

SOUTHERN AFRICA



A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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FEATURE ARTICLE

LIMEHILL

(The following feature article on the Limehill resettlement district in South Africa was written by Tami Hultman and Reed Kramer, recently expelled by South African officials for their work with young people and women in Durban. Tami and Reed were among the victims of the rash of security police raids and intimidation of leading church-related opponents to apartheid in South Africa.)

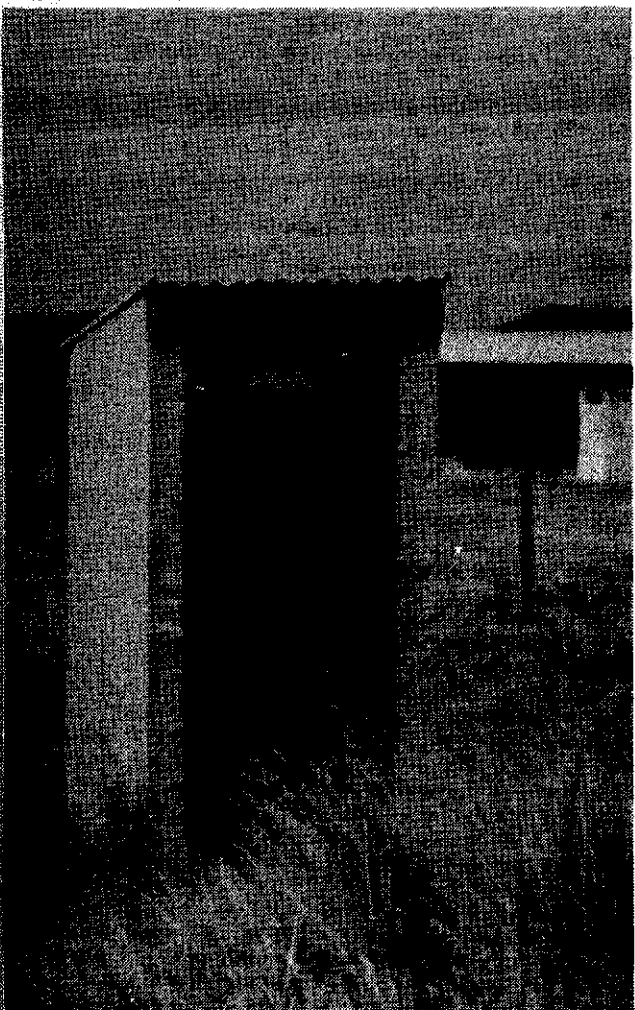
When we first saw Limehill, the late afternoon air was already becoming chill, though the setting sun still cast long shadows that stretched across the countryside. For an hour we had driven along dry, dusty roads, searching, until happening upon some workmen headed that way who volunteered to direct us. Three miles later, after winding through rolling country where we saw no people or houses, the road turned to make its way across a flat valley, and we found ourselves faced with a stern signpost:

**WARNING
BANTU RESERVE AREA
NO ADMISSION WITHOUT A PERMIT**

We were determined to ignore the regulation—it would have been impossible to obtain a permit in any case. Limehill had been one of the more publicized of the areas to which the South African government was moving

thousands of Africans in an implementation of its apartheid policy. Even before its few residents had been moved in, a committee of church leaders had complained publicly of the totally inadequate preparation for its occupation, and local officials had guarded the area carefully against the dozens of reporters and investigators who arrived to see for themselves. Now, two and a half years later, though a barbed wire fence still surrounded the area, we were able to drive in freely, and our guides assured us that no other white people would be around so late in the day.

Once inside, we looked around curiously, anxious to remember this small settlement we had read so much about. Within the fence were perhaps 200 mud huts, a few roughly roofed with scrap metal that shone in the last rays of the sun—the only spots of brightness that were visible. Scattered in the surrounding countryside were other clusters of dwellings; a priest serving the area told us that some 14,000 people live in the Limehill complex, all



of whom had been removed from "black spots"—the name for communities of African, Indian, or Coloured (those of racially mixed parentage) people living in areas the government had decided to redesignate as "white spots" (for white ownership). But the land stretching flat all round, rimmed by jutting hills against the horizon, and the wide, empty sky dwarfed all human penetration and made life seem a frail thing.

As indeed, in Limehill, it is. In 1968 when the first families were moved in, there was nothing but desolate veld awaiting them. Many had been living in areas where they had owned their own land and homes, and had supplemented their meager earnings by subsistence farming and raising livestock. Now they had only tents to live in, and were expected to build their own latrines. All through that first long, rainy night families struggled to pitch the unfamiliar canvas shelters, vainly trying to fit in a few pieces of treasured furniture to protect it from the weather.

It soon became clear that survival was the problem occupying everyone's strength and skill. People had not been allowed to bring their goats, pigs, or cattle, and they

had no cultivation rights. Wasbank, the nearest town, was 17 miles away, and return bus fare is \$84, so the men became migrant workers, visiting their families on weekends if they were fortunate enough to find work close by. Others, refusing to leave their families, faced starvation. There was no work in the vicinity that would employ women. We were told that most people lived on maize meal and sour milk, year round. After an outbreak of typhoid and severe intestinal diseases that claimed several lives was blamed on inadequate waste disposal, the government built shiny tin toilets. But they never could be made to work properly, and when we were there they had all been padlocked, and stood uselessly in defiant rows behind the huts they should have served.

A three-week emergency clinic held by a group of volunteer nurses and doctors reported typhoid, tuberculosis, and pneumonia, along with a range of infections and 112 cases of deficiency diseases from severe malnutrition (including 28 of kwashiorkor). Yet when a group of white ladies asked officials for permission to begin a feeding program for children they were told, "It is not necessary. There is no hunger in Limehill."

The creation of Limehill made sense under apartheid policy; it was consistent with the plan eventually to confine 87% of South Africa's population to 13% of its land. Other community uprootings are not always so "rational." Nearly 400 African families, living on black-zoned land they were moved to in 1908, and promised permanent residence rights on, are still resisting government attempts to push them deeper into the Majeng reserve that borders their land. Eighty families have been forcibly moved, and houses and a tribal court demolished by bulldozers, while the only school was closed and all its furniture removed. The area where people are to be "resettled" is in dense bush and has no facilities, so many have fled back to their old area to live with friends and neighbors. On Feb. 5, 1971 the Rand Daily Mail of Johannesburg quoted a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development explaining that the only reason for the move was to "straighten the border" between white and African land. He said the Majeng reserve "forms a point into the White area, and this point will be cut off."

Further proof that the lives of the majority of South Africa's population are regarded as lightly as pins on a map that can be moved at will, is the plan for industrial development outside Durban, South Africa's largest port. To create more land for business and for white homes, Indians have been moved to make room for Africans, who in turn have themselves been moved from land they have been occupying for many generations. Nearly 36,000 people will be affected by this vast redistribution of racial groups. In one town to be destroyed, 95% of the population of 7,000 own title to their land, but in the new area they will have neither property ownership nor cultivation or stock rights. Some of the land to be vacated by Africans has now been zoned Coloured, and families from all over the province will be forced to move there.

Resettlement areas are part of a pattern that daily burdens millions of black South Africans. The migrant labor system, and influx control laws (governing entrance into urban areas) split thousands of families, and 2,500 Africans are arrested daily as offenders against petty pass laws that curtail their right to live and work in areas their families may have lived in for scores of years. If a woman and man work in adjoining towns, they will not have residence rights in the same area, and so will not be allowed to live together. If they send their children out of

the district to be cared for by a relative, the children lose all rights to return to their parents in their place of birth. Often people enter an area illegally, thereby losing their rights in the area from which they came; if discovered, they are then "endorsed out" to a rural "homeland" they may never have seen, based on their linguistic or ethnic background. There they will have difficulty finding employment in an already overcrowded, impoverished reserve.

So Limehills are repeated over and over again in the lives of the women and men and children of South Africa. There are approximately 25 of them scattered here and there. Yet, with so much emotional and physical energy expended on the business of staying alive, there is still room for hospitality and community spirit. As we walked around Limehill, a heavy late summer rain began to fall, and we were invited into a hut for tea and shelter. We saw on an old stuffed sofa, watching through the door as

people passed by, laughing and shouting in the turning-to-mud roads; children ran, enjoying the fresh smell of brown earth and sundrenched fields the rain brought; and graceful Zulu women balanced burdens on their heads, as easily at their quickened pace as at a casual walk. "People help each other here," we were told. "The old ones help the new ones that come, and somehow most of us manage to get along."

While we talked, night covered the valley, coming quickly as it does at such latitudes, and a lantern was lit, providing a soft light that shone on the faces of the man and woman around whose table we sat, and flickering on the round shapes of their children, asleep in a corner. When we left, driving carefully over bumps and potholes in the road, the dense darkness enveloped us, and the glimmering lights from the houses we had left behind—the only sign that we were not alone in the South African night—melted into nothingness.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

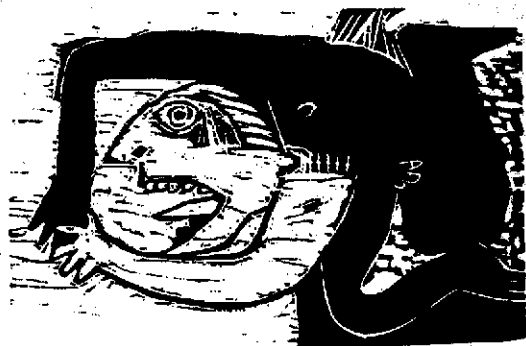
SECURITY POLICE CONDUCT WIDESPREAD RAIDS

South African security police conducted dawn raids on Sunday, October 24, 1971 in what was described as a 'nationwide drive against subversion.' Individuals and institutions were the targets of these raids. As a result of the more than 100 known raids, at least 20 Indians were detained by the police and of these at least 12 are still in custody, and one has died. The Natal Indian Congress office in Durban was raided.

Members of the press, press offices and students were also included in the sweep. The president-elect of the National Union of South African Students and a member of the executive of the South African Students Organization (SASO) were searched. Earlier in the week, the chief of the Security Police, Major-General 'Tiny' Venter had hinted that his staff was investigating the affairs of SASO and of the Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African (ASSECA). South African officials are concerned about SASO and ASSECA because there is fear that they are linked to the Black Power Movement in the United States. Venter said, 'The organization (in America) is giving the American authorities quite a headache and I can't believe the effect will be any different here.' (Johannesburg, Sunday Express, Oct. 24, 1971).

A member of the Urban Bantu Council of Soweto, David Thebehali, was raided. The Urban Bantu Council was created in 1968 as an advisory body to establish communication between the residents of Soweto and the European officials of Johannesburg who have final control over the vast African township. When elections for the Council were held early this month, the turn out was very poor with only 20% of those registered voting. It amounted to a boycott, because the residents of Soweto have come to see how powerless the council is. (New York Times, Oct. 10, 1971).

A number of churchmen were raided, including Fr. Cosmas Desmond, who was placed under banning orders following the publication of this book, *The Discarded People*, and his involvement in making the film *The Dumping Grounds*. Both tell the story of the massive removal of Africans to remote and desolate rural areas.



Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital in Zululand which was one of the hospitals filmed in the *Dumping Ground* was also raided.

At least thirteen academics were raided, as were a number of other critics of the State including playwright Athol Fugard, Winnie Mandela (wife of A.N.C. leader Nelson Mandela who is serving life sentence on Robben Island), and Shanthi Naidoo.

These raids are the first massive ones to have taken place since February 25, 1971. (New York Times Oct. 26, 1971).

RAID VICTIM DIES: IMAM RECALLED

Ahmed Timol, aged 30, an Indian detained in the raids of Oct. 24, fell or jumped to his death from a window on the 10th floor of the Johannesburg Police Headquarters, while under interrogation. Timol's death on Oct. 27 has reminded many of the death two years ago of the respected Muslim leader Imam Abdullah Haroun, who died under suspicious circumstances during his detention. These deaths have brought forth protest from the Indian community and others for a judicial inquiry into the allegations that political suspects are being tortured. (New York Times Oct. 29, 1971).

There has been a recent growth of interest in Imam's case, stimulated in part by the fast of an Anglican clergyman, Father Wrangwore who had refused to eat to draw attention to the case. Imam Haroun was detained in

May, 1969 under the Terrorism Act. Authorities claim he died from a fall down a flight of stairs. They have been unwilling and unable to explain the fact that his body was covered with bruises, that he did not receive immediate medical attention when he 'fell.' (Johannesburg, Sunday Times, Oct. 17, 1971)

'The deputy chief of the Security Police told a pro-government paper that Timol was a 'hero of the Communists'. 'We who know the Communists know that when they plan to use violence they make their people swear an oath to commit suicide rather than to mention the names of their comrades. They are taught to jump out before they are interrogated.' (London, The Guardian, Oct. 31, 1971).

The raids of Oct. 24 were conducted under the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. As in the case of Imam Haroun, the Prime Minister is refusing to hold an inquiry into Timol's death. According to the London Times (Oct. 30) 'The important point is that the South African public is demanding with unusual vigor that the brutality with which the police increasingly carry out their ceaseless watch and ward over state security be checked.... The South African police, in their abuse of power, are little different from their counterparts in other authoritarian and police states. But the level of sheer stupidity in the lower ranks is probably much higher...'

UNITY MOVEMENT TRIAL

Thirteen men are appearing before Mr. Justice James, the Judge President of Natal on four counts under the Terrorism Act. They have all pleaded not guilty; the trial has been proceeding for more than two months. (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, August/Sept. for background.) One major part of the trial has been the allegation of torture of witnesses and of the accused. Frank Anthony, one of the accused was told by Sergeant Van Wyk, "Remember the death of the Imam. He said they would not like to have another such incident...." (Supplement to

APDUSA Special Issue, Aug. 1971, London Committee of the Unity Movement of South Africa.) A witness, Hoosian Adam, made a statement that he knew nothing about the Unity Movement and he was put in solitary confinement. He was later questioned by Spyker Van Wyk. He had heard that Van Wyk had murdered Imam Haroun. He became terrified and made another statement admitting that he had attended meetings at the home of Frank Anthony. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, Oct. 1971). Other detainees have denied that they were beaten or threatened. Mr. J. Mxwenge denied that he spoke to the police because of fear. (The Natal Mercury, Sept. 15, 1971).

The National Union of South African Students is launching a major campaign to raise more than \$50,000 for the defense of the accused. If convicted, the defendants could be sentenced to death. The minimum sentence is five years. (Johannesburg, Sunday Express, Aug. 1, 1971).

A series of State witnesses have given evidence about the movement of people over the border into Botswana and about the collection of money by the accused. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, Oct. 1971). Other witnesses have alleged that at least three men had come from Zambia to recruit men for training. The training would be to implement the program of the Unity Movement and prepare the men to be in a position to fight the white man in the city. The "Zambian agents" Mr. Jama, Mr. Nikane, and Mr. Ncalu, are said to have talked of being pleased if 200 men could be recruited. A witness said that he understood that those who underwent training would not be trained as terrorists on the border, and there was no discussion on when the fighting would break out. It was also alleged that the Zambians were unable to leave South Africa in a hurry because they lacked money. One of the accused is said to have brought money so they could make the escape. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 15, 19, 20, 1971).

INSIDE NAMIBIA



AFTERMATH OF SOUTH AFRICA'S "NON-AGGRESSION" INTO ZAMBIA

In October South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster announced and then denied that his troops had crossed the Zambian border allegedly in pursuit of Namibian guerrillas (see Nov. SOUTHERN AFRICA). When

Zambia's charges were brought to the U.N. Security Council, it responded with a watered down resolution "only vaguely implying that South Africa might have violated the Caprivi Border." (Johannesburg Star, Oct. 6, 1971). The pressure for toning down the resolution, which had originally contained a condemnation of South Africa, came from Great Britain; and the resolution in its final version was received with bitterness by Afro-Asian representatives. Zambia's Ambassador Mwaanga denounced the Security Council as a body unresponsive to the African case against white minority regimes, saying, "The hopes we have always had in the Security Council's ability to protect small States has obviously been shattered--perhaps for good. One day, gentlemen, we shall be strong enough not to require your support because it is only by strengthening ourselves that we can assure our security."

Meanwhile, within South Africa Prime Minister Vorster has had discussions with more than 40 newspaper executives and directors to discuss the country's security and its treatment by the newspapers. Mr. Vorster blamed the newspapers for misquoting him and for causing him international embarrassment when they published his statement about the incursion of South African police forces into Zambia. Vorster and other government spokesmen have accused the newspapers, especially the

English language papers, of being unpatriotic and of "stabbing South Africa in the back." Although it appears that there will be no legislation aimed at curbing the press at this time, there is an appeal for a "unified patriotic front" in a time of crisis.

Mr. Vorster's pressure on the press is coupled with warnings by the South African Minister of Defense and Commandant-General that South Africa has never been in greater peril than now. Police Minister Lourens Muller recently described South Africa's border with Zambia as the most dangerous his country had to guard. The Johannesburg Star (Oct. 16, 1971) also reported a speech by Dr. Albert Coetzee, lecturer in international law at Potchefstroom University, which by implication legitimated South Africa's incursions into Zambia as self-defense. Coetzee pointed out that Rhodesia and Portugal should lay charges in the Security Council against Zambia and Tanzania for giving "aggressive assistance" to terrorists. Referring to Zambia's subsequent

accusations against South Africa, Dr. Coetzee said it was an old tactic for an aggressor to picture his victim as the aggressor.

This rationale can be better understood when one remembers that South African forces have long been present in Rhodesia as well as in the Portuguese occupied portions of Mozambique and Angola, and that Portuguese and Rhodesian soldiers have been known to attack villagers in Tanzania and Zambia. Therefore, it seems clear that although South Africa has denied crossing the border in this specific instance, it is also trying to legitimate in advance future aggressions into independent African countries on the part of the Portuguese and Rhodesian as well as the South African forces. (Times of Zambia, Oct. 15, 1971; The Guardian, UK, Oct. 18, 1971; The Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 14, 1971; The Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 16, 1971, Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1971).

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

RHODESIAN "SETTLEMENT" 1971's GREATEST SCANDAL

The sixties saw so many celebrations of independence for new nations in Africa that the world forgot about the countries of Southern Africa—South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau—that continue to groan under colonial yokes. After the World Court "solved" the problem of Namibia by its June 1971 decision, everyone relaxed for a while. Wilson of Britain had resumed talks with Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia, and the U.S. continued to deny any part in the wars Portugal is waging in its African territories.

Then on Nov. 24 the announcement was made by Britain's Heath Government that a settlement had been reached between Britain and its breakaway territory of Southern Rhodesia. Member states of the United Nations, still a little giddy from the excitement of China's recent inclusion, needed time to "study" the settlement before they could react.

When the Southern Rhodesia question was last debated in the U.N. in November, 1970 Britain outlined five principles to which Smith's regime must comply before Southern Rhodesia's 1965 illegal declaration of unilateral independence (UDI) could be recognized. They were (1) the principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule; (2) guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Southern Rhodesian constitution; (3) immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; (4) progress toward ending racial discrimination; and (5) satisfaction that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Feeling that all five principles revolve around the fifth—the acceptability of any settlement by the whole people of Rhodesia—the British established a commission of inquiry that will, in the months and years ahead, attempt to determine that real will of the people. When asked by a New York Times reporter when the gradual increase in black African seats in the Rhodesian Parliament would produce majority rule, Sir Alec Douglas-Home said: there are too many variables. Outside

observers have said it could be 40 to 65 years. It may take that long to determine the people's will, and how many more to assure that it occurs?

However, in the British proposal, once the people's will is determined (assuming it will be acceptable to the British and the Smith regime), it will be immediately implemented by changes in the Rhodesian constitution by Parliamentary act. Then Britain could proceed immediately to declare Rhodesia legally independent, much as it declared Nigeria independent. Then it would be up to the Rhodesian regime to see that majority rule comes about.

The ultimate scandal of the "settlement" is that once again the "mother colonial power" is deciding, along with the European settler minority, the fate of millions of disenfranchised people. The last several centuries have shown us that the elementary scandal that has been perpetrated against people is that of deciding their fate and their future without allowing them to participate in that decision. If people of the third world are telling the superpowers anything in this 20th century, it is that they require and desire nothing less than self-determination.

What is strange is that the fifth principle states this requirement of self-determination so clearly. Yet the means by which it is to be fulfilled violates the principle. After the British announcement, Abdulrahim Abby Farah of Somalia said in the U.N. Security Council meeting of Dec. 2, 1971 that the proposal was "not in conformity with United Nations decisions." The General Assembly had stated that there could be no independence without universal suffrage, he said. The Security Council had said self-determination should be in accord with the Declaration on decolonization. The main concern of the United Nations had been that independence should "be equated with equal rights for all the people of Southern Rhodesia." (U.N. Press Release SC/3267, Dec. 2, 1971)

Britain's Sir Colin Crowe, speaking in the U.N. Security Council on Nov. 25, assured the world community that the U.N.-imposed (and U.S.-backed)

sanctions against Rhodesia would continue in effect until the final settlement is worked out in Southern Rhodesia. Yet at the same time newspapers are carrying headlines about a bill before the U.S. Congress to enable us to violate those sanctions in order to buy Southern Rhodesian chrome.

The contradictions are apparent even more when one reads the fuller text of Crowe's speech. "Racial discrimination has been increasing steadily, and on the basis of the present constitution parity is a very remote prospect and majority rule is totally excluded. . . . There is no doubt that the lot of the Rhodesian African is bad and is steadily getting worse. . . . As things stand in Rhodesia [the Africans] have little chance to get the education to improve themselves, the political freedom to express themselves, or the economic opportunities to raise their standard of living. No one can really offer the Africans any alternative unless it is to sacrifice his life in a recourse to violent protest."

Yet on the other hand, he states that "the application of force was neither feasible nor desirable. . . . The launching of what would have been war was never justifiable." And although, as stated above, "no one can really offer the Africans any alternative," there is an alternative offered. That alternative is a "settlement" that at best allows the Africans (representing approximately five million people) to hold 50 percent of the seats in Parliament, while the 250,000 white settlers hold the other 50 percent. That is what the British mean by parity.

Once parity is reached, Rhodesia will be granted legal independence.

There is no discussion in either Crowe's speech before the U.N. or Sir Alec Douglas-Home's speech before the British Parliament of the avowed determination of white Southern Rhodesians never to allow majority rule. This determination is written throughout their 1969 constitution, and is practiced in the laws and customs of the land as imposed by the settlers.

Ian Smith was asked by a British reporter in Salisbury when he thought Rhodesia's five million blacks would obtain power under a new constitution. He said: "At the moment, I don't believe they are fit to govern the country. What the position will be in 100 years' time or 1,000 years' time isn't easy to predict, and I won't be here will I?" Smith added: "I have got a pretty good idea what the position will be 10 years hence, and they will not be in control then and I don't believe they will be fit to be in control." (New York Times, Dec. 2, 1971)

The Soviet proposal to the United Nations, which was endorsed by the Somalia representative, was that the leaders of the two main African political parties in Southern Rhodesia, Joshua Nkomo (of ZAPU) and Ndabamangi Sithole (of ZANU) be invited to appear before the Council to state their views (U.N. Press Release SC/3264, Dec. 1, 1971). It is not likely that invitation will be given. If those leaders are not allowed by Smith's regime to speak to their own people, how can he allow them to speak to the world community?

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES



PORTUGUESE EVICT 24,000 FROM VICINITY OF CABORA BASSA

PEACE NEWS, a British Pacifist magazine, reported the eviction of 24,000 people from the area around Cabora Bassa hydro-electric project in Mozambique plus the current herding of another 83,000 into concentration camp type settlements similar to so-called strategic hamlets in South Vietnam, presumably to make way for a lake and for white settlers the Portuguese hope to bring to the area. (The Standard, Tanzania, October 16, 1971.)

DESTRUCTION OF RAIL BRIDGE DELAYS SUPPLIES FOR DAMSITE

The Star (South Africa, September 25, 1971) reports that FRELIMO blew a rail bridge the week before about 40 kilometers from Moatize, delaying cement supplies for the dam at Cabora Bassa for about five days.

Agence France Presse (October 22, 1971) reported a Portuguese communiqué about the situation in Tete province of Mozambique as admitting that FRELIMO had succeeded in mixing with civilians and had been successful



in some small operations, including blowing up a railway bridge near Caldas Xavier, and partially destroying a radio beacon seven miles from the Tete military airfield. Two Airforce officers were killed by a mine near the beacon. Mines also killed a Portuguese engineer working on a new road from Tete to Songo, and two Portuguese Army captains near the Mazow camp.

ANGOLAN CASH CRISIS

The Star (South Africa, October 9, 1971) indicates that Angola is going through a financial crisis with no foreign currencies available for imports. The Exchange Control Board has been authorizing payments only on medicines and essential Government purchases of goods. The reasons for the crisis are unclear. Although coffee export revenue has been slow, there had been a sharp upsurge of imports against exports early in the year. The Bank of Portugal also seems to have been centralizing foreign currency holdings of all Portuguese colonies, obliging Angolan banks to give their foreign balances over to the Exchange Fund rather than retaining them as in the past.

PORTUGUESE ABANDON ANGOLAN BARRACKS AND FAIL TO MAKE DRY SEASON ATTACK

In an interview with the Standard (Tanzania, October 9, 1971) Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA explained that reported evacuation by the Portuguese of some of their barracks in Angola as a consequence of the violent attacks by the movement. These attacks "forced them to spend many days and weeks behind their fortifications, without being able to leave them. In some places they have not even been able to go to the river for water and their life in those barracks has therefore been pretty difficult. In some places their position became untenable and they have evacuated the barracks."

And to explain the reported failure of the Portuguese to make their usual dry season attacks Neto explained that the MPLA initiative had cut off Portuguese possibilities of ground movement restricting them to their barracks and making counter attacks difficult because of MPLA destroyed communication links.

PORTUGUESE SHIPS BURN

At least four vessels were destroyed in a fire at shipyards at the Portuguese port of Figuera da Foz in the first week of September. The fire has been attributed to

the Portuguese underground organization A.R.A. (Armed Revolutionary Action), and is the latest in a series of spectacular sabotage operations that includes the destruction of 17 aircraft at Tancos airbase in March and an explosion which cut Lisbon's communications with the rest of the world for nine hours on the eve of the NATO conference in Lisbon last June. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, October, 1971).

PAIGC PLANS POPULAR ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS AT LOCAL, REGIONAL, and NATIONAL LEVELS

Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of PAIGC, has been quoted in various interviews recently, in Tanzania (Nationalist, September 24), in Algeria (Revolucion Africaine, Algeria, no. 399), in Britain (Guardian, October 26), and by a Finnish student who visited Guinea with PAIGC (in World Student News, Czechoslovakia, 1971, no.7). In the articles he indicates that PAIGC has decided to institute Popular Assemblies at local, regional and national levels. Since the movement is now in control of two-thirds of Guinea (Bissau) and has already extensive programs of development and social, administrative, judicial and military structures, the people of the country are already experiencing the realities of national sovereignty. The establishment of the Popular Assemblies will reinforce that condition, giving the people an instrument, separate from but in rapport with the Party, for the exercise of their sovereignty. The criteria for the choosing of Assembly members, the process to be followed in running elections, the date of elections and the form which the State will take are all under study and in the process of planning. No decision have yet been announced but it is expected the elections will occur fairly quickly once procedures are decided.

Cabral was quoted by the Finnish student as saying, "Our struggle is entirely a political one . . . Armed struggle is just one form of it. We don't like war. We are fighting for the independence of our country, not to beat the Portuguese . . . The colonial domination which creates our problem constitutes a political situation and the final solution will be a political one."

And on more than one occasion Cabral has asserted that PAIGC is open to negotiations with the Portuguese, saying that the Higher Council of the Party was in the process of studying a plan to "help the Portuguese out of the abyss with their heads less low."

GUINEA-BISSAU LOSING INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT

Mikko Pyhala of the National Union of Finnish Students, reports after visiting Guinea-Bissau with PAIGC that the vestiges of the Imperium there do not amount to much: "the Dutch N.V. Bilton Maatshappij company has ceased to excavate bauxite, Esso no longer prospects, the CUF import-export monopoly has closed down almost all its shops and the main exports producer, Sociedade Commercial Ultramarina, has completely withdrawn." (World Student News, Czechoslovakia, 1971, no. 7.)

PAIGC SUCCESSES

PAIGC announced that in the first 8 months of 1971, it killed 480 enemy troops and wounded 255 during 508 attacks. Attacks were launched on Bissau, Bafata and other cities as well as ambushes being laid on highways and rivers. 90 enemy military vehicles were damaged or destroyed, 28 vessels sunk, 2 planes and 3 helicopters brought down, some barracks destroyed and large quantities of military materiel captured. The people in

liberated areas also had successes in food production, public health work and disease prevention. (Standard (Tanzania), October 15, 1971.)

FRELIMO STARTS SWAHILI PAPER

The Standard (Tanzania, October 11, 1971) announced the beginning of the publication by FRELIMO of a Kiswahili translation of the bulletin "Voice of the Revolution" to be put out monthly and circulated free of charge throughout East Africa.

FRELIMO MINES NEWLY TARRED ROADS

The Portuguese are reported to be tarring roads in Tete as rapidly as possible in an attempt to counter

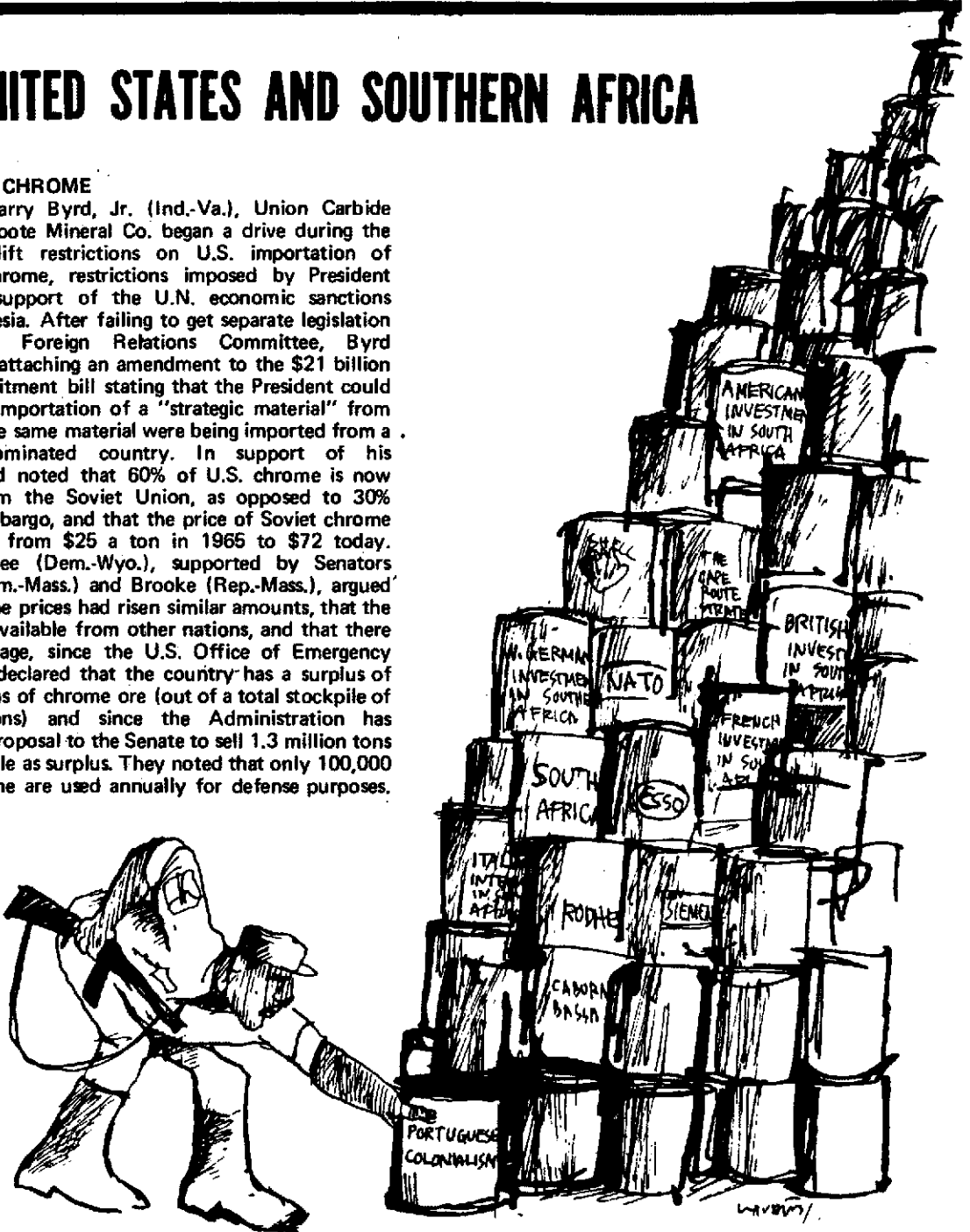
FRELIMO's extensive mining of roads throughout the area. However, the South African Star's Africa News Service reported in October that FRELIMO now has an instrument which heats the tar so that they can cut a box in the road surface, lay the mine, replace the tar, reheat it and mould it back into a smooth surface. They note, however, that the area so treated does appear a somewhat darker patch in the road.

Another technique they report FRELIMO as using is planting a line of 20 or 30 mines linked along a bush path with only the last one in line primed with a detonator so that an entire patrol of 10-12 men may be on the mine chain and killed when the lead man steps on the key mine and sets off a chain explosion.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

RHODESIAN CHROME

Senator Harry Byrd, Jr. (Ind.-Va.), Union Carbide Corp., and Foote Mineral Co. began a drive during the summer to lift restrictions on U.S. importation of Rhodesian chrome, restrictions imposed by President Johnson in support of the U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. After failing to get separate legislation through the Foreign Relations Committee, Byrd succeeded in attaching an amendment to the \$21 billion military recruitment bill stating that the President could not prohibit importation of a "strategic material" from any area if the same material were being imported from a Communist-dominated country. In support of his measure, Byrd noted that 60% of U.S. chrome is now imported from the Soviet Union, as opposed to 30% before the embargo, and that the price of Soviet chrome ore has risen from \$25 a ton in 1965 to \$72 today. Senator McGee (Dem.-Wyo.), supported by Senators Kennedy (Dem.-Mass.) and Brooke (Rep.-Mass.), argued that all chrome prices had risen similar amounts, that the mineral was available from other nations, and that there was no shortage, since the U.S. Office of Emergency Planning has declared that the country has a surplus of 2,225,000 tons of chrome ore (out of a total stockpile of 5,344,000 tons) and since the Administration has submitted a proposal to the Senate to sell 1.3 million tons of the stockpile as surplus. They noted that only 100,000 tons of chrome are used annually for defense purposes.



Nonetheless, on Sept. 23 the McGee forces lost, by a vote of 46 to 36, a motion to delete the Byrd amendment (New York Times, Sept. 24, 1971 and The Washington Post, Sept. 24, 1971). Le Monde (Paris, Sept. 25, 1971) and The Guardian (London, Sept. 25, 1971) saw the vote as an important blow to sanctions strengthening Rhodesia in the negotiations with Britain and perhaps costing the U.S. votes on the China question in the U.N.

Senator Byrd in his arguments cited a letter from William Hart, a member of the Executive Board of the United Steelworkers of America, expressing support for importation on the grounds that a shortage of chromite had increased unemployment in the steel industry. His position was countered, but only after the Sept. 23 vote, by I. W. Abel, President of the Steelworkers, and by A. J. Biemiller, Director of the Department of Legislation of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., who said that unemployment stemmed rather from the "inordinate specialty steel imports" from Europe and Japan (Congressional Record, Sept. 29 and 30, 1971).

In late September and early October, Senator Fulbright introduced an amendment to the same military procurement bill to negate the Sept. 23 vote by giving President Nixon the authority to maintain or end the embargo on Rhodesian products. Fulbright's position was weakened by the fact of his absence on the Sept. 23 vote and by criticism of his support of Presidential as opposed to Congressional power. After winning one vote by 45 to 43, Fulbright lost when his amendment was reconsidered and when some of his supporters were absent. Senator Brock (Rep.-Tenn.) attached a proviso to delay the effective date of the Rhodesian provision until Jan. 1, 1972, "to allow more time for negotiations" between Britain and Ian Smith, and on Oct. 6 the Senate voted by 82 to 4 in favor of the military procurement bill (Congressional Record, Sept. 29 and 30, 1971; The Washington Post, Oct. 7, 1971; The Guardian [London], Oct. 7, 1971). The House and Senate conferees retained the Rhodesian provision of the military procurement bill (The New York Times, Nov. 5, 1971).

Reasons cited for the failure to block the anti-sanction move were primarily two: the disarray of the liberal forces, including the absence of Senators Fulbright, Harris, Jackson, McGovern, Muskie, and Bayh at crucial times, and the very low-level support given by the White House and the State Department. David Abshire, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, did write his opposition to the Byrd amendment to Senator McGee (Congressional Record, Sept. 29, 1971), but the Administration did not support the opposition publicly (The Washington Post, Oct. 10, 1971; The New York Times, editorial, Oct. 10, 1971; The Johannesburg Star, Oct. 16, 1971). The lobbying of Union Carbide Corporation and of Foote Mineral Co. (of Exton, Pa.), both with chrome-producing affiliates of subsidiaries in Rhodesia, of Kenneth Towsey, Rhodesia's unaccredited envoy in Washington, and of the American-Southern Africa Council (of 20 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.), was also influential (The New York Times, Sept. 24, 1971; The Washington Post, Oct. 10, 1971; letter of American-Southern African Council to its supporters, Oct. 25, 1971).

Almost six years after the Nov. 11 Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the military procurement bill 252 to 101 which included the Senate amendment allowing the reimportation of Rhodesian chrome. Congressman Fraser of Minnesota led the failing floor

fight to drop the chrome provision saying it would defy the U.N. sanctions and U.S. obligations to uphold the U.N. charter. The U.S. executive weakness in opposing the Byrd amendment was evidenced by the fact that Republican House Leader Ford and party whip Arends both supported the pro-Rhodesian action (The New York Times, Nov. 11, 1971).

The issue has aroused concern at the United Nations, particularly among the Africa Group which issued a statement calling for the U.S. Administration to stop this violation of mandatory sanctions. In the Fourth Committee a resolution sponsored by 22 nations asks the General Assembly to express "its grave concern" and take appropriate action to support any U.S. move to prohibit the chrome circumvention of sanctions (U.N. Press Release, Nov. 11, 1971).

NEWSOM SPEECH

Assistant Secretary of State (for African Affairs) David Newsom took "A Look at African Issues at the U.N." before the Atlanta Press Club Luncheon on Sept. 21, 1971. He reiterated U.S. opposition to African-supported policies of isolation, sanctions and physical force against the white-dominated regimes of Southern Africa and expressed confidence that positive change was occurring and would occur through inevitable economic and demographic pressures (Press, Dept. of State, Sept. 21, 1971). Observers noted the mentioning change and "lessening rigidity" in South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 22, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 25, 1971).

ROGERS AT THE U.N.

Secretary of State Rogers, one day after his Oct. 4 speech to the U.N. General Assembly, played host to the African delegates at a luncheon and introduced the two Black American members of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. (Rep. Diggs and Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher). It was the first time in U.N. history that a U.S. Secretary of State had hosted African delegates and delegates Pratt (of Sierra Leone) and Rabemananjara (of Madagascar) expressed their appreciation (Amsterdam News, New York, Oct. 1971).

VISA APPLICATIONS

A more flexible policy of granting visas by South Africa has encouraged such Americans as Gwendolyn Carter of Northwestern University and Josiah Beeman of the Presbyterian Task Force on Southern Africa to apply for visas, according to the Star's Washington Bureau (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 23, 1971).

DIGGS AND RAMGOBIN

Congressman Diggs demanded of U.S. Ambassador Hurd in South Africa explanations of why Mewa Ramgobin, the Natal Indian leader who toured Natal with Mr. Diggs, had been placed under five-year house arrest. If Ramgobin's arrest was in any way connected with Diggs' trip, the Congressman asserted, he would make every effort to involve the U.S. Government "at the official level." South African Minister of Justice Pelsaer said there was no connection between the arrest and Diggs' visit (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 23, 1971).

NASA

Willis Shapley, spokesman for the National Aeronautic and Space Administration (NASA) before Rep. Diggs'

subcommittee on Africa, promised that NASA would send a delegation to South Africa to seek improvements in the working conditions of nonwhites in its tracking station. Diggs noted "that an Agency of the U.S. Government has admitted in writing, in public, that the facilities at its installation in South Africa are segregated," referring to the fact that only whites are allowed to use the cafeteria (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1971).

SOUTH AFRICAN M.P. IN WASHINGTON

Mrs. Catherine Taylor, a United Party Member of Parliament touring the U.S., reported that her conversations with American officials in Washington indicated that the U.S. Government had changed from an "isolationist" to a "constructive communication" approach in its policies toward South Africa. Among those she saw in Washington were David Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Marshall Wright, staff member of the National Security Council, Frank Shakespeare, head of the U.S. Information Service who visited South Africa in July, and Mrs. Goler Butcher, aide to Rep. Diggs (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 2, 1971).

STATE DEPARTMENT RESEARCH

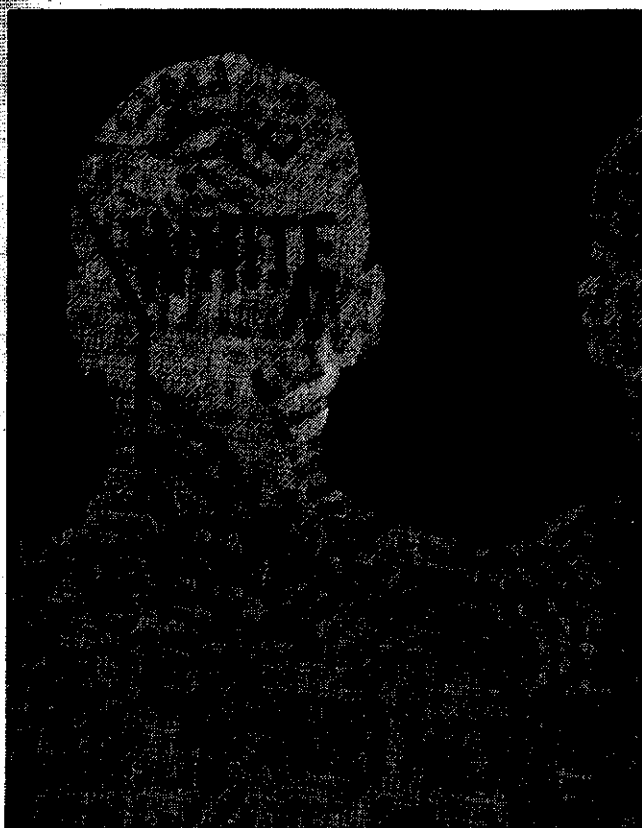
The U.S. Department of State's "External Research Program" for fiscal year 1971 included a contract with a Yale University professor to study the "implications of economic growth in South Africa." Foreign policy research connected with the Departments of State and Defense has risen six times since fiscal year 1970. (Far

Horizons, published by Under-Secretaries Committee/Sub Committee on Foreign Affairs Research, Dept. of State).

PATRICIA HARRIS' STAND ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

In October this year, Ms. Patricia Roberts Harris, former U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg, was elected chairman of the Credentials Committee for the 1972 Democratic National Committee, brought forward by Party Chairman O'Brien to counter support for the "reform" candidate Senator Hughes. Blacks such as Shirley Chisholm and Julian Bond attacked this cynical use of a black woman, Garry Wills in a column of Oct. 27 (Capitol Times, Madison, Wis.) noted Mrs. Harris' ties with Humphrey and her vote against the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964. Readers of SOUTHERN AFRICA may be interested in her record on Southern African issues, or, rather, the absence of a record. A member of the Hudson Institute, she has made no protest against its work for the Portuguese Government in Angola (SOUTHERN AFRICA, Sept. 1970). Elected to the board of directors of IBM, she has made no protest against its involvement in South Africa, which most recently includes provision of the IBM 360 system for use in the new population registration system (SOUTHERN AFRICA, Aug.-Sept. 1971). Also as a Chase Manhattan Bank board member, Ms. Harris has not been visible on any African issues (on South Africa, Chase Manhattan has considerable [15-20%] interest in the huge Standard Bank complex). Does she agree with American support of Southern African racism and colonialism? If not, why not speak out?

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES



U.S. ACTION ON WORLD COURT NAMIBIA DECISION URGED

On Nov. 4 a delegation from the American Committee on Africa presented a document to George Bush, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. The document, which was prepared by a group of lawyers, outlined action the U.S. should take in light of last June's World Court decision calling South Africa's administration of Namibia illegal.

The document stipulated that the U.S. should: (1) refuse to invoke treaties with South Africa that have been extended to Namibia; (2) discourage American corporations registered with the South African Government from doing business in Namibia by denying them credit loans or tax credits, and should levy a special surcharge on profits; and (3) specifically support the interim U.N. administering authority (in place of South Africa) for Namibia. The document also proposes that the United States grant political asylum "on the most favorable terms to Namibian refugees"; specifically exclude the American consulate in Cape Town from any activity in Namibia; support the U.N. administering authority in establishing its own postage for Namibia; and assist the U.N. authority "in developing effective means to abolish all laws mandating or permitting racial discrimination."

In presenting the document to Ambassador Bush, Peter Weiss, president of ACOA, said: "Our purpose here is to urge immediate implementation by our government of measures that can be taken even without a direct military confrontation with South Africa. We believe our proposals can be put into effect without delay in spite of the intransigence of the South African Government. (ACOA Press Release, Nov. 4, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN M.P. UNWELCOMED AT CHICAGO RALLY

Black student organizations and others joined in a protest in late October against the United Party Parliament member, Mrs. Catherine Taylor, guest speaker at a meeting held at Northwestern University. More than 500 Black students and some whites cheered speakers opposing the South African representative. (Committee for a Free Mozambique, News and Notes, No. 9)

STUDENT U.N. HIGHLIGHTS BOYCOTTS

In its September issue of "In Fact," the Council for International Relations and United Nations Affairs (CIRUNA) carried a center fold on Southern Africa calling for boycotts of both Gulf Oil and Polaroid corporations for their complicity in colonialism and racism. CIRUNA is also offering Southern Africa Strategy Kits for \$.75 each that include materials on economics and liberation movements. Write Southern Africa, CIRUNA, 833 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The CIRUNA action came as support for the Gulf Boycott Coalition's call last July following their Dayton, Ohio organizing conference to boycott Gulf Oil Corporation and all its products. The coalition called for "a boycott of all Gulf products and for the return of all Gulf Oil credit cards until Gulf ends all support of Portuguese colonialism and ceases its operations in Portuguese-controlled Angola."

MADISON WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT TO AID FRELIMO

In October, 4,500 people walked in Madison, Wis. to raise about \$80,000 for various "development" projects; 32.5% of the gains are promised to the Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO. (MACSA News, Oct. 1971)

AFRICAN AMERICAN LABOR CENTER (AFL-CIO) SPOKESMAN SAYS "TIME IS RUNNING OUT" FOR NONCOMMUNISTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Irving Brown, African American Labor Center Executive Director, well-known for his "cold war" interests, gave a paper recently that called on U.S. Government and business to help the "Western world to achieve a peaceful and democratic solution" in Southern Africa. He urged that they help the moderate democratic leaders in nationalist movements and not allow the Russians to "reverse the whole peaceful, constructive, and stable development in most of Black Africa" through fomenting war and aggression in Southern Africa. He praised the "process of economic development under way in South Africa" reaffirming the Polaroid approach to South Africa. (AALC Reporter, Oct. 1971)

BRITISH M.P. CALLS FOR INVESTIGATION OF ST. HELENA

A Labor Member of Parliament has asked the British Foreign Secretary to look into charges that the British island of St. Helena in the Atlantic off Angola (and noted as Napoleon's place of exile) is being run by ex-Rhodesians and South Africans like a veritable apartheid police state. (Sunday Times, London, Oct. 10, 1971)

MEXICAN JOURNAL PRAISES APARTHEID—GUESS WHY?

An international addition of the Mexican magazine AUGE has a 240-page section on South Africa where the African is described as "a happy person." It is reported that AUGE is heavily subsidized by firms operating in South Africa and advance orders from the South African Information Agency. The Mexican journal has suddenly begun to appear on British newsmen's desks. (Guardian, London, Oct. 9, 1971).

OTHER GIFTS

NORWEGIAN GIFT TO MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE

Norway is giving more than \$80,000 to the Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO. (Guardian, Oct. 2, 1971) The Dutch Interchurch Peace Council under the direction of the Mondlane Foundation collected blankets for the three CONCP movements (FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC) during a National Peace Week. 80,000 blankets were collected by 5,000 volunteers. (Angola Comite, letter, Sept. 11, 1971)

ANGOLA QUESTION MARK

Don't know why I,
Black,
Must still stand
With my back
To the last frontier
Of fear
In my own land.

Don't know why I
Must turn into
A Mau Mau
And lift my hand
Against my fellow man
To live on my own land.

But it is so--
And being so
I know
For you and me
There's
Woe.

—Langston Hughes

Poverty, Apartheid, and Economic Growth

by Sean Gervasi

(What follows is the last half of a paper prepared by Mr. Sean Gervasi, research officer in economics at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at Oxford University, for the Special Session of the Special Committee on Apartheid, held at the United Nations Headquarters in March, 1971. The first half of the document, reprinted from U.N. Unit on Apartheid Document No. 30/71 dated July, 1971, appeared in the October issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA.)

The weak version of the argument is that an expanding economy means a good life for all through the universal raising of incomes.

In examining the "weak" version of the argument from growth, the question at issue must be clearly and precisely formulated. What are the proponents of the "breakdown" theory really saying?

Firstly, they are saying that economic growth will mean rising incomes for all. There is no need at all to object to the idea of rising money incomes. That comes out of the definition of economic growth. But the real question is whether the real incomes of the poor will rise, and whether, furthermore, they will rise to a level that will lift the average urban African out of poverty. Let us formulate the question in another way. Will the average African gain a substantial increase in real consumption in the course of economic growth?

This will depend, it should be emphasized, on whether the economy makes more real resources per capita available for the poor. It will depend, in other words, on whether the economy gives any kind of priority to such claims. And in formulating the question in this way, one must remember that there are always competing claims for resources. What the proponents of the "breakdown" theory are suggesting, therefore, is that the claims of the poor for higher per capita real consumption will be given an important weight by the market mechanism. Is this reasonable?

Direction of Growth in Market Economy

Several further points need to be established before this last question can be properly analyzed. To begin with, one must recognize that there is no such thing as "just growth." The concept of "national product" is shorthand. It is a way of describing the "mix" of goods and services produced in the economy. Any economy can produce different "mixes." The composition of output can be of one kind or of another. It may comprise butter and beans or guns and beans. What goods an economy produces is obviously of crucial importance. It is therefore misleading to talk about growth alone. The important question is what kind of growth takes place.

When output grows, it grows in particular ways. Additions to output may mean more of some goods, say, basic necessities, or more of others. It may involve the production of some goods that are altogether new. Growth thus entails quantitative and qualitative changes

in the pattern of output. So, broadly speaking, we may distinguish different paths of economic growth. An economy may grow in different directions, producing different "mixes" of goods. The significance of the fact that there are competing claims for resources should now be more clear. The issue at hand is whether the South African economy will follow a path of growth in which the production of more basic necessities receives priority.

In a market economy, priority will always be given to those kinds of production which yield the largest profits. A good product will yield a high profit when the "demand" for it is strong, that is, when people are willing to pay a relatively high price for it. Thus the most profitable markets are likely to be those where there is the greatest spending power. This means that the distribution of income is bound to have an important influence on the composition of production. If the distribution of income, for instance, is highly unequal, the markets for luxury goods may exert a strong pull on real resources. For the wealthy will have a much higher per capita spending power than the poor. The goods which they wish to consume, as distinct from the goods the poor wish to consume, will yield relatively high profits. The distribution of income defines the conditions in which economic growth takes place. It is, therefore, bound to determine, to an important extent, the direction of growth, to determine the content of change.

Consequences of Highly Unequal Distribution of Income

The distribution of income in South Africa is highly unequal. There is probably not another country in the world where it is quite so unequal. It is a distinctly unusual case. Africans constitute 68 percent of the population and receive less than 20 percent of all income. Whites account for less than 19 percent of the population and receive 74 percent of total income. (Financial Mail, Johannesburg, April 18, 1969, reporting on research conducted by Market Research Africa.)

What, then would one expect to happen in the course of economic growth in South Africa? Would priority tend to be given to producing more basic necessities for urban Africans, or would real economic resources tend to be diverted to other uses? The answer depends on the growth of the relative spending power of the rich and the poor.

Let us suppose that all money incomes rise and that there is no change in the distribution of income. These are the assumptions of the "weak" argument from growth. At every new and higher level of income, the previously existing distribution of income will be reproduced. For the rules which determine shares in the economy do not change. This means that the absolute per capita incomes of the rich are growing more rapidly than those of the poor. And this relatively greater growth of absolute incomes will be marked, since the initial distribution of income is highly unequal. There can, in such a case, be only one conclusion. The tendency will be for resources to shift continuously to the production of new goods for the wealthy. They are always getting further ahead of the poor in spending power. And that is what determines how resources are used in a market economy. Production of basic necessities may increase. But it is not likely to do much more than keep pace with the growth of numbers. This kind of production certainly will not receive priority.

This is the conclusion to which we are inevitably led by analysis. It must be said, of course, that the results are clear here precisely because the distribution of income is as skewed as it is. If income were much more equally distributed, it would be far more difficult to draw inferences about the probable changes in the composition of total output. The facts of economic history in South Africa confirm the suspicion that this must be the correct conclusion. The data, of course, are scarce. But the facts that are available are quite striking.

Recent investigations into the cash wages of gold miners, to take one example, have produced astonishing results. Everyone would expect the money wages of miners to have risen substantially during the last 50 or 60 years. And most would probably expect their real wages to have risen. A study by a Cape Town economist, however, has shown that the real consumption of African gold miners has remained unchanged since 1911. In the same period, the real earnings of whites in the industry have increased considerably. (Financial Mail, Johannesburg, May 10, 1968) Wages have risen in money terms from \$79.80 per year to \$256.20 per year for Africans. But real resources per capita have remained constant. This is because the new resources "created" by growth were drawn into other, more profitable sectors of



They're not digging the dirt for fun.
They're doing it for £5 a week. They're
black, and they live in South Africa -
under apartheid.

production. Those other sectors of production were more profitable because the relative spending power of whites was growing. And, of course, white South Africans did not want basic necessities, but other things.

The case of African gold miners provides the best illustration of the argument that the real consumption of the poor will rise by very little when the distribution of income is highly unequal. Comprehensive wage data for other categories of African workers are not available. The facts that are available, however, again tend to confirm the conclusions that emerge from this analysis. The plight of urban African families, to take another example, is well known. In Soweto, an African suburb of Johannesburg of some 600,000 people, 68 percent of the families surveyed were living below the poverty datum line. The average monthly shortfall in income per family was, in most cases, more than 20 percent of the minimum essential expenditure. (S. Suttner, "Cost of Living in Soweto," [South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1967]). Surveys for other urban areas have arrived at similar conclusions.

African wages, obviously, have increased. Yet the great majority of urban Africans apparently continue to live below a subsistence standard. This could only happen if prices were rising as rapidly as African wages—or more rapidly. And the cause of a lagging supply of basic necessities could only be the shift of resources to other uses in the course of growth.

Clearly, the "weak" version of the argument from growth is not valid. The market mechanism will not give priority to higher per capita consumption for the poor in the course of economic growth. For even when all incomes grow at the same rate, when income distribution remains the same, the absolute average income of the wealthy will rise by much more than that of the poor. The spending power of the rich will grow enormously in absolute terms. This growth of absolute income, much of which will be "discretionary," will create highly profitable markets for new commodities and more expensive versions of old ones. Resources will consequently be attracted into production of the kinds of commodities which the rich desire. That is the logic of the market. Thus the rising money wages of the poor do not bring higher real consumption. For the resources to supply the kinds of goods which the poor require are not available, having been pre-empted for other uses. As money wages rise, prices will rise and cancel out the potential benefit of increased wages.

This argument holds, it should be noted, only when it is clear that there are very substantial inequalities in the distribution of income. But that is precisely the South African case. There is no real possibility in South Africa of the poor rising above the level of poverty as long as the distribution of income remains unchanged. The idea that economic growth could "undermine" apartheid, even in this very limited sense, simply does not bear scrutiny. It is wrong.

ECONOMIC GROWTH WITH CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

**The strong version of the argument from growth:
"African poverty may be eliminated if wages rise."**

The "strong" version of the argument from growth suggests that poverty among Africans may be reduced or eliminated if wages rise steadily and if there is a redistribution of income in the course of economic growth. This could be an important argument. But the

whole burden of the argument must now fall on the assumption that income will be redistributed.

It has been shown that growth itself cannot eliminate poverty in South Africa. The inequality in the distribution of income plays a crucial role in the process of growth. It is the decisive factor in a market economy. If the distribution of income were to change radically, and to change, obviously, in favor of the poor, then that change would probably redirect real resources in the course of growth. The economy could then give priority to the production of basic necessities—if the change in distribution were substantial. It could move along a different path of economic growth.

However, we are still left with two questions. The South African Government is clearly not going to redistribute income by the fiscal means commonly used in other countries. Is economic growth itself, then, likely to bring about any significant changes in the distribution of income over time? And, secondly, are there signs that such changes are actually taking place in South Africa today?

The only changes in income distribution that occur "naturally" in the course of economic growth are those that come from geographical and occupational shifts in the distribution of the population. Geographical changes in the distribution of the population are not relevant here. For, as available statistics indicate, Africans find themselves in poverty even after they have shifted from low income to high income areas. What is at issue is whether there is any prospect for a change in income distribution that would favor urban Africans. This could only come about through an occupational upgrading of African workers in urban areas. There are now definite signs that such changes in the African work force are beginning to take place. There is a general shortage of skilled labor in South Africa. And there are not enough skilled white workers to fill all the places that industry needs to fill. Africans have been moving into more skilled jobs for some time. Will the cumulative effect of those changes that have taken place, and those that are likely to, bring about a significant redistribution of income in favor of African workers?

Changes of Employment

Changes in the structure of employment will improve the situation of African workers only on certain conditions. The first is that significant numbers of Africans are able to enter skilled and operative jobs. In 1960 only 6 percent of skilled workers in industry were Africans. (E. G. Malherbe, "Bantu Manpower and Education" [South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1969], p. 32.) Larger numbers of Africans have entered the skilled categories in the last ten years. But precise figures on the percentage of skilled workers who are African are not available. It is quite possible that the percentage may have doubled, or even trebled. However, even if there were 150,000 Africans in highly skilled work, that number would not be more than a relatively small fraction of African heads of households in the urban areas. So it is unlikely that the number of Africans moving up the occupational ladder has been very large in relation to the number of urban Africans.

The second condition is that occupational upgrading should lead to significant increases in wages. Here again the condition is not met. Many Africans who have taken on skilled jobs have not benefited very much in money terms. For Africans are paid less money for the same job



Over three hundred years ago the white man invaded our land. They live off the fruits of our labour.

just because they are Africans. Furthermore, many skilled jobs are fragmented when white labor cannot be found for unfilled vacancies. The Financial Mail, for instance, has pointed out that the 1968 wage agreement for the iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industries led to the fragmentation of many skilled jobs so that Africans could do them at lower wages. The consequence was that "they and their families will continue to exist below the Poverty Datum Line for at least another two years."

(Financial Mail, Johannesburg, March 15, 1968). Thus the apartheid system is breaking the usual link between higher skills and higher pay.

The evidence suggests that economic growth has so far benefited Africans very little. Some urban Africans have undoubtedly risen above the poverty level. But their numbers have been small relative to the total. Yet this has been a period of very rapid growth. And occupational shifts have been significant. These are precisely the conditions which, according to the "strong" version of the argument from growth, would lead one to expect a significant change in the distribution of income in favor of Africans. This has not happened.

Indeed, the available evidence on wages suggests that, despite some occupational upgrading, the distribution of income has actually shifted against Africans. Non-white wages have obviously improved in absolute terms. But the increase in white wages has been more rapid. Davenport, for instance, has shown that the average monthly wages of Africans increased 59 percent between 1957 and 1967. The average monthly wages of whites, on the other hand, rose by more than 60 percent during the same ten-year period. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 21, 1968) Other studies suggest that the gap between white and African wages may have increased even more rapidly. The expected redistribution of income in favor of Africans has just not taken place. In fact, the changes that have occurred in income distribution strengthen the case against the argument from growth made in the analysis of the "weak" version. The conditions required to sustain the "strong" version are not being met in South Africa. If anything, income is being redistributed in favor of whites. The "strong" version of the argument from growth is therefore completely irrelevant to the South African situation.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

OAU CONTINUES TOUR

President Ould Daddah of Mauritania, speaking in Stockholm, said that the Organization of African Unity believes in a diplomatic approach on the part of independent Africa to the problems of Southern Africa. He said a "generalized war" on the continent was not a sure victory for Africa at this time. The OAU delegation of which Pres. Daddah is chairman has visited the U.S., Canada, Iceland, and the Scandinavian nations. In the future it will hit Japan and the rest of Europe. (Agence France Presse, Oct. 9, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL CALLS FOR POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT AS COUNTER TO MOVEMENTS' PROGRESS

In a long article in the Johannesburg Star, writer D. Thomas cited some of the achievements of the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau in the educational and medical fields, and mentioned how the World Council of Churches has responded to their causes. He advised, "Southern African Governments might take note of this, and go all out to beat the terrorists with their own positive weapons." (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 9, 1971)

FRELIMO CALLS FOR MORE AID

Describing the liberation movements as "in the front line of the war in Africa against colonialism and imperialism," Dr. Marcelino dos Santos called on African countries to broaden their political aid to include more material support to the movements. Speaking in Algeria, the FRELIMO Vice President described the growing successes of FRELIMO and said that crossing the Zambezi was moving into areas where economic powers have substantial interests. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 25, 1971) Tanzanian schoolgirls have collected money and clothes for FRELIMO. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 21, 1971)

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION IN DISCUSSION WITH MOVEMENTS

A delegation from WHO is visiting Tanzania and Zambia to discuss implementation of United Nations resolutions calling for specialized agencies to aid the liberation struggle. They are meeting with the OAU Liberation Committee, the governments and the movements. The WHO must then report back to its executive and to the U.N. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 30, 1971)

A.N.C. PROTESTS POLITICAL MURDERS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

In a telegram to the Secretary General of the U.N. and the O.A.U. the African National Congress of South Africa called for action against the political murders executed by the South African Government. The most recent was the "suicide" of detainee Ahmed Timol, an Indian. (Daily Nation, Nairobi, Nov. 1, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY BRANCH ACTIVE IN ENGLAND

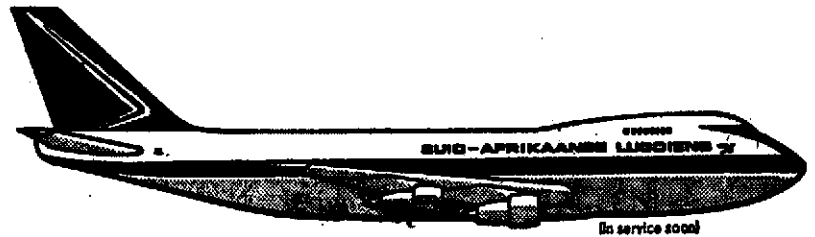
The London Observer has carried several long articles about the various activities of the South African Security Police, including BOSS personnel in England. Information has been collated about the surveillance and intelligence work of the South Africans dealing with anti-South African organizations and individuals in the U.K. It appears that the agents receive the cooperation of British

Security, and there is also visitation by security people to England as well as police training and exchanges. Prime Minister Heath was questioned in Parliament by Labor Party representatives on the issue, and replied: "If the South African Government wishes to have officials here it can do so. But if any of them commit offences the necessary action will be taken." The use of South African security in Britain during the trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg was quite prominent. (Observer, London, Oct. 24, 1971; Guardian, London, Nov. 3 and 9, 1971; Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 25, 1971)

MONEY FOR ISRAEL

South Africa has announced that monies may once again be transferred to Israel. The transactions had been suspended because of confusion over an Israeli gift to the Organization of African Unity. (Sunday Nation, Nairobi, Sept. 5, 1971)

DEFENSE



MILITARY COZINESS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND BRITAIN

When the Foreign Minister of South Africa meets in London not only with Britain's Foreign Secretary but also its Defense Secretary, and all concerned try to keep it quiet, observers are bound to speculate about the agenda. The Star (Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1971) speculated that South Africa's Dr. Hilgard Muller was particularly interested in Britain's attitude on South West Africa during the new U.N. session. But the presence of Defense Secretary Lord Carrington suggests the importance of military matters.

One indication of British-South African military cooperation came five days later when naval units of both countries began a month of joint maneuvers in South African waters. (East African Standard, Oct. 1, 1971)

The issue of British arms sales received new impetus from the right wing of the governing Conservative Party in June. The Monday Club launched an action fund to campaign not only on the arms issue, but also for the end of sanctions against Rhodesia. (Star, Johannesburg, June 27, 1971) The Club was founded by Lord Salisbury in 1961. Though often dismissed as the Tory's lunatic fringe, it is represented in the Cabinet by Geoffrey Rippon, the man responsible for negotiating entry into the Common Market (Sechaba, July 1971).

Anti-apartheid forces charged in August that resumption of arms sales would be a statement that Britain does not want the abolition of apartheid. Peter Camilleri and Dennis Brutus visited Dakar, Lusaka, Cairo, and Addis Ababa and reported support for a new diplomatic offensive on the issue. A sponsor of their mission, Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, stated that by supplying arms the British Government will "play straight into the arms" of Premier Vorster in his

attempt to be seen as a liberal. (Standard of Tanzania, Aug. 21, 1971)

The Daily Telegraph, a conservative paper, joined the fray first by arguing on July 9 that unemployment in British shipyards could be reduced by agreeing to construct at least four Corvettes for the South African Navy. Then on Sept. 29 it editorialized that not only was Britain losing arms sales but also "the important general trade with South Africa may suffer from further hesitations."

An example of the stakes involved is a potential 50-million-pound deal in which the British Aircraft Corporation would sell an air defense system to South Africa. Already a study with the code name Project 102 has been undertaken by a B.A.C.-headed consortium under government mandate. The system involved is probably the Rapier, which is a highly mobile ground-to-air missile operable by one man to bring down supersonic aircraft at low levels, even at treetop heights.

The defense correspondent of the Times of London said the system "could not easily be envisaged as an anti-insurgent weapon" but would confer an air of respectability on the Vorster Government. He concludes his article by offering that "Whitehall officials deny that South Africa has already been told that export licenses would be granted for the system if the South Africans wanted it." (Sechaba, July 1971)

The question has been raised whether South Africa is as interested in the actual purchase of arms, as in the political triumph of getting Britain to break the U.N. arms embargo and enter into a military alliance. X-RAY, published monthly by the Africa Bureau in London, observed that after all the furor in February about supplying Westland Whirlwind helicopters, by July South Africa "had not even applied for export licenses, let alone

placed an order."

Rumors spread by the Daily Telegraph and the South African lobby suggested sales of arms worth 250-million pounds could be expected if the boycott was broken. Yet 12 months later, South African REQUESTS total only 5% of that amount. Moreover, there is no assurance requests would turn into orders. (X-RAY, August 1971)

Whatever motive prompted Muller's September tete-a-tete with Home and Carrington, he was evidently pleased with it. Pushing through a press throng to his car, Muller was asked whether Britain had responded firmly to South Africa's arms needs. His response was a diplomatic chuckle. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept. 25, 1971)

FROM THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU THE RED TIDE: THE YELLOW PERIL

South Africa has discovered itself menaced by a "Yellow Peril." Defense Minister Pieter Botha warned in mid-October of the possibility of war on South African soil and vulnerability to air attacks from hostile African nations. Prime Minister John Vorster expressed fears of increasing pressure from communist forces backed by Peking. South African newspapers have reported a Chinese consignment of 400 tanks to Tanzania.

New York Times reporter Paul Hoffman dismisses all this as an attempt to create a siege mentality for domestic political reasons. But he does concede that "Communist Chinese weapons may be trickling into Black states in Eastern and Central Africa, and that these arms shipments may lately have grown." (The New York Times, Oct. 24, 1971)

(The lead-in to Hoffman's story was the realignments in Africa that could result from China's admission to the U.N. and the timely appearance of his story may have been calculated to affect wavering votes of African moderates.)

South Africa's press, however, had not forgotten the Russians. The Star (Johannesburg, Oct. 9, 1971) reported a Soviet naval squadron patrolling close to the coast of Guinea. The squadron included three frigates, a large landing craft, and a supply ship.

The star (Johannesburg, Oct. 9, 1971) speculated that the Russians were either delivering supplies and trained-in-Moscow leaders for the "African terrorists" or might have been there just to remind Portugal that Guinea-Bissau has friends.

SOUTH AFRICAN WEAPONRY — A SUMMARY

Some statistics from the International Institute of Strategic Studies, as reported by UPI in the Daily Nation of Nairobi, Sept. 4, 1971.

Combat aircraft: 163

(including one squadron each of Canberra B-12 and Buccaneer Mark-50 jet bombers and 24 Mirage jet fighter-bombers and interceptors)

Navy

2 helicopter-carrying destroyers

6 frigates

11 minesweepers

2 submarines (Sechaba, July 1971)

Mechanized:

240 tanks

750 armored and scout cars

Budget 1971-1972

\$360 m. (according to The New York Times, Oct. 3, 1971)

WELL IT MAY NOT BE ANOTHER ARMADA, BUT...

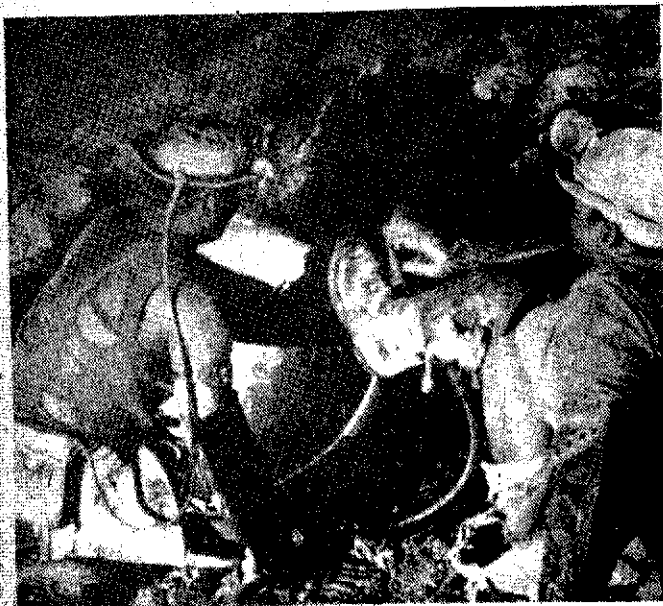
Spanish shipyards may soon be building an undisclosed number of 1,252-ton Corvettes for South Africa armed with three-inch guns, 40mm anti-aircraft guns, and anti-submarine weapons. Assuming the Spanish Government approves, the state-subsidized Bayan Company with yards in Cadiz and Cartagena will do the work—at well below British or French prices. (Le Monde, English edition, Oct. 14, 1971)

ITALIAN INVOLVEMENT

A radar manufacturing company has been formed between Italian and South African firms. Segnalamento Marittimo ed Aereo of Florence will exchange technical staff and provide specialist training in Italy. The Pretoria-based Amuron group will control 76% of the shares in the new company, Specialized Marine Aviation Radars. (Sechaba, July 1971)



Are you sure, child, that this is the regular flight to Obuwabundu?



ECONOMICS

OPINIONS DIFFER ON ROLE OF BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

"The Polaroid experiment," a State Department-backed approach that operates on the assumption that the lot of black South Africans is getting better under increased foreign investment, and that foreign corporations can contribute to their continuing improvement, has earned favorable attention from correspondents of two major U.S. newspapers.

Paul Hoffman, in *The New York Times* (Oct. 31, 1971) calls the Polaroid plan "a pilot project to induce other U.S.-owned concerns to help improve the plight of the blacks by concrete action." And on Nov. 13 he reported that Cabinet Ministers of the Nationalist Party government have been making unprecedented warnings to white South Africans that black opportunities and share of the economy must grow.

In a Sept. 22 *Wall Street Journal* article, Ray Vicker reports that Polaroid's South African distributor, Frank and Hirsch, has raised its minimum wage to \$98 per month from \$70, and that pay raises to black employees have averaged 22% since the first of the year. In addition, the company has added six black supervisors to the two it began the experiment with.

While admitting that some American companies "are among the biggest foot-draggers" in the "campaign to reduce economic discrimination against nonwhites," Vickers says that others are among the leaders in that drive, and asserts that black South Africans disagree with the theory that U.S. corporations should abandon their South African operations. "Groups espousing that view are difficult, if not impossible, to find in South Africa...."

Vickers also claims that even the South African Government itself is taking steps to narrow the racial pay gap, and quotes Minister of the Interior Theo Gardener saying, "It is the government's intention to develop a salary structure based on international principles."

More sceptical observers are not so sure the situation is really improving. They point out that Polaroid only employs approximately 160 Africans, Indians, and Coloureds, and that the new minimum wage is still \$7 per

month below the figure set by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce (ASSECOM) as absolutely necessary for maintaining life and health for an average African family. There are also still gross disparities between pay for blacks and whites doing similar jobs, which Frank and Hirsch explains are due to differences in productivity and seniority.

Ted Lockwood, an Episcopal lawyer from Washington, D.C. who went to South Africa this fall to observe the trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg under the Terrorism Act, cautions against accepting black demurrer of support for withdrawal campaigns at face value. "You must remember," he says, "that it is a treasonable offense to advocate an economic boycott. What is surprising is that so MANY black South Africans are willing to risk their lives to say they are in favor of companies pulling out."

Nor would all journalists agree that South African blacks are getting a better deal, or that industrial expansion is the road to progress. Writing for *The Times* (London, April 26, 1971), John Sackur suggests that—despite a 65% increase in total African cash incomes from 1958 to 1970—average real earnings per worker actually DROPPED. He concludes that while a booming economy has benefitted white unions, managers, and owners of capital, it is usually only the "risks, penalties, and losses" that have "been deflected onto black heads." In an account appearing the following day he suggests that South African society would not have survived in its present form without "the coincidence of economic interests between South African industry and Western commercial and financial groups." As Sackur sees it, a gradual stemming of the flow of capital, technology, and trade to South Africa "may do more to subvert apartheid, by putting the white economy into a crisis of confidence than any internal forces have been able to do."

RIGHT-WING UNION DEMANDS "RATE FOR THE JOB" PAY FOR INDIANS AND COLOURED

The South African Government has been told it must pay the same wages to Indian and Coloured bricklayers that it pays to whites. The demand was made by what the

Star (Johannesburg) calls a "right-wing building trade union," the Blanke Bouwerkersvereniging (Oct. 9, 1971)

The union feels that this is the best way to preserve the position of white workers, since Indians and Coloureds are now allowed to do bricklaying by a special exemption of job reservation provisions. The 7,000-member union has opposed the advancement of any blacks in their trade.

Another white union is involved in a dispute with the government over the advancement of African mine workers in "homeland" mines. Under the "separate development" policy, the government must allow Africans to hold skilled positions in mines located in the Bantustans. The white Mine Workers Union has opposed any such advancement, and the government has hesitated to provoke a confrontation.

As a result, mining companies have pressured the government to allow greater use of African labor, which is more profitable. Recently, the government has granted an exemption to a platinum mine that will allow the company to use African miners for blasting work. The men cannot get blasting certificates, and they will be supervised by whites. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 16, 1971)

TUCSA CALLS FOR MULTIRACIAL CONSULTATION

The Trade Union Council of South Africa has endorsed a plan for a national meeting of leaders from all races "to explore and formulate new political directions and policies for South Africa." (Times of Zambia, Sept. 9, 1971) Meeting in Durban in September, the group's annual convention passed a resolution backing the convention idea, which was first proposed by Chief Buthelezi several months ago. In 1969, the TUCSA convention expelled the African unions that had affiliated to it.

SOLID REASONS FOR WAGE GAP SAYS CHAMBER OF MINES OFFICIAL

The wage gap between white and black miners, which has doubled since 1944, is based on solid reasons, according to the Chamber of Mines Vice President, Mr. R. C. Good (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 23, 1971). White wages are now 20 times those of blacks.

Good comments that: "The present African mine laborer comes from far afield. He works a total of three or four years—nine months at a time on contract—and finally returns home to buy a wife and settle on a plot of land. He is a raw type of labor—a peasant variety."

Good also pointed to legal restrictions as a cause of the gap. "If the mines could use Africans to drive trucks, for example, as secondary industry is allowed, some would be getting higher wages."

The basic reason, according to the official, is supply and demand. Firms must bid to get good white workers; unskilled blacks are easily obtainable.

PENSION CAMPAIGN FOR AFRICANS

Under the leadership of the white liberal women's organization, Black Sash, a campaign has started to increase the amount of pensions paid to Africans; \$7 a month is the total income of the average African pensioner. In addition, if a pensioner makes more than \$2.50 a month privately then the pension is reduced commensurately.

An article on this issue in the Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1971) states that "These people, the Cinderella dependants in a welfare system that is devastatingly out of touch with modern economic reality are required to be self-sufficient on that amount. It seems unlikely that the majority of these pensioners are able to subsist at such a level."



WESLEYAN TO USE STOCK IN CHALLENGING CORPORATIONS

Wesleyan University announced a policy recently under which it will support what it deems the public interest when it holds shares in corporations whose policies appear to conflict with that interest. Wesleyan's President, Colin G. Campbell, said the university would "participate in proxy contests in the future, backing proposals seeking to improve social conditions which are directly related to a corporation's activities."

Campbell noted, however, that the university held only a very small part of the outstanding stock in any single corporation, although its total holdings exceed \$150 million. He said Wesleyan's actions in the General Motors proxy fight of last spring illustrated how the policy on investments would work. (The New York Times, Oct. 24, 1971)

A number of universities have been considering courses

of action such as this one and of course a company's involvement in Southern Africa inevitably comes under scrutiny. It is highly likely this year that a number of U.S. firms will be challenged by churches and others because of their investments there.

SOUTH AFRICAN MAGAZINE PRAISES ROLE OF U.S. BUSINESS

Oftentimes it is articles in white South African magazines or even South African Government publications that indicate how important U.S. business connections are. Scope magazine, a government publication, waxed eloquent in their October issue about U.S. investment. One could only be left with the impression that white South Africa takes considerable confidence as well as economic strength from such investment. In some ways such an article makes a case about U.S. complicity much more than a critic of U.S. corporations could.

"In South Africa, a land characterized by its love of liberty, its self-reliance, individualism, and respect for private enterprise, *Americans are not only welcome, but they could easily feel that they had never left home.* All over South Africa clearly visible signs remind an American of how deeply the United States is involved in the affairs of this fast developing country."

When driving through one of the large industrial areas near Johannesburg, one is aware that many of the factories bear the names of well-known American companies. The factories make all kinds of articles—earth-moving machinery, agricultural equipment, soft drinks, soap flakes, beer, drugs, vacuum cleaners, many products with familiar American brand names.

Many of the cars in the streets are made by American companies, but assembled in South Africa—of the same model that can be seen on any American street. Even the gasoline in the tank might have come from a pump with a familiar name.

The article continued: "American business is big in South Africa. There are over 300 firms and 6,000 U.S. agencies at present operating in South Africa. Henry Ford, for one, saw the future of the automobile market in South Africa as long ago as 1905, when only a few thousands of his cars were bucketing about the U.S.A. itself.

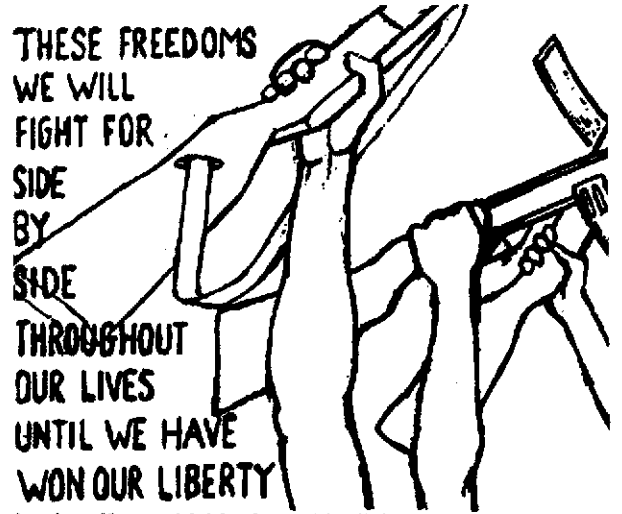
"American investment in South Africa constituted only 1.06% of all U.S. foreign investment in 1969, but produced some 1.6% of all foreign earnings. Direct capital investment in South Africa constitutes about 25% of America's investment in Africa as a whole. Moreover, though United States direct investment in South Africa increased by 8.5% in 1969, of which \$49.9 million was available in South Africa from retained profits, the capital transfer from the U.S. to South Africa amounted to a mere \$6.02 million.

"Obviously South Africa is an extremely lucrative sector of the U.S. foreign investment. So it is hardly surprising that it has increased by over 80% between 1964 and 1969 as against 60% for overall foreign investment in the same period.

"More significant is its high 16.8% return (on book value) of \$127 million. Not only is this return much higher than the world-wide average of 11.3%, but it offers the richest return on American capital invested abroad except for foreign oilfields.

"In 1969 the book value of total direct foreign investment in South Africa was some \$4.9 billion of which 15% (\$834 million) was American. It is clear that South Africa is not dependent on U.S. investment, but it

THESE FREEDOMS
WE WILL
FIGHT FOR
SIDE
BY
SIDE
THROUGHOUT
OUR LIVES
UNTIL WE HAVE
WON OUR LIBERTY



simply offers a highly favorable field of operation. It is not surprising that overseas interest in South Africa's investment and trade potential has always been strong. It is a Western free enterprise system with political stability; it has never nationalized foreign business and never intends doing so; repatriation of profits has always been guaranteed to foreign investors and special tax incentives apply to developments bordering the Bantu homelands.

"The really striking feature of the overall South African economy is its industrial growth rate of 6% per year, topped only by that of Japan. Its GDP calculated on market prices, exceeds \$15 billion, to which manufacturing contributes 28% or nearly \$4.7 billion. This is more than four times the GDP of 32 years ago.

"On the trade front relations are equally satisfactory. One of the world's biggest trading nations is Great Britain and South Africa is its second best customer, second only to the U.S. In turn the U.S. is South Africa's second most important trading partner, with trade between the two countries totalling more than \$850 million and a happy trade balance of about \$275 million as seen from America's side of the ocean.

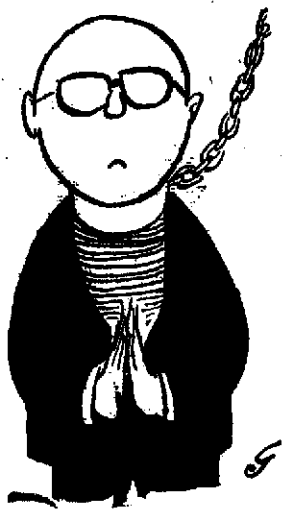
"South Africa is indeed a country worth having a closer look at the world's 14th largest trading nation exporting to 126 countries."

FIRMS WITH STAKE IN SOUTH AFRICA BLACKLISTED BY BRITISH BOROUGH

A London borough is taking its \$73-million-a-year business from Barclays Bank because of the bank's South African interests. The council—Labour-controlled Lambeth—has already blacklisted the Cow and Gate baby food firm for the same reason. The Labour leader, Mr. Charles Drymand, an economist, said: "Our policy committee has stated categorically that we are not prepared to do business with companies that have substantial business with South Africa."

Commenting on the move, a Barclays spokesman said: "All the major British banks have interests in South Africa. But we are the largest there and the only one to operate under our own name. We believe the choice of one's banker should be decided on merit and not on political grounds." The council ban on Cow and Gate concerns its maternity and child welfare centers. Other companies may be hit as the purge continues. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 23, 1971)

This stand has been one of many recent pressures on British and U.S. companies to remind them that their South African involvement is under scrutiny.



DEAN OF JOHANNESBURG GIVEN FIVE-YEAR SENTENCE

"A five-year prison sentence for giving money, clothing, and food to the wives and families of political prisoners—the extent of the repression now practised in South Africa's police state could not be better illustrated than by that stark fact. The savage verdict passed on the Dean must reverberate around the world." So responded the Guardian (London) to the five-year sentence given to the Rev. Gonville A. French-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, after months of trial under "Terrorist" charges.

As the Guardian article emphasized, over the past two decades the South African government has slowly stifled all normal channels for contact with Africans and all legitimate forms of active dissent. Now they are tightening on the church which was the last white organization left with regular access to Africans as well as access to the world outside South Africa.

London's Daily Telegraph, a conservative paper, said that five years' imprisonment is a harsh punishment for those few of the ten charges on which the Dean was found guilty. However, five years is the minimum under the Terrorism Act. (No doubt the Unity Movement members also on trial now in South Africa under similar charges will not receive the five-year minimum sentence.) As London's Daily Mail summarized: "For all that the Government's ham-fisted agents could really pin on the Dean was that he had given money to the destitute families of prisoners and that he believed apartheid was wrong and likely to lead to a bloody revolution. Where else outside the Soviet Union can a man be jailed for five years for showing Christian charity? The trouble about these show trials is that it is always the South African Government that ends up on trial. And in the end it is apartheid that is found guilty." (Religious News Service, Oct. 31, 1971)

REACTIONS TO THE DEAN'S CONVICTION

When the Dean was found guilty, spectators in the courtroom gasped in amazement, and one man shouted that he wanted to be convicted along with the Dean. As

the Dean left the courtroom, supporters said "Onward Christian Soldiers." Anglican bishops in Rhodesia, where the Dean had been head of the Salisbury Cathedral, condemned the convictions and the sentence. Bishop Mark Wood of Matabeleland said, "The whole business stinks." He added that he found it unbelievable that the dean could be guilty of anything "nefarious."

Bishop Paul Burrough of Mashonaland contended that trial reports gave no indication that the Dean could have endangered South Africa. He added, in deploring the conviction, that the dean was "one of a long line of Christians equipped to stand up to this kind of treatment. I, therefore, mourn more for South Africa than for him."

A similar sentiment was expressed by World Council of Churches General Secretary Eugene Carson Blake. In a statement issued in Geneva, Blake said that the verdict was a "deep shock for Christians everywhere." Defense attorney Sydney Kentridge asserted that the verdict would cause a "sense of shock and stupefaction far beyond the confines of the courtroom."

Episcopal Presiding Bishop John E. Hines of the U.S. declared in New York that the dean's conviction was a "travesty of justice." It "sets at hazard the ministry of any person in South Africa whose religious commitment compels him (or her) to speak for, side with, and aid the alienated and oppressed," said Hines. Bishop Hines also denounced the provisions of the Terrorism Act, which hold that a man is guilty unless he can prove his innocence. "There is no even-handed justice here," Hines stated. "There is only the iron grip which a frightened, biased, self-serving regime is willing to clamp on any manifestation of conscience—against apartheid and in the interest of human freedom—because a government based on that horridly inhumane doctrine cannot tolerate such opponents." (Religious News Service, Nov. 2 and 4, 1971)

METHODIST CHURCH SEVERES TIES WITH U.C.M.

The Methodist Church of South Africa has severed all links with the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa (UCM). The surprising move brought sharp reactions from black ministers, a number of whom said they had lost all hope of a white-dominated church

accomplishing anything for their people. "I am quite sure the multiracial church is dead," said the Rev. T. S. L. Gqubule of Alice following the vote.

One of the ironies of the decision to sever ties with the UCM is that the incoming president of the Methodists, Dr. Alex Boraine, has been closely identified with the campus organization. Another irony in the UCM vote was that supporters of the adopted resolution argued that the campus organization is no longer interracial. But perhaps the most moving irony of all is that the recommendation to sever relations with UCM came from a committee headed by Prof. W. M. Kgware of Turfloop (the University College of the North), whose son Robert was an active UCM member. Robert visited the U.S. in 1967 with a UCM delegation, but was killed in 1970 under strange circumstances while visiting a relative in the Orange Free State.

The Rev. Dr. Basil Moore, white Methodist minister and acting general secretary of the UCM since its president's banning order several months ago, said the Kgware committee had presented "half-truths" when it suggested that the UCM is not interracial. He asked why an April report favorable to UCM had not been presented. (Moore was with Justice Moloto, UCM's general secretary, when he was served with his banning order to King Williams Town. See SOUTHERN AFRICA, November 1971) Rather than a vote against UCM for lacking a biracial composition, Moore said the action was a "conservative backlash." (Religious News Service, Oct. 26, 1971)

AFRICAN CONGREGATION HELD BY POLICE

An African congregation came out of church in early October on a Sunday evening only to be arrested for alleged curfew offenses. Some of them spent the night in a police station cell. Eventually all were released after paying admissions of guilt fines. The 17 women and 4 men found a police van waiting for them when they walked out of the church at about 10 p.m. They were driven around the city, picking up other alleged curfew offenders until 2 a.m. Johannesburg's curfew lasts from 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 16, 1971)

NAMIBIA CHURCH OPPOSES WCC GRANTS

The United Evangelical Church in Southern Africa has opposed the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism and its grants to liberation movements. In a statement issued at the Synod of the 38,000-member white, German-language denomination, the church announced that it opposes the WCC program's methods. It stated that "bridges are not being built, but destroyed. Reconciliation is not being preached, rather violence is encouraged." (Religious News Service, Oct. 27, 1971)

SYNOD OF BISHOPS HEARS SLASH AGAINST RHODESIA

Bishop Donal R. Lamont's slashing attack on racism before Rome's recent Synod of Bishops was aimed directly at Rhodesia's white-dominated government. The fiery Irishman, who is bishop of Umtali in Rhodesia, made this clear in his statements and interviews. He told the synod on Oct. 22 that racial segregation "has even been justified as a means of preserving justice, peace, and Christianity." The Bishop also told the Synod that the "strange kind of justice" that exists in racially segregated countries "can never hope to establish peace in the world, although it can produce an appearance of peace, by fear, by introducing oppressive legislation or threatening to introduce such legislation."

The Bishop said he had decided to speak on racism in the Synod because of the importance of this issue in his own situation. "The Church in Rhodesia is very much involved. The position of the Church in Rhodesia is clear enough from several pastoral letters. In a recent booklet published on behalf of the Rhodesian Catholic Bishops' Conference the main issue between state and church in Rhodesia was formulated this way:

"The government in Rhodesia, by its new legislation, is committed politically to a policy of racial separate development. The church is committed divinely to a policy of nonracial, free development. These two policies are fundamentally opposed."

Bishop Lamont said there are about 5 million black Africans in Rhodesia and 223,000 white settlers. Despite this 20 to 1 black majority, there are more than three times as many white representatives in Parliament as black representatives. The same policy is reflected in the distribution of land, he said. Though there are 20 blacks for every 1 white in Rhodesia, the land is divided 50-50 between blacks and whites. (NC News Service, Oct. 27, 1971)

U.N. ASSEMBLY HITS SOUTH AFRICA ON PERSECUTION OF CHURCHMEN

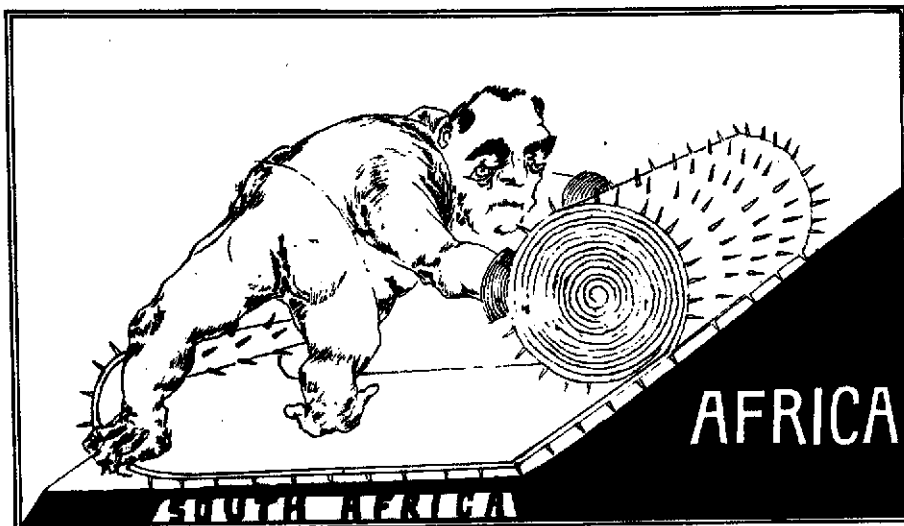
The General Assembly's special political committee adopted a resolution expressing "grave indignation and concern over any and every act of maltreatment and torture of opponents of apartheid in South Africa, and the increased persecution of religious leaders opposed to that policy." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 98 to 1, with Portugal opposing and Brazil and Malawi abstaining from voting. The U.S. voted in favor of the resolution. The resolution also urges the General Assembly to call on member states to do all in their power to promote the cause of justice for all the people in South Africa, to urge all religious organizations to continue and intensify their efforts for the elimination of apartheid, and to request the committee on apartheid to prepare a special report on all known cases of maltreatment and torture of prisoners in South Africa. (Religious News Service, Nov. 5, 1971)

ANOTHER RASH OF SECURITY POLICE RAIDS

Security police have carried out another series of surprise, pre-dawn raids on the homes of prominent churchmen, student leaders, and teachers in another nationwide sweep against "subversion" similar to the one last February. Almost all the targets of the raids were outspoken critics of apartheid.

In Pietermaritzburg, Anglican Suffragan Bishop Kenneth Halliwell of Natal described the raid on his home as a "communist tactic." He said he had been away for the night and only his son, David, was home at the time. "I was very angry that they [the police] went into my study without my being there. What annoys me more was the fact that they should come at 4:00 a.m., as though we were a lot of common criminals. I think it is simply a communist tactic. The communists would use the same methods."

The home of the Rev. R. J. D. Robertson, a Presbyterian minister in East London, was also raided. Fifteen minutes later, the home of Anglican Bishop Philip Russell of Port Elizabeth was entered and police searched through his library for an hour. Bishop Russell said later that he was "completely puzzled," because, although he opposed apartheid, he had no affiliation with any political organization. (See "Inside South Africa," this issue.)



ALL-AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES LAUNCHES ANTIRACISM STRUGGLE

The All-African Conference of Churches (AACC) launched a two-year program to fight racism and tribalism in Africa in late October. The AACC designated an AACC Week beginning Oct. 31 when the theme "Racism and Tribalism in Africa" should be studied in depth by all kinds of persons and groups throughout the continent. No doubt it is some of the materials and emphases in this program that prompted the withdrawal of some AACC support by Rhodesian churchmen. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 21, 1971)

FOURTEEN U.S. CHURCH EXECUTIVES TOUR SOUTH AFRICA

Fourteen American church executives have recently arrived in Johannesburg to investigate the operations of American businesses in South Africa, beginning a surprise trip that might signal a desire on the part of U.S. church executives to hold a "dialogue" with South Africa. Six denominations are represented in the interracial delegation headed by the Rev. Josiah Beeman, director of the United Presbyterian Church's Southern Africa Task Force, and the Rev. Everett Francis of the Episcopal Church Public Affairs Office.

The granting of visas to the churchmen was a surprise to those who remembered the refusal of South Africa in October to allow two staff members of the Lutheran World Federation to enter the country.

The other denominations represented in the delegation were the American Baptist Convention, the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church, and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). The group plans to travel widely in South Africa for about 10 days, mostly meeting with U.S. businessmen. (Religious News Service, Nov. 5, 1971)

BISHOP CALLS RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT A SELLOUT

The chairman of the Rhodesian Bishops' Conference described the recent "settlement" aimed at ending Britain's six-year-old quarrel with Smith's white regime as "a sellout." Bishop Donal Lamont of Umtali, Rhodesia, said that the Catholic church in Rhodesia has repeatedly

denounced "the determination of the white minority to perpetuate their position of privilege. What we are basically concerned with is people—that is why we have clashed with the Smith regime on the fundamental question of human beings being denied equality of opportunity because of their color. We have spoken against the injustice of separating the husband from his family, the injustice of religious institutions being unable to continue as a community because black priests and sisters are unable to live in the same house as whites."

"It is not for me as a bishop to suggest what should be the precise nature of a settlement," he continued, "but the African community must be consulted fully and freely and allowed a rightful share in decision-making, and this was not done. Sir Alec was not even allowed to talk with some of the African leaders." (NC News Service, Nov. 29, 1971)

PRIEST CALLS OFF FAST

The 47-year-old Anglican priest, Rev. Bernard Wrangmore, has called off his fast to force a judicial inquiry into the suspicious death of a South African Muslim leader, Imam Abdullah Haron while in detention two years ago. Wrangmore, who was too weak to walk, said he would end his fasting at dawn on Oct. 26 (the 67th day) after receiving a message from God. (Standard of Tanzania, Oct. 25, 1971)

RHODESIAN METHODISTS PROTEST AFRICAN EVICTION

Rhodesian Methodist Church leaders said they would appeal to Prime Minister Ian Smith to prevent the forced evacuation of thousands of Africans living on church mission land in a white area of Salisbury's outskirts. The threat of a church-state conflict over the plight of some 3,500 Africans came as British and Rhodesian officials wound up talks for a formula to settle the country's independence dispute. The government had announced that it intended the wholesale removal of Africans at the Epworth Mission, in line with its policy of clearing Africans from areas designated for Europeans, as soon as possible. Announcing plans to appeal to Smith, Rev. Andrew Ndhlele, general secretary of the Methodist Church, announced that the church would not cooperate with Smith in aiding the Africans' removal. The land was

granted to the Africans by Cecil Rhodes, founder of European settlements in Rhodesia in the early 1890's. (International Herald-Tribune, Oct. 26, 1971)

PRIEST WINS APPEAL

Dr. Markus Braun, a 38-year-old German Lutheran priest, won an appeal to the High Court in Pretoria on Oct. 7 for illegally accommodating 13 African churchmen at his mission near Johannesburg. He had been found guilty in April of giving unlawful accommodation to 13 Africans, including the Anglican Bishop of Zululand, during a seminar on theology. The Africans were arrested during a raid for failing to produce their passbooks. (Guardian, London, Oct. 8, 1971)

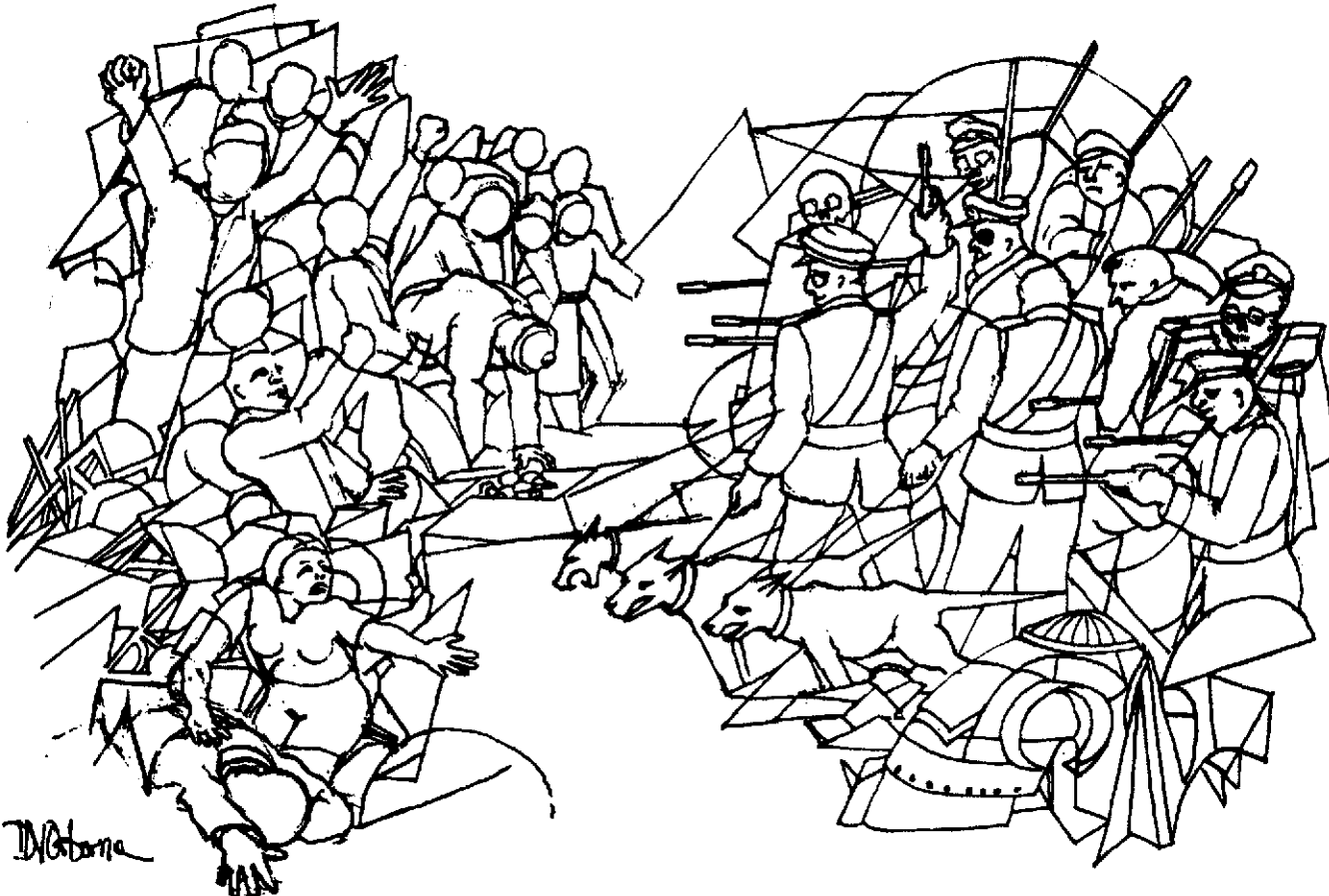
WHITE FATHERS' MOVE FROM MOZAMBIQUE CAUSES STIR

The Vatican's Secretariat of State has made no comment on the move of the White Fathers order of priests from Mozambique, though it has sent its own

emissary to Mozambique to investigate. This is the first time an entire order of Roman Catholics has defied a local hierarchy of bishops and pulled out of a missionary country.

The country was Mozambique, which has 860,000 Christians, including 660,000 Catholics. The reason? "We left because of the essential ambiguity of our position, and because we felt that we were bearing counterwitness to the Gospel, and to our own traditions." Those are the words of one of the four general assistances of Theo Van Asten, superior general of the White Fathers. "It took us nine painful months to come to that decision," he said. "Our confreres were accusing us of hypocrisy. We are anticolonialists. The Portuguese are colonialists. We don't speak the same language."

The Mozambique bishops, all white Portuguese, said in rebuttal that they deplored "a decision that they do not consider to have been inspired by the true spirit of the Gospel." (Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 23, 1971)



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