France has been secretly supplying oil to Rhodesia has drawn attention to France's growing links to South Africa. In defiance of the U.N. arms embargo, French weapons sales to South Africa have increased. French investment has increased as well, and now exceeds \$100 million. In the last decade French exports to South Africa have tripled, making France South Africa's third ranking trading partner.

South Africa has spent almost \$100 million for French arms from jets and helicopters to submarines. France has also openly shown interest in South Africa's recent order for \$500 million in arms which Britain refused to supply. France's "Policy Without Scruples" has been defended before the U.N. Security Council by the ridiculous claim that none of the weapons are likely to be used "against the native population." This

contention is challenged as spurious by South African exiles.

This new trend of support to racist southern Africa puzzles many African countries who have viewed DeGaulle as the "personification of independence" throughout most of France's former colonies. However, African criticism is becoming stronger, and a recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity condemned France's stand as regards South Africa for the first time. (New York Times, 3/26/68; Lloyd Garrison)

"South Africa Threatens to Quit U.N."

The South African pro-government paper Die Beeld quoted political sources as saying that South Africa might decide to quit the United Nations. The paper listed five factors contributing to this discontent:

- (1) the U.N.'s moves due to South Africa's refusal to release South West African "terrorists"
- (2) the expected clash when U.N. delegates tried to enter South West Africa
- (3) possible armed enforcements of U.N. mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia
- (4) massive South African military aid to Rhodesia in the event of increased terrorist infiltration from Zambia
- (5) the possibility that South African refugees from Zambia might flee into South African territory.

"U.S. Reluctant to Act on South Africa"

The struggle between the U.S. and several African, Asian and Latin American countries continues at the U.N. At the same time, U.S. credibility regarding their concern over South West Africa and racism in South Africa steadily declines.

America has joined in condemnations of the recent "Terrorism Trial" and for rhetorical vigor none has surpassed Goldberg's. "It is time," he told the Security Council, "for all who believe in the rule of law to call on South Africa once again to secure justice for those who have been detained under this invalid law - without further delay."

However, Goldberg has also told the Council that the best way to prevent South Africa from gaining any comfort from what the Council does is to preserve the Council's unanimity. This unanimity is so far a call to South Africa from the Security Council to stop persecuting the people of South West Africa and as Ambassador Shahi of Pakistan has remarked, the net result of this resolution was zero. African countries are now demanding that western rhetoric be followed by action.

The representative of Nigeria urged strong action "lest those countries which, like my own, place their hopes in the United Nations to establish conditions under which justice...can be maintained, will be disillusioned." The extent of the American reply to the call for strong action has been to suggest a utilization of the Red Cross as a go-between and to continue negotiations with the Pretoria government.

While American and British diplomats strongly wish to avoid any diplomatic or economic tensions between their countries and South Africa, Asian and African nations become increasingly frustrated, and racial injustice in South Africa goes on!!!

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

"The National Council of Churches & South West Africa"

Dr. Arthur Larson, Director of the Rule of Law Research Center at Duke University and a vice-president of the National Council, was present at the recent trials of South West Africans in Pretoria. Upon his return, he gave a long report to the General Board of the NCC in February, explaining in detail how many human and legal rights were violated by the trials. He also encouraged the churches for the role they played in attempting to influence the decision, stating that perhaps such international outrage helped in keeping them from receiving death sentences.

In response to Dr. Larson's lengthy report, the General Board of the NCC adopted the following resolution on February 22:

"The General Board of the National Council of Churches expresses to the government and people and churches of the Republic of South Africa a profound sense of shock and outrage at the sentencing of thirty South West Africans to prison terms ranging from five years to life under the retroactive provisions of the Terrorism Act of 1967. We urge South Africa, not merely for the sake of the victims of this statute, but also for the sake of South Africans themselves whose own character and values are being corrupted by successive inroads into fundamental standards of law, to use the means still available to it to undo the travesty of justice represented by this statute and these trials."

"COEMAR and Southern Africa"

When the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. met in mid-March, they were confronted with strong urgings on the part of their own non-executive staff and of Union Seminary students and UCM Committee people to take some strong action regarding Southern Africa. It was hoped that as a result of the Methodist Board of Missions lead in the direction of removing investments from First National City and Chase Manhattan Banks, the Presbyterians would feel constrained to follow suit, having given lip service at least to the determination to carry through in a "concerted action with other boards" when the other boards were ready to act.

Although the Commission did not take definite action regarding the bank campaign, it is possible that it will do so in the June meeting. Dr. John Coventry Smith (the General Secretary) had committed himself to another consultation with bank executives before any steps would be taken, and this consultation should take place in early May.

However, the Commission did take the following action regarding Rhodesia:

"The Commission grants up to \$20,000 toward the total of \$50,000 requested by the Christian Council of Rhodesia to cover scholarships for 140 African students at the University College of Salisbury. It is understood that the Smith Government cancelled the scholarship aids to all African students resulting in a plea from the Christian Council of Rhodesia for an urgent action."

COEMAR also made a statement regarding sanctions and the hanging of terrorists in Rhodesia:

"The Commission heard with deep concern reports of the recent hangings of black African prisoners by the white rebel regime in Rhodesia. The British Government and the Commonwealth of Nations and the International Community have declared the Smith Government to be illegal. It has however ignored the British Crown's commutation of sentences of the prisoners, and carried out the hangings which have thus far resulted in five executions and death sentences for five others.

"Selective mandatory sanctions approved by the U.N. against the Rhodesian Government have proved ineffective in re-establishing legal authority in the country, and this latest assertion of disregard for due process has provoked world-wide anger.

"In keeping with the UPCUSA 179th General Assembly position on Rhodesia, the Commission urged the staffs to do everything possible to bring the facts

regarding Rhodesia to the attention of our church; participate in projects supportive of the African people of Rhodesia, and urge the U.S. Government to take strong measures to enforce its position supporting sanctions against Rhodesia."

Dr. Smith has informed some persons that it is his belief that COEMAR will vote at the June meeting to withdraw its investment portfolio from banks involved in the consortium loan agreement with South Africa.

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Southern Africa Committee
University Christian Movement
Room 758
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027