

SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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EDITORIAL "One Small Step Forward: Two Giant Steps Backward"

For the first time, the United Nations has held a World Youth Conference and has invited for participation some representatives from the liberatory movements of Southern Africa. These delegates were asked on several occasions to interpret the implications of two recent events in Europe: the reception and blessing of representatives from the liberatory movements of the Portuguese colonies by the Pope in Rome recently, and the news that the new conservative government in Britain will soon cancel the Labor government's ban on arms sales to South Africa.

The former was heralded as an important event, representing as it did a rather revolutionary stance for the Roman church leader. Mr. Antonio Condessa of the MPLA (Angolan Popular Movement for Liberation) stated that it is not expected that the Pope will take any further steps in this matter, but that his reception and blessing themselves were quite important in their implications to all the Catholic world--especially the Portuguese part. One small step forward.

But comments regarding Britain's move towards selling arms to South Africa are not so positive. Many young Africans at the U.N. Youth Assembly have interpreted it as both a direct insult to black Africa as a whole, and as a tremendous demoralizing effect on the United Nations itself. Britain's seeming lack of concern about the U.N. embargo on arms sales to South Africa represents a lack of respect for that body which is becoming increasingly great on the part of many of its members.

To many Africans, Britain's move is interpreted as forming a stronger alliance with the white racist regimes of Southern Africa against the people's movements and desires for freedom and self-determination, but it also represents a major erosion of their faith in the United Nations. The lip service given to maintenance of peace and security by the move, is undone by the inevitability it places on a violent revolution being the only way out of the situation for the Africans. Two giant steps backward.

What the Western world cannot see is that it is WE who are taking the giant steps backward, and the movements for liberation in Africa who are taking the small steps forward.

WE HAVE MOVED !!

Readers: Please note our new address on the masthead. In the future, please address all correspondence (and donations!) to our new address. Also, if you have a change of address, BE SURE TO INDICATE BOTH YOUR OLD AND YOUR NEW ZIP CODE!!!

feature article : SOUTH AFRICA'S PROPAGANDA MACHINE

Ten years ago, South Africa's foreign policy and image-building attempts overseas were crude and unsophisticated. Eric Louw, then External Affairs Minister, was a dogmatic white supremacist who hurled racist epithets from the platforms of the United Nations, to the delight of his fellow Nationalists at home.

Then came Sharpeville--a diplomatic disaster of massive proportions for the South African government--followed, a year later, by South Africa's virtual expulsion from the British Commonwealth. The economic crisis created by the flood of money out of the country following Sharpeville and the loss of Commonwealth

economic preferences brought about the realization by the South African government that it would have to do some intensive face-lifting if it were to counteract its image as the world's polecat and again attract foreign investment capital into the country.

Slowly, over the years, a skillful, well-planned and massively financed propaganda program has been developed which, it must be admitted, has performed wonders. South Africa has never been stronger economically and militarily, powerful friends speak for her in all parts of the western world, despite her continued and intensified repression of the majority of her people.

Dr. Louw's boorish foreign policy has given way to the quiet and sophisticated approach of Hildgard Muller, an Oxford-educated, modern

day diplomat. Exhaustive and detailed memoranda flow from Dr. Muller's office as attempted rebuffs to attacks on apartheid. Muller travels constantly through the capitals of the Western world, building bridges, avoiding confrontations with demonstrators, stressing South Africa's supposedly strategic role in the Indian Ocean, apparent contribution to the fight against communism, and unlimited opportunities for foreign investment.

Since Dr. Louw's demise, South Africa has launched a propaganda onslaught using many different approaches. In the mid-60's, Radio South Africa began broadcasting in many different languages to all corners of the globe. Nightly on the 25 meter band, it preaches its low-key racism to North America, interspersed with music and chatty South African anecdotes.

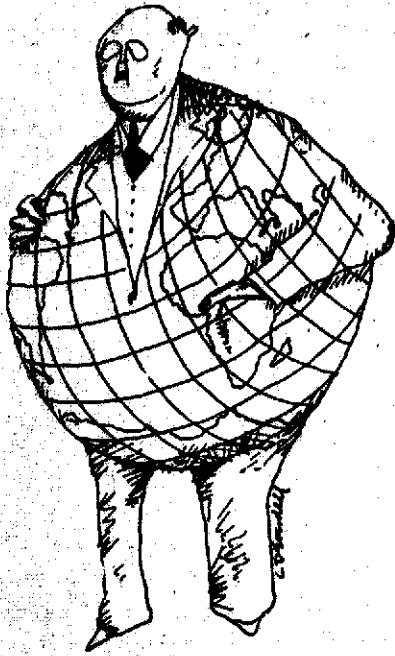
Over the years, too, South Africa's propaganda publications have become more elaborate in format and, more skillful in content. Three such magazines circulate in the U.S.: South African Panorama (published by the Government Department of Information, Pretoria); Report from South Africa (published by the Department of Information in the South African Embassy in London); and South African Scope (published by the Information section of South Africa's embassy in Washington.) All employ the same approach: glossy photographs of South Africa's scenic and wild-life attractions, happy, smiling black faces enjoying the physical comforts provided by their ever-loving white benefactors, and page after page devoted to the wonders of the South African economy.

In this country, South Africa's diplomatic apologists slink from town to town, avoiding publicity and college campuses, seeking out newspaper editors, local radio and TV bosses, Kiwanis, Rotary and other such clubs, lugging with them a growing number of

increasingly sophisticated films depicting 'the truth about South Africa.' Many of these local prominents are seduced into making all-expense paid, brainwashing trips to South Africa. Occasionally, they are accompanied by right-wingers of national prominence such as Senators Ellender and Eastland. Naturally, almost without exception, these visitors return as ardent defenders of the apartheid faith.

In its diplomatic offensive, the South African government has powerful allies of which two must be mentioned: the South African Foundation and the Africa Institute.

The Foundation exists to promote South Africa's good name overseas, counteract so-called unjust attacks, and as an avenue for the attraction of foreign investments. Headed by an overt and aging racist, Sir Francis de Guingand, it is supported by South Africa's top businessmen, Nationalists and non-Nationalists alike. Anton Rupert, Tom Muller and Harry Oppenheimer are only three of the tycoons who donate liberally to the Foundation's coffers. With this enormous budget, the Foundation zealously defends apartheid. With offices in many different parts of the world, the head of the American office is a 'real catch' for the Nationalists. He is John Chettle, one of the rapidly proliferating breed of well-educated, English-speaking pragmatic intellectuals who believe apartheid offers the possibility of a liberal solution to South Africa's racial problems. Educated at one of South Africa's elite high schools, Hilton College, Chettle has a B.A. from Natal University where he was President of the Student Body, a law degree from Witwatersrand University and an M.A. from Oxford, where he was a Rhodes scholar. Returning to South Africa, he joined Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Company, one of the world's largest corporations. From well over 150



applications, Chettle was selected to conduct South Africa's image-building offensive in the U.S. Recently he appeared on NBC's Today Show, where his smiling reasonableness and neat factual distortions must have won South Africa many converts.

The Africa Institute is a branch of the South African Academy of Arts and Sciences, operating in cooperation with the University of South Africa. It strongly supports separate development while conducting research on Southern Africa, the fruits of which it publishes in its magazine, Bulletin. This core of Afrikaner intellectuals in the Institute clearly belong to the 'verligte' camp of the Nationalist Party, and have provided much of the impetus for South Africa's imperial penetration of neighboring and nearby African States.

Much of this propaganda offensive has focused on the U.S. Some \$900 million worth of American capital is invested in South Africa and the figure grows annually. The ties between the U.S. and South Africa grow closer each year, while increasing numbers of Americans, from all walks of life, visit South Africa, often either at the invi-

tation of the Department of Information or the South African Foundation.

Reportedly in South Africa at the moment, as visiting Professors at the University of Cape Town's Business School, are Professors Brink of Columbia University, Basil of the University of South Carolina, Corbin of New York University and Westfall of Northwestern, while attending a conference on world population growth in Johannesburg, are American professors Munger of Caltech, Organski and Spengler of Duke, joining other academics from Britain, Japan, Australia, Holland, Chile and Israel.

In June, the Foreign editor of Science, the official journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Daniel Greenberg visited South Africa, while earlier this year, the Travel Editor of the New York Post, Richard Joseph, was in South Africa which he found greatly to his taste: "If this is Darkest Africa, then somebody sure must have put on the light."

A recent edition of South African Digest, a government publication which employs a Time-like format for propagandizing South Africa's achievements, reported on the success of the latest government-made film -- "The Peace Game", about South Africa's wild life reserves. This film won the 'Blue Ribbon' at the American Film Festival in New York and a 'Golden Camera' award at the U.S. Industrial Film Festival in Chicago. (South African Digest, 6/12/70)

This is evidence of the increasing finesse of South Africa's propaganda films--a fact mentioned earlier.

The April 24 edition of the South African Digest devoted two full pages to the expanding cooperation between South Africa and NASA through NASA's tracking stations near Johannesburg. No black American has ever been sent by NASA to these tracking stations which have brought South Africa into intimate contact with the U.S. Space Program, membership of the International

Committee on Space Research and much ammunition for its propaganda machine.

In brief, and only in part, does this article detail the propaganda activities of the South African government and its affiliates. Against this, the opponents of the loathsome apartheid regime in South Africa have but one weapon and one which no amount of effort can overcome, and that is truth, the real facts of the inhuman oppression of the majority of South Africans.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

The Case of the Twenty-Two

The events around the detention and trial of 22 Africans are cause for major concern and justify a review of the case:

July 16, 1968: Benjamin Sello Ramotse taken into custody.

May, 1969: Police raids all over the country and some 40 persons detained.

October, 1969: 22 persons charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for being members or furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Dec. 1, 1969: The trial begins.

Feb. 16, 1970: The charges under the Suppression of Communism Act dropped.

Feb. 16, 1970: the 22 immediately redetained under the Terrorism Act of 1967.

June 11, 1970: Manco Paulus Matshaba released from detention.

June 18, 1970: Victor Ammanuel Mazitulela and Livingstone Mancoko released from detention.

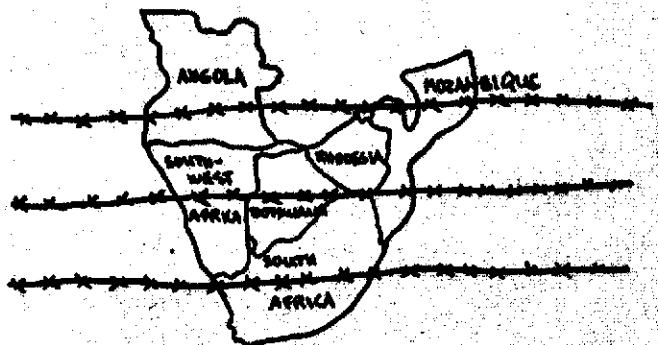
June 18, 1970: 20 detainees appear for formal remand for a summary Supreme Court Trial under the Terrorism Act, Mr. Ramotse is one of them and it is the first time he has been brought to public attention. The twenty are remanded until Aug. 3, 1970.

In addition to the clear evidence of brutal treatment while in prison, including long periods of solitary confinement, long days of interrogation, and threats to family, the case raises many questions about the state of justice in South Africa.

Mr. Ramotse was detained in July, 1968. He was not one of the original 22. On June 18, when he appeared with the other 19, he had no lawyer as he had not been informed prior to his coming to court that he would be appearing. He asked that Mr. Joel Carlson, lawyer for the other 19, be his lawyer as well. A short adjournment was allowed for Carlson and Ramotse to consult. What is frightening is that no one knew he was even in prison. Yet he had been in prison for 702 days. (Jo'burg Rand Daily Mail, 6/19/70)

The Star of 5/30/70 reported that some 40 persons were detained during the May 1969 police raids. Only 22 of those people have come to trial. What has happened to the others?

Three of the original 22 have been released. For several weeks their whereabouts were unknown. The head of the Security Police, Brig. P. J. Venter, said that they had been officially released and that it was none of his business if the men failed to return home. At the same time, Mr. Carlson was informed by the prosecution that the three would be State



Witnesses in the coming trial of the 19.

Then two weeks after the date of his official release, Mr. Matshaba emerged from Weskoppies Mental Hospital where he said he had been for 44 days. He was driven home by the police and was described as "confused." He had been held in solitary confinement and that was blamed for his confusion by the hospital authorities. However, it is not known who committed him to the hospital, as the police say they didn't. And it was not known if the Prosecution knew of his "confusion" when they announced that he would be a States witness. (Star, 6/27/70; Rand Daily Mail, 6/24/70)

On June 18, Mr. Mazitulela was released. He says that he had purposefully stayed out of the public eye. He also said that nothing had been said to him by anyone about giving evidence in any trial.

The third man released, Mr. Man-coko's whereabouts are still unknown. (Rand Daily Mail, 6/26/70)

What these events show very clearly is that trial or no trial, guilty or not guilty, the detainees have their freedom only at the pleasure of the police. Ramotse was in jail for 702 days and no one knew it. As the Rand Daily Mail editorialized: "This is horrifying. The very idea of people vanishing for years without the public knowing anything about it is something one associates only with the worst of the totalitarian police states. Yet now it has happened in South Africa. And immediately one is impelled to ask the question; How many more cases like this are there? It is a question the Minister of Police should answer forthwith." (Rand Daily Mail, 6/19/70)

PROTEST AROUND THE TRIAL

Not all of South Africa has been blind to what is happening. The traditional protestors have been active. The Black Sash held silent vigils for the 22. They stopped when a promise of a speedy resolution to the case was

given and then resumed when it was not forthcoming. (Rand Daily Mail, 6/12/70)

A protest meeting was held in Johannesburg in May, calling Prime Minister Vorster to bring all detainees under arbitrary detention to immediate trial or free them. The particular focus was of course on the 22. (Star, 5/30/70)

On July 15, 1970 thirty persons will appear in court following their arrest during a protest march May 18. Some 350 people, mostly students, staged the march. Thirty of them are charged as follows: Under the Riotous Assembly Act of promoting a prohibited gathering in protest against Section 6 of the Terrorism Act; A breach of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in that they urged others to commit offences in order to protest against a law; A breach of a municipal by-law for failing to follow the route approved by the City Council at the time when permission was granted for the procession. (Star, 7/4/70)

(For a more detailed account, write to the United Nations, Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs for their Notes and Documents, No. 18/70, May, 1970--"South Africa's 'Terrorism Act'".)

ZULU TERRITORIAL AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED
(See May-June 1970 issue of this newsletter for background.)

A long-standing opponent of apartheid and friend of leaders in the now disbanded Liberal Party, and the Progressive Party has agreed to participate in the system and allow himself to be chairman of the Zulu Territorial Authority. He is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Buthelezi describes himself as "a law-abiding citizen of South Africa." He was expelled from Fort Hare College in 1950 for participating in a political demonstration. He later completed his Arts Degree at

the University of Natal. From 1953 until the present, he has held a position of leadership in his tribe. (Rand Daily Mail, 6/19/70)

One suspects that Buthelezi has agreed to be a part of the Zulu Bantustan because he sees no other options. His options in this position are very limited. There are about as many Zulus in South Africa as there are whites. The Zulu "homeland" consists of 200 unconsolidated pieces of land. It covers 37 million acres of beautiful but poor ground. This is not a viable homeland, and Buthelezi is demanding more land. It must be remembered that the whites of South Africa control 87% of the land.

In addition to more land, Buthelezi is demanding free and compulsory education and that the language of instruction be English. (Present South African law demands that secondary schools must be taught in English, Afrikaans and the appropriate Bantu languages--a third of the subjects in each. The result is that students are prevented from learning any language well.)

Another major concern is the lack of jobs in Zululand. The area is full and more and more Zulus, particularly those the Government calls "superfluous"--the aged, the unfit, widows, and women with dependent children--are being sent "home" from the cities. There is no place for them and malnutrition is an increasing problem. (New York Times, 7/13/70)

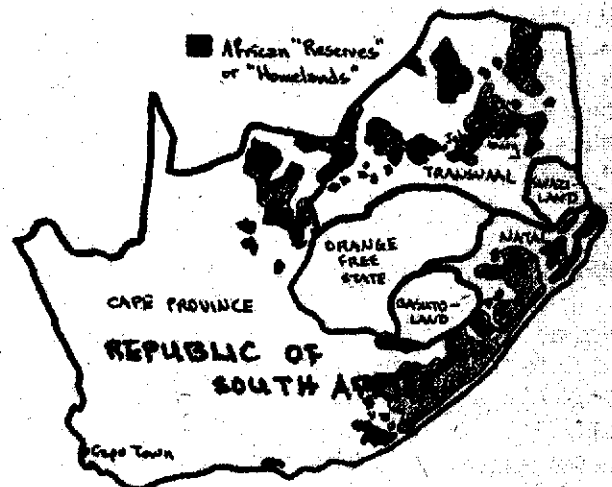
Many in South Africa feel that Buthelezi is a man the South African Government will have to take seriously. He is doing that in reverse--calling the Government to fulfill the promises it has made. In the past the Government has gone to great lengths to prevent Africans and Coloureds with views similar to those of Buthelezi from taking power. As the Rand Daily Mail says: "Tremendous pressures were exerted to prevent the Democratic Party of

Paramount Chief Poto and Mr. Knowledge Guzana from gaining control of the Transkei Assembly after it had won most of the seats. And even more extraordinary steps were taken to prevent the Coloured Labour Party from gaining control of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council only last year.

"Yet now the Government has permitted the election of Chief Buthelezi, potentially by far the most potent Non-White political figure in the country. It has done so not from choice, but because Chief Buthelezi's stature is such that without him there could be no Zulustan. The coming tussle between them is going to be worth watching. Its implications for South Africa could be profound." (Rand Daily Mail, 6/13/70)

TRANSKEI DEMANDS MORE LAND

The South African Government has warned that "continued territorial claims could sour relations between the Transkei and South Africa." Nonetheless, the Transkei Government has called for the inclusion of six white districts into the Transkei. The Transkei is only seeking to reclaim land taken by force by whites. An 1885 map shows the land as belonging to the Transkeians. (Star, 5/2/70)



NUCLEAR KNOW-HOW

South Africa has the technological know-how and resources to produce a nuclear-weapons system, according to a senior South African nuclear scientist. The scientist who did not want publicity for professional reasons, said he believed that the likelihood of South Africa undertaking such a project was very small, primarily because of the enormous cost involved. (Jo'burg Star, 5/23/70)

SOUTH AFRICAN FILMS

South African films have been declared "of acceptable international standards" for world-wide distribution, by both 20th Century Fox and Columbia films. This could lead to more South African films being shown in the U.S. and elsewhere. (Star, 6/6/70)

URBAN BANTU COUNCIL POWERLESS

The Urban Bantu Council (UBC) of Johannesburg has been forbidden by the Department of Bantu Administration to handle the cases of individual Africans caught in the influx control laws. Many Africans find themselves in difficulty because of the complex laws governing their right to move about. The UBC wanted its members to act as counselors. The Government has said no, that the UBC is to deal exclusively with municipal affairs and that the UBC can only act as a body and its individual members are not legally competent to act for an individual member of the public.

The result is an incredibly complicated mess. An individual, for example a woman separated from her children by influx control, has to appeal to her tribal Territorial Authority to get her family back together. The Territorial Authority then tells the tribal Commissioner General of the matter. The Commissioner General informs the Minister of Bantu Affairs who informs the Secretary for Bantu Administration who then tells the Johannesburg Bantu Affairs Commissioner what action to take. By

this route, the problems of an individual are to be handled. The UBC has no power to help the people of the urban areas. (Star, 5/39/70)

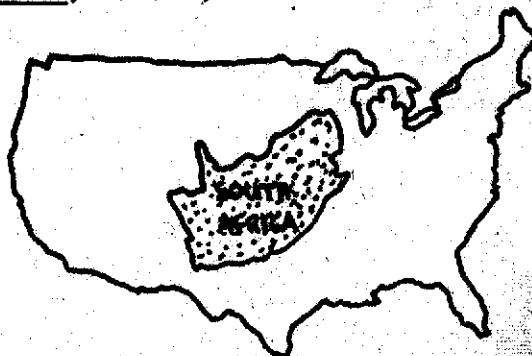
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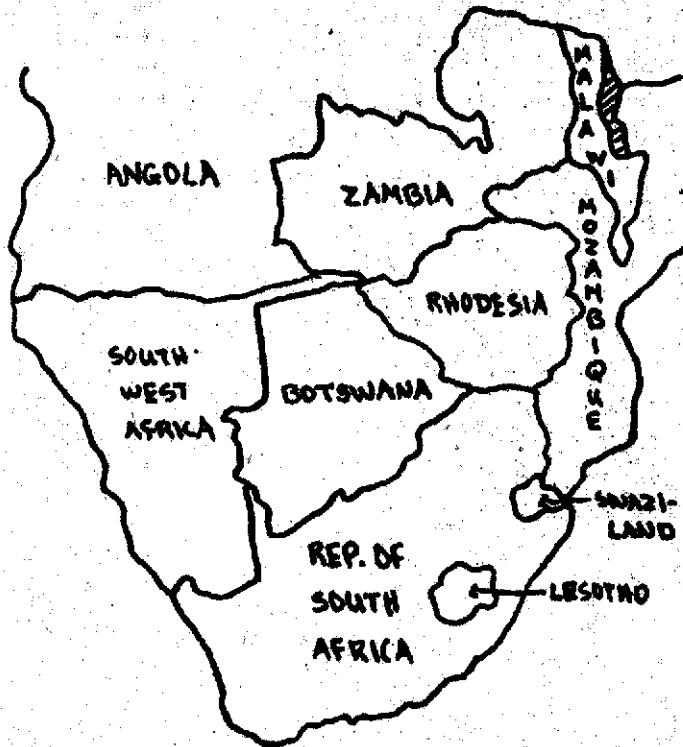
Lieut.-Col. Walter Limbach, the Assistant Naval Attache' on the staff of the U.S. Consulate-General in Cape Town, was kidnapped May 8. He returned May 9, and reported to the police. Limbach is a fighter pilot, a veteran of the Vietnam War and of the 1962 Cuban Missils Crisis. (Star, 5/9/70)

The South African police are investigating the affair, but aside from the information that Limbach returned safely, they are not giving out anything further (Star, 5/16/70).

New light was shed on the case when the Cape Argus received Limbach's identity card in the mail. A note was attached which stated it was from the kidnapper. The note read: "You hypocritical fools. You have a perfect excuse to crusade against the continued detention of the Africans. Thank God for the Few of NUSAS. By the time you have this we will be back to Blighty (England) and your comic South African Police can return to peeping in windows for immorality." (Star, 5/30/70)

Limbach left South Africa the first week of June for Washington. He will return if he is needed to give evidence, according to a senior police spokesman. He will be assigned to a new post, however, and will not return to South Africa for regular duty. (Star, 6/6/70)





INSIDE RHODESIA

A Summary of News and Events

Rhodesia's four-and-a-half-year-old state of emergency will continue for another year until June 26, 1971. The Minister of Law and Order (sic.), Mr. Gardner-Burke, stated in the Assembly on June 11 that Rhodesia had not seen the last of so-called terrorist infiltration.

The new Parliament divided on cleancut racial lines when all the African M.P.'s voted against the notion to extend the state of emergency. The vote was 43 to 15. (Rand Daily Mail, 6/12/70). The vote of the African representatives should come as a "profound disappointment" to the Secretary of Internal Affairs, who said in April that he hoped the "tribal representatives would act as the voice of the chiefs."

About 350 students of the University College of Rhodesia, most of them Africans, decided to boycott lectures in protest against the enlargement and packing of the College Council. Representation

on the Council has been increased from 24 to 32 members, and will in future include 9 Rhodesian Government representatives. Prof. Robert Craig, principal of the University called police to the campus to break up the peaceful, non-violent pickets of all lecture rooms and disruption of the lectures by chanting and singing. According to Sapa, a police spokesman denied that dogs were unleashed to disperse the students. (Rand Daily Mail, 6/17/70)

The Rhodesian Information Office in the U.S. has disclosed that Union Carbide has been embarrassed by the imposition of sanctions against Rhodesia. Chairman of the Company, Birney Mason, Jr., told stockholders at a recent annual meeting that the sanctions had forced the company to buy most of its chrome from the Soviet Union, and has prevented the company from getting chrome from its own mines in Rhodesia, reportedly already paid for and waiting shipment at the time the sanctions were applied.

The Rhodesian Information Office reported that the consequent increased price of chrome (up from \$35 to \$55) had drawn fire from editorials in U.S. newspapers, specifically the Lebanon (Penna.) News and the Woburn (Mass.) Times. The Times editorialized:

"It is time to stop this nonsense about no trade with Rhodesia...It is seriously hurting the blacks there by destroying their career positions in engineering and jobs in mining and smelting chrome."

(Rhodesian Viewpoint, 5/14/70)

Well, what do you expect from the effect Eastern snobs?

Inside Rhodesia, Mr. Clifford Dupont, President of Rhodesia, opened the country's first Republican Parliament on May 29 with a sombre warning. He hinted that the battle against African Nationalist guerrilla infiltrators might soon enter a new phase. He said the effectiveness of the armed forces would be strengthened "so that they will continue to be in a position to meet any threat that may be posed

against Rhodesia's territorial integrity (sic)." The Government would continue to do everything to assist the security forces to maintain their successful protection of Rhodesia against the Communist threat from the North. (Manchester Guardian, 5/29/70) This would indicate that Smith's Administration does not expect to win easy over the freedom fighters without pinch planning.

Mr. Dupont reiterated that legislation would soon be introduced to protect and maintain residential property values. This was a reference to a bill designed to clear Asians and Coloureds out of white suburbs. The Administration was treating the matter as "urgent," he said.

The tug-of-war continues between the Church and State over the implementation of the odious Land Tenure Act which allocates equal amounts of land to 5 million Rhodesian Africans and to 230,000 Rhodesian whites. In the best South African tradition, of course, the best parcels of land are reserved for the whites.

The Church denominations in this matter have steadfastly refused to be cowed into submission. The law violates conscience and "grievously restricts the practice of religion," they stated, and they warned that unless provisions are declared void, they will close all hospitals, schools, orphanages and homes for the aged. (The extent of institutions affected is indicated by the fact that the Roman Catholic Church alone operates 131 hospitals and dispensaries, and its 820 schools enroll 525,000 students, of whom 500,000 are African.) The Rhodesian Churches realize that civil liberties once lost are not easily regained.

NAMIBIA

more U.N. deliberations

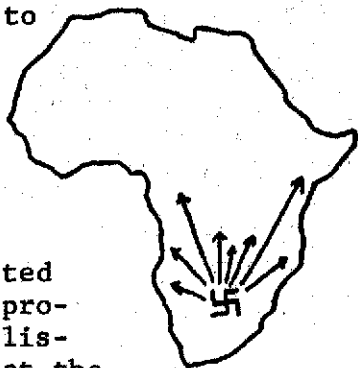
In our Feb. 1970 issue we reported the decision of the U.N. Security Council to form still another body to deliberate upon and make suggestions about the problem of Namibia. (Since 1966, the U.N. has been trying to oust South Africa from Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa. The whole world recognizes the illegitimacy of South African occupation in Namibia; legal and diplomatic condemnation have been ineffective in the face of South Africa's military strength and economic ties with the West.) The report of this Ad Hoc Sub-committee was issued on July 7; predictably, it offers few new recommendations, and again much time has been lost.

The Ad Hoc committee consists of representatives from each of the Security Council members; its report falls into five categories. The first section recommends that all member States refuse all political and diplomatic recognition of South Africa's presence in Namibia. The second recommends that all States should discourage economic dealings with Namibia, ceasing all state-controlled economic relationships and discouraging others by withdrawing all encouragement of or support for companies which invest in Namibia. (This economic step, incidently, was undertaken by the U.S. in May--see May-June 1970 issue of this newsletter) It was greeted in South Africa as "little more than a gratuitous pin prick," a desire to "strike but not wound." (Washington Post, 5/25/70) The third section recommends the presentation of the case of Namibia once more before the International Court of Justice and the review of all treaties which contain provisions applying to Namibia. The fourth section calls on the Security Council to reaffirm its request that all member States cease to supply South Africa with arms as well

South African Airways is looking for plane navigators in the U.S. Let's hope all those who apply are Caucasian, eh?

as materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms. The final section recommends that the U.N. Council for Namibia make known the results of its study with regard to issuance of passports and visas for Namibians (so far Uganda and Zambia have both agreed to issue U.N. travel and identity documents to Namibians); that it undertake a study of regulations to be adopted by States concerning travel to Namibia; that it consider the possibility of discouraging tourism in Namibia; that it request the General Assembly to set up a special U.N. Fund for Namibians; that States should be called on to report to the Secretary General on measures they have taken in order to implement such recommendations which are adopted by the Security Council; and finally, that the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee should continue to meet to consider further effective recommendations.

Reservations to the Committee's report were expressed by four of the delegations. The French and United Kingdom delegates protested that the entire procedure was unrealistic, implying that the problem of Namibia can be solved only by including South Africa in deliberations of the problem; the delegates from Poland, Syria and the USSR also found the procedure unrealistic in that it did not call for severe enough measures. In expressing his reservations, the delegate from the USSR stated: "As long as Namibia is dominated by United Kingdom, United States, West Germany and South African monopolies, no radical changes can be made for the benefit of the people of Namibia and with a view to liberating it." He then made specific suggestions which, if they were to be adopted, could put some teeth into recommendations of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee.



Now, while South Africa strengthens its stranglehold on Namibia, the reports and discussions continue to circulate in the safety of the ivory U.N. tower.

Sam Nujoma's U.N. Testimony

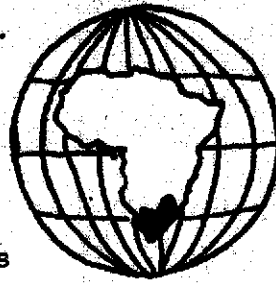
One of the representations to the Ad Hoc Committee was made by Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization). Describing the military occupation of Namibia, Nujoma said:

"As it is true with any military occupations of a country, the life style in Namibia has completely changed. People are under constant threat of being arrested or being accused as 'terrorists' or 'communists' and that they would therefore be dealt with thoroughly or sent to newly constructed concentration camps. The most recent and well-known of such camps are the ones built along Okavongo River. Here the farmers in the area are being kept under the close watch of the soldiers. Their movements have been restricted and they are not allowed to sell their surplus food to others who may need it. This restriction is based on the belief that the people who buy the food are the so-called terrorists."

According to Mr. Nujoma, the South African army in Namibia consists of a Permanent Force of more than 40,276 men which is supported by a large Citizens Force and commando units composed of volunteers and draftees who serve part-time in turns around the clock. With regard to Prime Minister Vorster's military intentions and the possible threat of Namibia to world peace, Mr. Nujoma said:

"The huge airbase on the Eastern Caprivi Strip is not only meant for internal defence but is to threaten the independent African states. South African mirage, and buccaneer jet fighters are in a position to reach and bomb any part of Zambia and Katanga Province in the Congo (Kinshasa). This has been demonstrated by the racist Prime Minister

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBOURS



LESOTHO:

British Recognition and Resumed Aid

British recognition of Chief Jonathan's "emergency" regime came after four months of bloody political strife. Chief Jonathan appears to have been forced to make some concessions to "opposition" political parties (how extensive is not clear) in order to comply with British requirements for diplomatic recognition. On the question of recognition hung the resumption of the extensive British budgetary support and development assistance. It appears obvious from Chief Jonathan's sharp warning to Britain about the use of aid as a political lever that this was a factor in his attempts to end the internal violence. (Nationalist, 6/1/70)

(Star, 6/13/70; News Agencies 6/8/70)

Significantly, progress on the Oxbow Scheme continued to be made during the period of suspended British-Lesotho relations. A British firm of consulting engineers, and the UNDP and World Bank, continued studies and discussions on the project which will, if built, be able to supply 100-150 million gallons of water per day to South Africa. South African capital is expected to be very important in constructing the E15 million scheme. A hydroelectric plant which could be built later is not considered economically feasible yet because South Africa does not need the power now and Lesotho has no secondary industry to absorb the surplus output. (Africa Confidential, 6/12/70)

Vorster, when he threatened Zambia. I quote: 'We will hit you so hard that you will never forget it.' Thus the policy pursued by South Africa constitutes a threat to peace, not only in Southern Africa, but throughout the world."

With regard to SWAPO's intentions and its relation to the U.N., Mr. Nujoma said: "although our resolve is that of an armed struggle, waged by the Namibian people until victory is achieved, we, without prejudicing our resolve would suggest the steps that are most likely to weaken South African illegal occupation in Namibia." The steps he listed are as follows:

1. Use of force under Chap. VII of the Charter of the U.N.
2. Expulsion of South Africa from the U.N.
3. Severance of all diplomatic relations with South Africa
4. Creation of an educational program for Namibia.
5. Prohibition of South African aircrafts and vessels to use the airports and sea ports of the U.N. member states.
6. Total arms embargo on South Africa.

Hosea Kutako dead

Hosea Kutako, long a symbol of the Namibians' cry for freedom, is dead. He died July 20 after a brief illness at the age of 100. Chief of the Herero people, Kutako was at various times in his life a herdsman, a soldier (in the Herero wars against German occupation), and a prisoner-of-war, a fugitive, a school teacher, a foreman of a railway gang, a book-binder. As leader of 40,000 Hereros, his heir apparent is Clement Kapuuo.

Kutako was unwavering in his leadership and revered by the Hereros. Most of all he will be remembered for crying out against persecution and oppression and for believing that somewhere in the world people of conscience would hear his cries and come to the aid of his suffering people.

BOTSWANA :

Entangled by World Capitalism

At some point in the future, Botswana will probably provide an excellent study of the directions proposed in the Pearson Commission report on the use of combinations of multilateral private and public investment to tie more closely the less developed to the developed countries. This spring a series of inter-related contracts have been signed around the Shashi Complex. Botswana's minerals will enter the world resource pool for resource hungry industrial nations. The World Bank has done the appraisal study of the project--and of Botswana's economy--and will soon render its decision (its crucial approval is now almost certain) on necessary development loan facilities. IDA has made arrangements for providing credit for the design of certain "necessary" parts of the infrastructure. Canada will finance by loans the thermal power station "necessary" for the development of nickel and copper deposits (at Pikwe and Selibe). Foreign-owned Bamangwato Concessions Ltd. has licensed a Finnish company to use certain smelting and reduction processes in Botswana, and American Metals Climax will refine all the expected matte output from Selibi-Pikwe at its Port Nickel refinery in Louisiana. A German company has agreed to purchase 2/3 the output of nickel, and all the copper and other metals for 15 years from Bamangwato Concessions which in turn guaranteed repayment of 50% of any of the loans made by IDA for infrastructure design. Only a change of economic masters? (Financial Times, 4/18/70; Johannesburg Star, 4/25/70)

Relations With South Africa

Botswana, encircled by white-ruled Southern Africa for all but a disputed few hundred feet of border, will soon have easier access to its northern neighbors. Earlier this year the U.S. Agency for International Development agreed to



loans of up to #6 m. to make the existing road and ferry service to Zambia adequate to the demands of truck traffic. For the first time Botswana will have a direct and economically feasible trade link with countries other than white-dominated South Africa and Rhodesia. And for reasons of internal security as well as economic control, South Africa is not happy.

In an attempt to get the U.S. to change its mind on the loan, South Africa again raised the unresolved diplomatic issue of the existence of any border between Botswana and Zambia. The dispute concerns the dimensions of the area where the borders of Botswana, Zambia, Rhodesia, and the South African-administered Caprivi Strip meet. The position of Botswana is that there is either a common water border between Botswana and Zambia, or a space of dead water, a river in no man's land, through which the existing ferry has traveled for the past 80 years. South Africa, on the other hand, claims that the borders merely intersect at a point on the map which has

no lateral dimensions. Colonial border agreements for the area are vague and contradictory.

South Africa appears for the moment to have abandoned its case in the face of U.S. determination to maintain its support of Botswana's right to improved access to the north. (South Africa continues to keep the ferry under 24-hour surveillance). No permanent or mutually satisfactory solution has been found, however, and the issue will undoubtedly be raised at some future time, perhaps when the need for a bridge instead of a ferry becomes evident. (New York Times, 6/1/70; Africa Confidential, 5/1/70)

MALAWI:

A Policy of Political Realism?

On March 11 and 18 the Christian Science Monitor ran lengthy articles on political realism as a factor in Malawi politics.

"Given the country's geography and state of development, given the imperative to survive and to maintain a stability on which survival can be based, no other policy is possible. This at least appears to be the view of President Banda, of the country's single-party government, and most of the people (including many expatriates) who are keeping Malawi going."

the Monitor's Africa correspondent Fred-eric Hunter writes.

Hunter emphasized several factors in the realpolitik of Malawi:

"1. Malawi's development has been scanty and uneven. The northern region, for instance, has a literacy rate exceeding 50%, but the central region has less than 20% literacy. The north, however, remains undeveloped economically. It is largely cut off from the southern commercial hub and lacks the infrastructure to permit Malawi to look north toward black-ruled Africa--even if it wanted to."

2. Labor still remains Malawi's main export. At any one time 200,000 adult males (out of a total population of 4 million) are working in Rhodesia and another 80,000 in South Africa.

In "defending this position, Pres. Banda says: 'I do not idealize the world: I take the world as it is. One must do what is realistic and practical. One must approach these states not as they should be, but as they are.'"

Because of this approach most African countries, especially Malawi's militant neighbors, Tanzania and Zambia, see Dr. Banda as the great "Uncle Tom" of independent Africa. They regard Malawi's links with the south, its increasing economic dependence on the white-minority governments, and the growing number of South African civil servants seconded to Malawi with great suspicion.

Banda's outward policy included the expulsion of the Peace Corps, stating that volunteers set "a bad example." More likely is the fact that volunteers were a liberalizing influence on the local level thereby weakening Banda's influence and strict control.

The Monitor article also admits that South Africa's extension of influence northward is an attempt to "help defuse the explosive frustrations and hostility which have led Tanzania, Zambia, and the Congo to offer guerrilla movements some measure of official support."

The British are also hoping for successful Malawi/South Africa relations, since Britain hopes to phase out its regular budgetary aid in the next 3 to 5 years--a fact that will throw Malawi even more into South Africa's camp.

South Africa's attempts to restrain her racism on the international level have not been altogether successful, and a number of incidents involving South Africans in Malawi insulting

and offending Malawian officials have been asked to leave by the Malawi government.

Tanzania Affirms Support for the Liberation Struggle

Mr. Mhando, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Tanzania appeared before the U.N. Committee of 24 and stated that independent African nations are in a position to "become more and better placed to help liberation movements to wage war against our enemies. If we keep on trying hard things are bound to get better." Admitting that the southern African liberation movements had not made gigantic gains within the last year, he affirmed that Tanzania "is satisfied that liberation movements have done their best and they rightly deserve our encouragement and every assistance we can give them." (Tanzania News Review, 5/70)

"Two of these companies actively participated in most of the enemy actions, Oct/Nov of 1969, in the region of Lunda. The other units made criminal attacks on villages and cultivated fields and fishing regions of our people, and even made raids into Zambian territory."

Benguela Railway Dispute

Following the major MPLA attack on the Caripande barracks (see Southern Africa, April 1970), Portuguese reprisals included looting of Zambian goods on the Benguela Railway. The Benguela Railway is vital for Zambian access to the sea; attacks against it have in the past caused difficulties between Zambian authorities and Angolan freedom fighters, and are thought to have been among the reasons for the exclusion of Jonas Savimbi, of UNITA, from Zambian territory. MPLA issued the following clarification:

"(1) The looting of Zambian merchandise by the colonialists constitutes an act of fascist reprisal in the face of losses inflicted on them by MPLA guerrillas at Carapande;

"(2) The responsibility for the theft and destruction of goods from the Republic of Zambia rests exclusively with the Portuguese and was carried out in the large urban centers, instigated by PIDE and the Portuguese army: in Huambo (Nova Lisboa), in Silva Porto (Bie'), in Dilolo (Teixeira de Sousa) and Caola.

"(3) The Benguela Railroad crosses a large part of our country which is under the political and military control of the MPLA. The MPLA could if it wished completely paralyze the railroad.

"(4) Respecting the principles of African solidarity, the MPLA permits the Benguela railroad to operate only because we understand that the Republic of Zambia depends on that means for the shipping of products essential to its economy.

"(5) If, however, the Portuguese

PORTUGAL
and
the

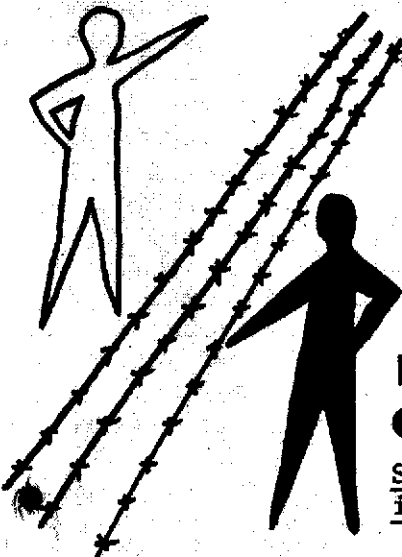
PORTUGUESE COLONIES

South African Troops in Angola

An MPLA communique of 3/25/70 calls at-

tention to "the presence in Angola, in Luemege, Moxico District of the South African military intervention forces, encamped in a fortified area, and composed of:

"Four companies of commandos, equipped with helicopters, artillery, automatic weapons and bazookas, and other extensive armaments.



colonialists carry out their threat to definitely cut the Benguela railroad, the MPLA for its part will be free of all obligations and, in the interest of the national liberation struggle, will sabotage and attack the railroad and its installations. (Lusaka, 3/31/70)

PAIGC Advances in Guinea-Bissau

PAIGC Actualites reports, during the period of Dec. and part of Jan. 1970, 125 attacks on Portuguese camps, 7 attacks on airports and seaports, 51 ambushes and other engagements, 25 vehicles destroyed, 1 airplane shot down, and 120 enemy killed. In Feb., attacks were reported on the garrisons of Suzana, S. Domingos, Begene, Guidage, N'gore, Candjambari, and Barro. A newly installed enemy camp at Ualincunda, near the Northern frontier, was totally destroyed on Feb. 24. Attacks and continued mortar bombardments on Portuguese camps were reported for the Eastern and Southern fronts as well.

Three Portuguese deserters tell their stories in the Feb. issue of PAIGC Actualites. One, a marine, Manuel Ilberto Costa Alfaiate, says:

"The officers know already that the war is lost. Everyone in the barracks knows it; one feels all the time the indestructable force that keeps watch on us on the other side of the barbed wire. And one asks: why keep on with this war? The pursuit of this war is a crime not only against your people, but also against ours, whose youth is condemned to a useless death in the name of the interests of those who govern us."

Meanwhile, Marcello Caetano, in an interview with the London Times (4/27/70) gives as proof that PAIGC does not control Guinea, the complaints brought by Senegal to the Security Council. He says that Guinea is clearly under Portuguese control, because the offensive actions against Senegal would be impossible if Portugal didn't control the border area.

Chicago Group Demonstrates on Portugal/U.S. Link-up

Local Chicago groups concerned with liberation in Southern Africa leafleted* a recent soccer match between Poland and Portugal. One demonstrator was arrested by the Chicago police on a number of trumped-up charges --it is obvious that growing black action on international issues in this country so obviously linked with local concerns is hitting the mark too close to home. *See p. 18

U.S. Link With Cabora Bassa???

For the last several months there has been considerable protest and lobbying in Europe by African diplomats and local groups against corporate involvement in the construction and financing of the huge Cabora Bassa hydroelectric complex--a project strategically conceived by the Portuguese and her international allies to throw a wrench in the progress of the African liberation struggle. American corporate ties with the ZAMCO Consortium which is building the dam have not been evident, although it is rumored that on the financial end, Bank of America, Lehman Bros., and Dillon Read and Co. are somehow connected. The major lever which has successfully caused the withdrawal of Swedish and Italian firms from the project has been the threat of violating sanctions against Rhodesia (i.e. since construction materiel and other goods are being supplied by Rhodesia for the Cabora Bassa project, involvement means U.N. sanctions breaking--particularly if a firm directly handles those goods.) A U.N. ruling on the Cabora Bassa/Sanctions issue has as yet not occurred, but it would be significant particularly for corporations not directly involved in the construction of the dam. For example, South African General Electric is constructing relay panels for the Transvaal terminal of the Cabora Bassa power grid worth

\$140,000. Is not GE then part of the Cabora Bassa project?

New Angola Pamphlet Available
MPIA 1970 (reprints from recent publications of the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola) is now available (75¢) from Liberation Support Movement Information Center, P. O. Box 15210, Seattle, Washington 98115.

Rogers Visits Madrid, Lisbon for Bases Talks

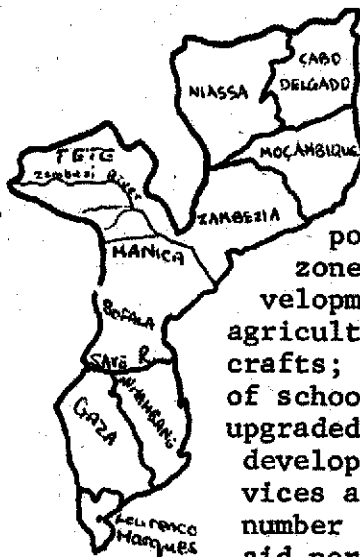
The long-stalled Spanish-U.S. talks on the precise terms for continuing U.S. bases in Spain took a step forward last month with Secretary of State Rogers' visit on his way back from the NATO Foreign Minister's conference. U.S. hopes that other NATO countries would accept Spain as a member did not work out, but an agreement is expected sometime this summer, after congressional "sensitivity" over Cambodia has died down. This would clear the way for new negotiations on the American bases in the Azores, now occupied "by courtesy of the Portuguese Government." The Defense Department still claims the Azores bases are of "major military importance," but even in military terms that assertion is now questionable (see Africa Report, spring 1970). Rogers, on leaving Portugal, said that he was "sure the talks we have had with the Portuguese Government were useful and I return to the U.S. with a feeling of satisfaction." Portuguese Government officials said that Premier Caetano had clarified to Mr. Rogers Portugal's position on her African territories.

Interview with Marcelino Dos Santos
(from Africasia, April 27-May 10, 1970)

Question: What is the situation in the liberated areas?

Answer: The success obtained in Tete has been accompanied by success in the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa.

It is precisely this last year that we have solved the logistical problems, notably that of the transport of arms and materiel in the Niassa region which is very large and underpopulated. It is also during the past year that we have made great progress in Cabo Delgado, where we have carried out actions on the other side of the Montepuez River.



Finally, it is during this last year that we have consolidated the structure of our politico-military and administrative power in the liberated zones with important development in production: agriculture, fishing, crafts; added to the number of schools and teachers, and upgraded teacher quality; developed the health services and trained a large number of nurses and first aid personnel. Each combat unit is now accompanied by a nurse. It is useful also to underline the reality of the development of political consciousness of our combattants, because we are convinced, today more than ever, that the base of our victory rests in large part on the constant raising of the political formation of our combattants, of our cadres, and of the people in general.

More Attacks in Angola

A UNITA communique issued from Stockholm, Sweden, reports several ambushes of Portuguese troop units, and one attack on a Portuguese camp near Coutada do Mucusso, all during Jan. 1970. The most common weapon captured was the G3, a NATO model manufactured under West German license at Braço da Prata in Portugal.

Portugal's Gratitude

Admiral Ephraim P. Holmes, American Supreme Allied Commander of the North Atlantic, has received from Portugal the Grand Cross of the Order of Aviz. Present at the presentation were high Portuguese military officials, including the Minister of Defense General Sa Viana Rebelco, the American Admiral Fluckey, commander of the IBERLANT NATO command, and the American Ambassador Ridgway Knight. (Noticias de Portugal, 5/9/70)

Portugal Upset: Pope Gives Audience to the Liberation Leaders

The Portuguese Ambassador to the Vatican, Eduardo Brasao, expressed in Lisbon the confidence that he would return to Rome in some days to resume his functions, and denied rumors that Portugal would break relations with the Vatican. Meanwhile, young conservative Catholics distributed pamphlets in St. Peter's Square, condemning the audience granted on July 1 by Pope Paul VI to leaders of liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies.

The interview of the Pope with Marcelino dos Santos, of FRELIMO, Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC, and Agostinho Neto, of MPLA, caused the crisis between Portugal and the Vatican. Ambassador Brasao handed in an official protest to the Secretary of the Vatican, Cardinal Jean Villot, and returned to Lisbon, by order of Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano. In Lisbon the Ambassador said that he was called home for "consultatio," and refused to comment more about the crisis. An official spokesman of the Portuguese Government said that Caetano considers the incident closed and within a few days the Ambassador will return to the Vatican.

The student demonstrators protested against the Papal Audience given to "revolutionaries", especially since the Pope had not received traditional Catholics gathered in Rome the previous week to protest against the reform of

the mass. L'Osservatore Romano, official Vatican journal, tried to minimize the audience, saying that it was granted in purely religious terms, and signified no political position taken by the Pope.

The Liberation movement representatives reported that the Pope had assured them he was informed about the tragic events in the Portuguese colonies, and expressed the hope that they would be able to reach their objectives by peaceful means. They had requested the Pope to use his power to end the massacre of the Portuguese colonial wars. The Pope had told them that the Church was concerned about all suffering, and especially about the peoples of Africa.

(Report compiled from Jornal do Brasil 7/7/70 and London Times, 7/3/70)

More Withdrawals from Cabora Bassa
English (English Electric) and Italian (Milan Societa Anonima Elettificazione) interests that had been considering participation in the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project will not now participate, it has become clear in recent months. That leaves as the major members of the consortium South African, German, and French firms. The financing is still multinational in character, with involvement of Barclay's Bank (England) and Bank of America, among many others.

Portuguese Losses Admitted

The losses reported in the Portuguese war communiques and press from Jan. 28 to Apr. 25, 1970 total as follows:

	Number Killed	
	Armed Forces	Militia
Guinea-Bissau	38	44
Angola	71	26
Mozambique	59	70
TOTAL	168	140

Schools Bombed in Guinea-Bissau

The Portuguese Air Force bombed a school in the liberated areas in the northern region of Guinea on Mar. 30,

according to a recent PAIGC communique. In this attack on the school at Tambico 7 children were killed and 8 wounded. It follows an earlier attack on another school in the region in Feb., in which 8 children were killed and 17 wounded. PAIGC's attacks in this region have, however, succeeded in keeping the Portuguese ground forces on the defensive. Two of the remaining Portuguese fortified camps in the area, at Guiledge and Gantura, have come under heavy shelling. Also 3 more Portuguese conscript soldiers have deserted from the army, and asked for protection from PAIGC. (Third World Reports, 5/70)

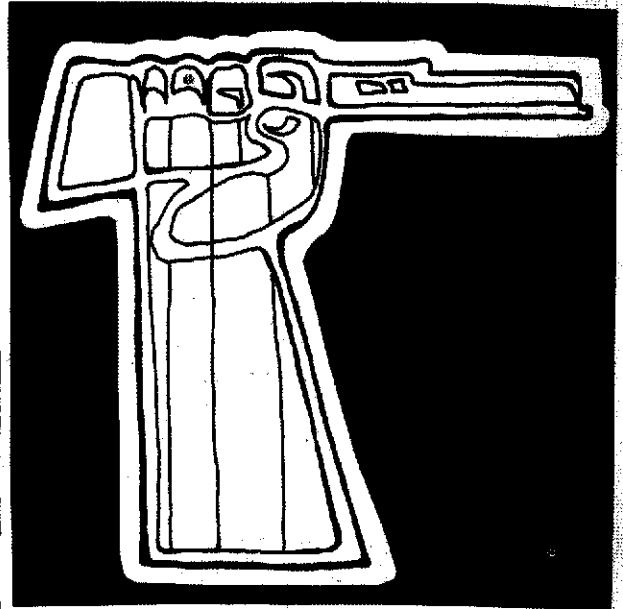
Angola Praised by U.S. Journalist

It is interesting to note that the Wall Street Journal's veteran Africa stringer, Ray Vicker, has articles appearing in the National Observer of William Buckley. Pro-Portuguese in tone, Vicker praises Portugal's pacification work and the multi-racial character of Angola, but more important he writes of frontier spirit for capitalist expansion quoting a Texan in a Luanda bar: "Angola is twice as big as Texas and 3 times as rich..." Vicker cites U.S. companies in Angola as including Gulf Oil with 46 offshore wells in operation, Tenneco, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Union Carbide, Diamond Shamrock, Diversa, etc. (National Observer, 5/18/70)

Kennan Visits Angola

Mr. George Kennan, the former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, now at Princeton Univ., visited Angola in April for a tour of the territory. One wonders if he is trying to implement the assurance he got, while U.S. charge' d'affaires in Lisbon (1943) that the U.S. would "respect the sovereignty of Portugal and its entire colonial empire." The assurance, arranged by Kennan on his own authority, helped the U.S. obtain the use of the Azores. According to his memoirs, Kennan respected

Salazar as "a man of principle," and was concerned to counteract the American press, which had called Salazar a "fascist." (George F. Kennan, Memoirs, 1967)



Atomic Energy in Southern Africa

In March, Portuguese and South African delegations met in Lourenco Marques to discuss the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In early May, the second annual meeting of the Atomic Society of Southern Africa was held in Lourenco Marques. It was expected that the meeting would be attended by some 60 scientists from South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the U.S.A., Portugal, Angola and Mozambique.

Liberation Movements Supported at World Food Congress

The 250 youth delegates to the World Food Congress in the Hague, Netherlands, sponsored by the FAO, attacked the agency for not supporting liberation movements in Portuguese colonies and in Southwest Africa. A number of the older delegates joined the young people in a fast, the savings to be donated to African liberation movements.

Bombs Discovered at Portuguese, South African Offices in New York City

On the same day (7/7/70) that a pipe bomb exploded at the Haitian Consulate in New York, explosive devices were also found at the Portuguese Travel Agency (570 Fifth Avenue) and the South African Consulate (655 Madison Ave.). Both were discovered and dismantled by the police bomb squad before they exploded. (New York Times, 7/8/70)

Parachuting Dogs (Paradogs) Added to South African Police & Army

The Baltimore Sun (5/31/70) has announced that "paradogs" have recently been added to the South African Police and Army Forces. See the African. See the mean dogs. See the dogs kill the African.

Other Guerrilla Successes

Reuters reports intensified fighting in Angola, particularly in the northern frontier areas. Portuguese documents indicate that the guerrillas are better armed and equipped than in the past. (Baltimore Sun, 5/30/70). 300 PAIGC soldiers also are reported having made a surprise raid into Guinea-Bissau from Senegal in mid-July, 5 days after Portugal offered safe conduct to members of the liberation movement..." (Washington Post, 7/17/70)

RESUMPTION OF ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

The Conservative victory in Britain in all probability will prove a boon to the apartheid regime of South Africa. All indications are that the new government will soon cancel the Labor government's ban on arms sales to South Africa and negotiate a new defense agreement. To date (7/20/70) no public commitments have been made, but the Foreign Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, has made it quite clear both during and after the election that arms sales would be resumed. The South African government has been unable to conceal its delight over the Conservative victory, even to the point of embarrassing the Heath government. South Africa's foreign minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, left for Britain the very day after the Conservative victory and had to be kept waiting so that it would not appear that he was the first foreign minister to visit the new government. The rebel government of Rhodesia also stands to gain from the Conservative victory, and Messrs. Smith and Vorster have already consulted together about the victory's significance. Outrage against the proposed resumption of arms sale has been swift, both from liberal elements within Britain and from black African leaders. The Trades Union Congress and the labor newspapers have indicated that there is a very considerable segment of British society strongly opposed to military aid for apartheid. Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda has condemned the proposed arms sale in no uncertain terms: "We will view with the gravest concern any policy decision by the British government sanctioning the sale of arms to South Africa... The sale of arms to South Africa, whether by private organizations in Europe or by governments directly, is a vote of confidence in the policies pursued by minority regimes in Southern Africa. It is a

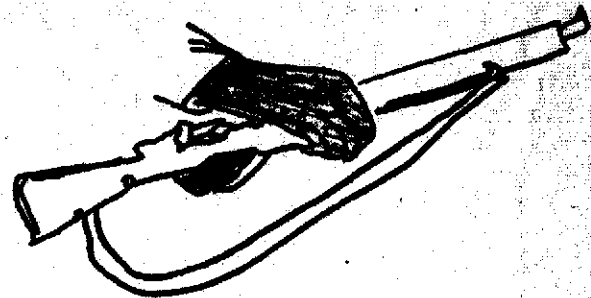


vote for apartheid and the trampling of human rights." He said further that if Western countries decided to arm South Africa, the independent African States would switch their arms buying to Eastern powers. (Daily Nation, 6/24/70; 6/28/70) The U.N. Council on Apartheid, anticipating resumption of arms sales has already called for Security Council review of the sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia.

Given the level of opposition in England and Third World members of the Commonwealth, the probable outcome will be a "compromise" by the Conservative government whereby only heavy armaments useful for "external defense" (ships, long-range bombers, electronic surveillance equipment, etc.) will be sold. The Conservatives will argue that such heavy military equipment is not in violation of the "mandatory" UN embargos of arms sales to South Africa passed in 1963 and 1964 because the embargo was only intended against armaments useful in putting down internal disturbances. But this loophole is one devised by the powers who wish to continue selling arms to South Africa (besides Britain, France and Italy). Inspection of the sanctions passed by the Security Council reveals that no such distinctions were part of the official documents and that, in fact, they refer to "arms of all types" (sanction of Aug. 1963) or simply to "arms" (Dec. 1963 & June 1964). Depending on how well resumption of arms sales goes down, deepening support for the minority regimes of Southern Africa seems likely. The next move could be lifting the blockade of the Mozambique port of Beira (a blockade to cut off Rhodesian trade), as the Conservatives promised when they were in the Opposition, leading to an eventual resumption of trade with Rhodesia.

Background

Britain has had a long history of supporting the military establishment



South Africa. In 1955, when it gave up control of the Simonstown naval base, it negotiated a treaty whereby it would retain use of the base in exchange for giving material and training to the South African navy. It is this treaty that the Conservative government cites as justification for resumption of arms sales. Even after the U.N. sanctions were passed, the Conservative Party remained committed to supplying South Africa's defense needs. The Labor government, however, ostensibly agreed to abide by the sanctions, but it has had a shabby record in carrying out this commitment. When Wilson first took office, he sold South Africa 16 Buccaneer low-flying fighter aircraft, on the pretext that the agreement for the arms sale had been made before the U.N. sanctions. It continued to supply spare parts for all military hardware, naval and land artillery ammunition, anti-submarine equipment, chassis for trucks which were used for armored cars, and training for its navy. More important, along with the U.S., it provided substantial financial investment and technical personnel for South Africa's indigenous arms industry. In the last months of the Labor government, two visits showed how closely it was tied to South Africa's military. In Jan. 1970, Admiral Sir John Bush, the Commander-in-Chief of the Western Fleet, visited South Africa and engaged in talks with Defense Minister Botha and other high-ranking naval officials. In March 1970, Lieut. Gen. C. Alan Fraser, South Africa's expert in "counter-insurgency and guerrilla warfare", visited Britain and is believed to have had extensive discussions with top British military personnel. (Anti-Apartheid News, May 1970)

Britain's motivations behind its continuing military support of South Africa are two: (1) its anti-communist mentality and consequent uneasiness resulting from its withdrawal from east of Suez. There has apparently been considerable build-up of the Russian navy in the Indian Ocean. Britain would like to oppose this build-up and protect its Cape sea routes by proxy. Even admitting that the Russian presence poses a real threat, Britain's reasoning is fatuous; about as realistic as expecting the Canadian navy to protect the North Atlantic against Russia single-handedly. (2) Desire to protect its very considerable investments in South Africa and to enhance its armament industry and thereby its balance of trade. The pro-labor Guardian Weekly cites economic motivations as predominant, since it exports £326 to South Africa annually and has twice the amount invested in South Africa as in all the rest of Africa. (Guardian Weekly, 6/25/70)

South Africa stands to gain greatly from resumption of arms sale. Its primary significance for White South Africa would be psychological. "A lifting of the embargo would be regarded by South Africa's white population as a gesture of reacceptance." (Financial Times, 7/2/70) Ultimately, what South Africa wants is to be accepted as an integral part of the Western defensive community. Ideally, it would hope to be the leader of a South Atlantic counterpart of NATO. In April 1969 the South African Star wrote: "These are early days to talk about a SATO. Nevertheless it is well to be thinking in terms of regional links across the Atlantic." Toward this end, it has established considerable commercial and military links with South American nations (particularly with Argentina) and with Australia. Late in 1969 the President of the South African Foundation wrote a long article in the NATO journal outlining South Africa's supposed significance to the defense of the Western world.

Resumption of arms sales would, of course, also strengthen South Africa's military stance internally. As U.S. use of sea-based planes and long-distance bombers in Indo-China has shown, the distinction between weapons for large-scale external attack and internal guerrilla attack cannot easily be made. Even if all military equipment sold were clearly designed for external defense, supply of such equipment would allow South Africa to divert its domestic arms industry toward production of weapons useful against guerrilla warfare. Furthermore, "external" defense now applies to South Africa's northern borders, since it now has military personnel stationed in Mozambique and Rhodesia. FRELIMO reports that South Africa has 3 units stationed in Mozambique and the MPLA says that South Africa poses a helicopter base at the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project in Mozambique.

Comment

Clearly Britain's flouting of the U.N. arms sanctions will be another chink in the working alliance between the West and the minority white regimes of Southern Africa. It will further alienate the Third World from the West and make alliances with Eastern powers unavoidable. What is left of the British Commonwealth will undoubtedly be shattered, or at least split, white against non-white. Western contempt for the United Nations will once again be demonstrated. The West will find itself more than ever on the side of white repression of black peoples.



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES



From June 27-29 in Rome at the Palazzo dei Congressi, 350 people from points across the globe gathered for an expression of unity and support for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. The occasion was The International Conference in Support of the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies. But in a much deeper perspective it was one of those rare and historic demonstrations of international solidarity with a people's movement. Some 73 different countries or territories ranging from Sao Tome and Principe to Finland, and from Portugal to Palestine, came to give their support. Additionally, the representation of international organizations comprised some 11 groups spanning the political spectrum from the UN Committee of 24 to OSPAL and the World Council for Peace.

There are 3 initial points to consider about the Rome Conference. The first is that any serious discussion of it must begin with recognition of the 1970 Rome Conference as a sequel to and result of the Khartoum Conference of Jan. 18-20, 1969. The Ad-Hoc Mobilisation Committee of that meeting in the Sudan resolved in its

General Resolutions "to take all necessary steps for the convening in Western Europe of a Conference on the Portuguese colonies, to be held under the broadest sponsorship of all anti-colonialist forces." Thus it was that the Rome Conference was convened (ironically in the same chambers used only shortly before by the NATO Foreign Ministers Conference) by: (1) the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese Colonies, represented by CONCP, namely PAIGC, FRELIMO, and MPLA; (2) the Mobilisation Committee created at the Khartoum Conference; and (3) the Italian Initiative Committee, which includes a broad range of anti-colonial forces in Italy.

Another point to understand about the 1970 Conference was that it was from the beginning to end conducted in the political maelstrom of Western Europe--specifically Italy. The political rhythm of the entire 3-day meeting was quite different (as are the objective conditions themselves) from that tempo at which activists, from Panthers to La Raza and Weathermen, operate inside Babylon today. This made an interesting and educational situation but also made for a gathering which failed to analyze or even substantively raise the strategic and political problems faced by the wide gambit of U.S. and Canadian support movements, all of which must mobilize and organize inside the aorta and ventricle of imperialism and not merely the arteries.

LISBON ASKING ANTI-REBEL AID

"Lisbon (AP)--Portugal will ask Secretary of State William P. Rogers today for American backing of its military operations against guerrillas in its three African provinces, official sources said..."
(New York Post, 5/30/70)

The newspaper article quoted above

brings us to the last and perhaps most important point to keep in mind. We must recall that this Conference was held--as well it should have been--at a time when the "unholy alliance" of Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa is now emerging eagerly, rapidly, and openly embracing the previously "silent majority" of the USA, West Germany, Britain, and international corporate capital.

What was once short press reports of U.S. CIA personnel flown into Lisbon is today near-tacit acknowledgement and condolence of NATO (read American) planes bombing and strafing villages in the liberated areas of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau or in the border areas of Tanzania and Zambia. What is happening today, as Marcelino dos Santos stated, is the internationalization of Portugal's wars against the African people. And it is from this point that one must understand the strategic imperative for the anti-colonial struggle to also become internationalized.

As Portuguese colonialism today is declining and as with decline Portugal will appeal for and receive greater support from the world imperialist community, so must we in the international community, particularly in the metropolises, intensify our support for the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Grasping and adopting this concept is fundamental, I would suggest, to an understanding of the 1970 Rome Conference.

There were 3 basic components of the Rome Conference: (1) the political reports from Amilcar Cabral (Secretary General, PAIGC), Agostinho Neto (President, MPLA), and Marcelino dos Santos (Vice Pres., PRELIMO); (2) the political commission; (3) the material aid and support commission. All of the political reports were of value and interest. We will indicate some highlights below:

Amilcar Cabral: In Guinea there is no longer an administrative (colonial) power organizing now being done for the first popular national assembly; need to initiate movement for legal and world-wide

recognition of Guinea-Bissau as only government in the area; need for international action to be developed against Banda and the "disguised Bandas" in Africa.

Agostinho Neto: a major obstacle yet remaining in MPLA's struggle is the continuing negative and reactionary role being played by the Congo-Kinshasa government; MPLA has become in the villages by its intense and revolutionary action the legitimate representative of the Angolan people; the Portuguese government itself can no longer ignore the strength of MPLA. Certain officers have seen that it is not possible to win the war against the Angolan people, this despite the astronomical sums going into military expenditure on the part of Portugal. Caetano himself no longer believes in his generals and is looking for help from his imperialist allies, particularly the USA.

Marcelino dos Santos: Portuguese colonialism must be viewed as a function of contradictions inside metropolitan Portugal itself; NOW necessary that the anti-colonial struggle be internationalized; Portugal's encouragement of foreign capitalist investment in her African colonies has had 2 adverse effects on the struggle; (1) in creating profits Portugal can use in financing her war against the Africans; (2) in creating foreign economic interests which act within their own countries as pressure groups for the Portuguese imperialist cause.

The Conference was arranged so that after the political reports were given and a Presidency (Steering Committee) approved, participants then went into either the "Political Commission" or the "Material Aid and Support Commission (MASC)". Having participated in the latter, I must confine my report to its deliberations..

MASC met throughout the 3 days and overall its meetings could be characterized as productive. In our

commission were roughly 60 delegates and various other press and other selected "observers".

We addressed ourselves to 2 fundamental problems: (1) how we can attack the activities of the colonialist power and its collaborators? and (2) what are the specific ways in which we --many of us residing in the NATO countries--can support MPLA, PAIGC, and FRELIMO in their anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles? The discussion which ensued was good, with some specific suggestions put forward such as that for a centralized bureau for Western Europe which would ferret out information on the progress of the struggle.

It was resolved also that the time has come for Western humanitarian organizations to terminate the fine distinction between aid to a refugee and aid to people involved in the armed struggle for national liberation. The point is that the lines are drawn; people are in the liberated territories, Portuguese planes are bombing women and children in villages in the liberated areas; and all of these people are by definition of the struggle itself. Those Western "humanitarian" agencies and organizations genuinely wishing to aid can no longer assist just the victims of the problem, but must now turn to support for the solution-makers, namely support of those on the front lines of actual struggle inside the countries.

The most solid work of the MASC was the Proposals for Practical Support submitted by the African National Committee of Cyprus. Beginning with a description of the objective conditions in the liberated zones, the paper continues to an excellent list of specific items needed by the movements.

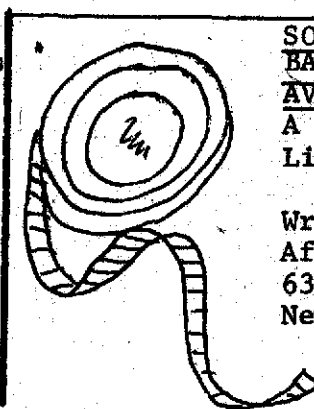
Some Specific Points

There is a specific need for such a support conference to be held inside the USA (CIA and "the Man" be damned!)

With careful control and the sponsorship of an umbrella of different but committed groups, it could be done. The other important point is for support groups here to move to tie themselves more closely with groups in other NATO centers; as, for example, the Vietnam Committee of Denmark is now shifting their focus to Southern Africa and is presently doing some very valuable work on the World Bank. But the fundamental political lesson is that our Southern Africa support groups in the USA must broaden their political perspectives. That is to say, no longer can groups "inside" deal with just the Draft or just Southern Africa, just racism or just anti-corporate activities; imperialism and racism must be dealt with from as broad a point of understanding as possible. Now is the time to be specific for us to push Resistance groups here towards study of the growing draft resistance in Portugal, and for these groups to aid in the anti-draft underground in Portugal.

Operating in today's period of heightened repression and racism, we must know what's happening in Brazil, just as we do in Asbury Park and in Tete Province. We cannot simply relate to the "West Coast Southern Africa Group" and must "right on" for a higher level of political consciousness and for the complete internationalization of our struggle.

(This report drawn up by a U.S. participant in the Rome Conference, now in Chicago.)



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BOOK REVIEW:

Africa: this new dialogue

Secretary of State William P. Rogers' 15-day tour of 10 African nations is now immortalized in the recently issued State Department publication: "Africa: This New Dialogue..." (U.S. Government Printing Office: 1970). Perhaps more appropriately entitled "This is Tuesday So It Must Be Kinshasa", the 48-page brochure is laden with facts and photos designed to demonstrate American support in meeting the complex problems of African social, economic, educational and political development.

After the usual overviews on "Geography," "People," and "Historical Background", the document finally gets down to business in its discussion of "Government and Politics." Unfortunately, we are informed, "Many of the countries whose initial post-independence governments were modeled on Western democratic forms have been replaced by military or one-party governments." (p. 24) American concern is in part stimulated by the fact that the Russians and the Chinese extend "material and training assistance to insurgent African refugee groups...in the Portuguese territories and Southern Rhodesia."

American concern in Africa comes across in 2 areas in the pamphlet. In the first place there are repeated assertions in the form of quotations both from Rogers and Nixon that the fondest wish of the U.S. is nothing more than that the whole continent of Africa be left alone to develop in peace, on its own terms, never to be embroiled in the "power struggles" which plague the rest of the world. The second, also officially articulated interest, seems to be in the direction of keeping "tragically wasteful...foreign ideologies" of economic development out of Africa. With both capitalism and socialism denied African economies, it appears that economic development in Africa awaits an indigenous economic genius who will be able to find a via media between Adam Smith and Karl Marx.

Rogers' report, touted as "a significant catalog of U.S. plans and efforts to assist Africa's nation-building" consists of a 11-point agenda, which qualifies American responsiveness to African economic needs with the phrase "within real limitations of U.S. capacities and resources" which, in terms of figures given earlier, does not seem to amount to very much. Taking 1968 as a typical year, the U.S. contributed 21% of all aid to Africa from all sources. Not only was this \$0.2 billion off from the 1964-67 average, and not only does it continue to decline, it also amounts to a whopping one cent on the dollar spent yearly in Vietnam.

Point 5 in Rogers agenda maintains that the U.S. "will continue to stand for equality and self-determination" in evidence of which Point 7 cites the closing of the Consulate in Rhodesia, non-recognition of the Smith regime, and the support of U.N. sanctions. In view of the size of American economic investment in South Africa, such a claim represents an efficacy analogous to Spiro Agnew's support of freedom of the press. It is also comforting to learn that we continue to abhor apartheid. The Nixon administration apparently does not abhor it to the extent of say, appointing a black ambassador to South Africa instead of a Texas oil millionaire, or using American power to gain more favored treatment of black African primary products in American markets.

It will be of further comfort to black African nations and to Americans concerned about Africa that we support the U.N. resolution that South Africa has no right to administer Namibia. One might also be encouraged that Point 10 encourages "self-determination of the Portuguese Territories through peaceful change," and that the policy in force since 1961 will continue the embargo of arms to these territories. This is presumably what is meant by American concern over undue outside influence in Africa. The arms embargo

to South Africa will no doubt receive continued support from the Nixon administration, despite the fact that currently the people to whom the Pentagon sells surplus arms have no qualms about to whom they sell them.

The Rogers report has produced its own ironic comment on U.S. economic relations with Africa under the section titled "Private Investment" where we learn that "U.S. private investment in the O.A.U. states amounts to almost \$2 billion, and is still growing. Most of this investment is in the extractive industries." From Cecil Rhodes to Charles Engelhard, that about sums it up.

STUDENT PROTEST

As reported in the last issue, students throughout South Africa demonstrated in May in response to a call by the President of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), Neville Curtis, to protest the year-long detention of 22 Africans under the Terrorism Act. In Johannesburg, 357 students were arrested after marching on the police headquarters in defiance of a government ban. Early in June, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal announced that 30 of the protesters would be charged with offences in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Among those supporting the protests at Rhodes University in Grahamstown was Alec Smith, son of the Rhodesian Prime Minister. Smith denounced those students unprepared to act in defence of freedom of thought and freedom to act according to conviction as "cabbages" (New York Times, 6/4/70)

The student demonstrations again focused attention on the South African government's shocking record in the treatment of its political opponents: over 14,000 South Africans have been detained without trial; over 49 detainees have alleged torture--pain

infliction and sleep deprivation are the most common allegations.

Rector Re-Instates Student After Sitin

The Rector of the University of the Western Cape, a college for Coloured students only, has re-instated a student, Chazles Demas, after almost the entire student body occupied the administration building. Demas had been suspended for attending lectures without a tie. Students protested that the punishment was too severe. (NUSAS Newsletter No. 14)

African Students Protest in Rhodesia

Police were called to the campus of the University College of Rhodesia in Salisbury in late June when 250 students, mostly Africans, refused to leave a meeting of the College's governing body. The students were demonstrating in an attempt to stop the Council from ratifying new statutes which will come into effect when the college attains university status in 1971 and severs its links with British universities. The new statutes will give greater authority to the Rhodesian government in the administration of the University. This has given rise to a fear that the government will turn the University into a racially segregated institution. Four students were arrested but released without charge. One student was admitted to hospital. Since this incident, further demonstrations have occurred. (London, The Guardian, 6/20/70)

Mozambique Students Refuse to Play Segregated Sport

Students at the University of Lourenco Marques in Mozambique have announced that they will no longer play sport in South Africa if spectators are racially segregated or if non-whites are discriminated against in the selection of the sports teams against whom they are to compete. (NUSAS Newsletter No. 4)

NUSAS to Hold Integrated Conference

NUSAS's Annual Conference to have been held in July will be the first totally integrated gathering since 1962. In recent years, all the English speaking Universities have refused to provide racially integrated sleeping quarters for delegates on their campuses. To overcome this, NUSAS has abandoned the campus circuit for the first time in 47 years and will hold its conference at a Presbyterian youth camp where all residents will be able to eat, sleep and debate together. (Star, 6/27/70)

Police Detain 200 African Schoolgirls

Police arrested 200 African school girls after a riot at the Shawberry Mission School in the Transkei. The schoolgirls, aged from 15-23, stoned their hostel, breaking 700 windows. No reasons for the riot are known--mobile police units from Umtata detained the 200 girls. (NUSAS Newsletter No. 14)



Police Investigate Multi-Racial Rugby

Police in Durban are investigating the legality of a recent rugby match between white and black students at the University of Natal. The match was organized by the Students Representative Council of the University of Natal and took place on the campus. (Star, 6/27/70)

South Africa Expelled from International Weight Lifting Body

South Africa has been expelled from yet another international sports organization. Latest to act against South Africa is the International Amateur Wrestling federation. The decision came after a vote of 38-21 against South Africa. (The Times, London, 7/6/70)

Furor Over Cricket Tour Cancellation

The cancellation of South Africa's cricket tour of England has drawn much comment in South Africa. Both the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and the Minister of Sport, Mr. Waring, have affirmed that the government will not yield to demands for mixed sport. Claiming that the communists and Afro-Asians were blackmailing countries into refusing to play South Africa, Mr. Vorster said that there was "no choice, if the choice was between taking part in international sport and preserving the South African way of life." (Star, 6/6/70)

Several cricketers have criticized the inflexibility of the Nationalist Government. The South African captain, Dr. Ali Bacher, said it was time for South Africans to broaden their attitudes on mixed sport, not to appease demonstrators, but for the sake of South African sport in 1970. (Guardian, 5/30/70)

The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. John Gordon, has pledged that his government will not interfere in forthcoming tours of Australia by South African sports teams. Mr. Gordon was replying to a demand by the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Whitlaw, to declare a policy of not playing against South African sports teams. South African golf, cricket and rugby teams are to visit Australia and New Zealand in 1970 and 1971. (Star, 6/6/70)

New Zealand decided to go ahead with their rugby tour of South Africa, despite the cricket ban. The New Zealand Rugby Football Union also ignored a plea from the General-Secretary of the New Zealand

Council of Churches not to play in South West Africa or Rhodesia. (Star, 6/6/70) The Times of 6/29/70 (London) reports that police with batons, assisted by white spectators, attacked non-white spectators after a rugby match in Kimberley, South Africa on June 27. The attack occurred after the non-white spectators had surged onto the field at the end of the game to cheer the victorious New Zealand team.

Secret Table Tennis Tour by West Germans

Six West German table tennis players visited South Africa in secret in June to play against several South African provincial teams. The team members travelled incognito on what they described as a "holiday." The President of the South African Table Tennis Union refused to give the names of the West Germans to the press. South Africa was suspended from the International Table Tennis Federation in 1957 and overseas players who play South African teams risk suspension by the international body. (The Star, 6/20/70)

South African Non-White Games Boycotted

Most top sports organizers and members of the Johannesburg Urban Bantu Council boycotted the South African Non-White Games held in Johannesburg in May. These games, as well as those for Whites in 1969, were organized by the South African government to compensate for South Africa's exclusion from the 1968 Olympic Games. The Games were financed, in part, by a grant from the Shell Petroleum Co.

Lennox Mlonzi, Councillor of the Urban Bantu Council, said of the games: "We are now going to be used to show the outside world how happy we are in participating in racist sport." (Star, 5/9/70)

SOUTHERN AFRICA NEWSLETTER
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PERCY SLEDGE SELLS "SOUL" IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African entertainers, playwrights and producers have long been on watch for ways in which the cultural boycott imposed on their country since the early 1960's can be circumvented. For example, the Johannesburg liberal theater establishment convinced American producer Harold Prince to allow the segregated production of CABARET to go on in South Africa with the compromise that some of the royalties went to a black South African theater group. But it appears that the greatest success in this realm has occurred with the present tour of black American soul singer Percy Sledge. Initially invited to South Africa with permission to perform before "non-whites", Sledge's manager Ronnie Quibell received the Government OK to allow Sledge to perform before all-white audiences also. While in Cape Town on the first leg of an 8-week tour, Sledge lived at an all-white hotel, practising an unspoken and self-imposed apartheid," (Cape Times, 5/30/70) by eating in his room.

There is no question that Sledge has had an extremely successful tour, although in a few cases, such as Bloemfontein, capital of the Conservative Orange Free State, he was not granted permission to sing before whites. Manager Quibell has inferred that "if all goes well with this tour and at the end the "Government is happy", he will try to enable other black American performers to come with Sammy Davis being mentioned in particular (Cape Times, 6/11/70).

The Cape Argus reports that Duke Ellington may come to perform for non-whites in Johannesburg, to an expected crowd of 15,000 (if permission is granted to have a mixed non-white audience, i.e. Africans and Coloureds together) (6/10/70).

Sledge's tour may be setting a

precedent. A Coloured wrote from Cape Town: "...I feel that the USA should be informed of his (Sledge's) duplicity... We would prefer a total cultural boycott of South Africa." Sledge's response to accusations that he is abetting racism in South Africa (as expressed in a press release issued by the American Committee on Africa, calling upon his fans, the press, etc. to let Percy and his managers know our feelings) is that he is just an entertainer... No one is just an entertainer, as has been shown in the sports world, particularly in South Africa.

Major Papers run Series on Southern Africa -- Liberation Struggle Ignored

The Washington Post, New York Times, and Christian Science Monitor have all run substantial series on South or Southern Africa, and although all have contained some helpful insights into colonial or white controlled structures, attitudes and strategies, no correspondent except Frederic Hunter of the CSM have dealt with the current situation of the liberation movements. It is interesting to note, however, that a Copley News Service reporter, getting space in the conservative San Diego Union, in May ran a 3-part article on the movements themselves, their foreign ties, their internal problems, the military strength of South Africa and Portugal, big power involvement, etc. (SDU, 4/26, 4/27 and 4/28/70). The major exception to reporting on the liberation struggle was the Christian Science Monitor. In an article entitled "Black-white lines harden" (4/29/70), Hunter surveyed the movements, emphasizing that the guerrillas threaten the white minorities in the form of sabotage, frontal attacks, and even through political education, military preparation and establishing inside bases and organization.

anti-corporate actions

A BRITISH ASSESSMENT

During the spring of 1970 a number of different U.S. groups focused attention on the military-industrial complex as embodied in the corporation. Groups formed in Minneapolis into the Honeywell Project whose major issue was Honeywell's defense contracts; another group conducted a proxy fight at the General Motors Annual Meeting on the issue of corporate responsibility; local Pittsburgh and Southern Africa-concerned people aimed at Gulf Oil Corporation highlighting that company's Angola involvement. These and a number of other corporations may or may not become continuing targets of various segments of the Movement, but all even remotely involved in this tact should take note of a recent British establishment's analysis of the potential effect of British student and other protests against British firms investing in South Africa.

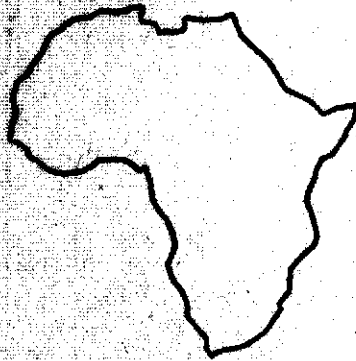
C. Gordon Tether in the Financial Times of 5/29/70 (before the Tory victory) warns that it is dangerous to simply laugh off the "hate relationship that is developing between the two countries" (South Africa and the U.K.). Tether points out that the "idealistic political bromide" of the "Stop the 70 Tour" groups with Government support did worsen English-South African relations, and questions, "Is it purely coincidental that the stepping up of the anti-apartheid campaign against South Africa in Britain and America during the past year or so has been accompanied by a sharp falling off in the inflow of foreign capital into the country? He then reveals that "there have been American banks which were known to be planning to make finances available to South Africa have quietly backed out when it was indicated to them that such involvement could provoke 'demos' against their offices... Other companies have taken the view that, with antagonism towards South Africa being so energetically fanned, it would not

be in the best interests of their pounds, shillings and pence to employ more money there when there were other uses to which it could be put with hardly less profit."

Let's hope that the British anti-apartheid efforts do continue, as well as those here. It appears such anti-corporate action is indeed having its effect!

Southern Africa

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U. S.
AMBAS-
SADOR'S
APPOINT-
MENT
DECRIED

Washington: June 11, 1970. Reuter

An official of an American anti-apartheid organization today criticized President Nixon's nomination of Southern millionaire Mr. John Hurd as U.S. Ambassador to Pretoria as showing a callous disregard for the problems of the black majority in South Africa.

Mr. Charles Hightower, Director of the Washington Office of the American Committee on Africa, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Mr. Hurd lacked professional experience to serve in such a sensitive post.

Urging Senate rejection, Mr. Hightower, a Negro, said he was concerned about the implications of the nomination because the South African Government was reported to be very pleased with the appointment of the Southern conservative.

Mr. Hurd was nominated as a replacement for Ambassador William Rountree, a career foreign service officer.

"If American foreign policy toward the most troubled nation in Africa... is going to reflect an interest in assisting a solution to those crucial human problems, to express a concern for the non-white majority there... this nomination can only be seen as a callous disregard for just solutions and human interest," Mr. Hightower told the Senators.

Mr. Hightower said that the U.S. Embassy in South Africa should not be a training ground for prospective diplomats.

"Pretoria is one of the crisis centres of the planet," he said, "and there is the pressing need for the Senate to pay closer attention to the entire diplomatic posture in South Africa."

Senator John Tower (Dem.-Tex.) who introduced Mr. Hurd to the Committee, attempted to assure the Senators that Mr. Hurd did not have any racial bias by pointing out that he lived in an area of Texas where there was a preponderance of Mexican-Americans.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH:

"We are building a nation for whites only, we have a right to our own identity, just as blacks and other non-whites have a right to theirs. Black people are entitled to political rights, but only over their own people--not my people."

Prime Minister John Vorster
Speaking at an election rally
in Durban, 4/8/70
(New York Times, 4/9/70)

NOTES TO READERS:

1. Be sure and notice our new address. We have moved!
2. All "changes of address" should include zip codes.
3. Back issues of our Southern Africa Newsletter are now available on microfilm. Urge your school library to secure them.
4. We are still accepting donations from readers to help allay the costs of printing and mailing this superb newsletter!!!
5. For a comprehensive "Suggested Actions Paper" for groups interested in action around Southern Africa issues, write the Southern Africa Committee and enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope with 12¢ in stamps!
6. Suggestions for "Feature Articles" that would be useful, or for a new title for our newsletter, will be greatly appreciated!!!
7. September 25 will mark the 6th anniversary of the start of armed struggle in Mozambique. There will be a gathering on that date at 6:30 p.m. at the Church Center for the United Nations, 777 UN Plaza, to affirm solidarity with Frelimo.
8. On the evening of September 16 there will be a demonstration around Madison Square Garden to denounce British imperialism, particularly the decision to sell arms to South Africa. Two British drum and bugle regiments will be performing at the Garden as part of a 3-month tour.

Southern Africa Committee
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July-August 1970