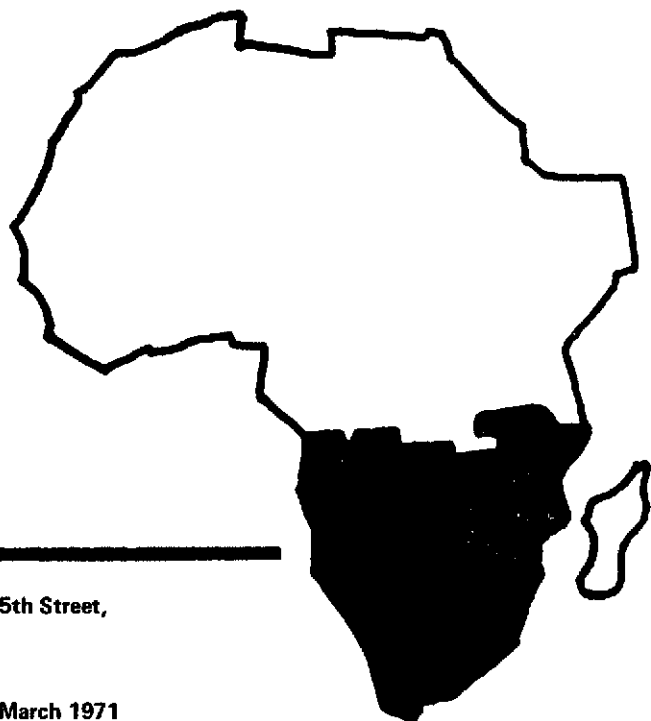


# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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## EDITORIAL

### SHARPEVILLE: NOT MUCH CHANGE IN ELEVEN YEARS

On 21st March 1960, events occurred in South Africa that emphasized the intractability of the apartheid syndrome. The events took place at Langa, where the police ran amok—first with clubs, then firearms—among 10,000 peacefully demonstrating Africans; and at Sharpeville, where police suddenly started shooting at some 20,000 men, women and children who had quietly gathered to demonstrate against the pass laws. Over 70 Africans were killed and over 200 wounded. The toll continued to mount as the government praised the police, declared a state of emergency, and jailed thousands. This was the first and only time the Nationalist Government looked as though it might fall.

The brutality of apartheid, which these events exposed to the world, surprised only strangers to apartheid and those who profited from it (profits seem to have an astonishing power to induce selective vision). Those who knew and cared more had at least two of their worst fears confirmed. The first was that the regime would treat non-violence and counter-violence with equal force. Indeed, non-violence seemed

to be suppressed more brutally than counter-violence; because those who used the latter were at least tried before being executed or imprisoned, whereas non-violent demonstrators invited instant death or clubbing without trial. This situation has not changed in 11 years, except that more political prisoners are beaten or tortured to death nowadays than in the 1960's.

The second lesson that Sharpeville (and many subsequent events) confirmed is that the international community will probably put a stop to apartheid only if it were in the short-term, material interests of that community to do so. And this condition is unlikely in the foreseeable future. This has been more clearly and widely recognized in the Portuguese colonies than in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The Sharpeville anniversary serves to remind us that Southern Africans will stand alone in the fight for freedom, international obligations and "sacred trusts" notwithstanding. They certainly need the support of friends and sympathizers in the rest of the world. For we cannot even hope that the governments of the western "super-powers" would get out of Southern Africa and stay out.

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# FEATURE ARTICLE

## THE POLAROID SAGA: AN EXPERIMENT ON BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Christopher Jabulane Nteta

"The time has come to wrench ourselves from . . . implied complicity with the Southern African regimes."

Senator Brooke, April, 1968.

The Black Senator from Massachusetts sounded this warning three years ago, declaring that investment in South Africa "serves as a vital pillar of support for that unpopular regime." Nobody listened. A movement described by Polaroid as the work of 'two or possibly three' misguided, disgruntled Black employees, who were variously dubbed and labelled as "agitators" and "rabble-rousers" has come to birth since last October over this very issue. This movement has gained momentum and has snowballed into an international boycott which has shaken the United States business community and has even had implications for other foreign companies doing business in South Africa. The United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid has conducted hearings around disengagement in general and Polaroid involvement in South Africa in particular.

Other related movements have sprung up in various parts of the country. The Christian Action Council of the United Church of Christ's resolution (Ohio Conference) to boycott Gulf Oil for its "presence which provides economic, moral and political support for the Portuguese in their wars against the independence movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau" is one example. The Episcopal Church's stand against General Motors Corporation, urging it "to an orderly winding up of its present manufacturing operations in the Republic of South Africa" is another. Thus what began as a speck on the economic sky of America, has become a veritable thunder-storm.

### Black Workers Initiate Change

Of special significance is the fact that this controversy was initiated by Black workers within Polaroid. This is an unprecedented action on the part of a segment of the Black population which hitherto has been solely involved in a domestic war to rid itself of a vicious system which has exploited Blacks and denied them meaningful participation in the economic life of this country. This action of solidarity, support, and identity with the cause of Blacks in South Africa, ushers in a new phase in the struggle of third world peoples against the forces that have conspired both on the domestic scene and the foreign arena to vitiate their humanity and nullify their personhood. Let it be noted that this was done at personal cost and sacrifice. Three of the Black employees at Polaroid have been subjected to personal harassment and abuse, culminating in their summary dismissal. (In one of the instances it was a case of being 'persuaded' to resign.) This selfless and altruistic spirit contrasts sharply with Polaroid's image of a "pace-setter in human relations."

Another example of this selfless, sacrificial spirit is the sterling and courageous example set by the Black community of Boston. By deciding to turn over \$10,000 of the 'gift' donated by Polaroid for use in the community to the South African Liberation Movements, this community made a concrete and practical reality of the growing rapport with the plight of suffering peoples in other situations, as they themselves put it, "... the quarantine of South Africa should begin now and that the Boston Black community is willing to sacrifice in order to help get it started. It is empty rhetoric to urge someone else such as Polaroid Corporation or the United States Government to take a course of action which will be controversial and full of problems, and still be unwilling to do so yourself."

This shows the awakened awareness and righteous indignation of a people who feel the common ties that bind the wretched and downtrodden masses of humanity. It further heralds the dawn of the day predicted and feared by Waldemar Nielson, who warned his colleagues, "Make no mistake about it, the issue of Southern Africa once the Vietnam agony is finished are going to be the next foreign policy focus of the moral indignation of youth, the American Negroes, and the American Left." As a South African, all I can say is, 'Right on brothers and sisters, we are getting our thing together.' And to the United States business fraternity and their fellow travellers, I say the writing is on the wall.

### Polaroid No 'Liberal' Corporation

"The important condition which . . . private investors have in mind is that the enterprise into which they put their money should bring them profit, and that . . . Government should permit them to repatriate profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests."

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere  
(Arusha Declaration)

Commenting on Polaroid's decision to improve the pay prospects of Non-whites in South Africa and to embark on a program to train them for more responsible jobs, and to commit part of its profits to encouraging African education, the Rand Daily Mail (Jan. 16, 1971) says of Polaroid, "The perspicacity of this decision is testimony to the corporation experience in the field of American race relations. It has a record of liberal attitudes towards the employment of Negro staff and allowing employees a voice in the company. . . ." I would like this myth of Polaroid being a "liberal" company to be exploded. Polaroid is a chip off the old block—it has been sired by the American Capitalistic system and conforms to the dictates of that system. Polaroid, Dr. Land's philosophy notwithstanding, is not guided by moral scruples and considerations. What then are its guidelines?

### "We Like It Here"

Doing business in South Africa presupposes the acceptance of that country's political and economic realities—cheap Black labor, lower taxation, higher protective tariffs, and special inducements offered by the government. Polaroid, like Union Carbide, can say, "We've been in South Africa a long time. . . . We like it here [South Africa]." Polaroid has been in South Africa since 1938, it did not reconsider its position even after Sharpeville. Like Mr. M. D. Banghart, Vice-President of Newmont Mining Corporation, Polaroid, judging from its "experiment," can say, "We know the people and the government and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars." It is the high returns (up to 27%) which attract American corporations to South Africa and make them reluctant to disengage.

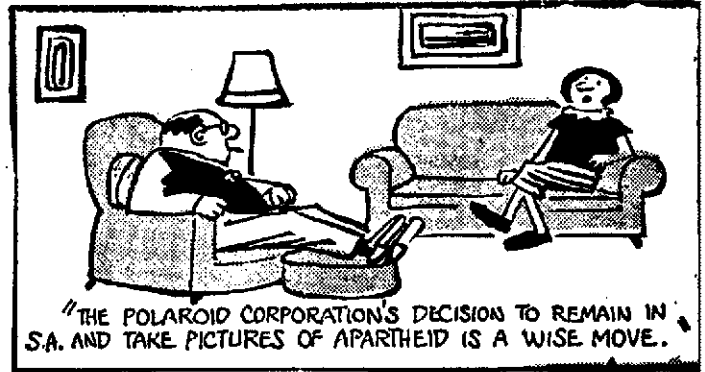
Another enticing factor is that South Africa is seen as a stable, strong, and politically viable country. As Sir Richard Powell, Director-General of the British Institute of Directors so aptly put it, "You have political and economic stability here—whether we approve of your policies or not. These are the two things to which an investor looks. Trade overrides ideological values, and economic links are very strong. We must disregard politicians." This is linked to the philosophy sounded by Mr. Charles Engelhard, the New Jersey tycoon, that the basic needs of the African are easily satisfied: "The key to the misery of these people is to let them get enough to eat, enough clothes, a car, and some financial stability. I don't care what the college professors say, I know this is what Black people of Africa want." By proposing to upgrade jobs, improve salaries, and train a few Blacks for "important" jobs, Polaroid hopes to satisfy the deepest needs and aspirations of Blacks in South Africa. Law and order then, in South Africa, is kept by keeping the "niggers" happy and contented—throwing a few crumbs in their laps.

### Struggle for Liberation

Finally, Polaroid subscribes to the view that change will take the form of a peaceful revolution and not a violent revolution. Violent confrontations and "bloodbaths" should at all cost be avoided. Polaroid feels that it is through free trade, involvement with the ideas of other nations, and an industrial growth rate in South Africa which will

force it to put Blacks in higher paying and responsible positions, that reforms will come. They believe it will come from the pressures of economic growth, of burgeoning demand for labor, from the sheer physical impossibility of drawing on this country's limited pool of white talent indefinitely for all the skills the management and leadership that an economy of this size and potential demands. Economic development is thereby substituted for a military liberation struggle. Yet all this flies in the face of facts. It has, for instance, been shown that it is possible to make a graph which demonstrates that as the South African economy has grown, its repressive measures for enforcing apartheid have also grown, and that at times that the economy has grown most rapidly, those measures have been most harsh.

The nub of the matter is that Blacks in South Africa are engaged in a struggle for self-determination—the right to decide who they are, to be free subjects and creators of their own history, to be arbiters of their future and architects of their own destiny, to be Captain of their soul and Master of their Fate, to gain personal and political freedom and just economic conditions, to build a community where justice, freedom, and equality will be the hallmarks. In this effort at total liberation, it has become necessary, due to the intransigence and relentless and violent attitude of the apartheid regime, to take up arms against a sea of trouble and by opposing it, end it. In that day woe betide those who are conducting experiments, using Black people as their guinea-pigs.



## INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

### A STUDY OF THE BANTUSTAN POLICY: THE MYTH OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

The last decade has witnessed a massive uprooting of peoples in South Africa. So far over 900,000 people have been forcibly removed from their homes and places of employment. Plans have already been announced for hundreds of thousands more to be moved. These population transfers are part of the South African Government's official policy of migrating over 4 million Africans employed in the so-called "white areas." The direct consequence of this policy has been the deliberate break-up of families on a scale far exceeding anything known in peacetime anywhere in the world. (Africa Bureau, Fact Sheet No. 5, London.)

Government rationale for African removal is set out in a Department of Bantu Administration circu-

lar: "It is accepted government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic for as long as they offer their labor there. As soon as they become, for some reason or other, no longer fit to work or superfluous in the labor market, they are expected to return to their country of origin, or the national unit where they fit in ethnically. . . ."

### The Scale of Removals Envisaged:

1. The "white areas" constitute 87% of South Africa, and include all its major cities, ports, industrial, mining and commercial complexes, and lines of communication. The "homelands" (or Bantustans, ethnic units or Reserves) will constitute 13% of South Africa after plans for their consolidation are fully implemented; they consist of some 200 scattered areas, almost entirely rural, underdeveloped, over-

-crowded, soil-eroded, and with very few employment opportunities.

2. The present population of South Africa is 19.6 million, comprising 13.3 million Africans; 3.7 million Whites, 2 million Coloureds; 0.6 million Asians (mainly Indians). By the end of the century, according to official estimates, there will be about 7 million Whites, 28 million Africans, and 8 million Coloureds and Asians.

3. At present some 6 million Africans live in the Bantustans, most of them supported, in whole or in part, by workers in the "white areas." The theory of separate development demands that by 2000 A.D. the Bantustans will wholly support a population of nearly 30 million, five times its present size. The "white areas" (more than 4/5ths of the country) will contain 7 million whites and 8 million Coloureds and Asians.

#### **Bantustan Economy**

The Tomlinson Commission, an official Government study commission, which examined the carrying capacity of the Bantustans, reported in 1954 that they could be made to support 7 million people, *provided* 50,000 new jobs could be created each year outside of farming. It estimated that another 2 million could live in the Bantustans if supported by their migrant breadwinners in "white" South Africa. This, on the Tomlinson estimates, would take care of 60% of the African population in the 1980's. The other 40% would have to work permanently in the "white areas."

What has happened since that study? First, the African population has grown almost twice as fast as was estimated by Tomlinson.

Second, agricultural productivity in the Bantustans has declined since 1954, partly because Tomlinson's assumptions about the amount of resources that would have to be devoted to soil reclamation were never implemented. The annual income per person given by Tomlinson was \$36.12. Official figures show it fell to \$30.80 in 1969; and the average annual cash income was \$21.00 in 1970.

Even in the so-called "betterment areas," where efforts are being made to improve agriculture, an average-size farm produces an income only one-third of the \$168 reckoned by Tomlinson to be the basic minimum required for a family of five. Even on these farms, therefore, it is necessary for at least one family member to sell his labor elsewhere.

#### **Decline in Employment Opportunities**

Third, employment opportunities have decreased in proportion to the rise in the Bantustans' population. By the end of 1968 (the latest period for which official figures are available) only 945 Africans were employed in secondary industry within all the Bantustans. The government relies mainly on its "Border Industries" scheme to provide employment opportunities in the Bantustans. This scheme encourages white industrialists to site their enterprises on the borders of, but not inside, the Bantustans. A total of 109,000 Africans were employed by the end of 1968 in Border Industries. In the past two years, the government has reversed its earlier policies, and allows whites to start industries in the Bantustans on a strictly controlled, "agency" basis; by mid-1970 this had produced 11 undertakings employing 1,680 Africans.

These figures must be set against Tomlinson's recommended 50,000 *new* jobs annually, even on his outdated assumptions about population growth.

The Governments' new Five-Year Development Plan for the Bantustans, costing R104 million (\$145.6 million), is intended to provide 25,000 new jobs a year. But the natural increase of the existing population of the Bantustans produces 41,000 new male work-seekers every year. This does not include female work-seekers, nor Africans removed from the "white areas." To deal only with the natural increase of the latter category would require a further 50,000 jobs a year.

#### **Border Industries**

Moreover, the largest source of employment—the "border industries"—lying outside the Bantustans, make no contribution to their industrial development, and exclude Africans from skilled employment. (X-Ray, Vol. 1, No. 5, The Africa Bureau, London, Nov. 1970).

The "border industries" were to diminish migrant labor, which results in the break-up of family units. However, some recently established border factories have built compounds for the express purpose of housing migrant workers. (Race Relations News, Vol. 32, No. 10, Johannesburg, Oct. 1970).

(This study of development in the Bantustans will be continued in the April issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA.)

#### **IMMORALITY CHARGES DROPPED**

"We are against miscegenation. I think all South Africans are. . . . But the time has arrived when we have to ask ourselves whether the way in which the Act is being implemented is not doing more harm than good. . . ." (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 6, 1971)

The "Act" is the Immorality Act, which prohibits sexual relations between blacks and whites. The penalty for conviction is seven years imprisonment and flogging for male offenders. It is difficult to understand the depth of repugnance with which the average Calvinistic Afrikaner views a transgression of the morality laws. His whole upbringing has taught him that people with darker skins are inferior and probably dirty beings. For him it is as if the farmers had been suspected of raping their sheep. In a South African courts a first offender on a morals charge often gets a suspended prison sentence; the real punishment is left to his friends and neighbors.

The Act has received much publicity because of the case involving seven white men and 14 black women in the Orange Free State town of Excelsior. It is alleged that many of the women were beaten up in jail by white and black policemen in order to extract confessions. One man was freed at a preliminary hearing. One man committed suicide. The wife of a third left him. All the men were ostracized by the 700 white inhabitants of the town. All the white accused, but one, were farmers, and they included the Secretary of the local branch of the Nationalist Party.

The Free State Supreme Court set aside three weeks and moved 60 miles from the state capital at Bloemfontein to hear the case in Excelsior. Minutes before the trials were to begin the state Attorney General withdrew the charges. The stated reason: Too much publicity had intimidated the state's witnesses

[section 212 of the Criminal Procedures Act, however, empowers judges to imprison witnesses who refuse to give evidence].

The decision bolstered opposition to the law, which, despite an average of two convictions a day, hasn't lowered the incidence of miscegenation. (New York Times, Jan. 31, 1971)

In spite of the withdrawal of these charges, the Act will not be removed. Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelser stated in Parliament that as long as he was Minister and as long as the Nationalist Party was in power, the Act would not be scrapped. (Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 6, 1971; The Observer, London, Jan. 31, 1971)

Two of the accused.



## APOLOGIA

APPENDIX V of the ACTION GUIDELINES published in the February, 1971 (Vol. IV, No. 2) SOUTHERN AFRICA entitled "African Political Parties of Portuguese Africa" was mistakenly included in this special supplement. The listing, because it dates from 1967 and reflects a single viewpoint, contains a number of inaccuracies and misrepresents the contemporary situation of the movements.

First is the mistaken identification of the leadership of the Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (FRELIMO). Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the first President of FRELIMO, was assassinated on February 3, 1969. Uria Simango, cited as Vice-President, was removed by the Central Committee of FRELIMO from membership on that Committee and was expelled from the organization in May, 1970. The Central Committee of FRELIMO elected Samora Moises Machal as acting President of FRELIMO and Marcelino dos Santos as acting Vice-President of FRELIMO until the next Congress.

Second, the chart does not represent a current Angolan situation. For an interpretation of the Angolan movements see "Angola: Seeing for Oneself" by Basil Davidson in WEST AFRICA (August 29 and September 5, 1970). It is hoped that SOUTHERN AFRICA will reprint some of this or similar articles in the future.

SOUTHERN AFRICA extends its sincerest apologies to the movements for this error.

Editors, SOUTHERN AFRICA

## INSIDE NAMIBIA

### NAMIBIAN PEOPLE FORGOTTEN IN INTERNATIONAL LITIGATION

On January 27, 1971 the South African government proposed that a plebiscite be held among the people of Namibia. That the South Africans should make this offer now is just one more irony in an interminable international dispute over a territory in which the people have been all but ignored.

In brief, the context in which this plebiscite offer has been made is as follows. The case of Namibia, or South West Africa, as it is called by South Africa and her allies, is now being presented before the World Court for an advisory (i.e. not legally binding) opinion on the legal effect of South Africa's continued presence there. The United Nations, which ruled that South Africa's League of Nations Mandate to the territory terminated in 1966, has been making futile gestures ever since that year to get South Africa out.

The Namibia case has already been before the World Court many times: in 1950, 1955, and 1956 the Court gave advisory opinions to the effect that South Africa should yield to the U.N.; then disastrously Ethiopia and Liberia took the matter to court in 1960 for a binding judgment, and after six years the Court refused, on legal grounds, to make any judgment at all. Now the case is back in the Court. This time the World Court invited 132 countries to present written submissions on the case by last September. States which complied were the United States, Finland, India, Pakistan, Nigeria, France, Holland, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and South Africa. Oral hearings are now underway.

According to the Johannesburg Star (Feb. 6, 1971), the written submissions contained a bewilderingly varied set of positions on the case. France, for example, supports South Africa's argument that the U.N. couldn't really terminate the mandate in South West Africa in the first place. Nigeria has questions on this point. Surprisingly, the U.S. brief contained a very strong condemnation of South Africa's actions. The Star again quotes the U.S.

statement that "South Africa's occupation of the territory by force against the will of the international authority entitled to administer it is as much belligerent occupation as the hostile occupation of the territory of another state."

To argue its side of the case in the Court, South Africa has sent a six-man legal team and a 900-page statement asserting that the World Court has no jurisdiction to give the advisory opinion requested and in addition is not competent to do so. (Incidentally, the South African team is also prepared to bring up the issue of alleged American maladministration of certain Pacific Islands, plus the question of Chinese membership in the U.N., according to the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 22, 1971.)

Before the opening of the oral hearings, South Africa tried to influence the Court in two ways: First, South Africa asked to have three of the World Court judges withdrawn from the case on the grounds of bias against South Africa and requested that the Court include an ad hoc South African judge. The Court rejected these applications. Second was the proposal of a plebiscite (South Africa conducted a plebiscite once before—in 1946 when representatives of the non-white 85% of the population were told to sign statements supporting the government). This proposal was received in a variety of ways by the American press. The Boston Globe (Jan. 28, 1971) called it "a startling departure" from South Africa's previous stance, and a New York Times editorial (Feb. 3, 1971), although skeptical, urges that "the proposal should not be dismissed out of hand."

But if one examines the offer at all seriously, it becomes obvious that it is really at best a publicity trick, and at worst, a fraud. In the first place, South Africa will only propose the plebiscite IF the Court rules against the preliminary South African arguments. Second, the plebiscite is clearly not designed to discover the true will of the Namibian people. The plebiscite would not offer independence as a possibility, but only a choice between government by the U.N. or South Africa. The plebiscite would be supervised jointly by the South Africans and a committee of independent experts appointed by the World Court. South Africa would have to agree to the membership, procedures and terms of reference of the committee.

All questions of fairness aside, the proposal of a plebiscite must also be seen as a way of delaying further the possibility of any real action. As Stanley Uys writes in the Washington Post (Jan. 28, 1971), "South Africa has gone to the International Court with the intention of contesting the hearing every inch of the way. . . . It has warned that this could take a very long time. . . . If the Court agrees to a plebiscite, the hearing will be protracted even further, putting any final decision into the remote future." Another comment on the plebiscite idea in the New York Post (Jan. 28, 1971) was that "South Africa, fearing an adverse ruling by the World Court, was 'trying to set up a cry of rape' by making a proposal which would certainly be rejected. It could then point to its magnanimous offer as an excuse for ignoring the Court ruling."

At any rate, the plebiscite proposal was rejected by the U.N. Council for Namibia, which is empowered by the U.N. General Assembly to administer the territory. In its rejection of the proposal, the Council noted that "the South African statement is obviously intended to introduce elements of confusion and to cast doubts on the legality of U.N. actions relating to Namibia." The statement continues, "In the opinion of the Council, which is the only legal authority in Namibia at the present time, the Government of South Africa has no locus standi



in the matter, being in illegal occupation of the territory, and does not, therefore, have any legal right to put forth such a proposal."

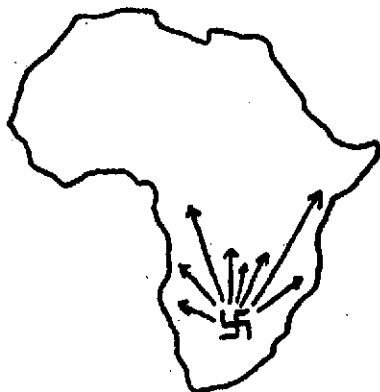
**GERMAN CORPORATION MAY NOT JOIN RIO TINTO IN EXPLOITING NAMIBIA'S URANIUM**

Pressures on the West German government not to get involved in "another Cabora Bassa" (German participation in building the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique has aroused sharp African attacks as well as protest in West Germany) may cause it to withhold financial support to the Deutsche Urangesellschaft for mining uranium in Namibia.

This Frankfurt firm had planned to join the giant British Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation in developing uranium oxide deposits at Rossing near Walvis Bay. Rio Tinto (R.T.Z.) will continue its own plans, regardless of what the Germans do, according to an article in the Star

(Johannesburg, Jan. 23, 1971). R.T.Z. is Britain's largest mining group, and its South African subsidiary, the Palabora Mining Company, contributes 43% of its profits. R.T.Z.'s subsidiary in Namibia is Riofinex.

Rio Tinto, which recently signed a long-term contract with the British Atomic Energy Authority, first undertook bulk sampling at Rossing in 1966 after the World Court had refused to adjudicate on South Africa's rule of South West Africa.



## SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS

### LESOTHO: SLEEP WELL, BASUTO; CHIEF JONATHAN WATCHES OVER YOU.

Chief Jonathan, South African-backed prime minister of Lesotho, continues methodically to consolidate the power of his reactionary dictatorship. In October he announced a 5-year ban on political activities "for the protection of the people." To defuse some of the political hostility, he permitted King Moshoeshoe II, who twice challenged Jonathan's control, to return from exile—as a king in name only.

Jonathan attributed the ban on politics to Lesotho's need for peace after many months of bitter party feuding (particularly since Jonathan annulled the returns of the election in which he appeared to have been defeated).

In December King Moshoeshoe II returned to his kingdom after eight months of exile in Europe. The price of return was his signature on an agreement leaving him virtually without power. Jonathan as prime minister retains final control over the king and can declare him to have abdicated if the king does not do the prescribed duties of a king or if he violates the terms of the order. (The prime minister has the authority to perform any of these duties when the king fails or refuses to.) Further, to avoid Moshoeshoe II's being able to get some political mileage out of his traditional heritage, no person or organization may use a term which invokes the concept of royalty without the *written permission* of the prime minister. And no one may imply that the king, regent, or any member of the royal family, is involved in partisan politics.

Chief Jonathan claimed that the reasons for adopting these "extreme measures" is to safeguard the institution of the monarchy for its future importance in the political life of Lesotho. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 10, 1970; Dec. 1 and 5, 1970; The Black Scholar, Nov. 1970)

### AND EXTERNALLY, THE ORIENTATION REMAINS PRO-SOUTH AFRICA

Chief Jonathan has followed up his October offer to be the bridge between black and white Africa with his statement in November of support for Houphouet-Boigny's (of the Ivory Coast) initiative to open a dialogue between black Africa and South Africa. Jonathan roundly denounced the use of force or any of the traditional anti-apartheid measures (banning the sale of arms, breaking off diplomatic

relations, not granting landing rights) in favor of the use of "quiet diplomacy." His rationale is that the African majority is so outclassed militarily that to urge these forceful means of putting pressure on apartheid would jeopardize the safety of the black populations. (Star, Johannesburg, Oct. 24 and 31, 1970; Malawi News, Nov. 20, 1970)

### BOTSWANA AND RHODESIA

In July, 1970 the Botswana Government announced to the Parliament that in February and April of 1970 white troops had crossed from Rhodesia into Botswana. They arrested and searched some local villagers in order to get information about African guerrillas from Rhodesia (at a time when ZAPU guerrillas were especially active in Rhodesia). The Botswana Government indicated it had taken steps to prevent a repeat. (Third World Reports, August 1970)

### BOTSWANA'S FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The signing of various loan and investment contracts with foreign governments, corporations, and international institutions was tied together in the Botswana Government announcement of a five-year development plan for 1971-75. The plan calls for the utilization of income from mining to generate growth in the rural sector. A total outlay of \$140 million in developing funds is projected by the plan.

Slightly over one half of the sum has already been arranged for with foreign sources, the World Bank being the primary source of external funding. Another \$40 million is to come from the Orapa diamond diggings and the Selibe-Pikwe copper-nickel deposits. The remaining quarter of the funds will not be paid out within the five-year period. If mining development goes as planned, Botswana will be able to drop British budgetary support in 1972 and will have a budget surplus by 1975 of about \$11-million.

The Botswana-Zambia road across their tiny common border is included in the plan. The economic viability of the project depends on the development of resources in northern Botswana and on an increase in trade with Zambia. In addition to economic considerations, however, is the great appeal of the road as a link between Botswana and East and Central Africa. A new ferry will be part of the road system despite the South African protest of last spring. (Star, Johannesburg, Dec. 5, 1970)



# THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

## PORTUGUESE LOSSES IN AFRICA

	Killed	Wounded
Guinea	88	—
Angola	95	—
Mozambique	161	362
	344	362

These figures represent the (incomplete) figures reported in the Portuguese war communiques and press from June 19 to October 28, 1970, as compiled in Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, January, 1971. A comparison of these figures with previous reports (see Southern Africa, July-August, November-December 1970) reveals the impact of the Portuguese offensive in Mozambique in raising their casualties:

### Portuguese Soldiers Reported Killed in Mozambique

Jan.28-Apr. 15	59 (average c. 20/month)
April 29-June 6	48 (average c. 45/month)
June 19-Oct. 28	161 (average c. 35/month)

## MILITARY BREAKTHROUGH FOR FRELIMO

In December Portuguese sources were reporting that their offensive begun in May had sealed the Tanzania border, and eliminated all major FRELIMO bases. FRELIMO reports painted a different picture: In September an English filmmaker, Margaret Dickinson, travelled around Niassa province in Mozambique with FRELIMO units, and found FRELIMO's support intact. (Anti-Apartheid News, Dec. 1970). And a FRELIMO communique released in December reported that between September and November FRELIMO had killed more than 200 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed 27 vehicles, attacked six military posts, and shot down a U.S.-built aircraft with the following markings: "No. 5401 II Modelo VELLV Z91R4-10ABR70-Part 2.275,000 UNION N.J. USA."

On February 2, 1971 a report was published in the New York Times from Portuguese sources indicating that FRELIMO had not only weathered the Portuguese assault, but had also expanded military operations south of the Zambezi (in Tete province) and south of the Messalo (in Cabo Delgado). According to the Times, "The Portuguese military communique announced that both guerrilla bands had been scattered with heavy losses for the enemy and that the pursuit of the infiltrators was continuing with the greatest intensity. Nevertheless the news of the offensive came as a jolt after the series of optimistic reports on Portuguese military successes in Mozambique for the last six months. . . . The guerrillas' success in penetrating south of the Zambezi and in the heavily guarded Montepuez area brings into question current Portuguese military policy which is aimed at destroying all guerrilla refuges and sealing off the border areas."

In other news concerning FRELIMO, it was reported in the Standard of Tanzania (Dec. 11, 1970) that Tokyo police had discovered that a parcel bomb which exploded at the FRELIMO office on July 23, 1970 (the same method by which President Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO was assassinated in 1969), had been mailed at a Tokyo post office by an unidentified Korean organization. And Miguel Murupa, a former member of FRELIMO expelled in September, 1970 turned up during December in Mozambique, and told a press conference that the Portuguese government was correct in its belief that many African governments were granted independence prematurely, and that he had lost faith in FRELIMO's struggle.

## CABORA BASSA: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

\*THE ITALIAN FIRM S.A.E. has withdrawn completely from the Cabora Bassa project (Financial Times, London, Dec. 18, 1970). It is to be replaced by Transmission Lines Construction (Pty.) of South Africa.

\*THE WEST GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN has told the Commonwealth Correspondents Association that independent Africa should accept Cabora Bassa as a fait accompli (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 9, 1970).

\*BARCLAYS BANK has announced its refusal to withdraw financial support for the Cabora Bassa project, in spite of the protest against the Bank's involvement (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 14, 1971). The British Government has also announced that it will not discourage British firms from participating in the building consortium (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Dec. 21, 1970).

\*TWO CANADIAN COMPANIES, ALCAN AND REYNOLDS (a U.S. subsidiary) have been awarded a contract with the Portuguese company Quintas y Quintas, by which they will supply aluminum for the Cabora Bassa Project (Venceremos, Toronto, V. 1, No. 4).

\*SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION in the Cabora Bassa project has reached two-thirds with the entry of TLC (Transmission Lines Construction). And South Africa is especially concerned with the military aspects of the question as well. The Johannesburg Star (Jan. 2, 1971), speaking of the Portuguese offensive in Tete province, commented editorially: "The clearing-up operation was above all to secure the safety of the giant Cabora Bassa project, threatened by President Kaunda among others, in which South Africa has a major interest. Whether she would be prepared to send troops to defend it should the need arise is being widely speculated on in African territories. It is important to Pretoria that this contingency should never arise." Rumors of impending greater direct military intervention by South Africa have been denied by both parties.

## TIP O'NEILL AND THE PORTUGUESE

The new Democratic Party whip in the House of Representatives is Thomas Philip O'Neill, Jr. of Massachusetts, who describes himself as an "Establishment liberal." Those concerned with Southern Africa should also know that in 1961 he was closely connected with propaganda activities of the Portuguese government. The

Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, headed by Martin Camacho, was set up in 1961 at the initiative of Selvage & Lee, a public relations firm hired by the Portuguese. In Washington, Camacho was granted the use of Tip O'Neill's offices in order to contact other congressmen. Tip O'Neill was told that Camacho was a lobbyist hired by Selvage & Lee, but in other contacts Camacho concealed this fact.

O'Neill also had printed as a pamphlet the proceedings on Friday, October 5, 1962 in the House of Representatives, in which O'Neill and other congressmen extolled the "Friendly Relations Between Portugal and the United States," and permitted it to be sent out under his Congressional mailing permit. (For further information on the activities of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, Selvage & Lee, and Tip O'Neill, see Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 88th Congress, First Session, on Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States, Part 8).

#### DISSENT IN PORTUGAL

\*BRUSSELS—Three Portuguese Lieutenants who deserted rather than go to war in Africa, and who sought political asylum in Belgium, denounced the military aid given to Portugal by the NATO powers. They also reported that South African helicopters are used to transport soldiers in Angola and in Mozambique (Le Monde, Paris, Dec. 25, 1970).

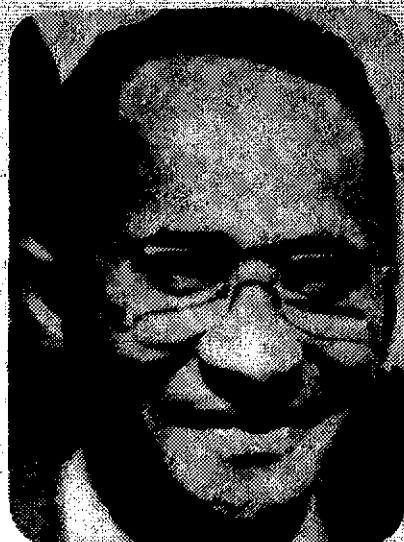
\*ALGIERS—A Portuguese corporal and two soldiers who deserted in Guinea (Bissau) are to be handed over to the Algerian Red Crescent. In August and October 1969, there were similar transfers of deserters from the Portuguese Army in Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique to the Algerian Red Crescent (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 8, 1971).

\*OPORTO—Rev. Mario Pais de Oliveira, a 33-year-old village priest, is on trial for subversive activities. His major crime is that he preached in favor of peace while an army chaplain in Guinea. He was removed after writing to tell a soldier he thought the war there was unjust and that if he himself were a soldier he would refuse to fight. He faces a sentence of up to 12 years in prison (New York Times, Feb. 7, 1971).

\*LISBON—On February 11 the trial began in Lisbon of Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, aged 43, former Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Luanda in Angola. Himself an Angolan, he was arrested before the nationalist uprising of 1961 and has been in prison or under-house arrest ever since, but not brought to trial until now. He is accused of crimes against the security of the State. He has been closely associated with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, of which his brother Mario is a prominent member.

Father de Andrade has been in prisons at Fort Penedo, Sao Paulo, in Luanda, and in the notorious Ajube prison in Lisbon. In documents which have come out of Portugal he describes some of his experiences, notably in Ajube prison: "I had to crouch for 82 days in a sordid cell six feet by three into which air and light only came through a small grating, sitting on straw, my knees touching the opposite wall.

"But I will pass in silence over the details of the terrible conditions of my successive imprisonments," he says. "I am not, and have never been," he declares, "a member of any political party, legal or clandestine. By temperament, education, and religious formation I am against violent methods. But I have a direct knowledge of



Father de Andrade: Security trial

the problems of education, work, salaries and racial discrimination which have launched my people into a desperate clandestine fight. I consider that the aspirations of a people to independence is just and reasonable."

The trial in Lisbon includes nine other persons, white, mulatto, and African, all charged with ties with MPLA. (Some 70 arrested over a year ago in Luanda are said to have been sent to prison camps without trial. There are also recent reports of more arrests. New York Times, Feb. 12, 1971.)

\*STUDENT AGITATION IN LISBON: at the University of Lisbon and at the Technical University, Coimbra has led to the closing of the Technical University; student strikes and demonstrations, and government action to ensure the restoration of order. A group of students in Lisbon, who had been refused permission to see the Minister of Education, stoned the U.S. Embassy. The most recent student agitation follows a speech by the Minister of Defense referring to the universities as "seats of subversion" for their opposition to the African wars (Le Monde, Jan. 20, 22, 26, 1971; International Herald Tribune, Jan. 20, 1971).

#### AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT WITH PORTUGAL

\*AN AMERICAN COMPANY, TECHNO-ECONOMIC RESOURCES, INC. OF NEW YORK, has signed a contract worth \$9,000 with the Portuguese Ministry for Overseas Affairs for a preliminary study of a ship repair yard in the Cape Verde archipelago. Special attention is to be given to the strategic location of the site, which Portugal has offered for NATO use. (Provincia, Angola, Dec. 4, 1970; Facts and Reports, No. 176 [press cuttings compiled by the Angola Comite, Holland].)

\*MR. RIDGWAY KNIGHT, THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL, visited three Portuguese "overseas provinces" in January (Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome), accompanied by his military aide Major Barret. In Mozambique he was to visit Cabora Bassa, Beira, Gorongosa, Ilha de Mozambique, Nampula, Tete, and Lourenco Marques (Diario de Noticias, Jan. 15, 1971; Facts and Reports, No. 256).

\*THE PORTUGUESE MINISTER OF DEFENSE has decorated the American colonel Leroy Nigra with the Medalha de Merito Militar, 2nd Class. Colonel Nigra was

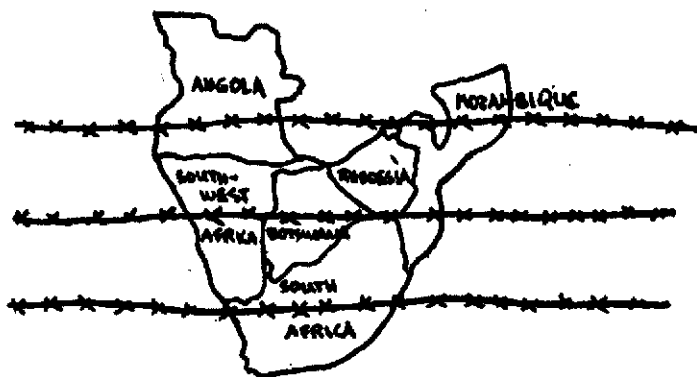
the defense and aeronautic attache of the American Embassy in Lisbon for some years. Colonel Nigra said that he had been happy to do his military duty in a country that possesses military institutions and a government that protects the highest ideals, the individual and collective dignity, the courage and the dedication to the well-being not only of the Portuguese people but of the whole humanity. He said that he was very satisfied that he had been able to visit all the Portuguese provinces in Africa. (Diarjo de Noticias, Oct. 27, 1970; Facts & Reports, No. 88).

#### PAIGC DESTROYS T-6 PLANE

In its most recent military communique, PAIGC reports operations in all three regions of Guinea, South, East, and North. In the more than 40 attacks during November, 70 Portuguese were killed, over 100 were wounded, 8 military vehicles were destroyed, and one plane, an American-made T-6, was destroyed at Cebedu (in the south).

#### U.S. 707's FOR PORTUGUESE WARS

The United States, in a major shift of policy, has authorized the sale of two Boeing 707 aircraft to the Portuguese government for use in transporting troops to and from Portugal's African territories. Although the supply of such aircraft to the Portuguese airlines (TAP) with the aid of Export-Import Bank loans has in the past served the same purpose, the new sale is a break from policy in that it is being sold directly for this purpose. State Department officials said there is no restriction on the use of the Boeing 707's. Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey has asked Secretary of State Rogers for assurances that the planes would not be used to support Portuguese military activities in Africa. (International Herald Tribune, Jan. 6 and 7, 1971; Facts and Reports, Nos. 231, 232).



## INSIDE ZIMBABWE

#### BRITAIN HANDING OVER?

Persistent reports are circulating in Portugal and South Africa that negotiations to settle the Rhodesian issue will reopen soon. According to the Johannesburg Star (Jan. 30, 1971), a new round of talks between the British Government and the Smith regime in Salisbury has been given the green light, although the information has not yet been officially substantiated. Reports have been centered around Lisbon because Portugal is the only country, outside South Africa, with diplomatic relations with Rhodesia.

It is felt that after his victory at the Commonwealth meeting in Singapore, British Prime Minister Heath feels it is time to resume discussion with the white rulers of all the countries of Southern Africa, including Portugal whose port of Beira has been under nominal blockade by British ships.

A report from London has described as "over-optimistic" reports from Rhodesia indicating that a settlement could be expected soon. The white governments of Southern Africa have taken comfort in Mr. Heath's outbursts against African leaders in Singapore and feel that Mr. Heath is now in a favorable mood to abandon all the five principles on which the British

Government has held out up to now on a constitutional settlement of Rhodesia. They feel that Heath is now ready to hand over Rhodesia to the whites. Prime Minister Smith has shown no sign that he is willing to give in on any single point that is of advantage to Africans. The diplomatic correspondent of the Daily Sketch (U.K.), however, believes that the British Government is still adamant that Smith make some concessions. Letters are being exchanged between the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Arthur Snelling, and the Rhodesian Representative to South Africa, Harold Hawkins. It is speculated that talks will follow the exchanges soon.

#### RHODESIAN CHROME FOR UNION CARBIDE

The United States has resumed buying chromium from Rhodesia in spite of sanctions, says the Afrikaans paper Die Vaderland (South African). The paper reported that a Spanish ship was loading Rhodesian chromium in the Mozambique port of Beira. The cargo, believed to be 150,000 tons of chromium, worth \$2 million, is consigned to the New York firm of Union Carbide.

The same paper reported in February, 1971 that the United States has confirmed that a shipment of

Rhodesian chromium is bound for the United States and consigned to Union Carbide. A license was granted to Union Carbide by special derogation of President Nixon. In 1967 the U.S. Government placed an embargo on products from or to Rhodesia, including chromium. Last year it was reported that the American chromium industry, which deals in many strategic products, was going through a serious crisis. Some of the firms were having difficulty in obtaining the metal. Rhodesia is one of the leading world suppliers of the metal.

#### SOVIET CHROME COMING?

Rhodesian View Point also reported that a substantial amount of Russian chrome, "nearly 400,000 tons," came to the United States last year. The Rhodesian regime believes that trading with the Soviet Union would prove more embarrassing to the U.S. than trading with a racist minority government in Rhodesia.

The Rhodesian Information Office bulletin also reported that a substantial increase has been made in the price of chrome from the Soviet Union. They suggest that the increase will be \$10 to \$12 a ton.

#### ON THE FRONT

Former British Army officers have joined South African and Rhodesian forces fighting Africans in

Rhodesia, reports Peter Harvey of the Guardian (London, Oct. 29, 1970). At least 250 British officers and soldiers, most of them from paratroop units, are reported to have joined the white forces in the Zambezi Valley since the war started. There was a time when Africans believed the British Army could be used to bring the rebel government of Smith down. It looks like British soldiers are now doing the opposite.

The Guardian also reported increased South African military assistance to Rhodesia because of the expanding war. Christopher Munnion of the Daily Telegraph (London, Nov. 25, 1971) gave details of bravery awards for action against African freedom fighters. He pointed out that "most of the awards to 62 members of the security forces . . . are for bravery in battles with terrorists in the Zambezi Valley." (African freedom fighters are called terrorists; soldiers of a rebel regime are called soldiers by British reporters.)

The citations show that the African nationalist guerrillas engaged Rhodesian forces in close combat on many occasions in incursions across the Zambezi. He added that: "the citations testify to the fact that terrorist groups have shown great courage and are well trained and equipped. Five of the citations were made posthumously."



## THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

#### CHANGES IN AFRICA AFFAIRS PANEL

In October the Nixon Administration reduced the number of members of its Advisory Council on African Affairs from over 50 to 17, and replaced all of the old members save Professor Edward Munger, a person who had lived in South Africa and has been sympathetic towards the regime. Former members who were jettisoned include G. Mennen Williams, Gwendolen Carter, Vernon McKay, George Houser, C. W. de Kiewiet, Helen Kitchen, Ruth Morgenthau, and two members of the faculty of Howard University. New members of the panel include, in addition to Munger, Gus Liebenow, Leon Carl Brown, Thomas Smith (Farrell Shipping Lines), John Waage (Manufacturers Hanover Bank), Guido Garbarino (Westinghouse International), Edgar Kaiser (Kaiser Industries Corporation), the Rev. Leon Sullivan (black businessman and pastor of the Zion Baptist Church of Philadelphia), and Mrs. Geraldine Crabtree (chairwoman of the Nixon-Agnew Citizens Committee of Minneapolis). The emphasis of the membership composition has shifted

from liberal academics and churchmen toward businessmen and bankers. The panel advises Secretary Rogers and Assistant Secretary Newsom on African affairs. (Daily News, Oct. 17, 1970; Financial Times, Oct. 28, 1970)

#### POSSIBLE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA POLICY

In a September speech given in Chicago, Assistant Secretary Newsom gave some clues that the U.S. might be taking a more conservative line on South Africa. He said in regard to Heath's plan to sell arms to South Africa, "While fully understanding the importance to Britain of the route around the Cape, we have not associated ourselves with their proposed decision." This was considerably milder than an earlier statement by the State Department on the same subject. Newsom also announced that the U.S. "would now consider licenses for limited numbers of small unarmed executive-type aircraft." It has since been confirmed privately that the aircraft will be sent directly to the South African government and made

available to the Army. (Financial Times, Oct. 28, 1970.)

Many observers feel these indications, together with the snub of President Kaunda, point to a more "realistic" or "businesslike" approach to African problems, in contrast with earlier signs of support for independent African regimes such as Rogers' trip and the decision to finance the Zambia-Botswana road. (Financial Times, Oct. 28, 1970; Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 21, 1970.) Assistant Secretary Newsom, however, at the conclusion of his visit to South Africa in November, said that there would be no changes in U.S. policy on Africa as a result of his "fact-finding mission." (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 21, 1970.)

#### DIGGS' PROPOSED VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

Congressman Charles Diggs, according to Washington sources, will probably apply once again for a visa to visit South Africa after the closure of the present Congress and of the hearings which he has been conducting on relations

between the United States and South Africa. The black chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa is deliberately choosing to wait until after the hearings in an effort to mitigate South Africa's objection that the hearings constitute interference in its internal affairs, the reason given for denying a visa to Representative O'Hara, Diggs' predecessor as subcommittee chairman. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 21, 1970.)

#### U.S. POLICY AND PORTUGAL

William Foltz, Professor of Political Science at Yale, and Paul Whitaker, Yale law student, urged a reversal of American priorities in Africa on the occasion of Portugal's open invasion of an independent African state and its acquisition of de facto belligerent status thereby. Instead of tacit quasi-approval of Portugal's colonial wars on the basis of outmoded need for the Azores bases, the U.S. should opt for a commitment to independent Africa where its far more substantial interests lie. (New York Times, Dec. 23, 1970.)

## ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

#### SWEDEN INCREASES AID

Sweden has announced that it will nearly double its contributions to the Southern African liberation movements to \$2,932,000. In addition, development aid to Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia was increased in the 1971-72 budget. (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 3, 1971.)

The Indian Government is aiding the liberation movements through technical training, aid to African organizations, such as the Mozambique Institute, helping local offices (the African National Congress set up a mission in New Delhi in 1967), and material assistance. (Race Relations News, South Africa, Nov. 1970)

#### SKILLED IMMIGRANT POLICY ATTACKED

In England the problem over whether or not the Journal of the Town Planning Institute should accept advertisements placed by the government's South Africa House, calling for engineers and architects to emigrate to South Africa, is being debated. The opponents of the ad say that the London Town Planning Institute is violating its own charter if it accepts the advertisements and continues its association with the South African Institute of Town Planning. (Muhammed Speaks, New York, Feb. 5, 1971.)

#### BRITISH FILM ON 'BANTUSTANS'

The public perspective on South Africa has been enhanced once again by a film, shot by British Independent TV, called "The Dumping Grounds," which graphically portrays the malnutrition, sickness and barrenness of South Africa's African "reserves." The narrative of the film explains that more than six million Africans are literally dumped in reserves, where it is impossible to grow enough to live on, as shown by soil samples taken from reserve land, which were tested in England. The filmmakers claim to have shot the documentary "under cover of the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit . . . and some film was shot at dawn to avoid the police." (Standard of Tanzania, Dec. 19, 1970)

#### ARMS FACTORIES TARGET OF BRITISH MOVEMENT

The Action Committee Against Racism (A.C.A.R.) has information on all U.I. factories which produce armaments (including the type of work and number of workers) and has planned to disrupt the work with shop-floor actions if the British Government goes ahead with arms sales to South Africa. The A.C.A.R. group is cited to have 'infiltrated' the factories as well as to have support from workers, and plans to use "all means short of physical violence" to complete its aim. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 16, 1971.)

#### ANTI-CORPORATE APPROACH TAKEN BY SCOTS

At Edinburgh University, Scotland, students are investigating the university's shares in South African companies to find out if they (the companies) hold South African Government stocks or have board members who are members of the Nationalist Party. The Student Representative Council wants the university to end its ties with these companies and anticipates direct action if their demand fails. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 2, 1971)

#### SENATE AT CORNELL PASSES SOUTHERN AFRICA RESOLUTION

The Cornell University Senate has called on the University to question eight major corporate investors in Southern Africa (Gulf, General Motors, Ford, Weyerhaeuser, First National City Bank, Atlantic Richfield, Texaco, and Mobil) about their employment, wages, unionization, and charitable contribution policies in Southern Africa. As part of the resolution, if a company does not answer the six questions posed by the university within a month, then the Treasurer is directed to attend the meeting of the corporation and attempt to introduce a motion that "either this condition(s) [i.e. lack of unions, unequal pay, etc.] should be corrected immediately, or all subsidiaries and agents in South Africa should cease operations." And if this motion should fail or be

made impossible, then the University is directed to sell the stocks and bonds of that corporation.

### LOCAL GROUP IN BOSTON BACKS GUINEA

The Boston Black United Front, which contributed funds to the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, took up another African issue in a letter to the Ministerial and Defense Committee of the same O.A.U. It urged the O.A.U. to consider eliminating "all foreign troops and armed personnel from African soil," and to help those committed to "armed struggle against apartheid and Portuguese colonialism." It also asked that more lines of communications between "Africans and people of African descent all over the world" be sought, and that the possibility of African states committing "a well-defined fraction of their natural wealth to the defense of Africa" be considered. (Washington Afro-American, Dec. 22, 1970.)

### New York Actions

On February 4 a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Angolan revolution was led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) at Barnard College, sponsored by the Africa Committee of New York Committee of Returned Volunteers. A history of MPLA and the anti-Gulf campaign were presented, with the highlight of the commemoration being the showing of slides from MPLA liberated zones of Angola. The slides included the portrait of an MPLA militant undergoing the amputation of his arm without anesthesia or proper medical instruments—a firm reminder of the people's strength and needs.

### FREE THE FIGHTING PRIEST

The Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa organized a demonstration in front of the South African Mission to the U.N. in late January against the continued detention of the Anglican Dean of the Johannesburg Cathedral, the Very Rev. Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh (see The Churches and Southern Africa, in this issue). A delegation spoke with officers at the mission who denied anything unusual in the French-Beytagh case.

## ERRATA

We wish to correct an error made in the previous issue of Southern Africa (February, 1971). The caption to the photograph of an overcrowded train on page 24 should have read, 'There are dozens of deaths each year of Africans being pushed off an overcrowded train or from derailments or other accidents due to poor planning and lack of care.' However, it is difficult to quote such figures with accuracy.

## STUDENTS



### UCM ON AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The national office of the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa has issued a strong statement attacking those churchmen who have criticized the donation of \$200,000 by the World Council of Churches to Southern African liberation movements, while remaining silent on the use of violence to maintain the status quo within South Africa.

The UCM statement made no comment on the WCC action itself (to express support for the decision would violate provisions of the Terrorism Act). It read in part:

"... church leaders and members of their churches pay taxes to the white South African government, so contributing directly to the Defence Budget of R271,600,000 (1969-70 figures) [\$3,202,400,000]. A great deal of this money is used to buy arms and provide military training for our white youth—again many of them are members of

our churches. White church leaders have voiced such strong and open objection to this escalating expenditure. Further, at present, the sale of British arms to South Africa is a live issue. Where have our anti-violence church leaders made press statements supporting a British arms embargo? And tax-payers' money (Christian tax-payers included) goes to support police forces from South Africa engaged in the violent clash in Rhodesia. It appears that this has evoked no strong reaction. Is it acceptable that, in the name of non-violence, we have no objections to supporting one side of the clash financially, but object when money is given to the other side?

"... given the history of the churches whose leaders have come out against the WCC grants, their ambiguous attitude to war, their silence on the issues raised above, would it not have been wiser for them to have said nothing? Or was their intention to make it perfectly clear which side they are on in the escalating struggle in Southern Africa?

### STUDENTS MUST PLEDGE SUBMISSION BEFORE ADMISSION

Black students at Turfloop (University of the North) have been told that they must sign a declaration of loyalty to the university if they are to be admitted for the 1971 academic year. (Turfloop is one of the three "tribal colleges" in South Africa.) This follows recent disputes between the rector and students which were highlighted by a student boycott of the university independence celebrations last September.

After Turfloop was granted independence from the University of South Africa, the student body decided at a meeting last June that they were against the college becoming autonomous. Independence for the college, they said, was "premature and can be seen in no other light except as another calculated move by the Government to drive non-White students into a life of isolation, despair and perpetual frustration." They further resolved that "if independence has to be true to its meaning, such independence should relate to academic independence from Government control."

Later in the year, students boycotted the installation of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen as Chancellor of the University. Dr. Eiselen was the architect of the Bantu Education Act (passed in 1953) which brought all non-white education in South Africa under government control. (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 28, 1970)

#### NUSAS STATEMENT ON ARMS, SPORT, AND INVESTMENT CAUSES FUROR

A statement by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) on the arms, sport, and economic boycotts of South Africa has aroused a storm of controversy inside South Africa and calls for government action against NUSAS.

The statement was delivered by a NUSAS delegate to the recent Association of Commonwealth Students Conference in Ghana. The statement "called on the conference to resolve itself against the supply of 'instruments of violence' to South Africa, to initiate action to end economic exploitation of black workers by foreign investors, to break those sporting ties which promote racism, and to convene an international day of protest and solidarity with the opponents of apartheid within South Africa."

The Afrikaans press and most of the English press was unanimous in their condemnation of the statement. The

major exception amongst English-language newspapers was the East London Daily Dispatch which rallied to NUSAS' defense. The Daily Dispatch is owned by the father of the NUSAS delegate, Barry Streek, who delivered the statement in Ghana. (NUSAS Newsletter No. 2, Jan. 8, 1971—Cape Town)

In a further statement, the NUSAS President, Neville Curtis, reiterated NUSAS' opposition to the delivery of arms to South Africa on the grounds that they would be used in any internal struggle within the country.

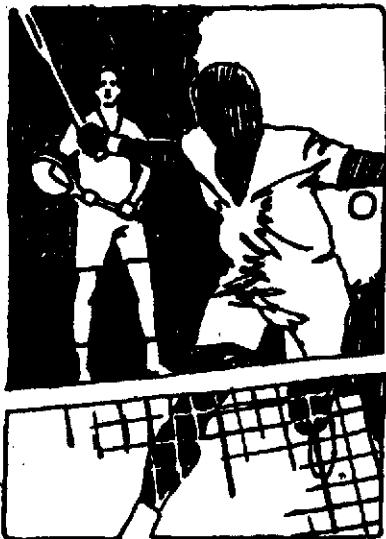
"South Africa is already a society in which violence has been institutionalized to an inordinate degree—anything which will encourage further such institutionable violence is unlikely to lead to the resolution of problems and the achievement of a sane and just society." (NUSAS Newsletter, Jan. 15, 1971)

#### GHANA DEPORTS AND WELCOMES NUSAS DELEGATE

Barry Streek, the NUSAS delegate to the Commonwealth Student Conference, experienced difficulties in his attempt to attend the gathering in Kumasi, Ghana when he was expelled from the conference by a vote of 15-6 with 3 abstentions. He was then served with a deportation order by the Ghanaian Ministry of the Interior and ordered to leave the country. Mr. Streek was, however, able to circulate to the conference the NUSAS statement on Arms, Sports and Investments (see above) and, thereafter, the deportation order was withdrawn, and the Interior Ministry issued a statement recognizing NUSAS as an opponent of apartheid and allowing Mr. Streek to remain in Ghana.

Streek was not accorded delegate status to the Commonwealth meeting but was allowed to remain at the gathering on an informal basis. (NUSAS Newsletter, Jan. 8, 1971)

## SPORTS



#### SPORTS OFFICIALS PRESS FOR INTEGRATED SPORT

As the sports boycott of South Africa grows, the government is being placed under increased pressure to integrate racially all sport in South Africa. In recent months, white representatives of both the South African Rugby Board and South African Olympic Council have been meeting with representatives of equivalent nonracial bodies to explore methods of increased cooperation. Both the Rugby Board and Olympic Council are dominated by conservative Afrikaners who, in the past, have displayed a total disdain for the welfare of non-white sportsmen. (Rand Daily Mail, Nov. 23, 1970)

In mid-1970, the British Government cancelled the scheduled visit to England by an all-white South African cricket team. Since then several members of that team have called upon their government to make concessions so that South African cricketers can again participate in international sport. In a recent speech, the captain of the South African cricket team, Dr. Ali Bacher, stated that all South Africans, irrespective of color, should be allowed to represent their country while a colleague, Dennis Gamsy, was more forthright. Campaigning on behalf of an opposition Progressive Party candidate in the recent provincial elections, Gamsy called for a commission of enquiry to establish ways of allowing all races to participate together in sport in South Africa.

"It is abundantly clear that South Africa is being ostracized slowly from the international sports scene owing to our policy of discrimination." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 27, 1970)

### ADMINISTRATORS RIGID

White cricket administrators are not being as flexible, however. Recently Mr. Barney Howa, President of the South African Cricket Board of Control—the main body representing non-white cricketers—appealed to all sports administrators to pressurize the government for the repeal of the Group Areas Act whose provisions prevent black and white sportsmen from competing together. Reacting to Howa's appeal, Mr. Jack Cheetham, President of the White South African Cricket Association, said: "The Group Areas Act is a political Act, which can be changed only by a political party." (Rand Daily Mail, Nov. 23, 1970)

### GOVERNMENT BANS TOUR OF BLACK SPORTSMEN

The South African Government has blocked the plans of non-white table tennis players to compete in the 1971 world championship by refusing to grant passports to the players. The players are all members of the nonracial South African Table Tennis Board which is recognized by the International Table Tennis Foundation.

The government, however, recognizes only the all-white South African Table Tennis Union which was the first South African sports body to be expelled from the equivalent international sports body. The Minister of Interior said at the time of the ban that it would not be acceptable for a nonracial organization to represent South Africa at the world championships. (Standard of Tanzania, Jan. 30, 1970)

### ROWING TOUR IN DISGUISE

The recent overseas tour by the South African Rowing Team has vividly illustrated the surreptitious steps which South Africans are now required to take if they are to avoid hostile demonstrations. The team competed throughout England under the name of the Trident Rowing Club. Only on their return to South Africa was it announced that the Trident Club was, in fact, the national (white) team. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 21, 1970)

### U.S. GOLFERS TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA

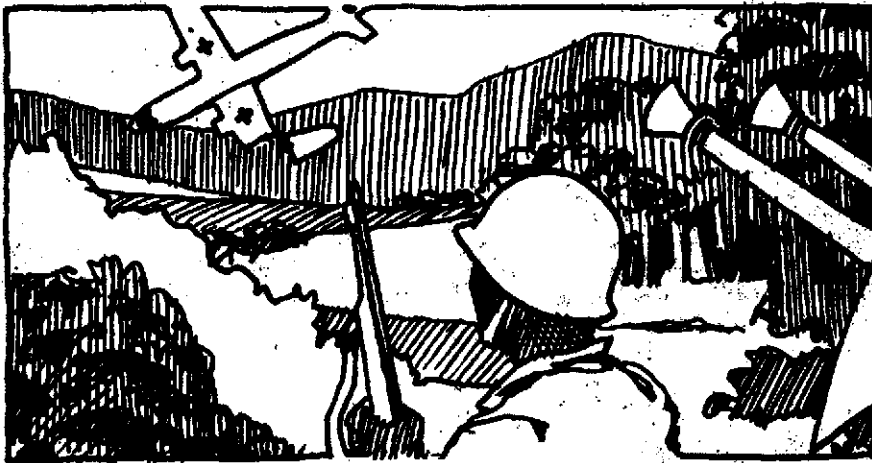
One group of sportsmen who are not boycott-minded are golfers. Twenty-six American professional golfers, among 100 overseas golfers who are to compete in the rich 1971 South African golf circuit in February and March.

The face of Gary Player, South Africa's famous golf pro, is also quite common in U.S. golf circles.

### ARTHUR ASHE DENIED VISA AGAIN

Arthur Ashe, the Afro-American tennis pro, has again been denied a visa to play in South Africa. Ashe was denied a visa the first time over a year ago, and has since made a number of statements denouncing the apartheid policy of South Africa. It is not known why he decided to reapply for a visa.

## MILITARY SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA



### THE BRITISH ARMS SALE

To no one's surprise, the pending British arms sale to South Africa dominated the Commonwealth Conference held in Singapore in January. Although black African nations, particularly Tanzania and Zambia, convinced Heath of their commitment to quit the Commonwealth if the arms sale were consummated, "nothing said at

Singapore seems to have converted anyone from his previously held views." (Sunday Times, Jan. 24, 1971) The conference's only cause for encouragement was that Prime Minister Heath at least did not announce an arms sale during the conference.

And Heath's agreement to Britain's participation in a study committee of six months duration will make it



somewhat more difficult for Britain to consummate an arms deal until the committee issues its report. Regrettably, the 8-member committee failed to include Zambia, Uganda, and Tanzania, the most outspoken opponents of the arms sale; and the committee can no more than attempt to stall an arms sale, since Heath indicated that he would not be bound by the committee's decision anyway. He told reporters that he "fully reserved the right of the British Government to take such action as it thinks necessary in defense of British interests. These words mean what they say, no more, no less." (Toronto Globe and Mail, Jan. 22, 1971)

With the exception of Malawi, all African Commonwealth nations voiced bitter opposition to any sale of arms. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania argued that no nation disputed Britain's RIGHT to make decisions required by its self-interest and even expressed some sympathy for British anxiety over Russian naval build-up in the Indian Ocean. But "by the composition of the Commonwealth, one basic principle is implicitly accepted by every member. If we are not opposed to racialism, we have no

business sitting down together in an association which consists of representatives of all the racial groups in the world."

He maintained that no matter what it says, Britain cannot sell arms to South Africa without supporting its apartheid system. "You do not sell arms without saying in effect: 'In the light of the receiving country's policies, friends, and enemies, we anticipate that in the last resort, we will be on their side in the case of any conflict. We shall want them to defeat their enemies.'" (Singapore Herald, Jan. 16, 1971)

Nyerere further argued that the arms sale could not possibly be in Britain's self-interest, for it would inevitably drive black Africa out of the Commonwealth, reduce its trade with Britain, and greatly strengthen Russian influence in black Africa. He also could not understand, given the supposed seriousness of the Russian threat, why "no British ships are stationed in Simonstown now," and why "the defense of the Cape route at present consists of three Naval Officers and five Ratings." Nor could he understand why Britain had

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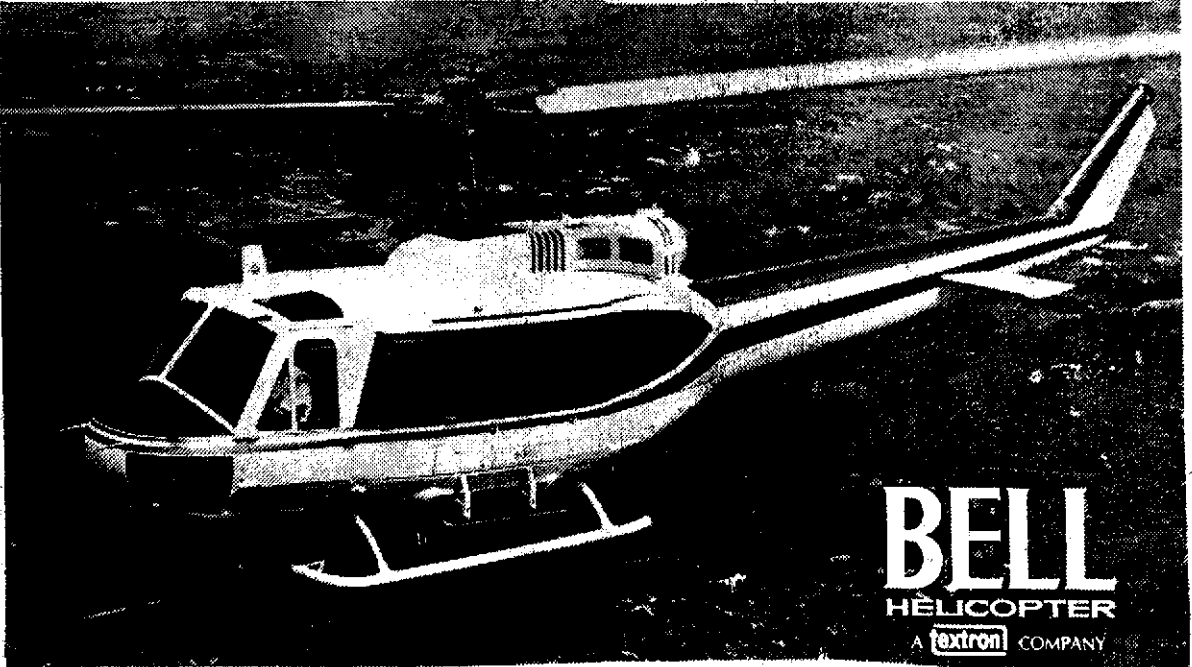
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never considered ANY alternative ways to defend its trade routes, other than selling arms to South Africa, such as stationing British ships in black African ports on the Indian Ocean. (Singapore Herald, Jan. 16, 1971)

Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia attempted to get the conference to pass a resolution which would pledge the member nations to refuse any assistance to nations which practiced racist policies, but the final statement was eviscerated to read: "No country will afford to regimes which practice racial discrimination, assistance, WHICH IN ITS OWN JUDGMENT, directly contributes to preservation or consolidation of this evil policy." [emphasis added] (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 23, 1971)

Upon his return to London, Heath announced to Parliament that Britain might sell to South Africa "only those items needed, to keep at their planned effective level, British ships previously sold to South Africa." (New York Times, Jan. 26, 1971) He specifically mentioned providing only spare parts (something the Labour Government had done all along) and approximately six Wasp helicopters to equip South Africa's anti-submarine frigates. Hopefully, this is Heath's way of announcing a compromise (since it had been assumed that ships were in the offing) but it may be part of his plan to distribute the announcements of arms sales over a period of time.

#### DEFENSE BUILDING IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

In November, 1970 South Africa lent Madagascar \$3.2 million for the development of tourism. At the signing of the agreement in Tananarive, Dr. Hilgard Muller of South Africa said: "I am convinced these agreements will lead to economic growth, and that they will prove to be to our mutual advantage, economically and otherwise. I am also convinced this visit will lead to further cooperation in other spheres." (Rand Daily Mail, Nov. 20, 1970) Cooperation in the form of docking facilities for the South African navy is a strong possibility. (See January 1971 Southern Africa)

To the south of Madagascar, Mauritius has reversed its opposition to the British sale of arms to South Africa. Its

Prime Minister Seewoosagur Ramgoolam said in December, 1970 that "in principle, we disagree with the sale of arms, but if other countries are doing so, why shouldn't Britain?" The reversal was announced shortly after South Africa threatened to cancel purchase of five million pounds of tea, a sale which would have helped Mauritius offset a severe trade imbalance with South Africa. (East African Standard, Dec. 19, 1970)

#### EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

The Johannesburg Star (Jan. 2, 1971) reported that South Africa is "negotiating to buy at least 30, and possibly 100, French-made Dassault Milan jet fighters for ground-attack operations. The Milans would supplement South Africa's 43 Mirage jets and would be noteworthy for their flight stability at low speeds and short take-off requirement. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 2, 1971) Such a sale would be in complete violation of the assurances which President Pompidou gave to Kenneth Kaunda in October, 1970 that France would discontinue sale of military equipment to South Africa useful in combatting guerrilla warfare.

Canada, however, has announced a tightening up of its arms embargo against South Africa. In November, 1970 Mitchel Sharp, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced a total ban on the supply to South Africa of all vehicles and equipment for use by its armed forces, including spare parts. In addition certain parts for aircraft engines previously exempted from the government's embargo will also be banned. (Africa Digest, Dec. 1970)

The United States is continuing its policy of supplying commercial aircraft to South Africa which have considerable military potential. The executive jets described in the last issue of Southern Africa have been identified as the Gates Learjet 24D, a 6-passenger jet with a range of 1880 miles and a topspeed of 548 m.p.h. The attached advertisement for Bell helicopters makes the military potential for these ostensibly civilian aircraft quite explicit.

## ECONOMICS

#### SOUTH AFRICA'S RETURN ON CAPITAL HIGHEST IN THE WORLD

An article in the Johannesburg Star of Dec. 12, 1970 based on a Netherlands Bank bulletin predicted a serious trade gap for South Africa in 1971 and a substantial fall in foreign exchange reserves that meant that South Africa should seek new foreign capital. The article contended that two factors will help South Africa acquire this needed new capital. One factor is that South Africa has acquired an international reputation for stability and excellent growth opportunities. Foreign investments in the period 1963 to 1968 have increased from \$2,142 million to \$6,416 million. The other factor is that shareholders' returns there are among the highest in the world.

The 1969 accounts of selected large companies show that the average rate of return on shareholders' funds was about 11 percent in South Africa, compared with 15 percent in Germany, 8.19 percent in France, and 7 percent in Britain. Moreover, the South African figure could become much higher as production runs increase.

#### AMERICAN COMPANIES NOTED IN SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC ROUNDUP

In a major year-end review of the economic year 1970, the South African Gazette (Dec. 23, 1970) spent several pages evaluating important economic events during the period.

In its mining section the Gazette commented "Particularly interesting during the latter half of 1970 was the influx of American companies seeking prospecting rights in South Africa. Among them are some of the world's largest mining companies including International Nickel, Consolidated Mining and Smelting, Texas Gulf Sulphur, Utah Mining and Construction Co., Hanna Mining, and Phelps Dodge."

Phelps Dodge is one of the biggest mining houses in the U.S. and has just established a South African office in its search for copper. Initially local copper will be exported to U.S. refineries; however, in the future some refining will be done in South Africa.

Utah Mining and Construction Company is a San Francisco-based company worth \$84 million, famous for a speedy process of iron loading. Its subsidiary, the Marcona Corporation, is entering South Africa.

An Oct. 16, 1970 article of the Financial Gazette (South Africa) stated, "It is significant that it plans to establish a South African operation at a time when local iron ore producers are hoping to land large scale iron ore contracts with Japan." A Nov. 14, 1970 article in the Johannesburg Star stated that the Utah and Phelps Dodge companies considered South Africa's "political and economic stability more assured than in many other places in the world."

In the South African Gazette's paragraph on platinum mining it was explained that the British firm Lonrho was joining with a Falconbridge Nickel of Canada and Superior Oil of the U.S. in a \$39 million venture.

In the section on the auto industry it was noted that the pressure by the South African government to build cars from South African products (66 percent local content by 1976) had pressed Chrysler to announce a \$31 million expansion scheme.

Goodyear's projected expansion worth \$11.3 million was the largest among the rubber companies in South Africa.

**BETHLEHEM STEEL**, which gave up prospecting for iron ore in Namibia several years ago, now plans to join the Tsumeb Corporation in assessing a fluorspar deposit. As the Johannesburg Star (Nov. 14, 1970) notes, "The decision is considered of particular interest as it runs contrary to publicly expressed United States Government policy on United States investment there."

#### **SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE MISSION TO COME TO U.S.**

In a statement released Jan. 15, 1971, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce announced that it will send a trade mission to the United States this year.

Arrangements are being made with the Dallas Trade Mart and the Chicago Trade Center for exhibition space and also for the mission's visit to be publicized among the 1,000 buyers who normally visit the center at that time of the year. The chamber is also arranging for a local member firm to help participants in the mission arrange display material which will then be shipped to the United States. The managements of the Dallas Trade Mart and the Chicago Center will help with the erection of the displays. The mission is expected to visit the United States during the period June 9 to July 17, 1971 (News from South Africa, Jan. 22, 1971).

#### **A MARRIAGE OF TOBACCO GIANTS?**

Two of the world's biggest tobacco concerns, Rothmans International Group and R. J. Reynolds of the U.S. are holding talks about coordinating international production and marketing. Rothmans is the London-based associate of South African Rembrandt.

Under Dr. Anton Rupert's ownership, Rembrandt has built up a unique multi-national corporation in which the residents of a country hold the majority of the shares in the operations of Rembrandt within their borders.

Rembrandt is thus a minority shareholder in its operation throughout the world, and management control is left in the hands of each country.

Rembrandt and its associates operate more than 50 tobacco factories and 20 breweries in 23 countries on all six continents. Its products are marketed in 160 countries. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Jan. 31, 1971)

#### **SANCTIONS IN REVERSE**

Symbolic of the realization by African countries that they have some economic leverage on countries who want to do business with South Africa, Zambia has halted construction of a \$14 million television and radio complex by the Marconi division of General Electric Co., of Britain, pending announcement by Britain of its decision on whether to sell arms to South Africa. The move is seen as a pointer to a hard-line attitude by copper-rich Zambia should Britain agree to sell arms to South Africa.

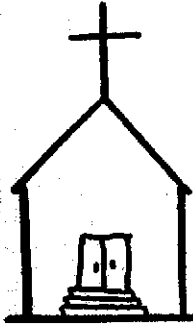
The Zambian Ministry of Information announced suspension of operations on the broadcasting complex in a statement saying: "Either the British choose trade with the rest of Africa or with South Africa only. . . . Until this is settled the television scheme hangs in the balance. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, Jan. 31, 1971)

#### **SOUTH AFRICAN PAPER CALLS FOR INCREASES OF WAGES TO THE BREADLINE**

A leading article in South Africa's Financial Mail, a conservative financial journal, calls on employers to raise all African incomes to at least the subsistence level next year. In an editorial the writer says that to keep abreast of the rising poverty datum line, a Soweto family of five now needs a monthly income of \$89, but this is not forthcoming either from manufacturing industry or local authorities. "Wages paid by local authorities on the Reef to unskilled workers are only about half the income required for subsistence," the article states. It also indicates the existence of discrimination in the professions. A male African teacher earns a third of the salary of his white counterpart with equivalent qualifications. "The gap between the earnings of the White skilled aristocracy and the Black unskilled workers shows little sign of closing," the article continued. "And the Government is certainly not prepared to intervene to help raise the abysmally low standards of living of three-quarters of the population." Employers alone have it in their power to redress the balance, the article appealed (quoted in the Rand Daily Mail, Dec. 21, 1970). Many U.S. businesses in South Africa pay starting wages well below that breadline.

#### **WORKERS FIRED**

Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement leaders, Caroline Hunter and Clyde Walton have been fired by Polaroid Corporation in Cambridge, Mass. This follows action taken by the P.R.W.M. at the American Physical Society Convention where Edwin Land (Polaroid's President) was a guest speaker, and the petitioning of the U.N. on the following day by the PRWM.



# THE CHURCHES

## AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

### DEAN OF JOHANNESBURG DETAINED

On the night of 20 Jan. 1971, the South African Security Police arrested the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh, who is an outspoken critic of apartheid, and detained him at the Security Police Headquarters in Pretoria. Earlier eight detectives had searched his office in St. Mary's Cathedral in the heart of Johannesburg.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Most Rev. Leslie Stradling, told the press that night that the police had informed him that the Dean was being detained for the night. "They said he would be able to get legal advice but not before tomorrow morning."

The next morning, however, it was disclosed that the Dean was being detained under the 1967 Terrorism Act. Under this Act, the Security Police can hold the prisoner incommunicado with no access to family, lawyers, or anyone else.

On Jan. 21 the British Embassy sent a note to the South African Government asking for facilities for visits to the Dean, and the British consul was allowed to visit him the next day. (The Dean is a British citizen.)

On Jan. 28 the Dean was charged and released on bail. He has been charged with "taking part in activities of unlawful organizations and for carrying on the direct or indirect interests of the unlawful organizations." The unlawful organizations were specified to be the South African Communist Party and/or the African National Congress. It is alleged that he received and held in safekeeping, distributed and/or assisted in the distribution of a quantity of pamphlets "purported to be issued by the banned parties."

The hearing will be resumed on February 26. (Star, Johannesburg, Jan. 30, 1971)

The Dean was born in Shanghai and educated in Britain. He has been involved in church work in southern Africa for forty years and has been an outspoken critic of apartheid during that time. He attacked Prime Minister Vorster for claiming that God was on the side of South Africa by stating, "God is not on the side of the Nationalist Party or any other Party. What really matters is whether the Nationalist Party or any other Party is on His side." He criticized the condition of malnutrition and starvation in the African reserves and the removal of Africans to the "homelands." He had also condemned withdrawing passports from clergy as a move by the government to further repress opposition to racism.



### CLERGYMAN ORDERED TO LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA

An Anglican clergyman, who has openly opposed South Africa's racist policies, has been ordered to leave the country by the end of February.

The Rev. Colin Davison recently lashed out at the government for arresting the Very Rev. Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, under the country's Terrorism Act.

Mr. Davison, who has lived in South Africa for eight years, denounced the Terrorism Act that permits indefinite detention—incommunicado—without charge or trial.

### 200 METHODIST SCHOOLS CLOSED IN RHODESIA

As a result of a refusal by United Methodists in Rhodesia to make up a five percent cut by the Rhodesian government in teachers' salaries, some of the approximately 200 United Methodist primary schools in that country are closed. Others apparently remain open, according to reports received by the United Methodist Board of Missions in New York City. The arbitrary cut announced in 1970 and effected in 1971, and subsequent action by the

Rhodesia United Methodist Conference, are believed to have heightened already tense church-state relations.

In recent months, Ian Smith's white minority regime has banned the United Methodist Bishop of Rhodesia, Abel T. Muzorewa, from entering black areas (Tribal Trust Lands). A vigorous foe of white supremacy laws, the first native-born Methodist bishop has protested (along with leaders of 16 other churches) against the "apartheid" Land Tenure Act. (See January 1971 Southern Africa) The ban has been protested by African Christians in a day long peaceful demonstration, and by the World Methodist Council executive committee and the United Methodist Council of Bishops.

The Land Tenure Act sets aside "equal" amounts of land for Rhodesia's 234,000 whites (44.9 million acres) and 4.8 million blacks (45.2 million acres), and prohibits blacks from worshipping in white churches without a permit. It has been strongly protested by most churches in Rhodesia. All this has led to increasing tension between religious groups and the Smith government.

The situation which has led to the closing of some 200 Methodist primary schools (which enroll 46,000 pupils) was precipitated by a Smith government announcement that in 1970 it was cutting by five percent its subsidy for primary school teachers. (Unlike the United States, church-related schools in Rhodesia educate a large proportion of all pupils.) The Smith regime said the churches would have to make up the five percent cut, or see that it was done.

A special session of the Rhodesia Conference last June—the same session that opposed the Land Tenure Act—went on record against the five percent cut and declared that, in effect, the church would not make up what the government should spend tax money for. The resolution said:

"Now is the time to stand firm against the payment of the five percent (or its equivalent) by parents, churches, local school committees or councils. If as a result of such opposition, schools are closed, it is the government which is to blame. We affirm that it is our desire to retain authority over all our United Methodist primary schools. We will not, as a church, pay the five percent of the teachers' salaries demanded by the government or collect this sum from the parents. . . ."

A number of Rhodesian churches said that to collect the money from African parents would be to act as government tax collectors. They have opposed the issue on the principle that once they have accepted collecting five percent, they would have no grounds for refusing to collect even more later.

After a brief period of apparent indecision as to whether to reconsider policy, United Methodist school officials said last fall that as of the end of 1970, when the pay cut took effect, schools would be turned over by the church to the community, and pupils' parents would be asked whether they wished the schools kept open. No comprehensive reports have been received as yet, but indications are that some of the approximately 200 schools have been closed and some kept open under auspices of the parents and the community.

An official of another denomination, the United Church of Christ, said that the U.C.C. Board of World Ministries is ending its primary education program in

Rhodesia, partly as a result of the reduction in government subsidy. The cut was described by the spokesman as "only the beginning." The total number of all church-run schools is 2,871. (See Southern Africa, May-June 1970 and January 1971.)

#### MORE W.C.C. DECISION REPERCUSSIONS

As a result of the recent decision by the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) to grant \$200,000 to various organizations combatting racism, a thriving industrial town in the Transvaal has decreed that any church affiliated with the Council—or its congregations—will lose its tax exemption and must pay municipal taxes.

The Meyertown TOWN Council also ruled that future applications for church land must contain repudiations of the decision of the World Council to grant financial aid to liberation movements.

It was reported that other towns were considering similar actions.

John Rees, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said churches in South Africa had not been called upon to do anything illegal by the W.C.C. Returning from the W.C.C. Central

Committee meeting in Addis Ababa, Mr. Rees said the Council program did not identify with any political movements.

The government-appointed chief minister of the Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima, also declared that no applications for church sites in his territory would be considered until the congregation announced its stand on the W.C.C. Program to Combat Racism.

The Methodist Church of South Africa said it intended to carry out its missionary work despite threats by the government that there may be a clamp-down on missionary work of W.C.C. member churches.

Meanwhile, two leaders of Reformed churches in Holland have expressed concern over the excessive influence alleged to be exerted in the South African government by Dr. J. D. Vorster, moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) in South Africa. Prof. J. Verkuil and Dr. A. Kruijswijk charged that Dr. Vorster has "boasted about his close links with cabinet ministers and the Department of the Interior."

Anglican Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor of Capetown said his church would continue to be a "gadfly" in relations with the state, and would never surrender its principles.

"I believe that in any state—if the church is doing its job—there must be certain tensions," Archbishop Taylor said.

In addition, Queen Juliana of Holland recently gave a large gift to the World Council's plan to combat racism, about which South Africa is very angry. According to some South Africans in Holland, it is possible that the South African Government would now consider "much more critically" a Dutch tender for a new 1500-million guilder (about \$408 million) South African television network. (The Natal Mercury, Durban, Feb. 17, 1971)

The Dutch Government's response to South Africa's anger at Queen Juliana's gift was stated as follows: "Queen Juliana made the gift, as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, to the World Council of Churches campaign for humanitarian, medical, educational and informative purposes, which is sup-

ported by the Protestant churches, the Episcopate and Ecumenic organizations in Holland. . . . The WCC have assured that the funds raised by this campaign shall not be used to support violence which was connected with the resistance to oppression." (The Natal Mercury, Feb. 17, 1971)



The three American mission workers, Mr. and Mrs. Kramer and Mr. Kious.

#### AMERICANS WHO HELD "MIXED PARTIES" TO BE EXPELLED

The serving of deportation orders recently on three Durban Methodist workers (all from the United States) was seen by some as a further example of a government campaign to harass English-oriented churches.

The ouster of Mr. and Mrs. Reed Kramer and Mr. Guy Kious is another in a long series of actions against church workers in South Africa who act or speak in any way as if they are opposed to apartheid.

Mr. L. G. Murray, Opposition shadow Minister of Interior, said: "The extent to which the Government adopts these procedures—carried out arbitrarily and secretly—is causing increasing alarm." (Daily News, Durban, Feb. 17, 1971) Mr. Murray went on to say: "The Government cannot complain if the public gets the impression that there is a plan of action against churches whose members are dealing with the solution of problems in South Africa."

The three Americans are to be deported following the expiry of their temporary resident permits, which will be sometime this month. Mr. and Mrs. Kramer work on the Methodist Church's youth program "Give a Year of Your Life" with Dr. Alex Boraine, President-elect of the Methodist Church in South Africa.

It was related that at least two multiracial parties at the Kramers' Durban home had been raided due to direct complaints to the police by neighbors. The Kramers have written that there was only one raid, however. Some persons claimed that the Kramers had more non-white friends than white friends.

The Methodist Church has made representations, with the full backing of the U.S. Ambassador in South Africa, Mr. William Hurd, but it is pretty definite that the Kramers and Mr. Kious will be leaving South Africa soon. (Mr. Kious has recently married a South African woman.)

In addition to youth work, Mrs. Tam Kramer was organizing a multiracial women's liberation movement in Durban. (Sunday Express, Durban, Feb. 21, 1971) The "Give a Year of Your Life" training center provided tuition for 15 youth workers of all races and denominations and was aimed at countering drug and alcohol abuse. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Feb. 18, 1971)

## RESOURCES for the STRUGGLE

### PHELA-NDABA (END OF THE DIALOGUE)

The film "Phela-Ndaba" (End of the Dialogue) is a moving portrayal of the unremitting, corrosive oppression of apartheid. It is unique among apartheid documentaries because it does not try to describe what it does to blacks; it irrefutably sets forth what "the South African way of life" looks like through the eyes of blacks. Simply, starkly, the fugitive camera records the twilight existence of a people whose land has been occupied and whose lives have been enslaved by a white minority in the name of Christian civilization and Western democracy.

The film was made in secret by members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa (P.A.C.). The unprocessed film was then smuggled to London where other P.A.C. members, led by Mr. Nana Mahomo, produced the 45-minute documentary which most reviewers agreed was "a measured but damning indictment" (Evening Standard, London, Nov. 25, 1970).

Most of the sequences in the film are commonplace in South Africa. It is therefore significant that, while a British reviewer found the film "a shock" (Guardian, London, Nov. 26, 1970), a white South African who saw it in London found it "boring" (Star [weekly], Johannesburg, 23 Jan. 1971). Dialogue is possible with people who are shocked by the sight of starving children in Natal's "Tin-Town" for Indians; in the Coloureds' traditional home, District Six, which has now been declared a "white area"; in the African reserves and ghettos; or by the sight of conditions Africans endure in the mining compounds (36 men to a rat-infested room with concrete bunks for beds); of black children peering wistfully through a hedge at white youths swimming in a suburban swimming pool; and black families crowded into wretched hovels behind wire fences.

When portions of Phela-Ndaba were televised in the U.S. in December, there was none of the sharp controversy that raged in Britain in November. Before televising it, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) gave South African Government officials a preview. South African Ambassador Henrik Lutjig objected strenuously to the film; he described it as malicious and distorted and detailed "eleven blatant factual errors" in the commentary. Of the statement that African miners earn only \$12 a month, Dr.

Luttig said the true figure is \$14.40 a month minimum. Of the "blatant factual error" that African children have to pay for their books, the ambassador said: "True, but free books for all schoolchildren are gradually being introduced." (Daily Telegraph, London, Nov. 25, 1970).

However, the ambassador and his staff refused the BBC invitation to put their case in a televised discussion immediately after the screening of the film. The discussion was nevertheless held and the South African Government's point of view was well represented by three British "right-wingers" (Star, Johannesburg, Nov. 27, 1970), two of them Tory Members of Parliament. One of the latter, Mr. Harold Soref, said that the film was "Psychological warfare against the white man . . . part of a campaign that the BBC exercises against any country that is fighting communism" (Times, London, Nov. 26, 1970). The TV reviewer for the Observer (London, Nov. 29, 1970), who called the film "a monument to courage," wrote that the ambassador had "refused to back up his accusations of distortion by appearing" and that "none of the three gentlemen" who did appear to defend white South Africa "was able to produce any very convincing examples" of the alleged "exaggerations."

The review in the Daily Mirror (London, Nov. 26, 1970) reads: "The first thing to be said about [the

film's] black man's view of his slave type existence in South Africa is that it was agonizingly well done. . . . Producer Nana Mahomo had a right to be proud of his film. Of course it was propaganda. It was a war film. Ammunition to be used in the fight for more [sic] freedom and equality. Proof of its effectiveness is the uproar it has caused. It's not every day that you get a British MP in a studio accusing the Establishment-conscious BBC of promoting world communism by consistently screening programs angled against white South Africa. Surely if there is a charge to be levelled against the corporation it is not that we were given a propaganda film, but that we don't get enough of them."

And the Guardian reviewer to whom the film was "a shock" continued: "The members of the Pan-Africanist Congress who took the film were rightly and righteously angry. Their passion flooded the film, drummed on the sound track. The roll call of dead men at the end sentenced to death was full of menace. Cold black anger with statistics at its fingertips."

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"Phela-Ndaba" is available for showing at a moderate rental cost from Teddy Kgama, 1311 Burke Ave., Bronx, New York 10469, or Kenneth Carstens, 22M, 626 Riverside Drive, New York 10031.

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"BLACK CHILDREN MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED  
TO LOOK ON THE GREEN PASTURES WHERE THEY WILL  
NEVER GRAZE "

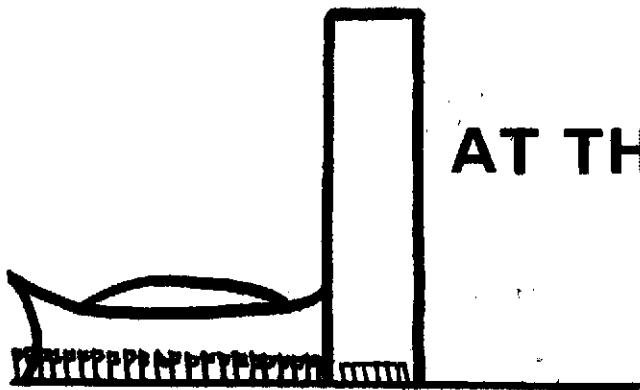
Dr. Verwoed



# END OF DIALOGUE

(PHELA-NDABA)

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA 1970.



# AT THE UNITED NATIONS

## **POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT ISSUES PROTESTS AT COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID**

Caroline Hunter and Ken Williams of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement and George Houser of the American Committee on Africa presented statements to the Special Committee on Apartheid on February 3, 1971 opposing the policy of the Polaroid Corporation in continuing to do business in South Africa.

Miss Hunter stated that the Revolutionary Workers Movement had presented three demands to Polaroid on Oct. 8, 1970 as follows:

First, that Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa;

Second, that the management meet with the entire company to discuss this policy and announce its position on apartheid simultaneously in the United States and in South Africa; and

Third, that Polaroid donate "the profits earned in South Africa to the recognized African liberation movements" in that country. (UN Prets Release GA/AP/202)

The representatives from the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement continued their comments with the response from Polaroid "that they were going to respond to the 'problem' but not the three demands." Polaroid sent four persons to Africa (two black, one white worker, and vice-president of sales) and then published an advertisement, "An Experiment in South Africa," in more than thirty national newspapers at a cost of approximately \$100,000.

"The Polaroid 'experiment' in black South Africa is an insult to the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement and all those who strive for the liberation of black South Africa. There is no mention of political freedom or change. The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement will press an international boycott until Polaroid is forced out of South Africa or South Africa is liberated in the name of black South Africa.

"We call upon the Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid to support the three demands and an international boycott of Polaroid products and to influence the United Nations General Assembly to do so."

Mr. Williams pointed to the participation of Polaroid in the ID-2 identification system, where the pictures used with passbooks were a key part of the apartheid program.

George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, noted the advertising Polaroid had done in the U.S. newspapers praising itself for its program of upgrading salaries and benefits for non-white workers in South Africa.

"It is not the Polaroid experimental program in itself that will do harm. It is good for people to get higher wages and some kind of education but not as a substitute for the right of people to control their lives, and to have power to do this now, not in some unforeseen future beyond an undefined change. But Polaroid's experiment must be seen for what it is—a paternalistic act of charity.

"The danger is that the Polaroid program will be seen as a substitute for the program supported by the United Nations, by the opposition African parties, by the people who are really struggling against apartheid."

Mr. Houser commented further, "The Polaroid position offers the rationale business is looking for. Its protest against apartheid is only verbal. But it is a setback in the campaign to stop support for apartheid and must be challenged."

With this position, Polaroid would continue to operate within the laws of South Africa, and those laws restrict jobs and education available to non-whites. Mr. Houser urged "the Special Committee on Apartheid to call upon countries supporting 'disengagement' from South Africa to discourage foreign corporations involved both in their countries and in South Africa from business relationships with 'the apartheid Republic.'

"He also called upon the Committee to ascertain whether United Nations agencies were using Polaroid products, and to press for action to ban the purchase and use of these products by them." (UN Press Release GA/AP/202)

## **UNESCO MOVES AGAINST AFFILIATES WITH SOUTH AFRICAN TIES**

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has threatened to expel any of its member organizations with affiliates in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, unless they can prove by the end of 1971 that these affiliates do not practice racial discrimination.

Seventy-eight of UNESCO's member organizations have affiliates in Southern Africa and 20 of the bodies received grants from UNESCO totalling \$2 million between 1964-1969.

Among the member organizations with Southern African affiliates are the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the League of Red Cross Societies, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., B'nai Brith, Federation of University Women, and the Planned Parenthood Association. (The Washington Afro-American, Washington, D.C., Dec. 26, 1970)



# RESOURCES AVAILABLE FROM THE SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE

## SOUTHERN AFRICA (General)

- \_\_\_ "Policy statement on Southern Africa," National Council of Churches; 2/3/66; 1 page, free.
- \_\_\_ "The United States and Southern Africa: A Position Paper for the 1968 Campaign," by the American Committee on Africa, 2 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Aid Victims of Southern Africa's Rule of Terror," Africa Defense and Aid Fund." 2 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Southern Africa: Crisis for American Policy," American Committee on Africa, 6 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Southern Africa: A Time for Change," published by the United Methodist Church in 1969; comprehensive survey consisting of over 20 articles, many photos; 98 pages, cost: \$1.00.
- \_\_\_ "Focus Southern Africa," published by the United Campus Christian Fellowship in 1965; dated but filled with basic information and good bibliography for introduction to Southern Africa; cost: \$.25.
- \_\_\_ "Fact Sheet File," published by Ottawa Southern Africa Information Group in 1970; articles re: Namibia (South West Africa); Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Transkei, Caborra Bassa, the Commonwealth and Southern Africa; contains bibliographies; 42 pages; cost: \$.50.
- \_\_\_ "Sharpeville and After: Suppression and Liberation in Southern Africa," published by the Southern Africa Committee and the American Committee on Africa in 1970; 6 pages; free samples, \$.10 each for quantity.
- \_\_\_ "Luta Struggle: Voices of African Liberation," published by the Committee of Returned Volunteers, 1970; articles about liberation movements written by leaders of the movements; includes list of films, Africa groups, and bibliography; 30 pages; cost: \$.35 each for under 10 copies; \$.20 each for 10 or more.
- \_\_\_ "Armed Struggle in Southern Africa," published by the Africa Research Group in 1970; 21 pages; cost: \$.25.

## SOUTH AFRICA

- \_\_\_ "South Africa Scores Again as South African Airways Bids for U.S. Tourists," published by the American Committee on Africa in 1969; 2 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "South Africa: An American Christian Concern?" published by the United Church of Christ; 2 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "U.S. Subsidy to South Africa: The Sugar Quota," published by the American Committee on Africa; 2 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Sharpeville, Ten Years After," published by the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid in 1970; 4 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Opposition to Apartheid by Students in South Africa and Repression Against Students," published by the Unit on Apartheid of the United Nations in 1969; 23 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Israel and Southern Africa: A Comparison of the Roles of South Africa and Israel in the Third World," published by the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa in 1970; 24 pages; cost: \$.15.
- \_\_\_ "South African Reality," by Ken Carstens, 1966, 6 pages, free.
- \_\_\_ "Mista Charlie." expose of Charles Engelhard's role in South Africa; 1966; 2 pages, free.

**RESOURCES (Continued)****PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES**

\_\_\_ "The U.S. and Portugal in Africa," July-August issue of Africa Today; 38 pages; cost: \$.50.

\_\_\_ "Mozambique Will Be Free," published by the Committee of Returned Volunteers in 1970; history and documentation of the struggle for liberation in Mozambique; 50 pages; cost: \$1.00.

**NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) and ZIMBABWE (SOUTHERN RHODESIA)**

\_\_\_ "Background to the South West Africa Case," 9 pages; free.

\_\_\_ "South Africa Has Robbed Our Country," statement by Toivo H. ya Toivo, re: Namibia; Feb. 1968; 6 pages, free.

\_\_\_ "Rhodesia or Zimbabwe: No Middle Ground in Africa," published by the American Committee on Africa in 1969; 10 pages; cost: \$.10.

**U.S. ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

\_\_\_ "Occupied Africa: Facts the U.S. Needs to Know on Gulf Oil in Angola," Africa Fund Bulletin, Dec. 1969, 7 pages, free.

\_\_\_ "Open Statement to the Annual Meeting of Gulf Oil Company," by the United Church of Christ, 1970, 3 pages; free.

\_\_\_ "Why We Protest Gulf's Operations in Portuguese Angola," by the American Committee on Africa, 1970; 4 pages; free.

\_\_\_ "American Corporations in Southern Africa," published by the American Committee on Africa, 1970; 4 pages; free.

\_\_\_ "U.S. Economic Involvement in South Africa," by Richard Thorfas (for the American Committee on Africa); 1966; 10 pages; free.

\_\_\_ "A Business Man Looks at Apartheid," by Neil Wates; by a British businessman who rejected investment in South Africa; 2 pages, 1971; free.

\_\_\_ "Gulf Oil Corporation: A Study in Exploitation," published by the Committee of Returned Volunteers; documentation of Gulf Oil's involvement in Angola; 1970; 36 pages; cost: \$.50 each or 3/\$1.00.

\_\_\_ "Is Economic Growth Disintegrating Apartheid?" two views published by the United Church of Christ, reprint from African Affairs, 1971, 8 pages; free.

\_\_\_ "Apartheid and Imperialism: U.S. Corporate Involvement in South Africa," Africa Today, September-October 1970; prepared by the American Committee on Africa; 38 pages; cost: \$.50.

\_\_\_ "Wisconsin Corporate Involvement in Southern Africa," published by the Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa; 1970; 16 pages; cost: \$.10.

**RESOURCES AVAILABLE FROM OTHER GROUPS**

\_\_\_ Literature list of the American Committee on Africa, free.

\_\_\_ Literature list of the Africa Research Group, free.

**OTHER GROUPS TO CONTACT FOR LITERATURE**

Africa Research Group, P. O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

**RESOURCES (Continued)**

Committee of Returned Volunteers, Africa Committee, 262 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Liberation Support Movement, P. O. Box 15210, Seattle, Washington 98115.

Radical Education Project, P. O. Box 561, Detroit, Michigan 48232.

Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. The hearings of the 89th Congress, second session, March 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 15, 17, of 1966 contain detailed statistics about American economic involvement in South Africa. Write to U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Unit on Apartheid, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017; has published two valuable studies:

1. "Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa," 1968. Refer to publication ST/PSCA/SER.A/6; cost: \$.50.
2. "Repressive Legislation in the Republic of South Africa," 1969. Refer to publication ST/PSCA/SER.A/7.

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## **SHARPEVILLE: In Memoriam**

### **March 21, 1960**



# RESOURCES FOR THE STRUGGLE

The Angola Comite, Klarenburg 253, Amsterdam, Holland, has begun publication of a biweekly, **FACTS & REPORTS**, reprinting press cuttings on Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Portugal, and Southern Africa. A subscription for one year costs 35 Dutch guilders (\$10.00); airmail subscription to U.S.A. and Canada is 45 Dutch guilders (\$13.00).

Available from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Ave., New York City, are the booklets, "Sharpeville and After: Suppression and Liberation in Southern Africa." Bulk orders make the booklet very cheap. Send for a free sample.

Kapiassa N. Hussein, free-lance photographer/journalist, spent some 65 days on foot in Angola recently. At the invitations, and with the cooperation of the officials of the Movimento Popular da Libertacao de Angola (MPLA), he photographed both the military and nation-building efforts of the freedom fighters there.

The February issue of **MOTIVE** magazine has published a 20-page celebration of the

struggle for liberation in Angola, featuring Hussein's photos and a history of the MPLA, an interview with Agostinho Neto, president of MPLA, and poems by Neto as translated by the English poet, Adrian Mitchell. In this way, the February issue of **MOTIVE** observes the tenth anniversary of the armed struggle in Angola.

Copies of the February issue (75 cents each) and of a special Angola poster (\$1.00 each) are available from **MOTIVE**, Box 871, Nashville, Tenn. 37202.

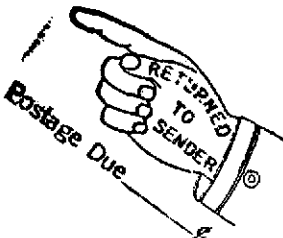
The World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), P.B. 206, 1211 Geneva 3, Switzerland, has reprinted several documents from the Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, June, 1970, in an attractive booklet entitled "The Rome Conference and the Portuguese Puppet." Single copies are available free from the WSCF. For bulk rates write for terms.

Project Mozambique Publications, 30 Albany Ave., Toronto 179, Ontario, Canada, has begun publication of a newsletter entitled **VENCEREMOS**. Annual subscription \$2.00.

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