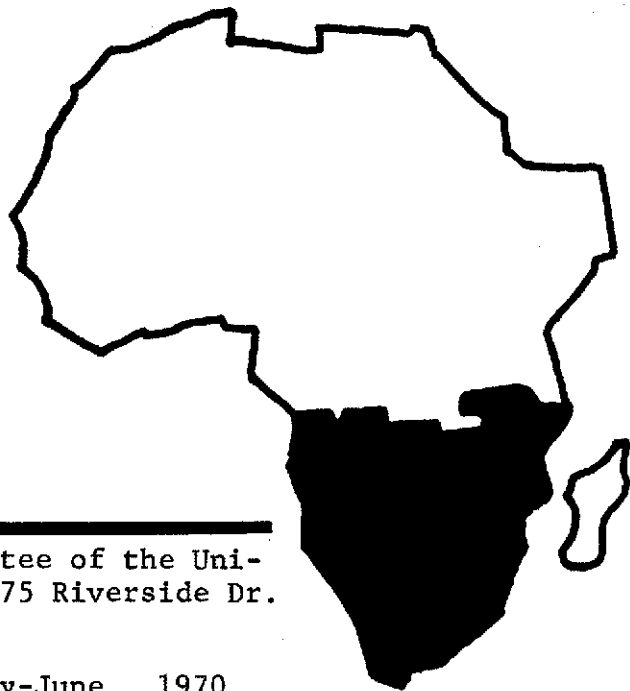


SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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"GULF KILLS" BUTTONS: 25¢

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EDITORIAL

DEMOCRACY SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

On April 22nd a General Election was held in South Africa. Two million white adults were entitled to vote. Eight million Africans, Coloureds and Indians were not. The following table summarizes the result:

<u>Party</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>United</u>	<u>Herstigte</u>	<u>Progressive</u>	<u>Others</u>
Total votes	820,968	561,647	53,763	51,760	8,365
% This election	54.43	37.23	3.56	3.43	0.73
% Last election	58.62	37.05	-	3.10	1.23
% Seats	70.9	28.5	0	0.6	0
Contestants	145	150	78	19	15
Victories	117	47	0	1	0
Deposits Lost	0	3	75	5	12

The election was widely held to signal a swing away from the apartheid policies of the National Party. Unfortunately this conjecture does not bear close inspection. Certainly the National Party did lose English-speaking support and this led to the loss of 9 seats to the United Party. Certainly the Progressive Party put up a better show, but it still won only one seat. But if you look at the percentage of votes received by each party, then a more accurate and sobering perspective emerges.

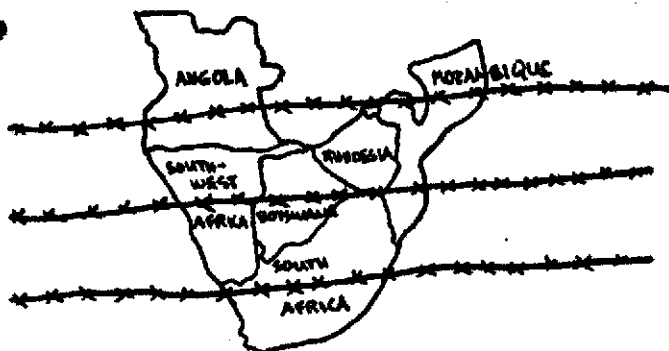
There was nearly no increase in support for the United Party or Progressive Party. Clearly the local gains were matched by losses in other areas. The losses of the National Party can be attributed to the votes given to the ultra-right wing Herstigte Party. This Party had only existed for 5 months, yet it attracted more votes than the vaguely liberal Progressive Party which had existed for 11 years.

So the election leaves us with the awful conclusion that 80% of the people were not allowed to vote. Of the Whites who can vote, 96% follow strictly racist policies which would keep the blacks in servitude and disenfranchised. The other 4% would grant some rights to some blacks, but this group has not increased its support in the last five years. And now 4% of the Whites (the Herstigtes) wish to go even further down the path of racism. Liberalism did not rise. Democracy was absent.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Elections in South Africa

On April 22, 1970 white South Africans went to the poles to elect the Fourth Parliament since South Africa became a Republic. The results are as follows: National Party 117; United Party 47; Progressive Party 1. The newly formed Herstigte National Party did not win a single seat. The National Party gained four seats from the HNP and the United Party gained



nine seats from the Nationalists. (News from South Africa, No. 17, 4/30/70). To interpret the election we reprint with permission an article that appeared in the Times of Zambia on April 27. It is written by Robert Molteno, a political scientist from South Africa presently working at the University of Zambia. "Which Way Has South Africa Turned Now?---The way it's been going: further right."

"The South African General Election is over. Just over two million white voters have once again decided the fate of nearly 16 million other South Africans, and indeed, will influence the future of millions more throughout Southern and Central Africa. . .

"Some Western sources are already interpreting the results as a slight moderation of the racial attitudes of white South Africans. They point to the...Nationalist Party loss of seats to the United Party. They also point to the slight increase of votes over 1966 for the Progressive Party... There is also the virtual elimination of the extremist National Party offshoot, the HNP...

"Unfortunately, it would be incorrect to interpret these results as a moderation of white's racial attitudes. The 1970 election has been fought within an ideological spectrum which has shifted significantly further towards Right-wing racialism since 1966. The creation of the HNP late in 1969 was the most dramatic indication of this.

"But even the largely English-speaking United Party tried to take some racial wind out of the ruling National Party's sails by vociferously opposing its largely sham awarding of limited rights to blacks in the Bantustans on the grounds that the latter threaten the security of white South Africans.

"The National Party itself continued its relentlessly increasing persecution of all who are not whites--its latest

manifestation on the eve of the election being its proclaimed intention to remove all black people from a whole range of white-collar jobs such as salesman and typists. Even the Progressive Party felt compelled to adjust itself to these rightward trends by raising the minimum qualifications required to get the vote under its proposals...

"What then are the causes behind the electoral swings to the United Party and to a much lesser extent to the Progressive Party? The answer lies in recent history. In the previous general election of 1966, the morale of white South Africans was still severely shaken. The early 1960's had seen the most serious resistance to their supremacy at any time in the 20th century--sabotage; general strikes; the much feared, although abortive Poqo; the Pondoland Rebellion; and systematic revolutionary planning by the African National Congress of South Africa. Pressure against South Africa by OAU and Western states had reached its climax. The response of whites in 1966 was twofold.

"On the one hand they regarded even the gradual extension of rights to blacks as dangerous and so abandoned the Progressive Party en masse. On the other hand, some English-speaking whites felt that they must rally behind Dr. Verwoerd's Afrikaner government to strengthen it against local and overseas resistance.

"But by 1970, the situation had changed enormously. For 4 years, South Africa had seen no overt revolutionary resistance inside its borders. She successfully defied the United Nations and stayed in the mandated territory of South West Africa. (In SWA, the Nationalists made a total sweep, winning all 18 seats in the Legislative Assembly.) She has ridden the crest of a phenomenal economic boom, seen increasing friendliness by Western states--particularly evinced by the massive

French arms sales. And above all, the South African Government has engineered an unparalleled breakthrough into Africa.

"The former High Commission Territories and Malawi, the Malagasy Republic, the Gambia, Mauritius, all have more or less close and open diplomatic and economic links with South Africa. Indeed, the pro South Africa bloc of African states is likely to become the most cohesive single group in the OAU! And they may well be joined by Gabon, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, and other states in the next few years.

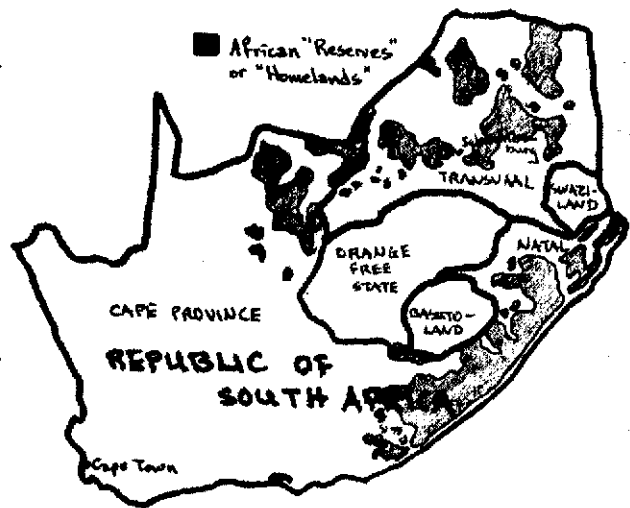
"All these factors have led to a resurgence of white self-confidence... This in turn has had two curious results as the 1970 elections show. Firstly, renewed self-confidence has resulted in a slight swing of 1961 Progressive Party supporters back to the Progs, since their fear of blacks has lessened. Secondly, many English-speaking voters who voted for the National Party in 1966 see less need today to back a government which is still almost 100% Afrikaner led and oriented. They have therefore returned to their old United Party loyalty... What the 1970 election reflects is that "...white politics have reverted fully to the traditional cleavage between English and Afrikaner."

"What do these results portend for the future?" First, there is no hope of the small minority of liberal whites being able to persuade their fellows to abandon racialism and to extend political rights to all South Africans...

"Second, the increased strength of the United Party shows how fallacious are assertions that English-speaking whites are significantly more liberal than Afrikaners. By voting UP, they have rejected both the non-racialism of the Progressives and the National Party idea of giving black South Africans powerless mini-states of their own--the Bantustans--in which most will not even

reside. "Thirdly, there is the collapse of the HNP... This can in part be attributed to the party's recent formation; to its failure to detach a significant number of prominent Afrikaners from the NP; and in its virtual exclusion from the established Afrikaner media. But the HNP's elimination reflects a much more significant fact than this--the fact that almost all Afrikaners realize that the ruling Party supports and is intensifying white supremacy and that the Nationalist Party's 'outward' foreign policy is not a reduction of white supremacy, but is defence and extension. There was therefore no need to vote HNP.

"The 1970 election will go down in history as the Afrikaner's public approval of their Government's sophisticated strategy of promoting White Supremacy on two fronts: intensifying oppression at home; and defending it abroad by the propaganda of separate development and the propping up of collaborationist regimes in Africa.



"What then of the future?" Inside South Africa, the result in Randburg may shape events more than any other. It was Randburg where the Government pursued its policy of segregation so far that it recently forced this white community to do without its black

servants at night. Under the "white by night" policy, servants had to sleep away from their master's houses in the segregated township. The response of Randburg whites to taking racial separation to the point of actual inconvenience was to swing more massively away from the ruling party than in any other seat. Its majority was cut from over 3,016 to 145. The Government will almost certainly heed this warning.

"Whites do not mind talking about racial separation in theory--provided it does not actually remove the advantages to them of living in a racialist society. But these advantages depend on continued economic integration of white and black. The Government may therefore have to tone down any efforts to reduce the growing number of urban black residents by depriving whites of black labor. In compensation it may well step up its removal from the urban areas of people whom--almost unbelievably--it calls 'surplus appendages' (i.e. the wives and children of blacks working for whites).

"In the field of foreign policy, we must expect an even more vigorous penetration of Africa. Cabinet Minister Dr. Carel de Wet announced during the election campaign that the South African Air Force will be getting rights to use Malawi's new airport being built at Lilongwe for military purposes against the liberation movements.

"Nationalist columnists commented that South Africa, in co-operation with Portugal, will then have a military screen across the whole of Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Oceans. The only weakness in this line will be Zambia. The next year or two will see intensified South African pressure on Zambia to crack down on the liberation movements and to open up our huge market to South African exports of manufactured goods on preferential terms. The shifting balance of power in the subcontinent, which since 1966 has moved continuously

in South Africa's favour, will not yet cease to move. To resist South Africa's encroachments may well become Zambia's number one foreign policy problem in the early 1970's."

STUDENTS PROTEST

In late May, in all South Africa's big cities, students staged formal and angry protests. The two main issues are the 22 people who have been detained incommunicado under the Terrorism Act after being acquitted in a court of law and the right of peaceful protest after a series of Government bannings on student marches.

The protest movement started in Johannesburg at Witwatersrand University on Monday when more than a thousand students marched spontaneously through the city in defiance of a banning order two hours earlier withdrawing permission for the march. About 357 students were arrested and later released. Charges are pending.

Another meeting was held at the university to thrash out further protest policy. It was attended by more than 1,800 students.

The movement spread like a bush fire to the campuses of Cape Town and Durban. In Cape Town, about 400 students stormed out of the university's Jamieson Hall after an emotional meeting attended by 2,000 students to discuss a municipal ban on their proposed march under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

To overcome the ban, they marched "legally" in groups of 11 which left at two-minute intervals. No arrests were made.

The Natal University in Durban was the scene of another rowdy meeting of hundreds of students. Afterwards, the

students broke up into small groups and left the campus to conduct a house-to-house campaign aimed at winning public support for the right to peaceful protest.

At the meeting, Mr. Paul Pretorius, the Student Representative Council President, spoke of a new consciousness and awareness growing on the campus. He said: "We are committed to a new form of protest--one which will break down the barriers which exist between the students and society."

At the meeting, it was agreed that the Johannesburg students were wrong in marching after the ban but the students affirmed that peaceful protest should have been allowed.

Although the students participating in the protests form only a small proportion of the South African student body as a whole--no Afrikaans university students have showed signs yet of joining the protest movement--this sudden activity is significant.

It is the first time the liberal student element has reacted in such a positive and united way. All the marches were orderly and there was not a single physical tangle with the law. (The Guardian, 5/21/70)

PROTEST DAY

Speech on Protest Day in South Africa

"On this the 11th day of May 1970, we meet to protest against the detention of people in solitary confinement: people kept beyond the reach of family and friends; people kept from lawyers or Ministers of religion; people kept beyond the aid or enquiry of the Court; people held indefinitely, without trial.

This day marks the first year of those detained in the early hours of May 12, 1969.

We protest against their further detention and we demand their immediate release.

22 of the persons detained in May 1969 were acquitted in Court 12 weeks ago.

But as the power of the Security Police here is greater than the power of a Judge, the Judge acquitted them, the Security Police committed them back to indefinite detention in prison.

22 is a number: It symbolises people in detention.

Who are the people in detention?

Accused No. 1 is SAMSON NDOU, 30 years of age, Bachelor, who works in a scullery.

Accused No. 2 is DAVID MOTAU, aged 47 years, a lorry driver, who has a wife and 8 children, the youngest of whom is 2½ years of age.

Accused No. 3 is WINNIE MANDELA, arrested at 2 a.m. on the 12th May 1969, the mother of two children, and the wife of Nelson Mandela serving a life sentence on Robben Island. She is 35 years of age and a Social worker, but unable to find an employer to employ her as such.

Accused No. 4 is JACKSON MPHLALE, aged 31, with a wife and two children, the youngest of whom is 6 months old.



Accused No. 5 is ELLIOTT TSHABANGU, arrested at 12 midnight on 12th May 1969, aged 42 years, a Clerk. He has a wife and 4 children, the youngest of whom is 8 years old.

Accused No. 6 is JOYCE SIKHAKANE, arrested at 2 a.m. on the 12th May 1969 26 years old, a Journalist, and the mother of a 3 year old child.

Accused No. 7 is PAULUS MATSABA, arrested on the 12th May, 1969, aged 30 years, and a Clerk.

Accused No. 8 is LARENCE NDZANGA and Accused No. 9 is RITA NDZANGA, arrested on the 12th May 1969, husband and wife, father and mother, separated from 4 children for a year.

Accused No. 10 is JOSEPH ZIKALALA, the youngest of the accused, aged 19 years, a Clerk.

Accused No. 11 is DAVID TSOLETSI, arrested at 12 midnight on the 12th May, 1969, 22 years of age.

Accused No. 12 is VICTOR MAZITULELA, aged 22 years, a Clerk.

Accused No. 13 is GEORGE MOKWEBO, aged 23 years, also a Clerk.

Accused No. 14 is JOSEPH NOBANDA, arrested at work on the 13th June 1969, a Messenger, aged 20 years.

All the above youngsters from Joseph No. 10, to Joseph No. 14, are of the age of most of you students here today. They, unlike you however, have experienced detention since May, 1969.

Accused No. 15 is SAMUEL PHOLOTO, a businessman 39 years old, with a wife and 4 children.

Accused No. 16 is SIMON MOSIKARE, 39 years of age, a Messenger, with a wife and 2 children.

Accused No. 17 is DOUGLAS MVEMWE, aged 73, the grandfather of the group, a pensioner, with a 63 year old wife, and is the father of 6 children. In his old age he too has experienced detention since May 1969.

Accused No. 18 is VENUS MNGOMA, aged 51 years, the oldest woman amongst the group, and the mother of 2 children.

Accused No. 19 is MARTHA DLAMINI, arrested on the 12th May 1969, 46 years old, a housewife with 2 children.

Accused No. 20 is OWEN VANGA, arrested at East London at 4 a.m. on the 12th May, 1969, 29 years of age, a Journalist, and married with no children.

Accused No. 21 is LIVINGSTONE MANCOKO, arrested on the 15th May 1969, aged 50, the father of 4 children.

Accused No. 22 is PETER MAGUBANE, arrested at Pretoria on the 12th June 1969, 37 years of age, Photographer, and the father of 3 children.

We know too of two State witnesses who refused to give evidence against their friends. They were punished by the Court. They served their sentences and as far as is known are still in detention. Both are young women--an Indian, Shanti Naidoo, and an African, Brycina Nkala.

How many more people are detained? 5, 10, 20--men, women, youngsters, grandfathers? We do not know.

We do know that this practice perverts the law, threatens our law, and is not required or desired. It must be rejected.

To know all this and to protest here today is a significant demonstration of your sensibilities and concern. But it is not enough. Others have protested week after week.

You must dedicate yourselves to persist in protest and protest again and again until individual liberty is protected by law--until there is an end to detention without trial.



AFRICANS REJECT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

According to Prime Minister Vorster "Separate development is not the denial of the human dignity of anybody. The basis thereof is also not the suppression of anybody or the depriving of anybody of his rights or land." If this be true, why have the Zulu people consistently resisted the establishment of a Bantustan? (Guardian 4/28/70)

"The South African government has announced that a Bantustan will be established for the Zulus during the course of this year, on the same pattern as the Transkei." If this happens it will be done against strong opposition from the Zulu people.

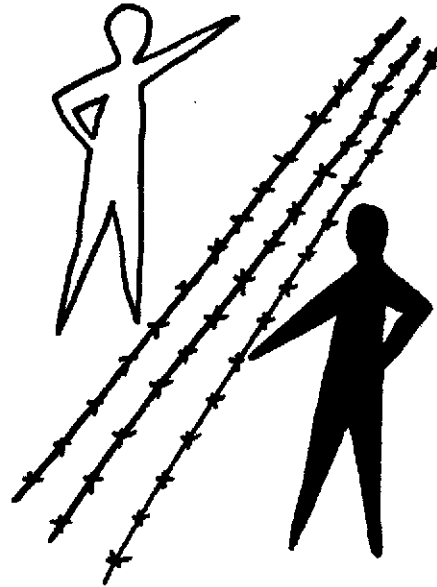
"Presumably a law will be passed proclaiming Zulustan and creating a Legislative Assembly consisting mostly of government appointed chiefs and a minority of elected members. In the Transkei, there are 64 government appointees and 45 elected members.

"Since the chiefs are appointed and paid by the government they dare not go against government policies for fear of being dismissed. All laws passed by the Assembly are subject to approval by the South African Government. It can also instruct the Transkei Parliament to pass any law it chooses, failing which it can pass the law itself, which is then deemed to have been passed by the Transkei Assembly.

"The Zulu chiefs and people have consistently offered stiff resistance to the imposition of a Bantustan on their territory. They resisted the first step, the division of the populace into several tribal authorities under the Bantu Authority Act, which creates tribal councils controlled by government-appointed chiefs. The Zulus defied government warnings that they had no choice but to accept." (Zambia Mail, 4/10/70).

The Zulu chief who was finally pressured into accepting the Government's plans died in 1968 before the plans were implemented. The Government tried to

get other chiefs to cooperate and failed and the situation reached a stalemate. Later the Government changed its strategy, concentrating its propaganda on Zulus in urban areas. The Government has now stated its intention of pushing ahead. Mr. Vorster's understanding of human dignity and of rights are clearly very different from those of the Zulu people.

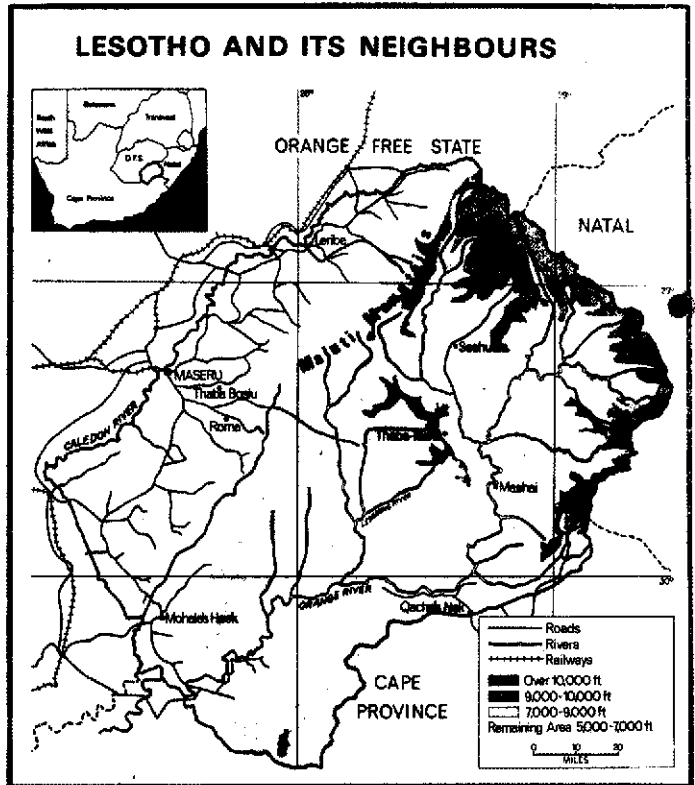


Drought Hits Africans

While the election has been getting all the headlines, a far more serious crisis faces much of South Africa: drought. Recent word from the Northern Transvaal indicates that springs that have not run dry since at least 1920 are expected to dry up this season. The Albasini dam, east of Louis Trichardt, is almost dry, at 10% of its capacity at the beginning of the dry season. The Albasini Dam, serves Africans, who will be hit the hardest. Already people are digging in the sand next to dried out river beds to find water. So far they have succeeded, but this cannot last. At another village the first well dried up long ago, the second has just given up. The people now have to walk at least three miles to get water. Often the

women have to make this trip, carrying the water on their heads. The men are generally in town, hundreds of miles to the south.

The government is partly to blame for this situation. Large removals of Africans have been made in the north. In areas that in the past were very sparsely settled, the government has now established rural towns, grouping people together. Some of these new settlements are even in areas that traditionally have not been inhabited by Africans. Why? Because the Africans knew that there was not enough water. These areas are very remote and relatively small numbers of people are involved. Nonetheless, the threat of famine is real. And it is a threat that the government must bear partial responsibility for. One can only ask, why has the Nationalist Government chosen to force people to live in barren wastelands that can barely support life?



The South African Minister of Justice Pelser told an audience that South Africa had to spend R75,000 (\$105,000) to keep Robert Sobukwe on Robben Island for five years. Cape Times, March, 1970.

SOUTH AFRICA'S HOSTAGES

inside lesotho

The February issue of Southern Africa reported the election crisis in Lesotho at the end of January. Since then upwards of 200 people have been killed, mostly in uprisings against the Prime Minister, Chief Lebua Jonathan. Briefly, the events are as follows: After apparently losing the election to the opposing Congress Party, Jonathan arrested Ntsu Mokhehle, the opposition leader, arrested and then deported King Moshoeshoe II, and suspended the country's constitution.

But Jonathan's position has been shaken by militant opposition and also by Great Britain's suspension of economic aid which supports 90% of Lesotho's economic development and balances her administrative budget. Finding himself in serious trouble, Jonathan began negotiations with the imprisoned opposition leaders. He even moved Mokhehle to more comfortable quarters in a prison official's house. The opposition leader was persuaded to sign an agreement that the January elections be disregarded. Mokhehle did this, he said, because "it was necessary to find a solution to the national crisis." He said he was willing to negotiate in order to get "a form of government which will make Britain accept us" and thus prevent the overwhelming influence of South Africa. He added, "it is now time for Chief Jonathan to show he appreciates the seriousness of the situation by making concessions of his own." But Jonathan is loathe to make concessions. The key issues are the

Constitution and the holding of elections. Jonathan favors a new one-party constitution since, in his opinion, party politics threaten the natural unity of the country (more important, they threaten his own power) and he clearly does not want more elections in the near future. He said there was a general feeling that "elections bring mischief."

Clearly Jonathan is in a bind. By compromising with the opposition, Jonathan will endanger his personal power. If, however, he changes the constitution and refuses to hold elections, Jonathan will court more disfavor in England, and his country will be even more dependent on South Africa than it is now. The amount of support that South Africa would be willing to give is also in question.

A recent New York Times article on the situation in Lesotho concluded:

"Chief Jonathan, who remarks that one can choose his friends but not his neighbors, probably also worries about increasing South African political influence if the British counterweight is not restored. But he said this week that 'we have friends who have assured us they shall not let us collapse' and that 'I will never succumb to British pressure.'" (NYT, 5/10 and 5/15/70)

south africa's "outward policy" and botswana

In several ways Botswana has indicated her decision not to become another "Bantustan" of South Africa.

Although deeply linked in the South African economy, it is Botswana's avowed intention to become a truly independent country while maintaining "good relations" with South Africa.

South Africa's recent threats to Botswana over the disputed border and proposed road link with Zambia has

created a deep political issue for Botswana's government. President Seretse Khama must go ahead with this favored project or lose considerable face. In addition, the link with Zambia is part and parcel of a drive for intensified trade and relations with Zambia and other black states.

Another example of Botswana's independent attitude towards South Africa is her recent decision to establish diplomatic ties with Russia. This met thinly veiled threats by M. C. Botha, South Africa's Minister of Bantu Administration:

"A Botswana Government spokesman responded, 'The Government does not consider it necessary to comment on every petty statement about Botswana made by South African Ministers during the election campaign, but would remind South Africa that this is an independent country.'"

In explanation of Botswana's stance: "A senior Government official put it this way, 'In the past we have been linked too closely with South Africa and also with Britain. Now the Government feels it is time to lessen our dependence on both these countries and to start forging links--trade and diplomatic--with other countries.'

We want to establish friendly relations with as many countries as possible--to become less aligned, in fact, this was the immediate reason for agreeing to establish diplomatic links with Russia, for example." (Johannesburg Star, 4/17/70)

GULF OIL CORPORATION: A Report Muckraking account of Gulf's role in American imperialism abroad and capitalist exploitation at home. 36 pages. 50¢ Available from the UCM Southern Africa Com.

AMERIKAN STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Reprinted with permission from the Guardian, 4/18/70)

America's corporate strategists are working quietly behind the scenes to head off the rapidly coalescing showdown between popular revolutionary movements and the spread of fascist oppression in southern Africa.

The evolving American strategy in Southern Africa hopes to contain the liberation movements through the guise of helping them. While continuing to piously denounce apartheid, the U.S. is working to encourage efforts by African leaders to negotiate some form of detente with the South African regime which has assigned its own counter-insurgency "advisors" to fight the guerillas in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

In his State of the World address, President Nixon singled out the April 1969 Lusaka Manifesto for special praise as the correct way for African states to deal with South Africa. That manifesto, adopted by the leaders of 13 African states and subsequently endorsed by the summit conference of the continent-wide Organization of African Unity (OAU) called upon South Africa to peacefully negotiate with the movements who have concluded that armed struggle is the only road for the liberation of their countries. It has a moderate pacifist tone to it and angered the leaders of all the guerilla movements, none of whom were consulted about its formulation.

"The Manifesto," Stanley Meisler explained last January in the Los Angeles Times, "has added importance because, according to reliable reports, the two leaders who inspired the document were Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Their countries are the main havens for guerillas trying to infiltrate South Africa. The liberation movements are almost completely dependent on their good will."

The reaction to the document was more alarming. In a news conference in New York last October, South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller, while ridiculing the charges against South Africa in the document, said his government agreed with a good deal of it and was ready to enter a dialogue with those who signed it. The document was also praised by Teddy Kennedy who told the Tanzanian press last summer that: "Perhaps the greatest importance of the Lusaka Manifesto is its tone as a manifesto for peaceful revolution, not violent revolution in Southern Africa."

American strategists would like nothing more than to create a situation in Africa similar to the one in the Middle East, where moderate Arab governments pose as many problems to the day to day operations of the Palestinian Movements as the Israelis. In a recent book published for the influential super-ruling class Council for Foreign Relations, Waldemar Nielson, until recently head of the CIA founded and corporation funded African-American Institute in New York, outlines a strategy which would aim to give the United States more leverage over the African liberation movements.

In "The Great Powers and Africa" (Praeger 1969), Nielson himself a former State Department and Ford Foundation official—wants the U.S. to try to bring these movements back into the "free-world" fold by supporting them.

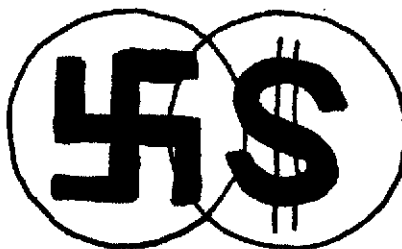
In a move which would refurbish the soiled U.S. image in Africa Nielson would funnel American resources to the movements through the governments of Tanzania, Zambia and the Congo, each of which has endorsed the Lusaka Manifesto. Those governments in turn will channel the aid to acceptable movements. In the case of the Congo (Kinshaha), this means more U.S. support for the discredited right-wing Angolan government in exile led by Holden Roberto—a movement which has had CIA help in the past.

By channeling money through what he calls "responsible African governments individually or through the U.N.," Nielson thinks the U.S. will best advance its own long-range self interest which is threatened by the race war which seems to be shaping up in Southern Africa. Help to the liberation movements would be

expected to give the U.S. more covert influence within them, while more support for the African government's which harbor the movements will strengthen their hand over them. In any case, this strategy is already being implemented on a small scale and may increase in the post-Vietnam period or when the movements score more breakthroughs on the military front. Unfortunately, many of the liberation movements are already dependent on their host governments, on outside support and cannot afford to attack this new imperialist strategy publically at this stage.

In his book, Nielson makes clear that his fears about what he calls the "deteriorating situation" in Southern Africa is not only concerned about the nearly \$2 billion U.S. investors have locked up there. He's also worried about what U.S. blacks and the white movement will do when full-scale war erupts in Southern Africa. "Make no mistake" about it," he warned his ruling classmates, "the issues of Southern Africa once the Vietnam agony is finished, are going to be the next foreign policy focus of the moral indignation of youth, the American Negroes and the American left."

Africa Research Group



ECO-NOMICS

southern africa & gulf oil

Earth Day (April 22, 1970) was celebrated in New York City at Union Square. Among the celebrants were members of the Southern Africa Committee of UCM and of the Committee of Returned Volunteers who participated in a special staging of a guerrilla theater play called "The Rape of Angola." In full view of thousands of spectators, Angola (dancing and singing) was first subdued by Portugal (aptly characterized) and a group of Gulf Oil employees (painted white) who then collaborated to rape her. The target was Gulf Oil, arch-exploiter of Southern African peoples, and arch-polluter of the air and waterways of the world.

south africa, italy, and oil

Italy's state-owned fuel corporation, ENI, has built an important oil pipeline in South Africa to serve that country's defense policy. The pipeline goes from Durban to Pretoria, where some unused gold mines have been sealed off to stock crude oil reserves.

ENI is hesitant to admit its role in building the pipeline, because

undoubtedly the developing countries of independent Africa occupy a large part of its plans for expansion. Altogether ENI has invested about \$600 million in Africa exploring the crude oil production in 7 countries, and a network of about 1,000 sales outlets has been built up in 20 African states. However, ENI gives a LOT of publicity to its role in building the Dar-es-Salaam/Ndola pipeline. (Africa Confidential, 4/17/70)

Doesn't South Africa know that Italy has a recognized and active Communist Party?

Note: Italy has given notice that it has withdrawn its intended investment in the Cabora-Bassa Dam.

canada reviews trade links

Canada's External Affairs Minister, Mitchell Sharp, told Canada's Parliament in March that Canada was reviewing its entire trade policy with South Africa. His disclosure was a reply to a question put to him by a Liberal member from Ontario, Normal Cafik. (Reuters, 3/24/70)

Part of the review is concerned with the investments in South Africa of the Polymer Corporation. Also, reportedly a Canadian firm owns controlling interest in South African Breweries, one of the largest such agencies in the world. SAB is to build a giant \$35 million brewery in a border area near Pretoria that will have a yearly capacity of 36 million gallons--equivalent to the total beer consumption in South Africa in 1968.

Key Vanadium Supplier

With the possible exception of Russia, South Africa has the largest reserves of vanadium (used in the manufacture of iron and steel). Britain and Western Europe are largely dependent on South Africa for their supplies of the mineral. The increasing demand for it is largely the result of the development of a high-yield strength, low-alloy structural steels which has opened up new markets, especially in the US. (S. A. Digest, 4/3/70)

south africa and NASA

Amerika's NASA (National Aeronautical and Space Administration) and the South African Government's scientists are in daily communication from Hartbeesthoek, near Krugersdorp in the Transvaal. It is there that NASA located its tracking station. Financed and equipped by NASA, the station is run by South African scientists, and was established in 1961 just after the Sharpeville Massacre.

South African scientists dispatch between 50 and 150 ten-inch reels of magnetic tape daily to the Goddard Space Flight Center in the U.S. Some of the data recorded on the tape includes:

- number of satellites tracked
- monitoring of satellites that pass over the station
- special tracking assignments
- general information from space (weather, etc.)

(South African Scope, Apr. 1970)

Half-hearted attempts have been made in the past by some U.S. citizens to force NASA to either integrate or disband its tracking station in South Africa, but none have creased the crusty protective skin of NASA. Science, after all, is "objective."

oppenheimer gets "uppity"

Recently South Africa's Minister of Mines, Dr. Carel de Wet, stated publicly that unless Mr. Oppenheimer gave an assurance that his industries would not promote integration, the Minister would treat Oppenheimer's requests for African labor "differently" from other industries. Harry Oppenheimer is chairman of the gigantic Anglo American Corporation. When Mr. Oppenheimer heard the statement, he replied that "it would be a serious situation for South Africa if businessmen outside the country got the impression that to get fair

treatment from the Government they had to be active supporters of Government policy." (Rhodesian Herald, 4/28/70)

U.S. ambassadors

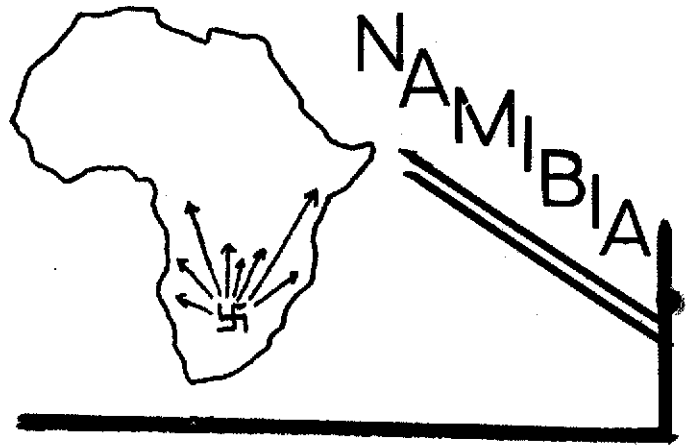
As a departing gesture, former U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, William Rountree, presented four tiny fragments of the moon and a miniature South African flag which flew back on the first lunar flight to Prime Minister Vorster. (News from South Africa, 4/14/70). The new Ambassador is a Texas oilman who was first assigned to Venezuela but deferred that assignment because of questions raised about his "conflict of interests."

oil, oil everywhere

An Amerikan-South African consortium is spending \$2.8 million drilling for oil in the off-shore concession between Mossel Bay and Plettenberg Bay. The consortium is headed by U. S. Natural Resources and includes Rand Mines (Charles Engelhard of New Jersey) and the Southern Oil Exploration Corporation. Also involved in the contract is Kerr McGee Oil Industries of Oklahoma.

Drilling is proceeding satisfactorily in South West Africa also, thanks to a subsidiary of a Canadian Company which has the concessions. (News from South Africa, 4/14/70)

All indications are that 1970 will be the peak year for oil exploration in Southern Africa. Expenditure throughout is expected to amount to roughly \$42 million, and at least 8 companies expect to be drilling offshore by the end of the year. Expenditure in South and South West Africa alone will amount to about \$2.8 million. In addition, about \$11.4 million will be spent in Mozambique, where the oil search is in high gear. Mozambique Gulf Oil has a rig in operation near Beira, and Sunray Oil will soon put the off-shore drilling vessel, Glomar Conception, to work some 100 miles south-east of Lourenço Marques. (South African Digest, 1/30/70)



More Fighting in Namibia

In Namibia Today, SWAPO reports some details about the December raids on South African army units stationed within the police zone (i.e. police-protected territory reserved for white residents) 76 miles north of Grootfontein. SWAPO reports that in this battle 19 South African and 4 SWAPO soldiers were killed. The battle is described as follows:

"On December 27, our guerrilla fighters killed 5 enemy soldiers, arms and ammunition were captured from the enemy's dead. December 28, the enemy tried to encircle our fighters group, but the guerrillas managed to make a breakthrough, leaving 7 South African soldiers dead. On December 29, using helicopters and fighter bombers, the enemy tried again to surround our fighters and the heavy fighting ensured throughout the day until well into the night and three enemy soldiers were killed. On December 30th four more South African soldiers were killed.

(Namibia Today, Vol. 4, Feb. 1970)

U. S. To Take Concrete Steps to "Help Namibia"

In a speech commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the U.N., Charles W. Yost, U.S. Representative to the U.N. discussed the stake of the U.S. in the various workings of the U.N. His last topic in this context had to do

with "our national opposition to unlawful regimes based on racial injustice" and Namibia was its focus. According to Yost, Namibia "suffers a unique international wrong," but this wrong should be righted by peaceful means. Yost reviewed what the U.S. has done in the past years to help Namibians:

"We have vigorously protested to South Africa over the application of its laws violative of human rights and fundamental freedoms in an international territory where it has no right to be. We have joined with other members of the UN Security Council in a search for means better to discharge the UN's direct responsibility for the territory. We have accepted over the years 39 Namibians as refugee students in the U.S.; and we are also taking steps, under the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, to certain refugees in the U.S. including Namibians as well as others from Southern Africa. It is pertinent also to recall that since 1963 the U.S. has maintained its embargo on the shipment of all military equipment to South Africa."

He then continued to outline some new steps which the President of the U.S. has decided to take in order "to demonstrate more concretely to South Africa the strength of our opposition to their policy in Namibia." These steps and Yost's comments on their significance are as follows:

1. The U.S. will henceforth officially discourage investment by U.S. nationals in Namibia.
2. Export-Import Bank credit guarantees will not be made available for trade with Namibia.
3. U.S. nationals who invest in Namibia on the basis of rights acquired through the South African Government since adoption of General Assembly Resolution 2145 (Oct. 27, 1966) will not

receive U. S. Government assistance in protection of such investments against claims of a future lawful government of Namibia.

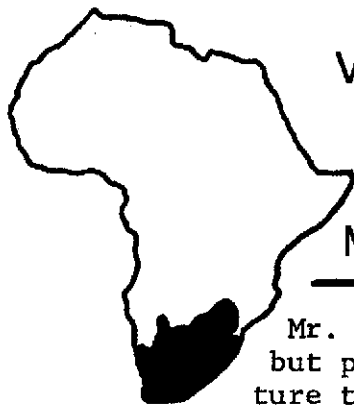
4. The U.S. will encourage other nations to take similar actions to these.

"We are under no illusion that these steps, taken alone, will quickly induce South Africa to abandon its present policy in Namibia... We hope, however, that others may take similar steps... We hope, moreover, that the accumulation of such steps may cause the South African Government to reflect whether in truth its interests are better served by the lonesome road it is travelling than they would be by a return to legality and peaceful resolution of the international issue of Namibia. Sooner or later equality of political rights is bound to come to all of Southern Africa. Better that it should come soon than late; and far better that it should come by peaceful and orderly stages than after explosions of violence."

Forced Removals

Since 1968 the South African government has been chopping up the parts of Namibia left to non-whites into Bantustans or "Native Homelands." As in South Africa proper, this shifting of populations has been done with periodic forced moves of large groups of people, often into unbearably barren and dry land. Brief reports in Namibia News (Jan.-March, 1970) indicate that such moves are currently being forced on the Herero people and the Namas. Leaders of both groups are trying to resist, but they are shouting on deaf ears.





VORSTER VISITS MALAWI

Mr. Vorster's short but productive venture to Malawi has opened the way to South

Africa for a greater and more effective drive to assist and secure its black partner.

President Kamuzu Banda told the South African Premier that he wanted more industrialists, political leaders, businessmen and particularly more aid to come from South Africa. A new trek to the north may well be the main outcome of Mr. Vorster's 48-hour visit here.

"This is only the beginning of even closer contact between us," Dr. Banda told his guest.

By all accounts the two men got along famously at their first-ever meeting. As Mr. Vorster's plane flew off over the Blantyre Hills towards Salisbury, one of the President's closest aides remarked how impressed he had been with the South African leader: "He was very straightforward, sincere and simple," he said.

The average Malawian, used to Dr. Banda's paternalistic ways, accepted Mr. Vorster's visit as their President told them to accept it--with equanimity and politeness. "If Mr. Vorster has given us all this money, I suppose he's entitled to come and see how it is being spent," remarked one Malawian.

Twenty-four hours after Mr. Vorster had left, Dr. Banda, dressed in his usual three-piece suit, raincoat and black homburg hat, was on his way to London for a four-week private visit.

He has left behind a rather perplexed and apprehensive Central Africa.

Both the Malawians and the South Africans deny that any military agreement has been made or that the South Africans intend to use Lilongwe as a military base against nationalist guerrilla groups operating from neighboring Zambia and Tanzania. Informed diplomatic observers also tend to discount such reports, but there may well be some understanding that if Dr. Banda wanted military assistance the South Africans would give it immediately. For the time being Dr. Banda appears not to be in need of it as he is relying on British help.

For Dr. Banda, who as a youth spent eight years working on the Rand goldfields, Mr. Vorster's visit seemed to him a vindication of his policy that a South African Premier should come to Malawi and accept him, as he put it, as an equal. And Dr. Banda may well have reflected as he escorted Mrs. Tini Vorster from the State banquet on Wednesday night that for her at least, this was a far cry from the drawing-rooms of Pretoria.

Dr. Banda holds tenaciously to his conviction that it is this personal contact, rather than isolation and boycott, which can solve the racial problems of southern Africa and break down the barriers of discrimination.

Mr. Vorster's visit has brought to a head the growing isolation of Malawi from the rest of black Africa. While Dr. Banda was probably discussing with Mr. Vorster the progress on the controversial Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project in Mozambique, President Kaunda in neighboring Zambia was doing his utmost to get European States involved in the construction of the dam to withdraw.

If Mr. Vorster is hoping to use Malawi as a vehicle by which to reach other African States, he would appear to have a slender chance. His outware policy towards black Africa may well have come to a stop in Malawi. Beyond its borders hostility grows. (London Observer,

5/24/70)

BRITISH CONSERVATIVES WANT STRONG ALLIANCE WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA

A future Tory Government, if it accepts the advice of some of its most high-powered foreign affairs experts, will undertake large-scale defense commitments in southern Africa. One suggestion being canvassed is a NATO-style agreement between Britain, South Africa, the Argentine and Brazil for the defense of southern Africa and the Cape route.

This is revealed in a confidential defense planning document prepared by the Conservative Commonwealth and Overseas Council. The council, which recommends future Tory defense policies for Africa, the Gulf and South-East Asia, has sent its findings to the party leader, Mr. Heath, the chairman, Mr. Barber, and the rest of the Shadow Cabinet.

It is the new hardline commitments in southern Africa which signal the new emphasis in Tory defense thinking. Referring to the possibility of a southern Atlantic treaty, the document says: "If the NATO area of commitment cannot be extended to this vital supply route (the Cape route) transporting by far the greatest part of the NATO strategic oil requirements, then on both political and strategic grounds a case might be made for a regional pact for the defense of southern Africa and the Cape route."

As part of an immediate commitment to the area, the group study recommended keeping an aircraft carrier in the area as well as one or two more nuclear powered submarines in support of the South African Navy.

The alignment with South Africa is seen against this political background in the group study: "Politically a first step would be to restore relations based on the recognition of mutual interest with South Africa, to encourage trade and sell arms for external defense. The farce of Rhodesian sanctions should be ended.

Portugal also figures prominently in the new strategy. "There should be a friendly re-examining with Portugal of ways and means of utilizing the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to establish mutually valid and workable defense arrangements in the southern Atlantic." In an appendix, one of the committee members says: "Should not British policy, unofficially if necessary, concentrate on lessening the dangers of confrontation (which can only affect British interests adversely) by recognizing the realities of the situation and by encouraging independent African links with Portugal and Portuguese Africa? It would also seem to be time to stop British participation in votes in the Security Council of the U.N. condemning Portugal for self-defense against external aggression." (The Sunday Times, 5/17/70)

SPORT



South Africa Expelled From Olympics

On May 15 South Africa was expelled from the International Olympic Committee. The consequence of this is that South Africa cannot compete in the Olympic Games.

This step goes beyond previous actions. In 1963 South Africa was banned from participating in the games in Tokyo, and in 1968 the country was prohibited from taking part in the games in Mexico City.

The 35 to 28 vote "withdrew recognition" of the South African National Olympic Committee and severed all ties with the country. Until its national committee, which is not a government body, is recognized anew by the I.O.C., South Africa will not be permitted to participate in any future games.

The basis for the expulsion was South Africa's violation of Rule One of the Olympic charter "which states that 'no discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of race, religion or political affiliation.'" South Africa's apartheid policy is followed in sports--mixed competition is not allowed among the races.

This adds the Olympics to a growing list of international meets from which South African teams and players are barred. These include boxing, fencing, gymnastics, basketball, soccer, table tennis and weight lifting.

MR. VAN HERDEN, MAYOR OF PRETORIA, SAID THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO LET A WHITE SWIMMING TEAM COMPETE IN PRETORIA MUNICIPAL SWIMMING BATHS WITH A JAPANESE SWIMMING TEAM AS, IN HIS OPINION, THE JAPANESE WERE NOT EUROPEANS. HE THOUGHT THE WHITES COULD SWIM AND BE TIMED AND THEN THE SWIMMING BATHS BE DRAINED AND REFILLED WHEN THE JAPANESE SWIMMERS COULD SWIM AND BE TIMED. A COMPARISON OF THE TIMES WOULD INDICATE WHICH TEAM HAD WON.

Sports Column, The Sunday Times
5/24/70

Cricket Tour Cancelled

The South African cricket tour of England has been cancelled. The Cricket Council decided to withdraw its invitation after the Home Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, intervened.

The many months of work towards having the tour cancelled by the "Stop the Seventies" movement led by Peter Hai and other groups paid off.

In Rhodesia, though, Mr. Vorster, at the end of a three-day visit, denounced the British Government for having submitted to blackmail.

"Any lawyer will tell you," said Mr. Vorster, "that if you once pay a blackmailer you will have to meet increased demands as time goes on. For a government to submit so easily and so willingly to open blackmail is to me unbelievable. It is not cricket or sport that loses, but the forces of law and order."

"In South Africa sport has always been played separately. It is not the making of this Government or the previous Government. This is how we developed in South Africa." (The Sunday Times, 5/24/70)

Ashe Will Ask for South African Ban

Ashe will ask the International Lawn Tennis Federation to expell South Africa from its membership. He will take this step when the Federation meets in July. He has also called on the major tennis countries to boycott South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, 4/15/70)

Israel to Play Rhodesia

"The Israeli Lawn Tennis Association last night turned down the recommendation of their Foreign Office and will be host to Rhodesia in the first-round European zone Davis Cup match." The match is to be held May 7-9 in Israel by unanimous vote of the I.L.T.A. (Johannesburg Star, 4/7/70)

South African Canoeists to Face Sanctions Too

"A motion that South Africa be expelled from the International Canoe Federation has been submitted by Russia, and will be debated at the next meeting of the international federation in Copenhagen in August, it was announced yesterday by the South African Federation." (Rand Daily Mail, 4/11/70). This follows a similar move by Russia two years ago which was deflected because the South African Canoe Federation had no racial policy.

Gary Player Rebuffed by Black Fund

"The United Negro College Fund has rejected an offer of South African golf pro Gary Player to play exhibition matches with black golfers for the benefit of the fund." South Africa's racist apartheid system was cited as the reason for this decision. (The Daily World, 4/15/70)

Golf and Skating Banned to Chinese

"The Chinese community of Port Elizabeth has been stopped from playing miniature golf at Humewood or skating at the ice rink nearby, following intervention by the Department of Community Development.

"Operators of the two beachfront amenities have been informed that, as Humewood is in a proclaimed white group area they are making themselves liable to prosecution by admitting Chinese." (Cape Times, 4/9/70)



THE CHURCHES and SOUTHERN AFRICA

Crisis Approaches Dutch-South African Church Ties

In last month's issue of Southern Africa we pointed to a statement made by the Reformed Churches of Netherlands condemning apartheid in the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa. Recent reports indicate that the South African Dutch Reformed churches are on the verge of severing all ties with sister churches in Holland because of the condemnation. (Rand Daily Mail, 3/27/70)

Catholics in Rhodesia Take Courageous Stand

According to the Johannesburg Star,

4/8/70, the Roman Catholic Church in Rhodesia is prepared to "lose all" in its determination to adhere to its principles in its fight against racial discrimination. The bishops in Rhodesia wrote a pastoral letter in March entitled "Crises of Conscience" which proclaimed that they would not, in practice, accept any limitation of their freedom to deal with all people, irrespective of race. The same newspaper indicated the possibility that the Dutch Reformed Church in Rhodesia may associate itself with other denominations in the fight against racism.

There are about 35,000 white Catholics among the 230,000 whites in Rhodesia; and some 450,000 black Catholics among more than 4½ million black Rhodesians.

The Catholic Church had previously expressed opposition to the new Rhodesian Constitution, adopted overwhelmingly by the white voters in a referendum last year. The Constitution prevents black majority rule forever. The most recent opposition stance of the church has been against the Land Tenure act entrenched in the new Constitution which divides Rhodesia into European or white areas (44.9 million acres) and African or black areas (45.2 million acres) and forbids occupation of land by

Quote of the Month:

"To love your neighbour you have to know who or what is responsible for his suffering, and how it could be alleviated, and this means that you need a theory of politics. Otherwise you will just go along with the assumptions and limitations imposed by your society, and you may turn out to have been slowly murdering your neighbour, rather than loving him." R. Turner, Pro Veritate (South Africa), 1/15/70.

one race in the area of another race. The Catholic Church has said it may be forced to shut its schools and hospitals, but that it will not give in on

this point. The spokesman for the church, the Rev. Richard Randolph, said such a move would affect some 10,000 children. He said, "The Catholic Church cannot in principle and will not in practice divide itself racially for the administrative convenience of any state anywhere in the world." (New York Times, 4/8/70)

Rhodesian Government Rejects Churches' Appeal

The appeal by Church leaders asking the Rhodesian Government to delay cutting the grant which pays mission primary school teachers' salaries was rejected by Rhodesia's Minister of Education, Mr. Philip Smith, late in April. This means that parents must each pay an extra \$1.25 a year in fees to make up the difference. It also means that the churches, which for 70 years have played the major role in African primary education, will now relinquish most of their 2,871 schools which are now to come under the control of local councils.

The four major churches in the field (Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Dutch Reformed and Methodists) have already given notice to the majority of the 8,400 teachers they employ. (Rhodesian Herald, 4/28/70)

Constitution Rejected

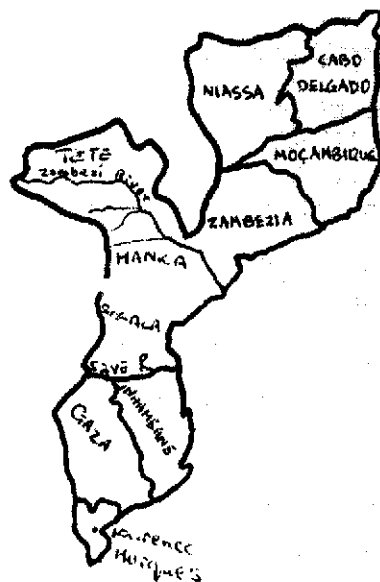
At a meeting in Salisbury in April attended by delegates representing churches in Rhodesia, South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Zambia, a resolution was passed unanimously urging the churches in Rhodesia to take a stand against parts of Rhodesia's illegal constitution and in particular the Land Tenure Act. The resolution which will go to Rhodesian heads of denominations reads: "We, the members of the Southern African Urban Church Consultation from Protestant and Catholic Churches in seven countries in Southern Africa, express our solidarity with you in the stand you have taken and are taking in the Constitutional crisis in Rhodesia, and in particular the Land

Tenure Act and the 5 per cent reduction in its annual grant to African mission primary schools for salaries.

"There is a need for positive resistance against the action of the present regime. We appeal to all churches not to register themselves as voluntary organizations or to accept registration under the Land Tenure Act, because the separation of human beings on the basis of race is an affront to humanity and against the Christian Gospel's understanding of man." (Rhodesian Herald, 4/28/70)

"I want to make the Whites and the churches aware of the plight of the thousands of displaced Africans who have been moved to resettlement areas. Many of the so-called "towns" on the African reserves and virtually all the rural settlements are simply dumping grounds for old people, women and children and the disabled whose labour is not needed for the White economy."

From The Discarded People
by Father Cosmos Desmond.
Sunday Times, Johannesburg
4/18/70



PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

brief notes

Portuguese Casualties Admitted

Members of the Armed Forces reported killed in the Portuguese war communiques from Nov. 1, 1969 to Jan. 27, 1970 totaled 58 in Guinea-Bissau, 68 in Angola, and 99 in Mozambique.

Cape Verde Islands Vital to the "Free World"

Portuguese Overseas Minister Dr. Silva Cunha, in a speech on 3/5/70 installing the new Governor of the Cape Verde Islands, Brigadeiro Lopes dos Santos, emphasized that "the province has, by its geographical location, decisive importance for aerial and maritime communications between the North Atlantic, Europe, and the South Atlantic, Southern Africa and America... In defending Guinea, then, we are not only carrying out the inescapable duty to defend two portions of national territory...but also defending the Free World against the encirclement which is closing around it to subject it to a domination which would impose forms of life contrary to the traditions of western Christian civilization."

Portuguese Loan to Malawi

A loan of 2½ million pounds sterling has been granted to Malawi to finance the construction of a highway from Blantyre to the southwest border with Mozambique. The loan followed the visit of Malawi Finance Minister Aleke Banda to Lisbon. The highway will form part of the Blantyre to Capetown route, and construction will begin in 1971.

Caetano in Defensive Speech to Nation: There is No Liberty Against the Law

On April 8, 1970, Portuguese Premier Caetano delivered a speech remarkable for its sensitivity to criticisms of his regime. (A report of the Council of Europe that same week concluded that "despite a certain liberalization," Portugal was not yet ready for membership in the 17-nation body, which admits only democratic states, and from which the Greek dictatorship recently withdrew). In the speech he showed himself worried about dissent from youth, and about the progress of African guerrillas:

"I say that I find desirable commentary and discussion of the acts of Government when made by competent people and inspired by the desire to improve things... But what cannot be permitted is propaganda against the integrity of the Nation, aid to our enemies, betrayal of the soldiers who fight in defense of territory where there are Portuguese lives to preserve. On that point the Government must be intransigent, firm. Not out of preference, but from duty."

(American readers, does this sound familiar? No surprise, then, that Portugal is the only European country reported as reacting favorably to the Cambodian invasion. New York Times, 5/2/70)

"In our country we are forced to combat overseas terrorist activities that upset, afflict and sacrifice the local populations. It can never be repeated too much that we are at war with no one. We are only policing the territory, keeping the guerrillas from advancing their subversive action. This guerrilla action is very difficult to control."

And, if someone should wonder why so few in the "overseas provinces" were registered to vote in the last elections, Premier Caetano can inform them that "among African populations which are not yet entirely assimilated into European customs, the vote, as we practice is, has

neither value nor significance." And what significance, Premier Caetano, does the vote have for Portuguese?

Portuguese Consul Withdrawn From Salisbury

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (4/27/70) in an AP dispatch from Lisbon, reports that Portugal is planning to withdraw its consul-general from Salisbury, Rhodesia, "bowing to British diplomatic pressure." Although the consul-general will be withdrawn, the office will remain open for the time being. This departure will leave South Africa as the only country with an official diplomatic mission in Salisbury. Portugal is expected, however, to continue close military and economic cooperation with Rhodesia at an unofficial level.

New Export-Import Loan to Portugal

The U.S. Export-Import Bank has recently granted new credits to Portuguese Airways for the purchase of two Boeing 707 jets (\$6.5 million). TAP planes are frequently used to fly Portuguese army officers from Portugal to the war operations in the colonies.

CABRAL BOOK AVAILABLE

Amilcar Cabral's book Revolution in Guinea is available (a limited number of copies) for \$1.50 each from the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa, 306 N. Brooks, Madison, Wis. 53705. It is not due to be published in the U.S. until later this year.

New Planes for Portugal

Portugal has acquired 20 new Dornier (DO-27) aircraft from West Germany to supplement a fleet of 40 previously purchased. (Aircraft Illustrated, Jan. 1970) This type of aircraft is in use in Cabo Delgado Province in northern Mozambique (see Mozambique Revolution for Jan.-March 1970) as well as elsewhere in Africa.

American Policy in a Nutshell

The U.S. Department of State issues, for each country in the world, a periodic "fact sheet" summarizing relevant facts and American policy. Available from the Government Printing Office separately, or in a bound Fact Book published by Crown Publishers, New York, these statements are occasionally more candid than the public statements in the United Nations and other such forums. Thus in the fact sheet for Portugal, the population given is 22.7 million, accepting the Portuguese contention that the African colonies are integral parts of Portugal. The policy statement (Oct. 1968) stated that "the United States recognizes the contribution made in Africa by Portugal and believes that it is important that Portugal continue to contribute to stability and progress in that continent." By April 1969, when the fact sheet on Portuguese Guinea was issued, the word "progress" was omitted.

Nixon and Angola

I have read your report, "Nixon taking tough line on South Africa" (29 March). As an African born and bred in Angola I know deeply the situation in my country and the role that the United States Government has been playing there. I cannot help being afraid of the real intentions that may lie behind the Nixon policy statement, "US and Africa in the 1970s." It seems to me that this document is intended mainly for propaganda purposes, for some of its statements are not in accord with facts known to me. In saying that "the declared Portuguese policy of racial toleration holds genuine hope for the future," the document follows the official Portuguese propaganda line.

I have just come from Angola and I know the ways of Portuguese racialism, which are subtle and cunning

for economic reasons. They have been fully exposed in writings by Norton de Matos (formerly Governor-General and later High Commissioner of Angola) and Commander Ernesto de Vilhena.

Portugal was admitted to NATO in 1949, by proposal of the US. The motive was the strategic importance of Portugal's colonies. Portugal is now waging a colonial war in her African colonies--Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. If Amerika wants an end to racial oppression and residual colonialism in Southern Africa, why is President Nixon still allowing a large-scale arms supply to Portugal within NATO when many people believe that these arms are used in colonial war? Mahengue

(Letter to the Editor, The London Observer, 4/26/70)



CORPORATE _____ _____ INTERESTS _____ _____ ATTACKED _____

Report from the Gulf Oil Stockholders Meeting: Part of the Spring 1970 Campaign Against the Gulf Oil Corporation

The campaign against Gulf was designed to build support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa and to expose and confront Gulf as a typical corporate institution which is playing an important role in the continuation of racist and colonial subjugation throughout Southern Africa.

Gulf's collaboration with Portugal in the Cabinda enclave of Angola (as well as Gulf's involvement in all the other parts of the globe) was described in the January 1970 issue of Southern Africa.

Groups participating in the campaign included the Committee of Returned Volunteers, the American Committee on Africa, the University Christian Movement, the United Church of Christ, Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, and the American Friends Service Committee. In addition to these groups, a broad coalition of Pittsburgh people, the Gulf Action Project (GAP), was formed to tie the campaign into local issues. Pittsburgh is an important city for organizing against Gulf; Gulf's main offices are there and the stockholders meeting was held there this year. Pittsburgh is also the home of the Mellon family, which has controlling interest in Gulf Oil, as well as in many other Pittsburgh institutions, from major corporations to the United Fund. So there are strong feelings around Gulf and the Mellons in Pittsburgh.

Leading up to the April 28 stockholders' meeting, the organizing groups undertook a series of actions in both Pittsburgh and New York. On February 4, MPLA Day (anniversary of the founding of Angola's liberation movement), New York CRV leafletted both Casa de Portugal and Gulf's New York offices. Later in February the CRV Women's Guerrillas performed "The Rape of Angola" for Columbia students and Gulf recruiters on the uptown campus. And on Earth Day, the guerrillas moved downtown to Union Square, while leafletting was done in various parts of the city.

In Pittsburgh, GAP began to move on the various interlocking Mellon interests which controlled vital institutions there. ALCOA's (Mellon controlled) stockholders' meeting was leafletted, as

was Bob Dorsey (President of Gulf Oil) when he spoke at a local business meeting on the "social responsibility of business." A few weeks before April 28, a subsidiary of GAP, the "conspiracy to incite monarchy," made a pilgrimage to Ligonier (Pa.), home of Richard King Mellon, to crown King Mellon--King. On April 27 a group of "Mellon for King" supporters held an election in Mellon Square: the choice was between Mellon, Mellon and Mellon.

At the April 28 Gulf stockholders' meeting about 40 GAP, CRV and church people entered Carnegie Music Hall where the meeting was being held. Meanwhile a rally was held on the lawn across the street for about 500 people and bright "Gulf Kills" flags decorated the streets.

The strategy of those who were inside the meeting was to keep raising the human issues as long as possible and to prevent the stockholders from carrying on business as usual if they refused to consider these issues seriously. Demands to change the agenda and assertions that stockholders' meetings are illegal were made; Amilcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto, leaders of the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, were nominated for the Board of Directors. These, and other nominations, made opportunities for speeches on Gulf's role in the oppression of peoples in Southern Africa. Chairman of the Board, E. D. Brockett, refused to allow the meeting to discuss these issues; he cut off the speakers, demanding that they present the name of the nominee if they wished to nominate anyone. Speakers who refused to be silenced were escorted or carried out of the meeting by security guards responsive to Brockett's signals. Minor disruptions were caused by buzzers and a mild stink bomb which went off during President Dorsey's speech. In a display of corporate control, Dorsey and Brockett both remained cool during the

meeting (and the meeting ended according to their schedule rather than that of the protesters) although they did show their nervousness by failing to follow the proper order of the agenda and forgetting to collect the ballots for the Board of Directors.

In the afternoon GAP led a tour of Pittsburgh entitled "Tripping Through the Mellon Patch," and about 400 people from the rally marched through a Mellon Bank, past ALCOA, U.S. Steel, Kappers, Gulf, to Mellon Square where CRV performed "The Rape of Angola" again. The group concluded the day with a visit to the Duquesne Club where a Gulf cocktail party was being held.



Philadelphia Movement Attacks Insurance Company of North America on South African Issue

A group calling themselves Resistance/INA Action Project, have launched a variety of actions exposing and calling for an end of the Insurance Company of North America (INA)'s support of South African racism. INA is one of five Philadelphia based companies which functions in South Africa with branch offices in Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown, and has purchased bonds from the South African Government (according to law). Of its 39 employees in South Africa, 2 are black (one is a "tea server", the other is a "porter"); and yet INA claims to have a "long established policy of equal opportunity and continues an aggressive program of hiring Negroes for a wide variety of jobs, including management and judgment level positions."

The INA response to the Resistance/INA Project has been, as others, to pass

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

the buck to the U.S. government with the argument that since the U.S. maintains "normal relations" with South Africa, people who disagree should direct their attention to the government and not to the corporation. Before the publicity, INA President Charles Cox stated that INA planned to increase investments in South Africa "as long as we make good profits there," but now the tune runs, "a policy of Apartheid is abhorrent to American ideals," but "we think it improper to use the withdrawal of insurance protection as an economic boycott." (Quotes from Chairman of the Board, John T. Gurash.)

The Resistance/INA Action Project held a rally at the INA Building on April 15, and somehow a South African flag was raised on the building's flag pole to symbolize INA/South African solidarity. The Project had representatives including two black South Africans at the INA Annual Meeting on April 22, plus a rally outside, and is planning a number of university-based actions, especially at the University of Pennsylvania where INA has long-standing financial and corporate elite ties. For more information on this local project, contact: Resistance/INA Action Project, 928 Chesnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. (215) WA2-7902.

U. S. Military Supports Portugal: Attache's Visit Bissau

"Believing that resort to force and violence is in no one's interest, we imposed an embargo in 1961 against the shipment of arms for use in the Portuguese territories. We have maintained this embargo and will continue to do so." (Secretary of State William P. Rogers, "U.S. and Africa in the 70's")

"This is to inform you of the current 15-day visit to Bissau by a group of American Naval Attaches to Guinea and Cape Verde. We would appreciate every effort on your part to denounce and condemn once again this proof of American complicity in the criminal Portuguese colonial war against our African people..." (Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General, PAIGC)

It was reported in the Noticias e Factos of May 5 that 25 members of the U. S. War College visited Angola and Mozambique in April 1970.

Women in the Struggle: Angola and Mozambique

Women are taking on an every-growing importance in the struggle for independence in Angola. According to the Times of Zambia (3/16/70) the organization of Angolan Women (OMA) was founded as a wing of MPLA nine years ago when the armed struggle began. Since then, the women have been working as nurses, farmers, teachers. But most recently all-female military detachments have been formed to shoulder along with men full responsibility for the carrying on of the war. According to "Fuxi," OMA's information officer, "In MPLA we believe in equal rights for both men and women. We believe we have equal contributions to make in our present struggle for independence."

In Mozambique women have been active in the military since 1967. An article



in the Mozambique Revolution (Oct. 1969) by Josina Machel describes the role of women in FRELIMO in some detail. She writes "the women's military activities are usually concentrated in the defence of the liberated areas, thus freeing the men for the offensive actions in the zones of advance. However, many of the women prefer the more active combats in the advance zones and choose to fight alongside the men in ambushes, and mining operations, where they have proved themselves as capable and courageous as any of their male comrades."

Josina Machel herself is a political commissar in the Women's Detachment and she writes enthusiastically about the role of women in political activities:

"Since 1967 the women have demonstrated that they have a key role in the mobilisation and political education of both the people and the soldiers themselves. In this work we explain to the people the need to fight, what kind of struggle we are waging, with whom we fight, and against whom, what are the reasons for our struggle, what are our aims, and why we chose an armed struggle as the only means to independence. We explain the work we are doing and the results we have achieved so far... In this connection, it is stressed that the success of the revolution depends on the combined efforts of everyone such that no one can be omitted, and thus the traditional rather "passive" role of women must be changed so that their abilities are used to the full."

O.A.U. - Liberation Committee Critique

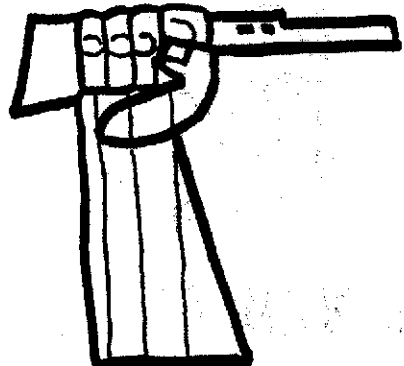
A study group was appointed during the February meeting of the Organization for African Unity to look into the OAU's Liberation Committee, whose mandate is to coordinate the disbursement of funds and goods to the recognized liberation movements of southern

Africa, and are dealing directly with various movements. The OAU granted emergency funds to the Rhodesian movements in response to the illegal declaration of a republic by the Smith regime. (Times of Zambia, 3/9/70 and 2/27/70)

In late April the Committee of 7 met in Dar es Salaam to hear the grievances of the liberation movements vis-a-vis the Liberation Committee; the report from the Committee will be submitted to the OAU in September.

Zambia Urges End to ZAPU Internecine Conflicts

A leadership conflict between officials of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) which developed in Lusaka, Zambia has resulted in the call by the Government of Zambia that the party heal its wounds or leave the country. President Kaunda's representative, Mr. Mukuka Nkoloso, appealed to Vice President James Chikerema and other leaders to "think things over," and warned that the government might close the ZAPU office, call upon leaders to resign and let new leadership emerge. The factions, reportedly alligned along personal and ethnic relationships, emerged earlier in 1970 but surfaced in March with communiques, and finally in physical confrontation in late April. All of this occurred in Lusaka, and with the Zambian-induced truce there is an uneasiness whereby only Mr. Smith "has another victory to celebrate." (London Observer, 4/26/70; Financial Times, 5/6/70)



INSIDE RHODESIA

diplomacy and the smith regime

Since March 2 when the first of the series of urgent Security Council meetings on Rhodesia was called, several countries have broken off consular relations with the rebel regime. These include the U. S., Norway, Italy, France, Denmark, West Germany, and the Netherlands. The diplomatic war took a dramatic turn of events with the announcement that even Portugal had decided to close her consulate, presumably bowing to British diplomatic pressure (New York Times, 4/27/70).

The vested interest of Portugal in maintaining cordial relations with her key economic partner, the United Kingdom, is enough rationale for such a pro forma action. Meanwhile, the Times of Zambia reports a pre-election speech of the South African Minister for Community Development (Blaar Coetzee) indicating South Africa's new willingness to establish "diplomatic" relations with Rhodesia. (3/12/70) As yet, South Africa has not legally recognized the new Rhodesian Republic, and although all other consulates have been removed, in following the lead of the U.S. certain economic and intelligence linkages will remain. The Baltimore Sun (4/27/70) quoting London sources reveals that Portugal will probably maintain a travel or tourist office in Rhodesia.

Spain Keeps Rhodesians Out

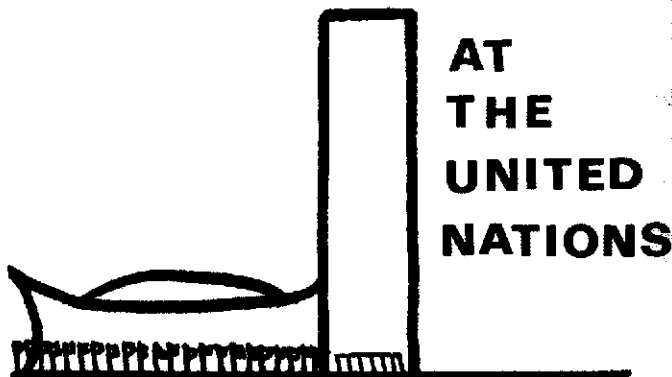
A large amateur golf tournament is to be held in Spain in September. The Rhodesians have been refused permission to play in the tournament. The reason given is that they wish to honor United Nations request that member nations do not recognize Rhodesian passports. (BBC News, 6/1/70)



sanctions busting

On the sanctions front, the American Government has decided to follow the lead set by the British in prosecuting sanctions busters. On March 31, a New York import-export concern was indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of conspiring to violate U.S. import restrictions. The company, William H. Muller and Co., was charged with twice receiving illegal chrome shipments valued at \$367,782 from the rebel regime. (New York Times, 4/1/70) While the possible fine of \$10,000 is not severe and compliance with sanctions regulations are not expected to do more at this point than merely harrass the whites in Rhodesia, the act may encourage other governments to stop ignoring violations of the U.N. sanction.

For further relevant news, see the section on the Churches and Southern Africa.



U Thant Speaks at U.N. Meeting Commemorating South African Massacre

In a statement on Mar. 20 on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, so chosen to commemorate the "Sharpeville Massacre," U Thant said that racism in Southern Africa was "a serious and

increasingly dangerous menace to peace in the area, with incalculable international consequences."

He said that virtually everyone concerned in Africa wanted a peaceful solution to racial problems, but asserted "that the South African Government has continued to spurn a peaceful solution based on the participation of all the people of the country in deciding its destiny is a matter of the deepest regret."

He continued: "It was not a mere coincidence that the Sharpeville massacre took place in the year in which many nations in Africa attained their independence and when the U.N. General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration of the Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples. Sharpeville signified a futile march of freedom in Africa and the world."

Mr. Thant said preparations were being made to celebrate 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The Chairman of the Committee on Apartheid, Abdul-rahim Abby Farah of Somalia,

said the Sharpeville massacre "was highly significant because it brought home to the African peoples of South Africa and beyond the fact that non-violent protest had become meaningless."

PUBLICATIONS

For the benefit of readers with specialized interests, following are some papers and documents published by the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid:

1. Trade Union Rights in South Africa
2. Chief Albert J. Lutuli, Statements and Addresses (I and II)
3. "Native Reserves" in South Africa
4. Sharpeville--Ten Years After
5. Banishment of Africans in South Africa
6. The Special Committee Hears Dennis Brutus
7. Special Committee Observes International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

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