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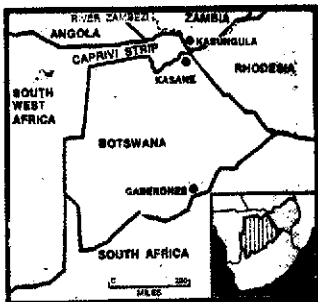
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A Road to Freedom:

EDITORIAL



Botswana is a land-locked country of over 200,000 square miles and most of its half-million people live in dreadful poverty. It is one of the three former British Protectorates left in pseudo-independence as hostages of South Africa. These delicate regimes face an almost impossible position in the power politics of the region. The white regimes could easily be provoked into crushing the life out of them. But in one respect Botswana is different. It is not completely surrounded by racist white states. In one tiny stretch along its north eastern border lies the black state of Zambia. Through this tiny channel many refugees have fled from persecution and if it could be turned into a greater artery, it could provide a vital life-line for Botswana. A possible road to freedom.

At the present time the communication routes of Botswana are limited to road links with South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa and a railroad which links South Africa and Rhodesia through Botswanan territory. Now has come a proposal to build the vital link to Zambia. Mr. William Rogers, Secretary of State announced that \$6 million had been voted for this project.

South Africa reacted at once by challenging the right of Botswana to a common frontier with Zambia. The Nixon Administration has approached Britain to clarify the legal issues.

The disputed area lies adjacent to the Zambesi where within a few hundred yards of each other, the boundaries of Botswana, Rhodesia, Zambia and the South African occupied Caprivi-Zipfel meet. It is a narrow gap with Kasungulu on the north and Kasane on the south. South Africans watch the gap very carefully as they believe guerillas cross into the white South through it.

At a recent secret meeting in the Zambian village of Sesheke, President Kaunda of Zambia and Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana agreed to fight South Africa's opposition to the building of the highway. If the case goes to the International Court at the Hague, Rhodesia will be excluded as it has no international legal standing.

It seems that South Africa fears that one of her hostages will escape.

THE NATURE OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

Portugal's role in Africa is a study in contradiction. Portugal, a small and underdeveloped European country, maintains possession of African territories which dwarf it in size and population. Although Portugal was the first European power to reach Africa - four hundred years ago - its control was limited to coastal fortifications where trading ships could replenish their food and water supplies until the late 19th and early 20th century. Significant economic development did not begin until the 1950s. Portuguese propaganda proclaims non-racialism, and exalts miscegenation, yet the Portuguese oppression of the Africa's rigid apartheid system. The unique capacities of the Portuguese for colonization are trumpeted to the world, but the economies of the "overseas provinces", and even of Portugal itself, are heavily dependent on foreign capital and enterprise, so that Portugal is in a sense both colonized.

The roots of Portuguese colonialism go back 400 years to the great period of Portuguese navigation and exploration. In 1498, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and crossed the Indian Ocean to India. Another Portuguese captain made it to Asia going the other way around America a few years later. Such a beginning created grand expectations, and on it a mythology was soon built. That mythology centered on empire.

Empire at first was primarily a trading empire consisting of fortified trading posts on the African and Asian coasts from which Portugal dominated the trade of the Indian Ocean. Later, Brazil became a central focus. But Portugal did not have the population or the resources to maintain and expand its control. During the 16th century it is unlikely that there were ever more than 10,000 Portuguese men overseas in the whole empire, and Portugal itself remained very poor. Portugal, unlike the other colonial powers, and like her own colonies, exported primary products, and imported manufactured goods. In spite of some income from Brazil, Portugal faced a chronic trade deficit, the

control of its commerce by English merchants by the 18th century, and even the necessity to buy grain while exporting wine. Her empire was in decline.

If this decline had been consistent and Portugal had retained only isolated enclaves of territory in the twentieth century, it is unlikely that there would have been many problems in decolonization. But the decline was not consistent; on the contrary, Portugal not only retained such coastal enclaves as "Portuguese" Guinea in west Africa, but also penetrated into the interior of Africa to gain control over Angola and Mozambique. Both were areas of traditional Portuguese influence on the coast, but the rivalry of the other colonial powers, England, France, and Germany, made possible further occupation of these territories by the Portuguese in the last decades of the 19th century. In 1898 an Anglo-German treaty allotted Angola and Mozambique to Portugal if Portugal could "maintain their integrity." Most of this allotted area was conquered in wars against the African peoples before the end of the 19th Century - the rest in the next two decades. The result is an empire in Africa, which the Portuguese are fighting to maintain still in 1970; it includes the islands of Cape Verde, "Portuguese" Guinea on the mainland opposite the islands, Sao Tome and Principe off the coast further south, and Angola and Mozambique. The most important are, of course, Angola and Mozambique, with a combined population of 12 million and a combined area over twenty times that of Portugal itself.

Now, in 1970 Portugal still lives the contradiction of being both colonizer and colonized. Portugal has not yet entered the modern and politically rigid. The implications of Portugal's peculiar position are to be seen in almost every aspect of its rule the notorious system of forced labor, the hollowness of the claims of assimilation, the important role played by foreign capital, and the refusal, finally, of even the possibility of

eventual independence for the colonies, Portugal's style of colonial rule has been termed "ultracolonialism" since it is at once both primitive in its lack of economic and political resources and extreme in the oppression that results for Africans under Portuguese rule.

Forced Labor

Slavery, slave trade, and their modern substitute, forced labor, have been prominent in Portuguese colonialism. Angola's history in particular has been scarred by slave trade. From 1580-1836 over 3 million Africans are estimated to have been exported from Angola alone.

Forced labor was the rule in all of the Portuguese colonies and has not yet ended. Visitors to Angola in the 1950s (Basil Davidson, Gwendolyn Carter, John Gunther) reported the forced recruitment of African workers for the colonial administration and for the white-owned plantation. Henrique Galvao, a Portuguese administrator in Angola, had in 1947 presented a report attacking forced labor practices to the Portuguese National Assembly. His time since then has been spent in jail and in exile.

In Mozambique one sees the variety of ways in which the African can be and is exploited. Based on the one assumption that the African must not remain idle, and on the lack of effective curbs on the power of the local officials who administer the system, it provides African labor for mines in South Africa, for building roads and working plantations in Mozambique itself, or for cultivation of cheap cotton for the Portuguese textile industry.

Subsistence farming, the employment of most Africans, is considered idleness by the Portuguese. Men who have not had some other recent employment are therefore living illegally and subject to arrest and forced placement in a job.

One option to men in southern Mozambique, often preferred to being forced to work for the Portuguese themselves, is to sign a contract to work in the mines of South Africa, where Mozambicans are about one third of the total mining labor force. Even the low wages paid to African miners in South Africa are several times better than they would receive in Mozambique itself. In return

for the privilege of recruiting an average of 100,000 workers per year, the South African government guarantees that 47.5% of the seaborne import traffic to the Johannesburg area will pass through the Mozambican port of Lourenço Marques. Portugal also receives a bonus payment for each recruit, plus half his wages, the latter to be returned to him on his return to Mozambique.

If the Mozambique worker doesn't go to South Africa, he may end up working on a sugar or tea plantation as "contract labor." Failure to fulfill one's obligations under the contract may lead to conviction in court and a sentence to unpaid "correctional labor." There is also "obligatory labor", officially abolished since 1961, but still used to get workers for roads and other public works. There is another category of "voluntary labor" which means the worker is engaged directly by the employer instead of recruited through the administration, but men take jobs knowing that if they do not do so they are subject to another kind of "recruitment" - it is hardly "voluntary" in the true sense of that word.

In the north of Mozambique, labor was exported less and there were fewer plantations, but labor is exploited another way, through forcing the African to cultivate certain quotas of cotton, then buying it from him at ridiculously low prices, often as little as #3 for a whole harvest. Portugal's textile mills benefit greatly from this cheap source of cotton, but among the Africans, famine has sometimes resulted from the concentrations of all of a family's efforts on raising the cotton quota, to the neglect of food crops. Africans now living in territory liberated from the Portuguese in northern Mozambique often mention the new freedom to grow their own food.

An African, to the Portuguese, is first of all "amo d'obra", a work-hand. Neither legal reforms on paper nor the elaborate mythology of assimilation can succeed in hiding this basic reality.

Assimilation

Portugal says she is non-racial and concerned to develop a multi-racial, multi-continental, unified society - all Portuguese in culture, language, and religion. This is the opposite of the image the South African or Rhodesian racist governments would vaunt of themselves, yet the response to the threat of African rule seems much the same, and military and economic cooperation among these three governments is growing.

The scorn for Africans inherent in the Portuguese attitudes can be seen in the very mechanism which is proposed for attaining this multiracial unity of the Portuguese nation. That mechanism is "assimilation" - in other words, becoming Portuguese, absorbing Portuguese culture and language and abandoning one's own.

To become an "assimilado" involved, until shortly after the beginning of the war in Angola (1961), quite a complicated legal procedure. One had to prove one's ability to speak and quite correct Portuguese, show that one had a certain level of income, and a good character, submit a number of documents and certificates, and finally pay a fee. Then an African could become a Portuguese citizen. The Portuguese settler, frequently illiterate and unable to satisfy such qualifications himself, did not have to worry about such a test - he was already a Portuguese citizen.

But the assimilado does not find himself in a position of full equality with white Portuguese. He has to carry an identity card with him to prove he is a citizen. Whites carry their proof in the color of their skin. Wage rates differ, even when the assimilated African is doing the same job as a white. Dr. Mondlane comments that "the most that the assimilado system ever sets out to do is to create a few 'honorary whites', and this certainly does not constitute non-racialism." (The Struggle for Mozambique, p.50).

The vast majority of Africans do not qualify for assimilation and live under a special set of regulations for indigenas. In 1961, this special system was abolished on paper, and all Africans were made Portuguese citizens. However, those who were

citizens before 1961 and those who were not received different types of identity cards; the police can still easily distinguish one category from the other. By means of this passbook, movement of Africans from one district to another, or from rural areas to the urban centers is rigidly controlled. The control is not as efficient as the similar passbook system in neighboring South Africa, but it has the same intent - the control of a large population of Africans by a white minority regime. The African is also subject to forced labor, of course, and to punishment at the discretion of the local Portuguese administration.

Statistics help reveal the lie behind claims of assimilation. In Mozambique the number of assimilados is near 5000 out of a population of 7 million - less than .1%. In Angola it is a bit higher but still an insignificant number.

The Portuguese have made small attempts to increase assimilation, but as a whole their action is inappropriate for that goal or handicapped by Portugal's lack of financial and human resources. The drive for increased white settlement is the clearest example of inappropriate action; the state of education is a blatant witness to the lack of resources.

One example of Portugal's drive for settlement is the project to settle one million Portuguese in the area of the huge Cabora-Bassa Hydroelectric project in Mozambique; soldiers finishing their terms are urged to stay for this purpose. Although the number of Portuguese settlers in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (Bissau) are still not significantly large as a percentage of the total population, they are sufficiently great so that the Portuguese minority frequently takes not only the higher administrative and economic positions, but also positions in skilled and unskilled labor. Many of the immigrants are illiterate, and even what skills they have, such as farming, are unsuited for tropical conditions. Thus many of the immigrants are for a time at least on the same level as and in competition with

the Africans. This competition, combined with the greater privileges accorded to the immigrant, heightens racial tension. Africans can cite cases where they had to do a Portuguese colleague's work for him, while continuing to receive substantially lower pay.

Increased settlement, even if successful in terms of numbers, is hardly likely to endear the Portuguese way of life to Africans. Education, on an equal basis, and rewarded by employment on an equal basis after its completion, might produce a substantial group of Africans willing to cooperate with the Portuguese. But the Portuguese have not and will not give education widely nor will job opportunities be equal. It is still a small minority of the African population who receive elementary education, despite expansion after the shock of guerilla wars against Portuguese rule. Most of those counted as literate Africans had only a few years of school, all in Portuguese, a foreign language to them.

Primary schools in Portuguese colonies serve more Africans than whites by necessity, but most Africans are relegated to non-governmental schools run by the Catholic missions, while whites go to government schools. Facilities in the schools for Africans are poor, curricula and teaching methods are little adapted to African conditions, and the African child learns more of history, geography, plants and animals of Portugal than of Africa. The small number of Africans who complete primary school (4 years) are frequently disqualified from the next level of education by age requirements or tough exams. Almost no Africans reach Portuguese universities. In 1964-65, out of 321 students in Estudos Gerais Universitarios in Mozambique, exactly 4 were African.

Thus the expansion of education is too small and comes too late to convert many Africans to Portuguese "Civilization." A war of liberation has already started in each of the Portuguese African colonies and most of Africa has already gained its independence. African peoples will no longer deny their own cultural heritage. They will not at this point be "assimilated".

Foreign Capital

Foreign capital is important to Portugal's economy at home, but in her colonies, Angola and Mozambique, it is particularly prominent. Early in the history of Mozambique, responsibility for development of sections of the country, and even governmental control, were granted to chartered companies such as the Mozambique and Niassa companies. Such companies, whose capital was mainly English, German, and French, lasted well into the twentieth century, monopolizing commerce within their districts, holding exclusive mining concessions, even collecting taxes. Eventually their political functions were removed but foreign involvement in Portuguese colonies continues.

Sugar is one of Mozambique's principal exports, providing a major source for Portugal. The largest sugar company, Sena Sugar Estates, is 90% British-owned, with headquarters in London, and with all British directors. In Angola, two of the most important firms for the economy as a whole are the Angola Diamond Company (DIAMANG) and the Benguela Railroad. DIAMANG, whose territory in northern Angola is virtually a state in itself, is controlled by Belgian and South African mining interests. Diamonds represent about 16% by value of total exports from Angola, and as of 1967 DIAMANG was the sole producer. In 1966 approximately 5% of estimated ordinary revenue of the provincial government came from this one company. The Benguela Railroad, crucially important for exports from Katanga and the Zambia copperbelt, is controlled by Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., a British firm tied to the Southern Africa mining complex.

In Mozambique, a number of concessions for petroleum prospecting have been granted in recent years. Mozambique Gulf Oil Company was the first, in 1957. Since then there have been six American, 2 French, one West German, and one South African companies involved in new concessions. In Angola, of 4 oil companies involved, one is Belgine, 4 French, one American (Gulf) and one mainly Portuguese. ANGOL, the

Portuguese company, is reported to be mainly owned by SACOR, a Portuguese refining concern, which in its turn involves substantial French capital. In Guinea-Bissau, Standard Oil of New Jersey is the sole concessionary.

One of the most important implications of such heavy non-Portuguese role in the Portuguese colonial economy is that, even should Portugal make a political decision to grant independence and attempt to maintain its influence by economic involvement, it would not be able to do so. neo-colonial relationship such as that of France to many of its ex-colonies is rule out. If Angola and Mozambique were independent, there would be no need for Western capital to go through the Portuguese middlemen. If the two countries with a country with a common language, Brazil would be a more desirable partner than Portugal. Thus, when the Portuguese reach negatively to American suggestions that they follow the path of other colonial powers, trusting that they could still maintain influence after granting independence, their negative reaction is not entirely irrational.

Police State and Sacred Mission

Not only economic factors affect Portugal's intransigence in Africa, though her economic interest is substantial and expanding. Portugal still conceives of itself in terms of an empire and of a cultural and religious mission to non-Portuguese peoples in its colonies.

Dr. Sid Gilchrist, a Canadian doctor and missionary in Angola for most of his life, points to two basic beliefs almost universal among Portuguese in Africa:

"Certain basic assumptions and convictions seem ingrained in almost all Portuguese colonists, professional people and administrators, newly arrived or African-born, lofty or lowly. One of these is that the African is mentally and morally inferior to the Portuguese... Another... is that they, the Portuguese, in their dealings with the Africans are superior to all other colonizing peoples. They wholeheartedly believe that they have a unique natural gift for understanding the African, for establishing rapport with him,

and for making him an adoring, obedient and grateful ward." (p.60, Angola, Awake by Sidney Gilchrist)

Portugal lives under a delusion.

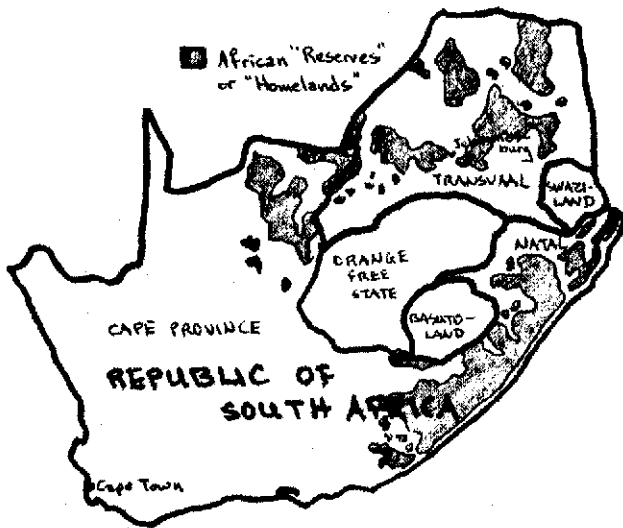
Remember also that this Portuguese delusion is enforced by a police state. There is no opposition party allowed in Portugal. Very few people vote in Portugal - fewer in the colonies. There is censorship of the press and books, a security police trained in the 30s by the Gestapo, and prison and prison camps where prison authorities are not terribly concerned about legality or the welfare of their charges.

Any political dissent may make one liable to arrest, torture or death. Caetano has released an occasional prominent prisoner, such as Mario Soares, and some minor dissent has been permitted in Portugal itself recently (although news media in Portugal have not been permitted to report it). Such concessions are for appearances, but the prisons are still full of political prisoners, and no significant dissent is yet possible nor likely to be in the foreseeable future.

Given these conditions, the suffering peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau have chosen the only option they have. They have begun their revolutions. They are fighting for independence. Portugal, the last colonial power in Africa, and an "ultracolonialist", both primitive and extreme, will have to emerge from its delusions and mythologies or face long and costly wars which will ultimately lose.

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INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

New Laws Throws Africans Out of Jobs:

The rights of Africans have been diminished still further by the new Bantu Laws Amendment Bill that was approved in the House of Assembly during the last week of February. According to the government, this will prevent racial friction in specific job categories. From May 3, Africans must be thrown out of a wide range of jobs. The jobs affected are in some cases considered low grade by white standards, but to Africans they represent positions which are relatively well paid and therefor relatively prestigious.

In accordance with apartheid policy, the government's decree gives one month's notice that Africans may not work as counter assistants in shops or restaurants serving whites, as receptionists in commercial or professional undertakings, as telephonists or switch board operators in shops, offices, factories or hotels, or as clerks, cashiers or typists in shops, offices or factories. It will affect Africans in the urban areas.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Dr. Koorhof, in pushing the bill through, described these jobs as "cracks in the wall of apartheid" that must be closed, and hailed the decree as the end of labor integration in South Africa. He alleged that not many Africans actually hold these jobs at present and that the bill is intended to prevent friction in the future. There is no reference in his speech to the plight of those who will

lose their job - an contrary to his statement, there are a great number. Although there is an acute white labor shortage, no solution was suggested to the problem of who shall fill the newly created vacancies.

The new law does not apply to Africans townships or the Bantustans but this will be no consolation to the unknown numbers of Africans in the cities who will lose their jobs. One large Johannesburg furnishing firm alone, which employs more than 1,000 Africans was reported to have given notice to nearly 700.

What the government tries to dismiss as a minor act to "prevent friction" is fact gives unprecedented power to the Minister of Bantu Administration to control the whole of the African Labor force, determining where Africans will work, what work they will do and for whom they will work. That is, it destroys even those meagre rights granted the relatively few Africans to reside un urban areas. In the past, Africans were guaranteed the right to live in urban areas if they were born in those areas or if residency had been established by length of employment in the urban area.

Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail, 2.2.70;
Johannesburg Star, 2.13.70, London
Sunday Times, 3/22/70

QUOTE: Mr. J. J. Van Zyl (MP Sunnyside) suggested in the Assembly this week that every white family should be encouraged to have 6 children to combat the pressing shortage of skilled labor. He appealed to the private sector to help the State in doing everything in its power to encourage couples to have children. (STAR 2/21/70)

Separate Citizenship, Too --

The Government is not only preparing the way to deprive all urban Africans of their rights, it is introducing legislation that tries to make that sound like a positive step forward. According to the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill all Africans will be given "citizenship" in a specific homeland, regardless of where

they live. "Citizenship" will be based on language or on associations with an area. Mrs. Helen Suzman, attacked the bill saying that its real object was to provide an "ethical" justification for what would follow--the final removal of the remaining rights of urban Africans.

Only 40% of the African population lives permanently in the homelands with about 6% of these away from the homelands at any given time working in White areas. The rest, 60% of the Africans, live on white farms or as permanent residents in urban areas. (Johannesburg, Rand Daily Mail 2/26/70)

The Government has a tidy rationale for the bill, calling it a cornerstone in the concept of nation building. The Minister of Bantu Administration, M.C. Botshelo, who introduced the bill, said that in the past a mistake had been made by identifying all Africans as one. According to him, each African nation had its own language and cultural background. This was recognized in the citizenship legislation. He said it was not true that urban Africans had become estranged from their homelands. This was a step toward the development of those homelands and "each one of these nations will become an independent nation." Thus African rights in white areas had to ease. "ALL THE SO CALLED RIGHTS OF THE BANTU WHICH LEAD TO INTEGRATION AND EQUALITY IN WHITE SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE REMOVED BY US." (Johannesburg STAR 2/28/70)

Botshelo's position is consistent with past pronouncements. Last year he said, "As far as I am concerned the ideal condition would be if we could succeed in due course in having all Bantu present in the White areas on a basis of migratory labor only." (Johannesburg STAR, 3/7/1970). The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill and the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill are just two more examples of the twisted minds of the leaders of white South Africa--men who cannot face their own evil and have to construct elaborate rationalizations for it.

The April Election

The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill and the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill can be

better understood if one remembers that an election is taking place in white South Africa on April 22, and that with four parties in the field, the largest number of multiple contests in South Africa's political history will be fought. Evidently, the ruling Nationalist Party has decided that the official opposition, the United Party is not a real threat. Rather the Herstigte (Reformed) Nasionale Party (HNP) is the one to be beaten (the Progressive Party is the fourth party.)

The Nationalist's have been accused by Mrs. Helen Suzman, (Progressive M.P.) of being obsessed by the HNP. Her analysis states that the two bills mentioned above are clearly designed to assure potential HNP supporters that nobody can guard the interests of the whites in South Africa as well as the Nationalists can. Prime Minister Vorster has taken the position that his most urgent political task is to smash the HNP. Other observers say he has made a major mistake by giving them so much attention; it would have been better to ignore them. At any rate, there is no possibility of the Nationalists losing the election. They presently hold 126 of the 166 seats in parliament. (Johannesburg STAR, 2/28/70; 3/7/70)

Coloured Representation in Provincial Council Over

With the end of the present session of the Cape Provincial Council, March 9, the Coloureds of the Cape will no longer be represented in that Council. The 1,500,000 Coloureds have been represented by two white men. Government legislation has abolished this representation. (Johannesburg STAR 2/21/70)

The Transkei--Example of Separate Development

The white Government continues

to expound the theory that separate development is the answer to the problem of South Africa. Thus it is instructive to look at the Transkei, the "most advanced" of all the "Bantu Homelands".

The health situation in the Transkei is terrible. An estimated forty percent of the children of the Transkei die before the age of ten from Kwashiorkor and other diseases. With two years of bad drought, the situation is getting worse rather than better. St. Lucy's Hospital has announced a three fold increase in kwashiorkor over the last one and a half years. Conditions are thought to be even worse in the drier western Transkei.

Further, with people weak from malnutrition the number suffering from TB has risen dramatically. The Superintendent of St. Lucy's Hospital did a comprehensive survey of a village in the Transkei and found over 20% of the people examined suffering from TB. The reports of the hospital have been dismissed by the Secretary for Health, Major General B. Raymond, as "a lot of nonsense."

The future is bleak. Even if Kwashiorkor and TB are wiped out a bigger problem remains. There is not enough land, nor are there jobs, to feed the people of the Transkei. The one possible answer to the problem under the present system is extensive industrialization, and that is just not happening. This is the white answer to African development and need. (Johannesburg STAR 3/7/70.

INSIDE NAMIBIA

Secret Trial of Namibian "Terrorists"

Swapo has just unearthed a secret trial which is under way in Pretoria in South Africa. The ten men on trial are all members of Swapo, charged under the Terrorism Act. Five of them are charged for activities allegedly performed in 1964-66, several years before the Terrorism Act had been enacted. This has been made possible because the Terrorism Act of 1967 was made retrospective to 1962. Three of the accused are charged for activities in 1968 while for two men the charges are not yet known.

Brendan Kangongola Simbwaye one of the

defendants is the Vice-President of SWAPO. He was originally served with a detention order on the 24th September, 1964. Having been moved several times, he was at last reported living in Warmbad in the southern part of Namibia. Here his health was weakened, according to information received by his wife. Since last year nothing has been heard about him until now he is being held in Pretoria with the other SWAPO men held for trial.

This trial is the third in a row of trials of Namibian freedom fighters. The difference between this trial and the previous ones is that this is held in total secrecy. It is obvious that the South African Government wants to avoid the world-wide publicity and condemnation of the two previous ones at a time when it is trying to contain its open and strong internal conflicts. (In this connection it is worth mentioning that the documents seized from the main South African Sunday newspapers by the police on the 21st February, contained detailed information about the recent SWAPO guerilla activities in the northern part of Namibia.)

SWAPO strongly condemns this trial and appeals to Governments, organizations and all men of good will to help making this trial known, and to condemn it as yet another illegal act by South Africa - an atrocity against the people of Namibia and an open and defiant violation of rulings of the United Nations. - from a SWAPO statement released 3/6, London

Mineral Riches in Namibia: Now a Uranium Bonanza.

A long article in the March 13 S.A. Gazette about mineral exploitation in Namibia is introduced by this short paragraph:

There can be few places in the world where the hunt for riches-- in the form of minerals or oil-- is going ahead as intensively as it is in South West Africa. Once regarded as a barren wasteland,

practically the whole area is going subjected to drilling, testing, sampling and surveying--much of which is proving very successful. Companies from all over the world are involved in the search, and enormous amounts of money are being spent on this as well as developments of proven resources.

The whole article and particularly that first paragraph are sadening, for nowhere is there even a mention of the people of Namibia who have over generations suffered at the hands of foreigners and have never benefited from the riches of their country.

The article summarizes the various major mining enterprises in Namibia (or South West Africa) (Note American interests): Diamonds, copper (the largest producer, Tsumeb, is American; a new and growing copper corporation is Falconbridge Nickel Mines of Canada), oil (Etosha, an American corporation is the only one engaged in full-scale drilling), lead and zinc (again Tsumeb, and Briland Mines, Ltd. of Canada which has plans to open up three mines), and wolfram (which is being developed by an unnamed American Co.) But according to the Gazette, the biggest boom in the next few years is likely to be uranium (exploited by Rio Tinto, a corporation with Canadian and Australian interests), a bonanza which, according to the Gazette, will possibly alter the whole structure and future of the area.

sian rifles during a gun battle in the Zambesi Valley during January of this year. The seventh accused, aged 17, was given life imprisonment.

The trial was held in camera and the court ordered that the names of the men and certain other details be withheld. All seven pleaded not guilty to the murder. To the additional charge of crossing into Rhodesia carrying arms of war, five pleaded guilty.

The men were said to be part of a group of 20 who crossed in Rhodesia undetected, taking additional arms for use by new local recruits. A detachment of 15 attacked a South African police camp in the Zambesi Valley just after midnight on January 17. During a bitter 45-minute engagement, four white South African "policement" were wounded, one of whom said he fell wounded about 15 yards from where the hand grenade exploded and had four bullets in his body. Another said that 16 tents were hit during the engagement. Later the Victoria Falls airport buildings were damaged and a railway line was blown up.

The incident leading to the death of the African soldier occurred two weeks later in a battle between the guerillas and Rhodesian soldiers.

These freedom fighters are members of the A.N.C./Z.A.P.U. alliance which is engaged in a freedom struggle in Rhodesia. The six new death sentences bring the number now waiting in the condemned cells of Salisbury prison to 43. Some have been there for four years.

INSIDE RHODESIA



Rhodesia to Cut Black Education

The Rhodesian Government is determined to carry out their plan to reduce spending on primary education for black Africans, a move that will probably force the closing of most Christian missionary schools. Under the plan, the Government intends to reduce salaries to teachers in African primary schools by 5% by Jan. 1. Roman Catholic, Methodist and Dutch Reformed churches have already decided they will close their primary schools in the tribal areas, and other church groups will no doubt follow. About 400,000 of the 700,000 African primary-school students

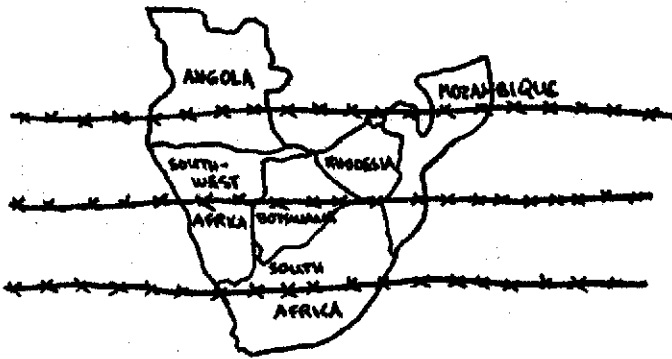
Freedom Fighters Condemned to Death, names withheld.

Six African guerillas were sentenced to death in Rhodesia on April 2nd, for killing an African soldier of the Rhode-

attend mission schools.

The government has informed churchmen that the move grows out of a policy not to spend more than 2% of the gross domestic product on African education. This means that schools and services are reduced as population increases.

It is possible that local African councils could take over the mission schools when they close, if the have funds available to help them. The government reduction would amount to around \$800,000, and impossible amount for the Africans to raise from school fees alone. The Government now spends about \$,100 for each white student in the country, and about \$112 for each African. (New York Times, 4/13/70)



PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

brief notes

Major Attack Admitted by Portuguese

The Portuguese military command in Angola has admitted "many" Portuguese casualties in an attack at Caripanda, in the southern Cazombo district of Angola near the frontier with Zambia. According to the communique, the MPLA guerillas used mortar and automatic-weapons fire in the attack. No further details were given in the communique, unusual in admitting "many" casualties. An AP report from Bissau (3/7/70) reports that in Guinea "a surge of rebel activity caused 40 deaths."

Stanford in Angola

The University of Luanda, soon to establish the first department of petroleum Engineering in a Portuguese University, has held a petroleum engineering conference, attending by Portu-

guese and foreign technical personnel. Among the leading speakers was Professor Sullivan Marsden, Jr., of Stanford University, in Angola to help with setting up the new department. Angola has now, reports the Diario de Luanda, stopped importing oil, but is now an oil-exporting country.

Cabora Bassa Developments

Noticias de Beira reports that construction has already begun on the new town of Cabora Bassa, at Songo. The plans, "entirely worked out in Lisbon by the Zambeze working group", call for a town of 5,000. The first families are scheduled to arrive in December of 1970.

Also in Mozambique, a sale of a major tourist attraction to South African financial interests is being contemplated (NY Times, 3/29/70.) Santa Carolina Island, off the town of Vilanculos, is a major center for big-game fishing, and is patronized by rich South Africans. The present owner, a Portuguese, is in poor health, and wants to sell to South African interests.

Portugal and Malawi

Dr. Aleke Banda, Malawi Minister of finance and Information and Tourism, has recently (Feb. 22-25) made a state visit to Portugal to deal with subjects of common concern. The round of talks and dinners was, according to Malawi Ambassador in Lisbon Katenaga-Kaunda, "to Strengthen the friendly relations already existing between Malawi and Portugal."

Africasie (le journal du tiers monde) has in its issue no. 9 (16 Feb.-1 Mar.) a special section on the war in Angola, including a recent interview with Agostino Neto (President of MPLA) and a number of other articles.

A New pamphlet, Wisconsin Corporate Involvement in Southern Africa, is available for 10¢ from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 306 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wisconsin, 53715. It focuses on the eleven Wisconsin-based companies involved in South Africa. American Zinc Company, St. Louis, is the largest zinc smelter in the United States. Unlike many American Companies, it does not have a subsidiary in South Africa. In its case the interpenetration of capital takes another form: the concern

is 60% owned by Consolidated Gold Fields (of South Africa), Ltd., an international mining complex with headquarters in London, recently trying to diversify from its heavy involvement in South African gold mines.



SPORT

Davis Cup Exclusion is International Communist Plot.

After the Springboks were expelled from the Davis Cup the South African Lawn Tennis Union President, Mr. Alf Chalmers returned to Johannesburg and took the pragmatic view of many of the nation's tennis enthusiasts; there is no harm in relaxing internal racial barriers to some extent if this was the price of avoiding world sports isolation.

Chalmers blamed the expulsion on the banning of Arthur Ashe from South Africa and said that unless South Africa changed its sports policy, complete isolation from world sport was inevitable. Even the golfer Gary Player, a staunch defender of the government has been responding to the same kind of pressure by murmuring about the need to relax sports color bars. Tennis players have reached that tennis is the most important thing in their lives; Ashe is a great tennis player and to most of them the colour of his skin is of no concern.

Tennis is predominantly the sport of the English-speaking minority and according to the Prime Minister the expulsion is part of an international communist plot. This was the explanation Prime Minister Vorster gave to 2,000 Nationalist supporters at a rally in Windhoek (Namibia) at the end of March.

In Vorster's terms, there is no room for the possibility that South Africa's racial policies might be to blame. Instead, he told his audience, in creeping over the world, the communists are coming closer to South Africa and the Cape sea route which they need in order to achieve international domination. Trying to wrest 'concessions' from South Africa - such as letting Ashe play here - in part of their bid for world victory.

As far as South Africa is concerned she is right and it is the rest of the world that is out of step. To give way to the pressures of communists, liberals, long-haired demos, sickly humanists and others would open the way to the fiery gates of multi-racialism. This compromise dare not be tolerated. And it applies equally to Basil d'Oliveira accompanying the British cricket team (South African born coloured, now British citizen) or Ashe playing here or whatever it might be.

To the nationalists therefore this exclusion does not prompt any great rethinking on race in sport. The reaction is either sorrowful or spitting defiance.

The government has firmly rebuffed all such deviationist views and can be expected to continue doing so. It is the politicians who decide what happens in sport. To bring about changes, the sportsmen would have to interfere in politics - and that's unthinkable prospect in South Africa. (The Observer, London 3-29-70)

Springboks Unwelcome in England

The Stop the Seventies Tour Movement in Britain continues vigorously to try and prevent the South African cricket tour from playing against the British MCC team in England this summer. There is a great deal public support for the movement, and against the tour itself. the government and major newspapers have expressed the view that the South Africans should not have been invited to play in Britain due to their racist sports policy. Two years ago, a British team was invited to play in South Africa. This was cancelled when the South African government refused to allow a non-white member of the team, Basil D'Oliveira (born in South Africa, but now a British citizen) to play in South Africa. This roused the indignation of much of the

British public, culminating in the movement to stop the tour in Britain. However, the MCC refused to consider public pressure and insisted that the invitation stand.

The campaign is varied, and hopes to use a great variety techniques to hamper the matches. For instance: - The West Indian Campaign Against Apartheid Cricket says they have under serious consideration a proposal to call all

Black London Transport workers to refuse to drive any public transport to grounds hosting the Springboks. There is an estimated 60% Black staff on the tubes (subway) and 30% on the buses. Other militants would, if the public transport were manned by whites, ride the tubes pulling communication cords to disrupt travel. - Trotskyites claim they have distributed thousands of army-type steel mirrors which will be concealed in the hands of spectators and flashed into batsmen's eyes during play; blankets would be used to throw across barbed wire barriers in an effort to gain entrance to the grounds. Block bookings are being secured by many anti-Tourists with views to totally ignore the peaceable conditions of ticket purchases.

-Meanwhile fifteen members of the House of Commons, Liberals and Labourites, are forming into a Parliamentary body which will demonstrate outside the grounds and by sitting together on the pitches. It is now estimated that as many as 100 MPs, from all parties, are willing to sign any far-reaching protest against the tour. (Sunday Times, London 3-29-70)

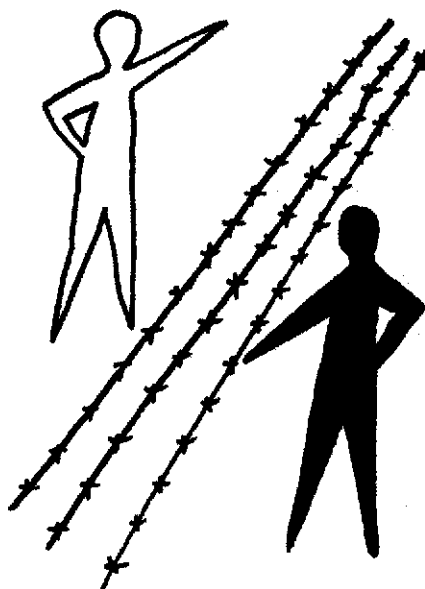
U.N. Hears Move to Bar South Africa From World Sports

The proposal was brought to the committee examining South Africa's race separation policies by Dennis Brutus, head of the South African non-Racial Olympic Committee, which is responsible for much of the action taken against (South Africa in regard to Sport.

He urged the 11-nation committee to "ask Britain and New Zealand to cease supporting South African sports bodies that practice racism." He also recommended the isolation of all racist sports-organizations in South Africa. This would mean that nations competing with South African teams be isolated by various countries by breaking sports ties with those nations Brutus suggested that this was

not too high a price to pay for upholding the principle of equal rights. Zambia, Kenya, and Uganda have already indicated their intention to not be hosts to cricket teams who have toured South Africa, he noted. 'Honorary White' Jockey Barred, N.Y. Times 3/24/70)

The South African Government has refused a visa to the celebrated Japanese jockey, Sueso Masuzawa, who was due to ride in South Africa during March. Masuzawa has 444 wins to his credit since 1957 and was one of seven overseas jockeys invited to complete in the International Riders' Invitation Stakes at Gosforth Park on March 7, 1970. When Masuzawa's visa was refused, it was noted that South Africa did not have traditional sporting relations with Japan. But the situation is not so clear cut. In South Africa the Japanese are classified as "honorary whites.", for the purpose of facilitating the trade relations between the two countries. Following the denial of the visa to Masuzawa the Interior Minister, Stephenus L. Muller, announced that "new facts" had emerged so that Mr. Masuzawa would be granted a visa after all. He did not disclose the new facts and Mr. Masuzawa declined to come.



ECONOMICS

The status of "honorary whites", was established in 1962 by Hendrik J. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister at the time, who said that "We sell to Japan and we buy from the... It is the normal and correct thing. One cannot trade without certain contacts, and so the Japanese must come to South Africa in connection with certain trade contacts. But there are never more 60 to 100 in the country at any one time, so there is no threat from these temporary trade relations."

According to the N.Y. Times 3/15/70 There are now about 300 temporary Japanese residents in South Africa, and that number is expected to grow as trade increases. Japan is South Africa's second largest market, taking one-eighth of exports. It is the biggest overseas buyer of South African sugar, corn and iron ore and a major market for wool.

Japanese have been refused service in restaurants, had difficulty finding living accommodations, been ordered off segregated buses and suffered other snubs. But most Japanese here are satisfied," says their Vice Consul, Takashi Matsu-moto. "One of the problems is that we are often mistaken for Chinese people, but generally incidents are rare." (N.Y. Times 3/15/70)

Barred Yet Again

South African has been barred from the world cycling championship in Leicester, England in August. The President of the South African Cycling Federation had been advised by the international body that the South African application for 1970 affiliation was not accepted. This rules out South African competition in international events.

"We intended to send a multi-racial team", he said. "This decision is as much a slap in the face to non-white cyclists as it is to us." Indeed.



British Bank's links with South Africa Protested:

Accusations against Barclays Bank were made at their annual shareholders meeting in London at the beginning of April, at which anti-apartheid speeches were given.

The accusations arose out of Barclays Bank's presence in South Africa and over its part in helping to finance sub-contractors on the \$500 million Cabora Bassa dam scheme on the Zambezi River. The dam will displace 24,000 Africans from their homes, it was said, and will prop up white-dominated Mozambique and South Africa with Hydro-electric power.

Fifth placarded protesters demonstrated outside the bank's headquarters while tight security checks on the door prevented them from entering the meeting. Despite the Director's attempts to prevent demonstration within the meeting itself (the 30 shares for on behalf of the group who organized the demonstration were not issued in time and it was rule that proxy-holders could not speak), the meeting was infiltrated by two share-holders sympathetic to the cause.

U.S. Businessmen Should Invest In U.S. A.

Professor Edward Bursk, editor of the Harvard Business Review, is returning from an 18-day study tour of South Africa with the message that the South African economy is extremely stable and U.S. businessmen should put more money in it (News from South Africa, 1/4/70). The same report will be made by a team of U.S. investment advisers from the Stanford University Research Institute. (South African Financial Gazette, 3/13/70)

The Chairman of Barclays Bank read a prepared statement. Barclays Bank interests in South Africa went back 50 years he said, and played an important part in the advancement of the wellbeing "of all 19 million inhabitants.

"Our facilities are available to all and it is our policy that there should be no discrimination whatever in our attitude towards our customers. DCO

(Barclays overseas subsidiary) has in fact some 700,000 non-white customers."

"If we were to abandon the work of 50 years solely for political reasons, the effect on South African policies would be minimal and the business would merely be taken over by local interests. This would do nothing to help the people whose welfare the demonstrators seek to promote."

As for Cabora Bassa dam, it was being financed by French, German, Italian and Portuguese banks. Barclays Bank is involved in a tiny proportion of the total cost through a sub-contractor.

In answer, the demonstration supporter said the idea of the dam was to consolidate minority rule. "You say you are doing all sorts of things in South Africa. How many Africans bank managers do you have? How many do you train? You don't. Last year you trained 88 clerks. Is this sufficient? Can you tell me what you are doing in South Africa to improve the lot of the Africans when you have done nothing up to now? You give them crumbs on a plate."

U.S. Business in South Africa

Wean Industries of the U.S. has recently won a highly-contested contract for a \$7 million continuous steel strip pickling line for Iscor's Vanderbijlpark works. (African Development, Dec.1969)

U.S. National Oil is the third American oil company to join the search for oil in South Africa's Mossel Bay and Plettenberg Bay areas. The company will be operating on behalf of Midlands Oil, a major landward concessionholder with rights extending the length of the Cape coastline.

Superior Oil will be drilling soon; Placid expects to have a rig in operation by mid-1970, and Total by the end of 1970. (African Development, Dec.1969)

Carlton Paper (the South African associate of America's Crown Zellerbach) has introduced a new industrial paper towel dispenser designed for "high volume cloak-rooms" soon to be placed in all major South African industries. Can it be that Africans and Europeans will wipe their

hands with the same kind of paper towel? (Financial Mail, 12/31/1969 exceeded the forecast by 32% with the net profit amounting to over \$1,570,000 (Jo'burg Star, 2/21/70)

Holiday Inns will soon open their first six hotels in Southern Africa. The first to open will be in Swaziland, then 5 in South Africa at Ermelo, Hluhluwe, Maseru, Oudtshoorn, and at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg. These first six costing \$9.8 million, will be followed by 5 more Pietermaritzburg, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and another in Johannesburg. (News from South Africa, 1/25/70.

Burlington Hosiery Mills, South Africa, is putting \$630,000 in additional equipment for their South African plants in order to increase output. Burlington Industries of Burlington, North Carolina holds 25% of the South African

firm's shares. (Daily News Record, 1/28/70)

South Africa's giant Anglo American Corporation is moving into the lucrative computer technology field, in partnership with Computer Sciences Corp. of Los Angeles. The new company will start out with \$6.3 million in assets. (News from South Africa, 3/4/70)

Fluor International, Inc., also a Los Angeles, has formed a consortium to build an \$84 million refinery for National Petroleum Refiners of South Africa (NATREF). Work started on the refinery in August, 1969 with a staff of 2400 people, including experts from the U.S. The process design for the refinery was done by Universal Oil Products Co. of Des Plaines, Ill. It will refine 2½ million metric tons of crude oil a year. (Jo'burg Star, 2/21/70)

South African Trade With Africa Increases.

Trade with other African countries continued to increase in 1969. During the first eleven months, the Republic exported goods valued at \$335.58 million to markets in Africa, compared with \$324.10 million during the corresponding period in 1968. Imports dropped from \$155.82 million to \$147.42 million. (South Africa International, Jan.1970)

The Economic Scene in Southern Africa

New York Post columnist Describes South Africa as Tourist Haven

Richard Joseph, weekly travel columnist of the New York Post, has nothing but glowing praise for South Africa as a tourist haven. He especially was pleased with the hotel: "I was surprised," he wrote from Johannesburg, when the room service here at the President Hotel answered the phone at 4 a.m...If this is darkest Africa, then somebody sure must have put on the light." He describes South Africa as the best jump-off point for big-game adventures in "tribal Africa to the north." (News from South Africa, 2/25/70)

Industrial Boom in South Africa

Coupled with her growth as a tourist haven (see above), South Africa is supposedly experiencing the biggest industrial boom in her history. This is revealed by figures issued by the Dept. of Statistics showing that in 1969 employment in manufacturing and construction jumped by 117,000 (8.9% to a record 1,430,000.

This reflects a sharp upsurge in the demand for goods and building in 1969. (News From South Africa, 2/25/70)

New Copper Mine in South West Africa

Just 34 miles south of Windhoek, a new copper mine will be established, involving about \$7 million in investment. Financing for the mine will come from the Falconbridge Nickel Mine of Canada. It is expected that the mine will treat 50,000 tons of ore per month, producing 1,300 tons of copper concentrate. Production is to start in July 1971.

Non-Whites Get More Hotels

Almost \$3 million has been spent in the last 2 1/2 years to build hotels for coloureds and Africans in South Africa. Seven hotels, and 22 liquor licensed restaurants have been established. The Coloured Development Corporation aims to have at least one hotel for coloureds on each national road route, and provides loans to Coloureds for establishing hotels at 7-7 1/2% interest, repayable over 15 to 20 years.

One of the show hotels for Africans is the \$700,000 40-bedroom Transkei Hotel build by the Xhosa Development Corporation at Umtata. The trend is for Africans to own the hotels built for

African occupancy, and 3 in the Ciskei and 3 in the Transkei are being transferred to African ownership. (News from South Africa, 2/4/70)

Malagasy and South Africa Link Economies

French financial interests are eyeing Africa again, and are involved in the promotion of a trade and commercial relationship between South Africa and the Malagasy Republic. Architect of the movement is the French Banque d'Indochine, one of the five biggest private banks in France. The BI has an important subsidiary in South Africa, the French Bank of South Africa, which handles nearly all French-South African trade, including the arms deals which have made France the apartheid regime's biggest supplier of weaponry. Despite its 10 years of theoretical independence from France, Malagasy is still very poor, and lacks the capital to develop its own riches. President Philibert Tsiranana, who has run Malagasy since 1960, has kept it under the neo-colonial wing of France. As his Foreign Minister, Jacques Rabemananjara said this January, "We follow a policy of doing business with South Africa because it is in our interest to do so." (Daily World, 3/18/70)



**THE CHURCHES
and
SOUTHERN
AFRICA**

Dutch Church Warns South African Church

For the first time in its history, the Reformed Churches in Holland have conveyed their official "disquiet" over church apartheid in South African churches. In a letter sent to the South African sister churches, the synod of the Dutch churches warns of the "danger" of allowing political and social considerations to influence their study of the Bible. The letter states that the Dutch churches "feel

obliged" to write regarding the matter of race relations. There was a need for the South African churches to guard against being "led by the idea that racial purity could be in accordance with the Holy Scriptures." The letter concludes by appealing to the South African churches to consider changes in racial attitudes.

White Priest Backs claim of Apartheid

A white priest, Father Colin Collins (also General Secretary of the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa), came out in support of five African Catholic priests who accused the Roman Catholic Church of South Africa of practising apartheid. As proof of the accusation, Father Collins cited the Catholic in South Africa, numbering about 400, in which white religious teachers, nuns, brothers and priests outnumbered their African counterparts 10 to 1. Another example was cited. "In Johannesburg...there are about 20 Catholic high schools for whites. There are more Non-White Catholics in Johannesburg than Whites, yet they have only one church-run high school." Father Collins also cited: "In Johannesburg there are about 60 White priests and about 15 African." Although the priests all receive approximately the same salary, the White priests were much better off because of other benefits that Africans don't receive. In the white areas there is one priest to 400 Catholics; in the African areas, one priest to 2,000 Catholics. (Rand Family Mail, 1/24/70)

Church Supports Mixed Marriage?

A South African conference of Afrikaans churches has expressed support for a finding that scripture does not prohibit mixed marriages. The finding of the commission was that there are no scriptural grounds for the attitude of previous synods that there could "never and nowhere" be marriage between White and Non-White." It recommended that previous synod decisions of 1920 and 1955 should be reviewed because their application could give rise to pitilessness and lack of love.

However, the resolution of the ecumenical synod is not binding on member churches, and it must be confirmed by synods of individual churches

before becoming official church policy. And from there it would still be a long way to becoming official government policy! (Star, 1/24/70)

Move to End Death Penalty

South Africa's Council of Churches is printing and circulating a report recommending the phased abolition of the death penalty in South Africa. The report was compiled by Mr. Peter Randall, Director of Spro-cas, and suggested the following steps:

- A campaign for penal reform aimed at finding an adequate alternative for capital punishment.
- A campaign for a reduction in the number of capital offenses in South Africa.
- The "unequivocal" rejection by the Churches of the principal of capital punishment and collective Church pressure by a Government inquiry into the death penalty.

A concerted effort by the Churches to educate and inform the public on the death penalty in South Africa.

The Council of Churches consists of 26 Churches and religious organizations. Copies of the recommendation will be sent to Church correspondents, requesting them to send two copies to each congregation "for consideration on the congregational level." Further copies will be sent to the heads of member Churches with the request that they refer their comments back to the Council.

U.S. Churches Hold Press Conference

On the occasion of the tenth-year commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre (March 21, 1970), the National Committee of Black Churchmen and University Christian Movement jointly sponsored a press conference at the Interchurch Center in New York City. Denominational heads and church leaders were invited to make statements regarding the Sharpeville massacre or South Africa in general.

Principle speakers were Dr. Robert Bilheimer, Exec. Dir. of the NCC Dept. of Int'l. Affairs; Dr. Alford Carl-eton, V.P. of the United Church of Christ Board of World Ministries; Dr. John Coventry Smith, General Secretary of the United Presbyterian Church,

COEMAR; Dr. Tracey K. Jones, Jr., General Secretary of the United Methodist Church; and the Rev. Metz Rollins, Exec. Secy. of the NCBC.

In addition to a joint statement about the commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre, several of the churchmen made statements regarding their particular denomination and the steps they would like to see taken regarding South Africa. An example is the statement by the United Church as follows:

"We urge the Administration to discontinue Defense Department training of Portuguese forces in anti-guerrilla warfare--training which can only be careful in Portugal's war of colonial domination.

"We urge our Government to study Portugal's use of arms supplied under NATO agreements in their attempts

to maintain control of African colonies-- and to take appropriate action to cut off such supplies to Portugal.

We urge Congressional action to revise the Sugar Act which has granted South Africa a lucrative portion of our sugar purchases at higher than world market prices.

"We urge the Administration to review the activities of the Commerce Department which is encouraging increased American investment in South Africa.

"We urge our State Department to reconsider their present policy of appointing white Americans only to diplomatic posts in Southern Africa."

STATEMENT BY BISHOP ABEL T. MUZOREWA, B.A., M.A. RHODESIA AREA OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH ON HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND NORTHERN EUROPE, MARCH 20, 1970

Since I am leaving Rhodesia for a length of time, I feel I should voice my distress at the present situation in this country.

First, I want to address myself to the electorate. Since only 2 per cent of our total population can vote in the coming election, they bear a heavy responsibility to the voteless masses.

We need free men --men free from fear. The freedom I talk about is needed by all of us -- Black, White, Coloured, and Asian alike. Even the Rhodesian Front is not free, for it fears the loss of white privilege. It needs our liberation.



During this election the voters shall hear many appeals to protect the narrow interests of one racial group. Let's vote instead for people who are free from the intoxication of racialism. Let us vote for a party we believe will offer equal opportunities for advancement to all in education, employment, social and political life.

I am sorry to think that at the very time when scientists and theologians are coming to a common understanding of the basic common nature of Man, the rulers of Rhodesia are still believers in the false doctrine of racial superiority and inferiority.

The human race is one. Why then do people spend money, energy, and time on schemes of compulsory separation? Racialists talk about forced integration. I do not believe there is such a thing.

voluntary integration is one mature way whereby Rhodesians of all races could really get to know one another.

I hate to think that our children in Rhodesia fifty years from now will still be victims of racial hatred and distrust when people in other countries have achieved racial harmony.



SOUTH AFRICA revolution or evolution ?

I believe that we should emphasize our unity rather than division. Africans are equally guilty of not seeking this unity in the coming election.

Another point I want to touch are midnight raids in the townships. Many whites in our towns do not realize that Africans in the townships go to bed every night in our towns do not realize that Africans in the townships go to bed every night in fear of police raids. The Whites do not understand what life is like for people unable to speak openly their opinions and frustrations for fear of police informers. Some Africans are held for questioning without any charges being brought against them. Others are held for so long that they lose their jobs.

This is terrorism -- rule by a system of coercive intimidation. It is this government terrorism which causes our young men, both Black and White, to be fighting one another in the Zambezi Valley.

Why should children of the same country fight? Is this a sign of racial harmony and peace?

Some hide the real cause by saying it is a fight against Communism. If communist influence spreads among the African people in Rhodesia, it is the Smith regime which is to blame. It is the denial of opportunities for advancement on merit to persons of all races which has caused African young people to look elsewhere for help.

One clear example of this denial is to be found in the new government policy on African education.

The government has deliberately precipitated a conflict between itself and the Church by imposing the 5 per cent cut in salary grants to African mission primary schools.

The result will be that thousands of African youngsters will roam the streets and countryside, idle, un-

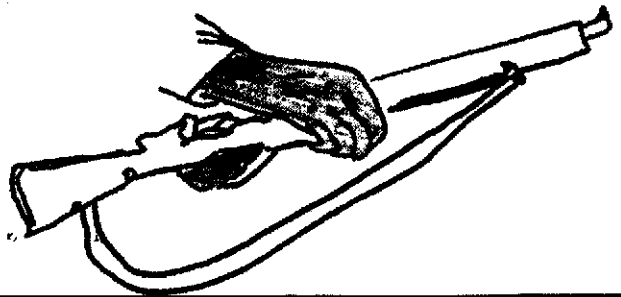
employed and lacking opportunities for further education.

This, coupled with the existing mass unemployment, is the seedbed of revolution.

Norman Macrae's article, "What Will Destroy Apartheid?" in the March 1970 Harpers is informed and well-argued (Macrae is deputy editor of the London Economist). Macrae's thesis is that as South Africa's economy continues to grow the standard of living of black South Africans will rise accordingly. If this happens very fast, it is possible that the Africans will revolt violently against the intolerable system of Apartheid, since as Macrae says "revolutions are not created by extreme economic deprivation, but come when man is just pulling away from it." (Macrae discounts as inconsequential the current actions of the militant PAC and ANC) If, however, the growth is more gradual, then possibly revolution will be superseded by peaceful evolution to a "decent multi-racial society." Macrae hopes fervently for the latter course of events.

Given this analysis, it is interesting that Macrae does not venture to recommend a course of action for Western business. He does assert that a slight slowing down of South Africa's economy, resulting from an economic boycott would be useful in order to allow social change to keep up with rising expectations and thus preclude the possibility of revolution. But, Macrae himself does not support a boycott against South Africa.

More important, though, there are serious faults in Macrae's overall analysis. He fails to make any reference to peoples' struggles all over the world, and the undeniable relationship of these struggles to the struggles in Southern Africa. That the activities of the ANC and PAC in South Africa have so far made the activities of the ANC and PAC in South Africa have so far made little apparent impact is not as significant as the fact that to the North of South Africa, wars of national liberation are already well advanced in Angola and Mozambique. Alliances between these

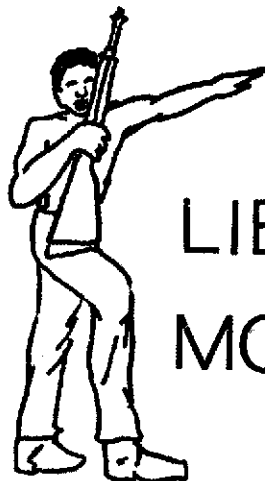


movements and the movements in South Africa are firm. Finally, the increasingly effective cooperation between the ANC and ZAPU is a new force to be reckoned with, not only in Zimbabwe, where guerilla action is gaining strength, but also in South Africa where preparations are undonably being made.

Given the inevitable racial undertones of these wars, and the blatant racialism which the Apartheid system has imposed on South Africa, just how the peoples of South Africa could ever evolve peacefully to a "decent multiracial society" is pretty hard to imagine. Macrae believes that young whites in South Africa are less racist than their elders, and he believes that in racial attitude South Africa will be very responsible to the racial attitudes which develop in the U.S. About the racial situation in the U.S., he says:

"It is in the United States that the racial problem is surely either going to be solved first, else is going to explode the planet. The present battle by the one-ninth of America's population which is black will be won when, some time within our lifetimes, it is recognized as natural that about one out of nine of American Presidents and top business executives and professional men should be black."

Perhaps it is because Macrae is not an American himself that he can envisage those two extremes as the only possible resolutions to the race problem in the U.S. It seems then that Macrae is unfoundedly optimistic. He doesn't really take very seriously the possibility that the U.S. race problem could "explode the planet." The alternative that we solve the problem "within our lifetimes" reflects an ignorance of the complexity of racial attitudes in the U.S. and in the whole world. If Macrae's lack of understanding for the tenacity of racism and the bitterness of black people in the U.S. leads to his unfounded optimism about the future of the U.S., so much more does he fail to understand the tenacity of the Apartheid system in South Africa and the growing anger of the Africans who must suffer within it.



LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

U.S. Planes Fighting Portugal's Wars: Exerpts from MPLA Communique

"Aircraft are among the most important weapons used by the Portuguese colonialists in their bloody repression of the Angolan people and the people in the other colonies. They make it possible to massacre the people, to transport troops and to supply bases in the controlled areas.

Portugal does not manufacture aircraft but it has an assembly industry which, between 1962 and 1967, put about 150 small planes of the AUSTER D 5/160 type in the air, the parts being supplied by Great Britain.

According to the publication PORTUGAL AND NATO, The Portuguese Air Force possesses the following airplanes. (only those with U.S. origins are listed here)

- 1) 50 Republic F-84 Thunderjet hunters supplied under the American Military Assistance Program, the first in 1952.
- 2) 50 North American F-86 Sabre hunters supplied under the American Military Assistance Program, in 1960. This type of aircraft was intended to replace the Thunderjets.
- 3) 30 Cessna T-37 C planes supplied by the United States in 1963 and 1964
- 4) A few hundred aircraft of the North American Harvard T-3 and T-6 type, supplied by Great Britain as from 1956.
- 5) 18 Lockheed PV-2 Harpoon bombers supplied under the American Assistance Program in 1954.
- 6) 12 Lockheed P-2v Neptune bombers supplied under the American Military Assistance Program in 1960-'61
- 7) 20 Douglas B-26 Bombers supplied by the American CIA, 1965-66.
- 8) In addition to these types of aircraft, the Portuguese Air Force has also the C-47 Dakota, the

the C-54 Skymaster and the Beach C-45 Expeditor. The last was supplied by Canada in 1952; the others by the USA.

When, in a colonial war, the action of the agressor is characterized principally by acts of terrorism, by sudden sweeping attacks, and by aerial bombardments, it is because he is being defeated in the battle-field. If he perpetrates aggressions against the countries neighboring the one in which the colonial war is raging, it is because he is conscious of the irreversible character of the success of the national liberation movement and despairs to face the inevitability of defeat. This is the situation of the Portuguese in our country.

While developing a slanderous propaganda, the Portuguese colonialist (who knows better than anyone else that we are within the interior, fighting from the interior of our country are vainly trying to mislead, and to deprive us of the solidarity of the states and peoples on our borders. The dissaray of the Portuguese is further proof of the military political, social and cultural victories accomplished by our combatants during the last months.

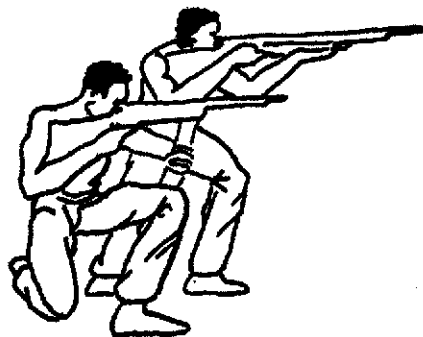
Our last communique made an estimate of the results of the principle actions carried out in November, 1969. We make public the data concerning December and part of January.

CABORA BASSA BLOW UP

The Financial Time (London) reports that 7 men have been killed in an explosion described in Lisbon sources as the result of a blasting accident on road construction leading to the dam site near Tets.

"It is pointed out, however, that only yesterday FRELIMO, the terrorist movement in Mozambique calimed it has launched a major operation in the Tete district." (FT, Feb.27,1970) The London based Anti-Apartheid News describes FRELIMO activities since September, 1969. The Mozambique Freedom party has killed about

350 Portuguese troops, destroyed 55 vehicles, blown up 3 bridges, launched 20 attacks on Portuguese outposts, and conducted 40 mining operations. Meanwhile in Britain the campaign against Barclays' Bank because of the banks admitted financial complicity in the construction of the Cabora Bassa project continues. Anti-Apartheid News also reports that the question of Cabora Bassa was brought up by a Belgian Member at the Council of Europe. (Anti Apartheid News, March, 1970).



King of Lesotho in Exile

King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho was expected to arrive in Holland

during the second week of April to go into enforced exile. It is reported that the Dutch Ambassador accredited to Lesotho was permitted to visit the king at his home where he had been held under house arrest since January 28. This suggests that the Chief Jonathan authorized the plan for exile in Holland.

Chief Jonathan's bid to have King Moshoeshoe at a meeting of the chief failed, when only a quarter supported his plan. The revised plan means that the monarch does not abdicate nor is he deposed.

Chief Jonathan's case against the King is that he intervened personally in the January elections on behalf of the opposition. (The Guardian, 4/3/70)

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