

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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FEATURE ARTICLE

NAMIBIA AND THE WORLD COURT

INTERNATIONAL COURT DECISION ON NAMIBIA

Historical Background

In 1920, Namibia, a former German protectorate, was entrusted by the League of Nations under mandate to South Africa, to be administered as a "sacred trust of civilization" for the benefit of its inhabitants. Nevertheless, South African rule proved cruel and rapacious.

After World War II South Africa sought to annex the Territory, but the U.N. refused permission. The Union thereupon claimed that the mandate had lapsed when the League was dissolved (1946), that its sovereignty over the Territory existed "by right of conquest," and that it was not responsible to the U.N. (as successor to the League) for its administration of South West Africa. As if to emphasize this position, the Union introduced its apartheid system in the Territory.

In 1950 the General Assembly of the U.N. requested an Advisory Opinion from the Court as to the status of the Territory. The Court ruled that South West Africa remained a territory under international regime, subject to the supervision of the U.N., and that South Africa could not unilaterally alter its international status. In two follow-up Opinions the Court advised that the U.N. might follow its own (rather than League) procedure in voting on South West African matters and in hearing petitioners from the Territory.

South Africa ignored these opinions and continued its oppressive administration of the mandate. In 1960 Ethiopia and Liberia therefore sought to invoke a clause in the mandate agreement which empowered the Court to render a "binding" judgment (i.e., enforceable by the

Security Council). Six years later the Court held, 8-7, that, for procedural reasons, it should not rule on the merits of the case.

Shocked and outraged, the U.N. General Assembly adopted Resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, and ordered it out of the Territory. It subsequently created a Council for Namibia (as South West Africa was renamed), to act as an interim administration until the people of the Territory could freely elect their own government.

South Africa did not, of course, give up the Territory, but, instead, integrated it more closely into the Republic of South Africa. Repeated U.N. resolutions had no effect on Pretoria nor on the states whose citizens poured funds into the Territory to exploit its vast mineral wealth (and to support the system which made this exploitation possible).

New Recourse to the Court

Finally, delegates interested both in restoring the Court's prestige (shattered after the 1966 decision) and in taking some new initiative vis-a-vis Namibia, persuaded the Security Council, despite strong African misgivings, to give the Court, in effect, a chance to redeem itself. They requested an Advisory Opinion on the "legal consequences for states" of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia, despite Security Council resolutions directing it to get out. The Council was informed that this wording would preclude the Court from inquiring into the validity of Resolution 2145 (a poorly worded resolution, which South Africa had always challenged) since its validity would be a "given" in the proceeding.

African misgivings were justified insofar as the "assurances" about Resolution 2145 were concerned. All the states which submitted briefs to the Court—including

those represented on the Security Council—concentrated on the question before it.

In principle, participants in Advisory Opinion proceedings merely share their information and legal lore with the Court, more or less as *amici curiae*. In practice, the oral hearings were attended by spokesmen for a half score parties, including the U.N. Secretary-General and the O.A.U., acting in effect as complainants, and by an extremely aggressive team of South African lawyers representing what amounted to the defense.

The complainants agreed on little but the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia—and on their mutual desire not to discuss "consequences." (The American statement, one of the few to mention "consequences," was so weak as to be almost counterproductive, while even the Secretary-General's position was general and cautious.) They differed on the legal bases for their conclusions, and frequently their presentations flatly contradicted one another. Individual African states did not participate; the O.A.U. representative spoke for all of free Africa. Among the Big Powers only the United States was represented—although France had submitted a written statement *attacking* Resolution 2145. Many of the participating states (e.g. South Vietnam!) had no or minimal direct interest in southern Africa.

By contrast, South Africa, with singleness of purpose and approach and unlimited funds, had co-opted much of the country's best legal talent from government, universities, and private practice to produce 900 pages of written argument. It then sent a clutch of senior lawyers to the Hague, where their presentations took up nearly four weeks of oral hearings.

The South Africans challenged the right of the Court to hear the case at all on the ground that it was a political body, with members chosen for their sympathy for Third World aspirations rather than for their judicial qualities. Failing that, they went on to ask that President Khan and Judges Nervo and Morozov be removed on the basis of statements made by them as government representatives before joining the Court. In addition, South Africa sought the right to appoint an ad hoc judge, as it would have been entitled to in a contentious proceeding (like the earlier Ethiopian-Liberian proceeding against South Africa). All these motions were announced to the press by the Republic's representatives in violation of international decorum and of rules applied in South Africa to matters before a court. The motions were denied, but it is interesting to note that the American and Nigerian judges both voted for the appointment of an *ad hoc* judge.

Going further, the Republic's lawyers also challenged the validity of all Security Council resolutions concerning Namibia (including necessarily the one requesting the Advisory Opinion) on the ground that the Council was invalidly constituted since the Chinese delegation did not represent the people of China! As the Secretary-General's representative pointed out, this argument could invalidate every action ever taken by the Council.

The most stunning ploy was the "plebiscite proposal," viz., that the Court should join with the South African Government in conducting a plebiscite in the Territory to determine whether the inhabitants would prefer to be administered by the U.N. or by South Africa. Official reactions to the proposal ranged from dead silence to outright rejection on both technical and substantive grounds. It appeared, however, that some governments would have welcomed a plebiscite, if it could have been plausibly fairly conducted, as a means of quietly disposing of the Namibian issue.

POSTSCRIPT

On June 21, the International Court, in a 13 to 2 vote, ruled that South Africa is occupying Namibia illegally and that it should end its administration at once. The British and French judges cast the opposing votes. The Court also ruled by 11 votes to 4 that 'Members of the United Nations are under obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of or concerning Namibia, and to refrain from any acts and in particular any dealing with the Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality or, or lending support or assistance to, such presence and administration,' and that it is incumbent on non-member states as well to abide by the Court's ruling. In these votes the Swedish and Nigerian judges also dissented.

The Court had been asked to rule on the 'Legal consequences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia.' As was feared, its ruling with regard to the 'consequences' was very vague. So now the whole problem of defining 'consequences' and implementing them is thrust back upon the Security Council.

The South West Africa People's Organization was quick to summarize the logical consequences of the Court's ruling. Some of these are as follows: Since there is now only one legal authority, the United Nations, it has in law the powers and obligations of an administering authority, and all member States have a duty to assist it... All the States members of the United Nations must adopt an attitude of non-recognition to South African claims to authority on Namibia... Namibia is no longer under South Africa jurisdiction and the logical consequence is that all treaties concluded by South Africa with foreign countries have ceased to be in force. We further demand that all States which have economic and other interests in Namibia to refrain from any dealings with the illegal Government of South Africa. Moreover, they must ensure that Companies and industrial enterprises owned by foreign nationals and States cease all dealings with South African Government with respect to concessions in Namibia. (SWAPO Press Release, June 21, New York Times, June 22, 1971)



An armed struggle has been launched—this is the only choice we have left for liberating our country.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

TRANSKEI DEMANDS CONFOUND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima, made an extraordinary speech at the annual congress of the Transkei National Independence Party. He demanded an end to "second class citizenship under the policy of separate development. Specifically he called for: (1) The transfer to the Transkei Government of all departments in the Transkei still under the control of the South African Government. (2) The incorporation in the Transkei of the districts of Port St. Johns, Mount Currie, Maclear, Elliot, and Matatiele. These are presently "white" areas. (3) A greater contribution by the South African Government towards industrial development in the Transkei. (4) The replacement by Transkei citizens of whites in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and the Department of Transport. (5) Higher pay for Transkei civil servants. (6) A review of the financial relations between the Transkei and the South African Government. (7) A complete reorientation of the South African Government's labor policy. (Star, Johannesburg, April 17, 1971)

The Transkei, which became partially self-governing seven years ago, at present only administers internal government departments such as roads and works and agriculture. The Transkei is dependent for at least 75 percent of its finances on the South African Government and can provide jobs for less than a quarter of its labor force. Most men in the Transkei leave their wives and families tending small holdings while they work in the gold mines.

In the past, Matanzima has shown support for the policy of separate development. He has rarely criticized the Government. The Transkei is the first so-called "independent" African state of the planned eight independent black states in South Africa. (Times of Zambia, Lusaka, April 15, 1971)

Call for Botha's Resignation

There has been strong reaction to Matanzima's demands. He has been supported in the Transkei Legislative Assembly. Members of his party have carried on the demands and called for the resignation of Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration. Botha has been called "the main stumbling-block on the Transkei's road to independence" and the Transkei Government has lost all confidence in him and wants him replaced. (Star, Johannesburg, May 1, 1971)

Botha was astonished by Matanzima's demands. He reprimanded Matanzima, saying that a public speech was not the way in which the issues should have been raised. "Matters of this nature were dealt with in the privacy of offices." He told the Chief that he would, this once, answer him in public, in the House of Assembly, when he was ready. (Star, Johannesburg, April 17, 1971) In the House of Assembly, Botha gave Matanzima a tongue-lashing. While insisting that Matanzima and other African leaders of "Native Governments" wholeheartedly supported the Government's policy of apartheid, he made it clear that he would not tolerate leaders of fledgling Bantustans making public demands or attempting to hold the Nationalists to ransom in any way.

Botha was most upset about the land question. Matanzima's demand for five "white areas" was flatly refused. "I want to say very clearly that they are White districts, and this Government has no intention

whatsoever of including them in the Bantu area of the Transkei..." Botha said it was an "inherent" characteristic of the African people to "go on and on" asking for something, even if they had already been refused. Further he denied Matanzima's claim that the Transkei is overcrowded. It was not overpopulated, though it might be incorrectly populated in some parts, according to Botha.

Christianly and Ethical?

Mr. Botha also took exception to Chief Kaiser Matanzima's statement that it was not right or Christianly ethical for Africans to have only 13 percent of the country's land. It was not Christianly ethical, he said, that land which Whites had developed and owned should be "given away" for the asking to Africans who were not prepared to care for their own land. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 17, 1971)

The opposition United Party has used Matanzima's demands as an opportunity to criticize the policy of separate development. Botha was severely criticized for his attack on Matanzima. According to the United Party, no Nationalist could take exception to Chief Kaiser's demands—"he is merely asking the Government to carry out its policy." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 20, 1971)

The leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graff, said that his party had warned again and again that this sort of thing would inevitably happen. When the Nationalist Government made promises to a developing people, those people would take the Government seriously and would tend to take control of the timetable. "The great metropolitan powers of Europe could not resist the impatience of their African colonies. . . . It seems that a similar psychology is obviously developing in the Transkei and in the other Bantu areas of South Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, April 17, 1971)

Demand for Land to Continue

Debate has continued with the Legislative Assembly of the Transkei. Chief George Matanzima, Minister of Justice, said that the demand for land would not be dropped. He explained that the demands were not new. Appropriation of the land in question had been discussed with Dr. Verwoerd at the time that the Transkei was given self-government. Self-government would have been delayed if the five areas in question had been included at that time, as the necessary negotiations on the land would take years to complete. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 20, 1971)

Chief George has also said that whites living in an independent Transkei will suffer the same disabilities as Africans living in the Republic. The Transkei will not abandon apartheid until the Republic abolishes it. Until then, an independent Transkei would carry on with the disabilities imposed on the other side of the line. For example, visiting Europeans staying in Transkei hotels would be given the back rooms as are Africans outside the Bantustans. (Star, Johannesburg, May 1, 1971)

The leader of the Opposition in the Transkei Legislative Assembly, Mr. Knowledge Guzana, has accused Matanzima's Government of using separate development as a stalking horse to shoot down the white man. Guzana's attack came after a speech by Mr. Tshumungwa who said the Black giant of Africa was on the march, and

only the "confoundedly stupid" Transkei Opposition was out of step. Mr. Tshumungwa said he had always been a Black nationalist who believed in Africa for the Africans. He had used the African National Congress, the All Africa Congress, and the Unity Movement in the fight for his people, and they had all failed. The only platform left from which the Africans can fight to liberate their people is the one given under separate development in the Transkei.

Reacting to this speech, Guzana realistically warned the Transkei Government not to think it could get away with a unilateral declaration of independence like Rhodesia's.

The Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, interjected, "Why not?" (Star, Johannesburg, April 24, 1971)

(Editorial Note: This standpoint of Kaiser Matanzima is only an extension of his pledge when he was elected in 1964. "Matanzima, the creature of the Nationalists, was able to pose as the apostle of African Nationalism by pledging to strive for independence from South Africa" (Brian Bunting: The Rise of the South African Reich, pp. 483-4).

The development of the Transkei into a truly independent African state is an easily explodable myth (see "The Bantustan Policy: The Myth of Separate Development," in the March and April, 1971 issues of SOUTHERN AFRICA). By continuing to insist that the Transkei will become a truly independent state, he is in fact dancing to the South African Government's tune and continues to be a "creature of the Nationalists."

TEN YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC—NOTHING TO CELEBRATE

On May 31, 1971 the South African Government celebrated the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. In the 1960 republican referendum, only whites were allowed to vote. Those voting for a Republic totaled 850,458; those against 775,878—a pro-Republican majority of only 52.3 percent. And in the ten years of the Republic, white rule has been even more firmly established. The Coloured vote was finally abolished in 1968, and the House of Assembly which was elected last year was the first in which no section of the black

majority, comprising 82 percent of the total population, enjoyed any form of representation whatsoever.

Nor surprisingly, most sections of the population will have nothing to do with the Republic celebrations. African university students will not take part. Instead they are organizing a protest. The call for a boycott of the celebrations and for the launching of a protest was made by the all-African South African Student's Organization. (Star, Johannesburg, April 10, 1971)

In January the national executive of the Coloured Labour Party said participation in the festival implied acceptance of apartheid.

The President of the National Union of South African Students, Mr. Neville Curtis, has also gone on record in support of a boycott of the celebrations. "What have 10 years of Republic brought us and what have 23 years of Nationalist rule achieved?" he asked. He cited several examples of disparity between the treatment of whites and non-whites. Only 0.1 percent of the African population had matric or school-leaving certificates, and expenditure on African education was less than one-eighth of that on white education. "It is not unfair to conclude that after 23 years of Nationalist rule and after 10 years of Republic, South Africa is a sicker society than it was," he said.

The Vorster Government is bringing tremendous pressure on black communities to take part in the celebrations. But most South Africans have absolutely nothing to celebrate. (The African Communist, London, No. 45 Second Quarter, 1971)

TELEVISION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The decision has finally been made to introduce television to South Africa, but it will be four years before service actually starts. Service will begin with a single channel, broadcasting in English and Afrikaans. As soon as possible after this, a second channel for Africans living in the Witwatersrand area will be introduced. Zulu and Sotho will be the languages of this channel. In what is called the second phase of development, there will be separate channels for English and Afrikaans, and the introduction of a Xhosa channel. Critics say four years is far too long for development. (Star, Johannesburg, May 1, 1971)



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



Apartheid has destroyed and divided our families. We are forced to live in misery.



FATE OF UNITY MOVEMENT DETAINEES

On February 10, 1971, at least 20 members of the Unity Movement of South Africa and the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa were arrested. They included Africans, Coloureds and Indians. According to the South African Press, ten persons were detained in the Cape Peninsula, one in the Transkei and others in Natal and the Transvaal. The police declined to give details on the arrests. (United Nations, Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 8/71 February, 1971).

A spokesman for the Unity Movement in London explained that while the Movement is not banned, members are regularly harassed and arrested near the north-western border between South Africa and Botswana. The Unity Movement is a national liberation movement which works underground among the people and is definitely committed to revolution in South Africa. The spokesman said that the majority of the leadership of the movement is still in South Africa, and that these people are working among the peasants.

There was very little publicity about the arrests in February. At that time the Unity Movement did not know what had happened to most of those who had been arrested. All attempts to trace them were blocked by the police. (Johannesburg, Sunday Express, 2/28/71).

On June 16, 14 men were charged under the Terrorism Act. All 14 are alleged to have been members or active supporters of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) and the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) also known as the Unity Movement. The men who were remanded in custody for summary trial in the Maritzberg Supreme Court on August 2 were: Kader Hassim (Maritzburg attorney), Joseph Bransby Vusani (Johannesburg attorney), Mogami Josiah Moeng, Msolwane Mbela, Pindiso Zimambane, Dam Gideon Mahanjane, Ncikwa Nagi Vimba, Max Bantwini Tabata, Frank Anthony (Cape Town teacher), Robert Cedric Wilcox (Cape Town accountant), Albert Kwenzi Tshangana, Montford Mzoli Mabuto, Joseph Tshukudu Maleka, Surinarayan Kala Venketrathnam (Durban law student).

It is alleged in the first count that the men conspired with various Apdusa and Neum members now in Zambia to receive, collect, solicit and hold funds available to finance a campaign to recruit people in South Africa to undergo political and military training and to persuade and assist people to leave the country secretly and also to assist people to evade the police.

It is also alleged in the first count that the 14 men endangered the maintenance of law and order and, with Apdusa and the Neum, sought to overthrow the Government by force of arms and with foreign assistance. In the third count, certain of the accused are alleged to have incited, instigated, or procured at least 32 people to undergo military training. (Johannesburg, Rand Daily Mail, June 17, 1971).

NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE FROM LSM

A new magazine carrying news on liberation movements, and on support activities in North America, is Punji Stick (\$5/year; \$10/year for libraries). It is put out by LSM (Liberation Support Movement), which also has a large selection of literature particularly from liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, and is available from either of two addresses:

LSM P. O. Box 814 Berkeley, Cal. 94609	LSM P. O. Box 338 Richmond, B.C., Canada
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SOUTH AFRICA'S HOSTAGES

A VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA BY THE SWAZI PRIME MINISTER

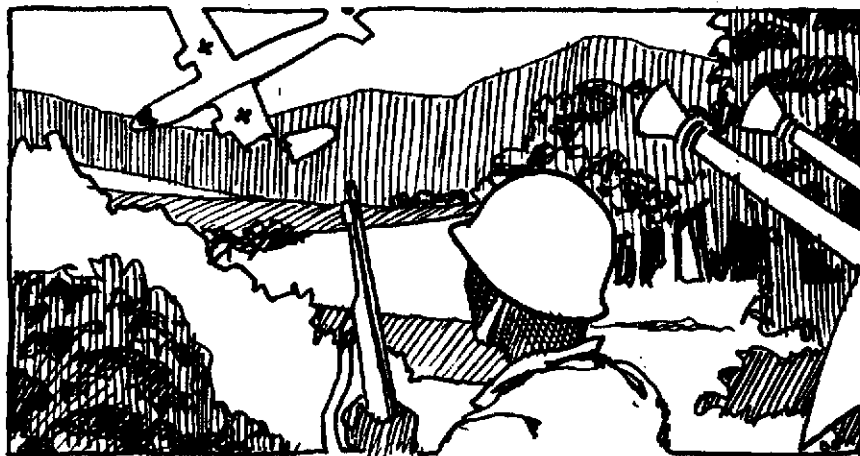
On March 26, the Prime Minister of Swaziland, Prince Makhosini Dlamini, made a surprise and controversial visit to South Africa. He is the second prime minister of an independent black African country to visit the Republic (five years ago Chief Jonathan of Lesotho met with Verwoerd). The purpose of the prince's visit is still unclear. Dlamini delivered a statement from King Sobhuza II which conveyed Swaziland's gratitude for various kinds of assistance and her wish for increased friendship and cooperation between the two countries. No communique was issued at the close of the discussions which were attended by the prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs of each country as well as the Swazi minister of works, power, and communications. Subsequently the South African press speculated that discussions covered the establishment of a rail link and diplomatic relations between the two neighbors. The Swazi Department of Foreign Affairs issued a sharp denial of this in mid-April.

The question of dialogue between independent majority-ruled African states and South Africa has been the source of heated debate across the continent for several months. Swaziland's position on this issue, more pressing to her than to most states, of course, and unlikely to be contrary to South Africa's wishes, was clarified in the post-visit communique which stated: "Swaziland will not take unilateral action on the dialogue question, particularly if such action is unconnected with the Lusaka Manifesto. Swaziland considers it common knowledge that because of her geographical position the need to discuss development problems with her neighbors must arise at one time or another." Swaziland appears to be continuing in her position of following a middle course in nuances of warmth displayed toward South Africa by the three former High Commission Territories. (Star, Johannesburg, April 3, 1971; Christian Science Monitor, March 31, 1971; South African Digest, April 2, 1971; Times of Swaziland, April 23, 1971)

LITTLE CHANGE IN LESOTHO

Lesotho has adopted some of the slogans and rationale of a country trying to break out of dependence on South Africa. However, the new phrases seem at this point only to be window dressing for a policy of modernizing the control South Africa has over this poverty-stricken enclave. The projects envisioned in the five-year plan and by one of its agents of implementation, the Lesotho National Development Corporation, include the expansion of the diamond industry, the construction of facilities to attract tourists, specialization in agriculture, marketing of quality handicrafts, and development of import-substitution industries. The Malibamatso River Dam will harness hydroelectric and water resources (primarily benefiting South Africa). The main—almost sole—market and source of investment funds is South Africa. Geographic and economic realities leave Lesotho little room for choice, and dependence on South Africa's good will remains a continuing fact of life.

Internally and internationally there is little change in Chief Jonathan's control of the situation. He is acceptable to South Africa and uses repressive measures to ensure only low level opposition at home. What few alterations in the political scene there have been are of public relations value rather than symptomatic of any relaxation of his grip. Moshoeshe II returned from virtual exile in Europe in December but only by agreeing to Jonathan's measures to leave him without power. Some political prisoners have been released but not the most important. The curfew has lifted in the towns but not in the countryside. A National Savings and Development Bank is to be set up but one wonders if its establishment is for the announced purpose of keeping Basuto savings from flowing out of the country or to provide a war chest for the use of the ruling group in Lesotho. Moving with the times, Jonathan speaks out in favor of the Africans living in minority-ruled countries, as long as they achieve the necessary political changes peacefully, "on the basis of the Christian principles on which we stand," presumably the same Christian principles on which the South African governments stands as well. (Chief Jonathan's address to the U.N., Oct. 19, 1970; News from Lesotho [Lesotho Embassy publication], Feb. 18, 1971; Africa Digest, Feb. 1971; Star, Johannesburg, Feb. 20, 1971; Financial Gazette [South Africa], March 26, 1971; and News Agencies, March 27, 1971)



THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

CAETANO WORRIED BY SUBVERSIVES

In a speech in Porto, Portugal on April 2, Prime Minister Caetano gave vent to his feelings about subversion, and his analysis of the problems of Portugal. One excerpt from that speech reveals how worried Portugal's rulers are about opposition to the war:

"Subversive war feeds terrorist acts, here and there, with attacks that create insecurity among the people and force troops and police to spread out. . . . Instead of occupying territory and fighting fixed battles, its aim is the demoralization of populations, accompanied by the infiltration of an insidious propaganda that first shakes the spirits of acquired certainties, and then makes use of doubts to create instability and discontent until, finally, it wins a large audience and support that destroys the reflexes of defense and the will to fight, leading to capitulation.

"In this war there is neither front nor rear guard. The front is everywhere the enemy tries to instill his defeatist ideas, recommending the giving up of the Overseas, inciting youths of military age to emigration or soldiers to desertion, insinuating the love of country is out-of-date. . . . There are hot zones of subversion in certain places in the overseas provinces. But in the Metropole a fifth column is working for them! Never forget that!" (Noticias de Portugal, April 10, 1971)

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES LEAVE MOZAMBIQUE

Relations between Portugal and the Catholic Church, which received a shock last year when the Pope received representatives of MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC (Southern Africa, July-August 1970), have been further hit by an unprecedented step: the White Fathers missionary order has decided to withdraw all their missionaries from Mozambique. In a public statement, the White Fathers' General Council in Rome charged the Portuguese with confusion of church and state. The statement condemned the refusal of the Portuguese hierarchy to take a position in the face of "injustices and police brutalities." The statement continued: "Faced with a silence which we do not understand, we feel in conscience that we do not have the right to be included among the accomplices of the official support which the bishops, in this way, seem to give to a regime which shrewdly uses the Church to consolidate and perpetuate an anachronistic situation in Africa."

Forty members of the White Fathers working in Mozambique left after the statement. Having planned to leave by July 1, on May 25 they were served with immediate expulsion orders by the Portuguese authorities. The Portuguese Foreign Minister Rui Patricio charged that two members of the order had been responsible for recruiting terrorists and for "insulting the Portuguese flag and the name of Portugal." (Le Monde, May 22, 1971; New York Times, May 29, 1971, June 6, 1971)

NATO MEETS IN LISBON

The NATO Foreign Ministers Conference opened in Lisbon on June 3 to the accompaniment of four explosions that crippled telephone communications by causing substantial damage at Lisbon's main post office and a telephone exchange in Sacavem, a Lisbon suburb. The action was said to be the work of Armed Revolutionary Action, a group active in sabotage against Portugal's colonial wars.

But the NATO Ministers continued their meeting, and confirmed as the new Secretary-General the NATO

Foreign Minister Joseph M.A.H. Luns, a man known for his enthusiastic support of Portugal's African wars. The Angola Comite, of the Netherlands, has provided background information on Luns' stand which shows conclusively where his sympathies lie.

To quote Luns: ". . . It cannot be denied that Portugal has been responsible for significant cultural progress in its overseas territories; it would not benefit any of the parties concerned if Portugal were to allow expressions of violent nationalism to bring about its premature departure from Angola, thus leaving Angola open to turn into a second Congo." (1961)

About the arms deliveries of NATO countries to Portugal, Luns said: "So-called NATO arms do not exist, each country has its own responsibilities and the NATO as such has no authority on this matter." (1970)

And a recent remark concerning criticism of his attitude towards Portuguese colonialism: ". . . and then to realize that Portugal sacrifices its blood for our freedom." (1971)



Uitgave: Angola Comite
Altenburg 213
Amsterdam. 020-196511
Postbus 60657 t.n.v. penningmeester
Angola Comite, Amsterdam

GERMAN AID FOR PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS

The West German Ministry of Defense has announced that Portuguese soldiers wounded during operations in Angola and Mozambique are being cared for in Germany, at the military hospital in Hamburg. (Times of Zambia, March 26, 1971)

The choice of Luns, and the decision to hold the NATO meeting in Portugal, symbolizes the continuing strong ties of NATO with Portugal. While it is unlikely that any official statement extending NATO jurisdiction to the South Atlantic will be issued (as Portugal and South Africa would like), the Anglo-American emphasis on Indian Ocean "defense," and the increased willingness of the Nixon and Heath administrations to loosen up the restrictions on arms for the white regimes in Southern Africa ensure that in practice NATO and the white regimes continue to develop closer relationships.

Meanwhile, in Indianapolis, Indiana some 200-300 demonstrators protested against Portugal and NATO at a NATO-sponsored conference on urban problems. The conference had been set up by Mayor Richard G. Lugar, president of the National League of Cities and an ally of President Nixon. (New York Times, May 27, 29, June 4, 1971; American Committee on Africa Fact Sheet, June 2, 1971; Angola Comite statement)

PORTUGUESE SHIP SABOTAGED OFF MOZAMBIQUE

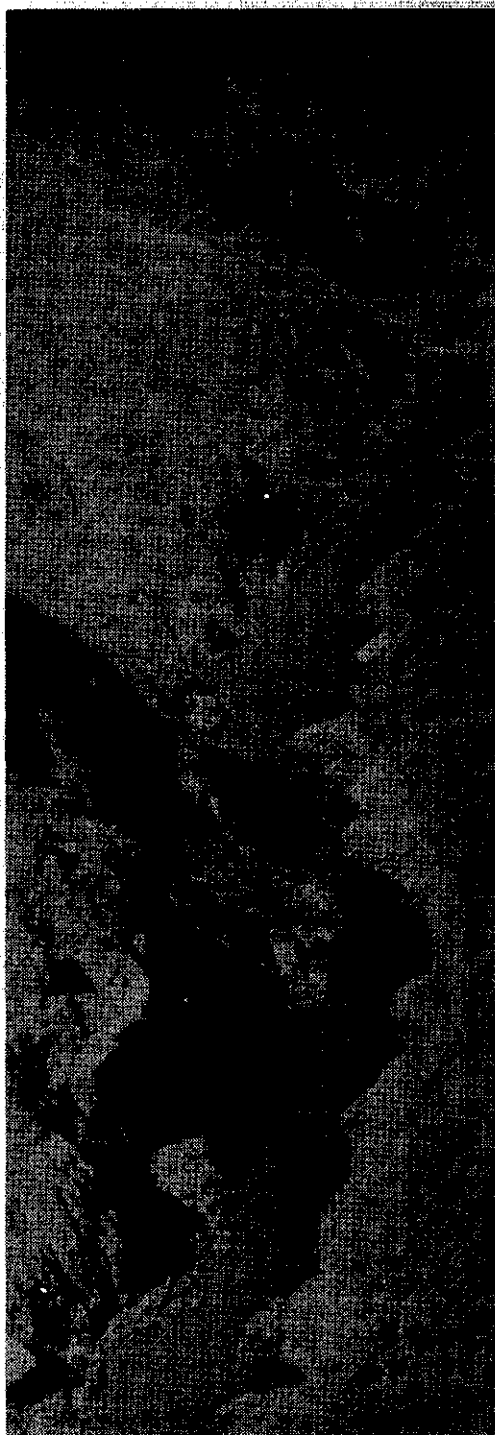
After some uncertainty in earlier reports, it now seems clear that Portugal's underground resistance group, Armed Revolutionary Action, is responsible for the successful attack on the Portuguese munitions ship Angoche, found drifting off the Mozambique coast in late April. The Portuguese authorities had accused FRELIMO of holding the crew, but FRELIMO denials and the fact that the ship was found a considerable distance to the south of the major areas of FRELIMO operation have led observers to conclude that Armed Revolutionary Action had succeeded in extending its sabotage activities from metropolitan Portugal to the Indian Ocean. The officers and crew of the Portuguese ship Chinde, sister-ship of the Angoche, have refused to sail for northern Mozambican ports without assurances of better protection. The South African Navy and Air Force are planning to step up coastal patrols in response to the incident. South African Defense Minister P. W. Botha has repeated his warning of the dangers of "terrorism" and "piracy" on the high seas. (Guardian, U.K., May 12, 14, 1971; Sunday Nation, Nairobi, May 16, 1971)

G.E. EXPORT-IMPORT BANK PULL OUT OF CABORA BASSA

In the third defeat suffered by Portugal in its attempt to involve international companies in the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project, the General Electric Company has withdrawn from the project, cancelling its request to the Export-Import Bank for financing a \$55 million sale of transformers. It has, however, been discovered that G.E. holds interest in A.E.G., a German firm involved in transformer supplies to Cabora Bassa. (Previously a Swedish and an Italian company have withdrawn as a result of pressures in those countries.) Protest from groups around the country and pressure from Congress, especially Congressmen Reuss, Diggs, Dellums, and Bingham and Congresswoman Abzug; and Senators Javits and Hughes evidently induced G.E. to withdraw its applications. Export-Import Bank loans for Boeing 707 Jets for transport of Portuguese troops, however, also went through in the last week of May. And the supply of helicopters for Cabora Bassa from Bell Helicopters also came to light, showing that the G.E. withdrawal does not indicate a general decision by the United States not to participate in the project. (American Committee on Africa Notes, May 21, 1971; New York Times, May 1, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, May 15, 1971)

NEW TRAINING COURSE FOR PORTUGUESE OFFICERS

From March 22-26, 1971 a training course was held at the Institute for Advanced Military Studies in Lisbon attended by approximately fifty Portuguese officers. The meeting was opened by American Admiral Fluckey, commander of the NATO Iberlant headquarters in Portugal. Among the speakers were Professors Paul Fecker, John Dawson, and A. Maner, from the U.S. Naval Post-Graduate School; L.E. Olwine and C.G. Nuckels, from the U.S. Defense Department; Mr. Willie from the British Defense Department and Brigadier E. F. Monkman and Colonel T. A. Marshal from Canada. (Diario de Noticias, March 21, 1971)



Site where the Cabora Bassa Dam will be built



BELL MILITARY HELICOPTERS

AMERICAN HELICOPTERS FOR CABORA BASSA

Although the direct G. E. sale was doomed, other forms of U.S. aid to Cabora Bassa have appeared. Most recently, ACOA in a press release called attention to the sale of five Bell helicopters worth \$616,000 to the Zambezi Development Office, the overall Portuguese Government supervisory agency in charge of Zambezi Valley development and the Cabora Bassa project. Bell Helicopters, which receives huge U.S. government contracts and has a South African outlet, is a Fort Worth, Texas subsidiary of Textron, Inc. The helicopters of which the five were only the first batch were assembled in Beira, Mozambique by Portuguese technicians (Agence France Presse, Jan. 12, 1971). The need for air support for the dam project is more urgent given greater FRELIMO land activity in the Tete region. Protests should be sent to your Congressmen, Bell Helicopters, P.O. Box 482, Fort Worth, Texas, and the White House.

PORTUGUESE LOSSES REVEALED

Meanwhile, the Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin (April, 1971) reports on the "minimized losses from Portuguese war communiques and press from October 28, 1970 to Jan. 16, 1971," as:

KILLED ARMED FORCES

Guinea	45
Angola	53
Mozambique	56
TOTAL	154

Numbers for the wounded are rarely given, and this time no numbers were given for the Militia wounded and killed.

The sum total for 11 weeks and 3 days is 154 men killed. The sum total of Portuguese extremely minimized losses for the whole of 1970, according to the official Portuguese sources, was 905 killed, 938 wounded, and 518 missing; that is 1,423 killed and missing and a total loss of 2,361 soldiers in 1970.

CORRECTION: MUSKIE PORTUGUESE STATEMENT

In the April issue of Southern Africa (p. 9) an item on "Muskie and the Portuguese" expressed scepticism about the position taken by Senator Muskie vis-a-vis U.S. ties with Portugal, and implied that Muskie's foreign policy advisor Lake had close ties with supporters of Portugal. We are informed that we were in error about Mr. Lake, who, while he worked on Kissinger's staff, resigned from it over the Cambodia invasion. We apologize to Mr. Lake. However, the doubts about Senator Muskie's position have not entirely been allayed. He has opposed the more blatant support given to Portugal by the Nixon administration, such as the sale of jets. But his statement stops short of calling for the breaking of NATO ties with Portugal, and the ceasing of investments in Portuguese Africa. But Southern Africa readers can judge for themselves; Senator Muskie said: "We have an . . .

"We have an obligation to try to persuade Portugal to see the wisdom and necessity of bringing to a prompt end her military activities in Africa and to grant the right of self-determination to all people in her overseas territories.

"If Portugal refuses to end her colonial policies in Africa, we may be confronted with a hard choice between our treaty relations with Portugal and our interests in the peaceful development of self-determined nations in Africa. I hope they change their policies, and we are not faced with that choice. But if we are, then we must not operate on the automatic assumption that these relations with Portugal are more important than our African interests and responsibilities."

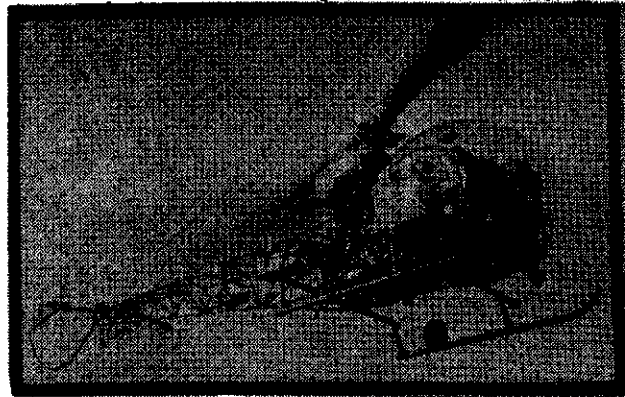
And in a later statement:

"What practical meaning is there . . . in a foreign policy which would condemn colonialism verbally and support it with material goods? Boeing 707 jetliners may not, strictly defined, be arms under the terms of the 1961 embargo. They may fall into that gray area that exists between the intent of a measure and its language.

"But the airplanes are clearly used to further repressive policies in Africa, policies the United States is on record as opposing. It will certainly be so regarded by Africans. . . .

Similarly, the administration has failed to take a strong stand against Britain's violation of the South African arms embargo in its recent provision of helicopters to the South African Government. As I have said before, I believe we must both maintain the arms embargo ourselves and seek to persuade our allies to do likewise. . . .

"I would hope that the administration would reconsider and reverse its approval of the transaction, before it is completed. But failing that, perhaps the best safeguard against further such action lies in broadened public awareness of such activities by this country in support of colonialism in Africa." (Congressional Record, May 5)



VISIT TO GUINEA (BISSAU)

In the previous issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA, excerpts of an account by a journalist's visit to the Portuguese troops in Guinea (Bissau) was published.

The following excerpts are from a report by Andy Marx (of Liberation News Service). (See SOUTHERN AFRICA, May, 1971.)

Thursday, October 1 - When the Portuguese were here we were always tired - very, very tired. We were working for the Portuguese all the time, working on their roads, working to pay their taxes - - and there were taxes on everything in those days, on houses, animals, crops, even dogs. They captured people to work for them, forced them to work, tied them hand and foot if they would not go willingly. They did that to me, it was for the Buba road

The man is old, reputed to be the oldest person in the entire region. He sits on a small box, in a small clearing in the forest of Guinea-Bissau, and tries to explain why the people of this tiny Portuguese colony have taken up arms against the Portuguese.

The small clearing is in liberated territory. The Portuguese don't come here any more. They probably haven't been here for at least four or five years. But they aren't far away, they are never far away in this compact war zone. Every once-in a while we hear a rumbling noise and one of the soldiers who is traveling with me identifies it for me - "Trucks, Buba." (Buba is the nearest Portuguese garrison.)

Sunday, October 11 - All day long the jets have been overhead - Fiat fighter bombers supplied to Portugal through NATO, paid for by the U.S. By this time I've gotten fairly good at putting together the familiar sound of a jet plane with the idea that they would like to drop bombs on us without letting it upset me too much late this afternoon I heard them in a new way - not soaring high over head, but screaming in just above the tree tops. Bombing position, Joseph, my translator tells me. Even the guerrillas show some interest this time instead of completely ignoring the planes as usual.

But the bombs drop elsewhere - a couple of minutes further on toward the border. And their dull thud is mixed with the steady, hammering of anti-aircraft fire. No we aren't totally powerless against them.

In fact, as the guerrillas tell me every day, it is really the Portuguese who are powerless. The constant jets are only an expression of their frustration on the ground.

Today it is Bobo Keta who stresses that point for me and supplements it with a glimpse of the early days of the war, how it all began. Ten years ago Bobo Keta was a tailor and one of the most popular soccer players in the city of Bissau. Now at the age of 30 he has more than seven years of experience as a guerrilla leader behind him. He is a member of the central committee of the PAIGC and commander of the Xitole-Bafata Front.

[He said]: "There were twelve of us who made that first attack on the northern front - twelve of us armed with a few pistols and several hand grenades. The Portuguese immediately started bombing the villages and almost the entire population fled into the forest to set up new homes there. And very quickly, thanks to the

international prestige of our party and its organization of the interior, we overcame the problem of arms. Until you see what the situation is now. The Portuguese can come and drop bombs once in a while, but only rarely do they hit anything. And it is we who are on the offensive on the ground.

FRELIMO WOMEN'S LEADER DIES

On April 7, 1971, Josina Abiatar Machel died in a hospital in Dar es Salaam at the age of 25. Mrs. Machel was head of the section of social affairs of FRELIMO and was also responsible for the external affairs of the women's detachment of FRELIMO. Mrs. Machel was wife of Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO.

In a communique reporting her death, the FRELIMO executive committee said: "The example of her life as a militant of the Mozambican Revolution and the contribution she made, particularly in promoting the role of the Mozambican women in the Revolution, remains always with us and will be a guide and encouragement to continue the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism until final victory."

MILITARY ACTION AGAINST PORTUGUESE

According to a recent FRELIMO communique, FRELIMO fighters have killed 43 Portuguese soldiers in Tete Province, attacked four posts (Ncumbura, Chide, Catondo, and Cachula), destroyed six vehicles and a bridge in operations between December 21, 1970 and February 6, 1971. More recently two major Portuguese offensives have been launched in northern Mozambique, involving helicopter-borne Portuguese commandos. A new FRELIMO communique reports that these operations, which began on April 12, resulted in heavy casualties for Portuguese and that helicopters were brought back to evacuate them. (Standard of Tanzania, April 7, May 7, Daily Telegraph, April 20, 1971)

A PAIGC communique, reporting on the first four months of 1971, says that 472 Portuguese soldiers have been killed and hundreds more wounded in that period. The peak of the offensive was in April, the communique continued. During the four-month period PAIGC reported destroying three helicopters, two aircraft, and 57 military vehicles, plus 19 patrol boats. (Sunday News, Tanzania, May 16, 1971)

The Times of Zambia (April 20, 1971) reports a new edition of the MPLA magazine "Angola in Arms." According to "Angola in Arms," summing up the military drain during 1970, MPLA fighters killed a total of 1,803 enemy troops. Of these 298 were Angolans working for the Portuguese, and 42 were mercenaries drawn from the former Katangese gendarmes of the late Moise Tshombe. 385 landmines did the most damage and caused the most casualties; 25 bridges were sabotaged, 77 vehicles destroyed, and 33 Portuguese barracks attacked. The bulk of the activity was in the eastern part of Angola.

Jim Hoagland, writing in the Washington Post (May 16, 1971) confirms the presence of Katangese gendarmes in Angola, at Muie, who "are now fighting MPLA guerrillas. In the messhall at night, they sing in French a song called 'Tshombe will rise again'." At least 30 are reported to be at Muie, and another 100 rumored to be at Luso.

REPRINT

Why I Left South Africa

(Reprinted with Permission from the New York Times, June 4, 1971)

BY JOEL CARLSON

It is the duty of a lawyer to guard the individual against all invasions of his liberty by authority. It is his duty, too, to expose injustice, corruption and brutality. The measure of freedom in any society is the extent to which lawyers and others can fulfill these functions.

By the end of 1970 my ability to act as a lawyer in South Africa had been severely curtailed by the security police.

After I exposed security police torture of detainees, the Justice Minister used his arbitrary powers to have my passport removed. Eighteen detainees had died in detention. There was strong evidence of assaults, of electric shock and other tortures.

The withdrawal of my passport marked an intensification of the campaign to harass and intimidate me. When I used my telephone to insert a newspaper advertisement for the sale of my car (not giving my name or address) my car was shot up and extensively damaged hours later. My office and phone (and my bedroom too) were bugged. Privacy was impossible.

More difficult were the threats to my wife and children. There were the late-night abusive telephone calls and death threats. A Molotov cocktail was hurled at my study. My office was shot up. One morning I opened my mail to find a bomb in a book. Poison-pen letters named me Communist, capitalist Jew and extorter. Security police subjected some of my staff and clients to interrogation. This was coupled with handsome cash offers and threats of reprisals if the offers were rejected. One secretary suffered such reprisal and left the country with her family on a one-way exit permit.

These people were tainted only with the guilt of association with me. My efforts to protect them led to their being subjected to more frequent and longer hours of interrogation by security police.

And there was the ever-present threat of the 2 a.m. knock on the door and detention. I knew only too well the horrors of this. Three widows had come to me for help after their husbands had died in detention. I had first-hand knowledge of police methods of interrogation.

Persons detained were held incommunicado, in solitary and indefinitely, at the pleasure of the security police. I prepared for this with my wife. We planned what was to be done at home and in my office. Each night I put next to my bed toothbrush and shaving cream, which could also be used for lice and bugbites. I kept by my bedside a Bible presented to me by sympathetic churchmen and hoped I might be allowed that book in detention. I waited. But the plan was not to detain me, but to destroy me by smear.

It became clear that the battle I had begun 25 years earlier was fast coming to an end. My energy was spent in protecting those close to me and in keeping sane. The rest went to cases that were won in court but lost to arbitrary administrative action by security police.

In 1969 about 100 people were detained under the draconian Terrorism Act. Some six months later 22 of them were charted in a special court under the ambiguous "Suppression of Communism Act." When we exposed in court the weaknesses of the state case, the torture of both state witnesses and the defendants, the Attorney General withdrew the prosecution. As the judge solemnly acquitted the 22 defendants the security police waited.

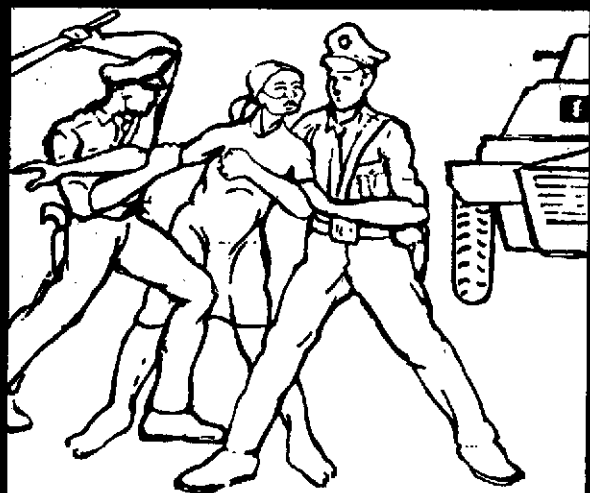
When the judge left the bench, they acted. The defendants were surrounded by armed police guards and redetained under the Terrorism Act. More than a year later they were again charged—this time under the Terrorism Act.

Another special court ruled the charges to be the same as before and again acquitted the defendants. The state unsuccessfully appealed but the security police did not await the outcome. All those acquitted were served with 5-year banning orders. Some were house arrested and all deprived of the enjoyment of the company of their family or friends.

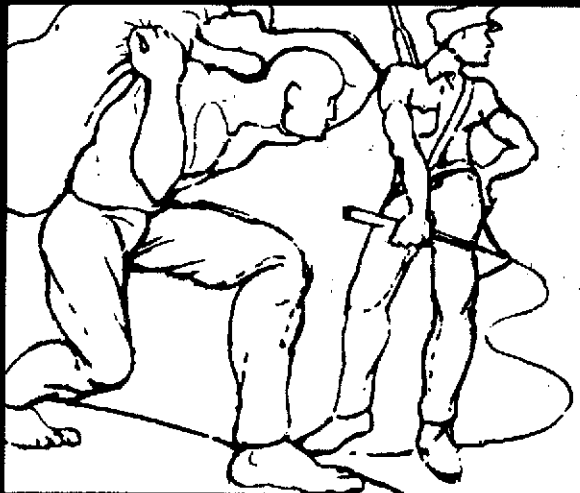
Punishment without trial—a regular feature of life in South Africa—and of people judged innocent was never so blatant. What more can a lawyer do than expose injustice and have clients acquitted? But in South Africa this is not enough.

The struggle for me inside South Africa was over. My wife and four young children deserved a better life and, perhaps, I too could contribute from abroad. I applied for the return of my passport and when once again I was refused I devised ways and means of leaving with my family. But that's another story.

Joel Carlson was the leading defense lawyer for black South Africans until he left his country clandestinely in May, 1971.



In the land of our birth we have no rights. Our people are hounded like animals by the police.



We have always resisted with strikes—the government always answered with batons and bullets.

ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

MUEDA MASSACRE COMMEMORATED

A couple dozen people gathered outside the U.S. Mission to the U.N. on June 16 to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the Mueda massacre in Mozambique. Speaking to newsmen who covered the demonstration was Sharfudine M. Khan, FRELIMO's representative to the U.S.

The Mueda massacre of June 16, 1960 occurred when the people of Mozambique had placed demands before the Portuguese provincial governor for land and liberty. The following quote by Albert-Joaquim Chipande, a FRELIMO guerrilla, tells the story best:

...some of these men had made contact with the authorities and asked for more liberty and more pay.... Then the governor invited our leaders into the administrator's office. They were in there for four hours. When they came out on the verandah, the governor asked the crowd who wanted to speak. Many wanted to speak, and the governor told them all to stand on one side. Then without another word he ordered the police to bind the hands of those who had stood on one side, and the police began beating them. I was close by. I saw it all. The people...began to demonstrate against the Portuguese, and the Portuguese simply ordered the police trucks to come and collect these arrested persons. At that moment the troops were still hidden, and the people went...to stop the arrested persons from being taken away. So the governor called the troops, and...told them to open fire. They killed about 600 (unarmed) people.... I myself escaped because I was close to a graveyard where I could take cover, and then I ran away.

The demonstration was organized by members of the Southern Africa Committee and the Committee for a Free Mozambique. A major focus on the part of the demonstrators was some guerrilla theater depicting U.S. complicity with Portugal (through NATO) and support of Portugal's colonial wars in Africa, both militarily and economically. NATO was a prime target, and the demonstrators urged U.S. to get out of NATO, and Portugal to get out of Africa.



Photographs courtesy of Mickey Smith

SCOTLAND CHURCH KNOCKS PETITIONERS ON SOUTH AFRICA

Church of Scotland's General Assembly voted down a petition which asked that the Church look at its economic ties with South Africa and indicate its solidarity with the African majority in South Africa. The Church Assembly, after being called by its convenor to vote down the petition, did accept a recommendation to look at the question of greater investment in underdeveloped countries. (Johannesburg, STAR, May 29, 1971)

BRITISH FIRMS ATTACKED BROADSIDE BY DAM BUSTERS MOBILIZING COMMITTEE

The anti-corporate efforts aimed at Southern Africa are definitely multinational. Witness this spring in England where both Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) and Barclays Bank were attacked forcefully and unrelentlessly, primarily on the issue of their aid to the Cabora Bassa Dam project. ICI, the largest British corporate entity, has a 42.5 per cent interest in a holding company, African Explosives and Chemicals Industries in South Africa, a firm heavily implicated in the South African armaments industry. (Anglo-American is also involved with AE and CI.) The company is also financing the sale of explosives to Cabora Bassa. At the ICI

John Thomson in the chair defended Barclays' multiracialism and aid to education in South Africa, while Sir Frederic Seeborn, chairman of Barclays DCO, denounced apartheid and defended the bank's attempts to change the system, reminiscent of the Polaroid rationale. The dambusters demonstration was cited by South African press as a 'grilling' for management. (Johannesburg Star, May 1, 1971). Barclays, in the United States and elsewhere, is trying to expand its control of the Southern Africa market. Its facilities in Mozambique will unite with those of the Banco Commercial de Angola, in which Barclays will gain a holding, thus expanding the bank's ties to Angola as well as Mozambique. (Noticias da Beira, March 6, 1971).

The Economic Commission for Africa has condemned West German and French ties with the dam project. (Times of Zambia, Feb. 1, 1971), while in Holland, the Dutch workers at the German subsidiary plant of Siemens, have pressured management against involvement in Cabora Bassa, enough so as to be expectant about a reply from the parent company in Germany. (Angola Comite newsletter, May, 1971).

DUTCH ACTIVITY MOUNTS

The intensification of action in Holland is exciting. The Angola Comite and other organizations sponsored an 'Angola Sunday' in late April, prior to elections for the Dutch Parliament. The Sunday provoked discussion of Dutch policy towards Portugal, including the campaign against the sale of Dutch civil aircraft, the Fokker Transport F-27, to Portugal, which the Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns (now secretary of NATO) admitted was used for military purposes. Press coverage was stimulated. The Comite has also contacted 20,000 Roman Catholic churches, and received a very high (30-40%) response. A door-to-door fund raising campaign for liberation movements has averaged 50 Dutch cents per family in some of the smaller towns. In addition there is a campaign against the import of Angolan coffee, and people have been urged to pay a voluntary coffee tax with the monies going to MPLA. (Angola Comite newsletter, May, 1971)

AID TO LIBERATION STRUGGLE DIVERSIFIES AND GROWS

Guyana, Sweden, England, Canada, churches, governments, groups - from many quarters, aid to the struggle of the movements for the liberation of Southern Africa is growing.

Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister of Guyana, announced a \$50,000 gift on the anniversary of Sharpeville, announcing that 'only through forceful action can we hope for any change' - a stark reply to the current dialogue motif. (Afro-American, April 27, 1971). In England, the Joseph Rowntree Social Service trust made a grant of \$72,000 to the work of the Mozambique Institute, the first such substantial donation from a British fund, and one which stimulated considerable uproar among the conservative establishment. (Morning Star, May 5, 1971).

The Lutheran World Federation was reported to be giving \$96,000 to the educational and medical activities of FRELIMO particularly for work in the liberated zones as well as foodstuffs and medical supplies. (Guardian, April 23, 1971). FRELIMO spokesman in Lusaka, however, reported no knowledge of the gift. (Times of Zambia, May 13, 1971). The British Labour Party announced the establishment of a Liberation Fund through which non-party funds will be raised essentially for non-military purposes although the monies will be given

BARCLAYS BANK

PRESEÇA MANTIDA
EM CABORA BASSA



D. C. O.
24, LOMBARD STREET
LONDRES

The above ad was placed by Barclay's Bank (London) in a Portuguese paper.

stockholder's meeting in early May, the company's stockholders were reported to have shouted down the Dambuster representatives, while a financier commented about the issues introduced by the mobilizers, 'It just isn't done, you know.' (New York, Wall St. Journal, May 4, 1971) A few days earlier Barclays Bank held a four hour meeting where the same group carefully questioned the chairman, who admitted that Barclays did have a credit line to a Cabora Bassa subcontractor, although asserted that the bank had no outstanding performance bonds with firms tied with the dam project. The twenty five protesters in the meeting called the bank to disassociate itself from Cabora Bassa, and throughout the meeting at each agenda item raised new points linking the bank with Southern Africa (The Times, London, April 27, 1971).

unconditionally. A resolution aimed at restricting the grant to medical supplies only was voted down. (The Standard, Tanzania, May 5, 1971). The decision was strongly condemned by both the Rhodesian and South African Governments (East African Standard, May 22, 1971).

World University Service (WUS), the international student organization, has decided to directly support the Southern African liberation movements, and is going to consult with the OAU about forms of aid. (Johannesburg, Star, May 8, 1971).

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic is granting massive amounts of tents, blankets, bedsheets, medicines and medical equipment to FRELIMO. President of the committee and a delegation travelled to Dar es Salaam and presented to FRELIMO mathematics books which have been prepared by FRELIMO and a former German teacher at the Mozambique Institute. 5,000 of the books will go to MPLA and PAIGC. (The Nationalist, Tanzania, May 6, 1971).

In Africa, the Lusaka based Africa 2000 group, has initiated a fund raising drive, in particular for school materials and agricultural implements appealing primarily to churches in Zambia. (Times of Zambia, Feb. 15, 1971).

Commenting on contributions such as those listed above, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola, and Guine editorialized:

These contributions result from the continuous work of education and mobilisation at a mass level and are an essential part of it. They are not charitable gestures, but an acknowledgement of political commitment to the liberation struggle. So, while welcoming and encouraging the donation of substantial sums from organisations such as the Rowntree Social Service Trust, from the Swedish Social Democratic Party and from other governments, agencies and groupings such as, hopefully, the British Labour Party, the mass campaigning must continue and expand. The Social Service Trust itself stated the view that £30,000 is perhaps half the amount of an acceptable contribution from Britain to the reconstruction programmes in Mozambique, where the budget for economic development alone requires a minimum of £350,000. And Angola and Guine have needs on a similar scale. (Guerrilheiro, April-May 1971).

ISSUE OF APARTHEID RAISED AT U.S. STOCKHOLDER'S MEETINGS

South Africa came up as one of many issues at American corporate stockholder's meetings this spring, including the Honeywell Corporation in Minneapolis and FMC Corporation, whose meeting was held in San Jose, California. At the latter meeting, 150 people protested outside while question upon question was asked at the meeting itself. One, appropriately asked when an option plan was being discussed, was, 'How many black employees in our South African subsidiary would enjoy the privilege of taking these stock options?' The answer from management: 'None.' (New York Times, May 3, 1971).

'SLANDERING OUR ALLIES'

Kits on Southern Africa being prepared for schools by anti-apartheid and anti-colonialist groups in England have been challenged by a Conservative MP, Harold Soref, who has appealed to the U.K. Government Education Minister to investigate the kits. 'Why should they pick on allies of this country - like South Africa and Portugal - for this slander?' (East African Standard, May 21, 1971).

ARMS SALE TO SOUTH AFRICA?

The following text has been distributed on a leaflet prepared by the Committee Against Arms for Apartheid in London:

Arms Sales to South Africa? NO!-----WHY?

* It will strengthen Apartheid - gratify the oppressors
dishearten the oppressed

* It will weaken Britain's influence - for justice, humanity, harmony abroad and at home

* It will distress Britain's friends. It will damage Britain's trade - greater elsewhere in Africa actual and potential

* It will lead to more sales of arms—the shopping list is ready; the buyers are here.

BLACK STUDENTS URGE BOYCOTT

The Committee for a Free Mozambique (New York) reports that the Black Student Union at Hunter College (New York) demonstrated in front of the Casa do Portugal, the Portuguese Tourist and Information Office, on May 4, to protest Portugal's imperialist wars in Africa and U.S. aid to Portugal. The 50 protesters called for an end to American tourism in Portugal, a boycott of Portuguese products, and an end to U.S. tax dollars going to arm the Portuguese.

COMPUTER PEOPLE FOR PEACE ACT ON SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUE

The Spring Joint Computer Conference, held semi-annually in the largest convention hall available (this year at Atlantic City), is a time when shiny computer technology is laid end to end with slick brochures, 'bunny' demonstrators and speeches by 'professionals' in the computer/information world. This year's convention, sponsored by computer companies (IBM is the largest), held in mid-May, included numerous sessions all of which ignored the awesome power of a computerized world. The only break in the regularized schedule were the sessions sponsored by the Computer People for Peace (C.P.P.) including those on data banks, racism/sexism in the industry, computers and the military, unemployment, and health systems. At the International session on May 19, panelists, including people from the U.S.S.R., France, U.K., and Japan, wove theories of the role of the computer in their respective societies. After the main speeches, C.C.P. representatives urged that the conference hear a South Africa writer, Harold Head, who then, because of group response, was allowed to speak. Mr Head reported on the deadly role of major computers companies in the South African pass book system, as well as the aggressive, materialistic role of Western technology in dealing with the Third World. When the floor was opened for questions, representatives of the American Committee on Africa and the C.P.P. began to ask about the panelists' attitudes toward the political implications of computer sales. The chairman of the meeting, Mr. Carl Hammer of ACM, quickly crushed the questions and called upon the audience for 'non political' 'technical' inquiries only. His ruling was not challenged by the audience of the panelists. The day before Mr. Head and others had spoken at a rally, and literature on computers in South Africa was included in C.P.P. material.

For further information write C.P.P., the Dolphin Center, 137A W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011 for the booklet, \$1.00, entitled 'Technological Warlords.'

Why 68 leading S.A. Computer users ordered 504 NCR magnetic tape encoders!

To Replace 717 Card Punch Machines and Millions of Punch Cards.

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Whatever the size of your data-processing installation . . . whatever the make of computer you use . . . even if it is in a computer bureau . . . NCR magnetic tape encoders provide the fastest, most efficient, most economical method of capturing data.

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NCR

NATIONAL CASH REGISTER COMPANY

THE U.S. COMPUTER INDUSTRY MOVES TO SOUTH AFRICA.

THE OUTLOOK: A MORE EFFICIENT POLICE STATE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN REGENTS REVERSES STUDENTS' POLICY ON RECRUITERS

In February, 1971, the Regents of the University of Michigan held a meeting at which 18 speakers expressed views about the decision of the Office of Student Services to ban recruiters on campus from 'corporations operating where discrimination is legally enforced on the basis on race, color, creed, or sex,' and cited South Africa. Since the policy was made in the fall of 1970, four corporations, IBM, General Foods, Dun and Bradstreet, and Ford, cancelled recruiting interviews on campus. The OSS was proposing the extension of the policy to include all branches of the University. In support of the proposal were nine student governments for university divisions, the vice president for student affairs, a social work professor, and members of the OSS Policy Board, student government spokesmen, while various deans of business, law and engineering schools spoke against the policy. (Michigan Daily, February 19, 1971).

On February 19, the Regents formulated a new policy which stated that 1) 'no placement services shall be made available to any organization or individual that discriminates in recruitment or employment against any person because of race, color, creed, sex, religion, or national origin, or that does not maintain an affirmative action program to assure equal employment opportunity. 2) Neither shall any placement service be made available for the purpose of recruitment for employment in any country where discrimination is legally enforced on the basis of race, color, creed, sex, religion, or national origin.' The new policy altered the former OSS ban as was explained by a letter to the paper by a member of the Brain Mistrust, one of the major groups working on the recruiter campaign:

'The Regents made clear the reason for this second, seemingly redundant paragraph in their verbal explanation

of the new policy. They said that the policy would bar from Placement offices organizations which discriminate in their interviewing and hiring of University students, as well as companies recruiting to fill job positions in South Africa. In other words, the first paragraph of the new policy is only for who. Its real meaning is much narrower.

'University policy has barred organizations which discriminate in interviewing and hiring University students from Placement Services for several years. However, there is no investigative mechanism, and interviewers can cloak discrimination in any number of excuses. In fact only one organization, a law firm which refused interview women, is known to have been denied facilities under this policy.

Hundreds of companies recruit at the University which also have been targets of thousands of discrimination complaints filed before the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It's doubtful that these companies suddenly turn sex-and-color blind when they come to recruit at the University.

'The Regents also voted to deny University subsidized placement facilities to organizations which recruit for jobs in countries where discrimination is legally enforced. In fact, few recruiters recruit for jobs in specific countries, so the new policy on this issue is virtually meaningless.

'Finally, there is the moral issue. Racist organizations shouldn't recruit here at all. The OSS Policy Board asked only that such institutions be denied a University subsidy. What it got from the Regents was a reaffirmation of racism. (Daily, Feb. 23, 1971).'

Thus it appears that when the university realized the full meaning of the OSS policy, it geared into action to waterdown, in effect totally destroy, the thrust of the old policy which would have really barred from campus facilities recruiting by any company which invested in South Africa.

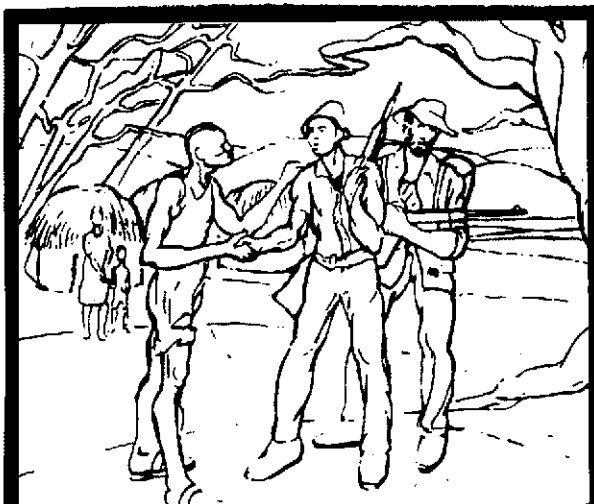
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

GIFTS TO O.A.U. UP IN 1970-71

The contributions of African states to the O.A.U. Liberation Committee have risen 17 percent for the year ending May 31, 1971. This year 15 countries have contributed, some paying arrears, and it is expected that if the U.A.R. contributes and pays its arrears the amount will be more than \$1.4 million, which although less than the goal of \$1.9 million, is still more than any previous year. The increase in payments is felt to be a sign of the greater determination on the part of some African states to aid the movements in spite of the "dialogue era." Countries which have paid in full include Tanzania, Zambia, Kenya, Ghana, Libya, Ethiopia, and Algeria; while others which have paid in part include Guinea, Upper Volta, Somalia, Burundi, Mauritania, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, and Togo. (The Standard, Tanzania, May 8, 1971)

The O.A.U. group of seven, established to draft a report on the workings of the Liberation Committee, has proposed that the 11 country committee be expanded to twenty (shared between permanent members, especially countries most directly tied with Southern Africa, and non-permanent ones), and that the executive should be elected by the O.A.U. summit meeting for 3-4 year terms.

The report will be submitted to the June summit meeting of the O.A.U. to be held in Addis Ababa, a change of venue after Uganda's coup. The group did not accept the suggestion that the headquarters for the



Today we are at war—to win back our country—to liberate Southern Africa and ensure peace and harmony for all.

Liberation Committee be transferred from Dar es Salaam to Addis, nor did it recommend procedures for the handling of the liberation funds which has evoked criticism in the past. (Agence France Presse, May 4, 1971)

U.N. COMMEMORATES AFRICA LIBERATION DAY

On the occasion of the African Liberation Day, U Thant spoke at a reception at the U.N. Below are some excerpts from his speech, taken from U.N. Press Release SG/SM/1483 dated May 25, 1971.

The African Liberation Day assumes a special significance in 1971, a year which is being observed all over the world as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

"It is recognized that it is for the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau to decide their own destiny in full equality, without distinction as to race, color or creed.

"As I have had occasion to point out, there have been some disturbing developments in recent months, such as the trend among some governments to relax further their adherence to the arms embargo against South Africa.

"At the same time, however, there has been growing public awareness of the inhumanity of colonialism and racism—especially among the churches, the youth, and the trade unions—and a wider moral and material support to the movements of the oppressed people in southern Africa. This heartening development has resulted, in part, from the persistent efforts of the United Nations and the O.A.U.

"I have no doubt that freedom and human dignity will prevail all over Africa, whatever the cost of the struggle toward those goals."

COMMITTEE OF 24 ON DECOLONIZATION MEETS IN AFRICA

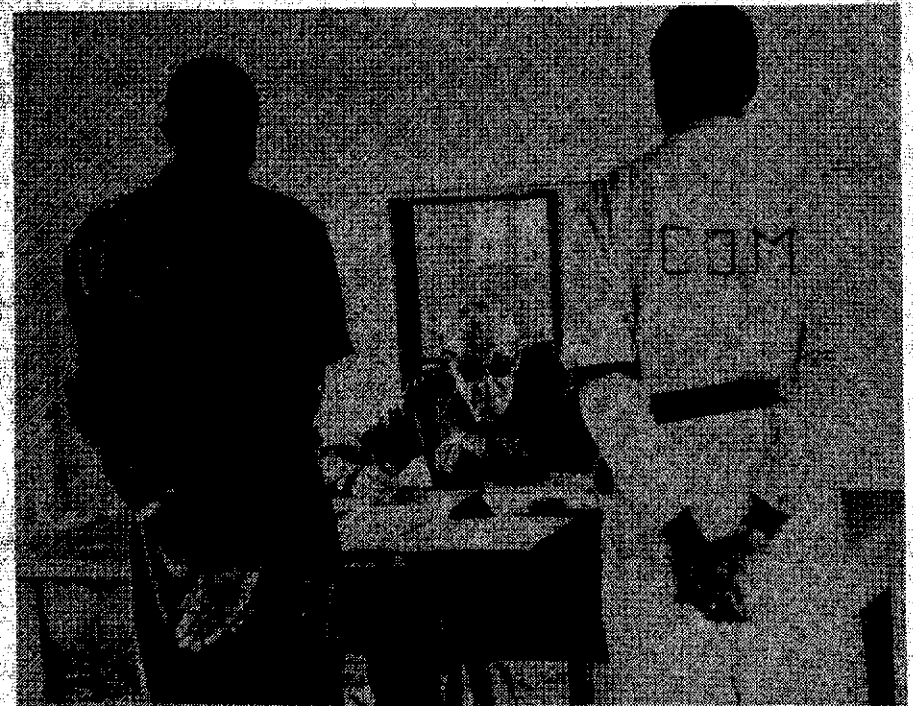
Six members of an ad hoc committee of the U.N. Committee of 24 (decolonization) travelled to Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Guinea, Algeria to meet with members of the Southern Africa and other liberation movements. Members of the committee include Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Sweden (which recently joined), Syria, Tanzania, and the chairmanship, Venezuela. (Agence France Presse, April 9, 1971)

In Dar es Salaam the Committee was invited by FRELIMO to visit liberated areas of Mozambique, and in Lusaka, MPLA extended parallel invitations for Angola. Both were transmitted to the full committee in New York. (Daily Nation, May 20, 1971) In Dar, the Director of the Political Affairs Department of the African National Congress, Mr. Duma Nokwe, spoke before the group and described ways in which the imperialist powers are trying to undermine Africa through military threat, economic sabotage, bribery and corruption, such as to overthrow the progressive states of independent as well as to strengthen the South African fascists. He pointed out the importance of the Middle East situation and its influence in bolstering the economy of South Africa. (Daily Nation, May 19, 1971)

SWAPO MINE KILLS SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIERS IN CAPRIVI STRIP

On May 22, reported Moses Garoeb of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), 15 South African soldiers were killed in a land mine in the Caprivi Strip. Garoeb's statement came as a contradiction to the report of South African minister of police Stephanus Muller who said in Parliament May 24 that TWO POLICEMEN had been killed and seven wounded. (It has always been the claim of the South African Government that South African police, rather than soldiers, are on patrol in Namibia, in order to minimize the significance of battles that occur there).

Muller also claimed that the incident on May 22 occurred near the Zambian border and that security forces traced the tracks of six people from the scene to the Zambian border. Garoeb, however, said that the explosion occurred on the road between two military posts, Mpacha and Singalamwe, the closest of which is 25 miles from the Zambian border. He indicated that the level of military activity in the Caprivi Strip in the last few months has been high, that there were several pitched battles in April and May near Munyeha and Singalamwe, and that the (South Africans suffered many casualties in these battles. He also asserted that there has never been "any infiltration of SWAPO freedom fighters from Zambia," indicating that SWAPO operates from its own bases inside Namibia.



ECONOMICS

MORE MONEY PUMPED INTO IBM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Business Machines (S.A., Pty.) is gearing up for further growth in the rapidly expanding computer industry in South Africa and has almost doubled its issued share capital.

IBM, its parent company in the United States, whose worldwide gross income in 1970 totalled \$7.5 billion, has invested a further \$20 million in South Africa by subscribing for shares in the local company. This move has increased the issued share capital from \$4.5 million to \$8.4 million. This dollar inflow will be used to supplement the company's cash flow and help IBM (S.A.) to obtain more computers from America for its computer leasing operation in Africa.

IBM (S.A.) also increased its capital in 1968. But its growth rate, estimated by independent computer consultants at 36 percent last year, has been so rapid and the future looks so promising, that another injection of capital has evidently been needed. The managing director of IBM (S.A.), Mr. Morris Cowley, said that periodical investments by the parent company were a normal business procedure and part of the local company's long-term budgeting plans.

The market is currently worth about \$50 million a year, but Mr. Cowley has estimated the potential at around \$252 million a year. No one in South Africa, however, seems to be asking how IBM computers can be used. Rumor has it that IBM's will be used for the new identification program. (See related story in Action/News and Notes section, this issue.)

BRITISH FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA CRITICIZED IN LONDON TIMES ARTICLE

When anti-apartheid groups challenge British companies with heavy investment in South Africa, the answer they invariably get is: "We are building bridges." The London Sunday Times has just published an investigation into these "bridges."

The question was: "Do British companies in South Africa set a good example or just collect the profits?" A South African, Denis Herbstein, was sent to find out and he was able to study the racial make-up and mechanism of nine British companies, including such well-known names as Unilever, Afrox, Dunlop, British Leyland, and I.C.I.

His conclusion was this: "Few bridges exist between British companies in South Africa and the Black, Indian, and Coloured employees who make their enterprises so successful. Yet these are the essential bridges which are needed to give moral justification for continued British investment in South Africa."

Figures were quoted. Herbstein found that Unilever's soap factory at Maydon Wharf, Durban, the highest paid black received \$154 a month while the lowest paid white received \$203 a month. This pattern persisted



We've been doing our homework and we calculate that there are just about 2,000 South African businesses ready to benefit by our new System/3 Model 6.

IBM
New System/3 Model 6

CALM-3-77

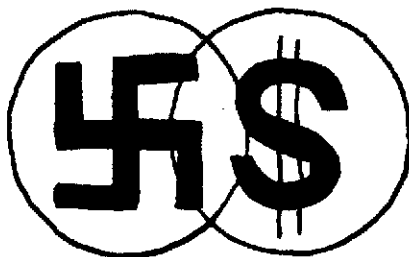
(South African Financial Gazette, Feb. 19, 1971)

throughout. He also examined trade union activity and fringe benefits such as staff canteens and pensions. "There is no law stopping a company providing medical aid for its Black workers," he said, "yet not one of the companies had a medical aid scheme for its African employees."

According to Herstein, if the British companies are serious about "Bridge Building," there are a number of girders, nuts, and bolts they could use as a minimum program that would not involve challenging the law, yet would convince the Black masses of their desire to help. (Star, Johannesburg, April 24, 1971)

KENYA STATESMAN URGES U.S. BUSINESS TO LEAVE SOUTHERN AFRICA

Kenya's Ambassador to the United States asked American businessmen recently to reconsider their trade commitments in Southern Africa and to establish subsidiaries in East Africa. "For those of you with major investments and trade commitments in Southern Africa, I strongly urge you to endeavor to bring about change from within while at the same time you seriously embark on establishing U.S. subsidiaries in the rest of Africa," said Ambassador L. O. Kibinge. "Such subsidiaries must be wholly independent of South Africa."



Kibinge spoke at a luncheon in the Hotel Pierre of the African-American Chamber of Commerce in late April.

"By Africa, I mean independent Africa, where I am confident the future is bright and where temporary transitional problems should not be confused with the future of the entire continent," Kibinge said. "Indeed, I have no hesitation in advising those of you with investments in the non-independent parts of Africa to embark on immediate disengagement and diversification. To me independent Africa has brighter prospects than the racist regimes of Southern Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, and the Portuguese colonial empire."

He added: "While Kenya is developing a nonracial society, we are committed to the total liberation of Africa. Peacefully if we can. Forcibly if we must." (Daily Nation, Nairobi, April 30, 1971)

BETWEEN ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA

A WHITE BUFFER BELT

Work is going ahead on the Cunene Dam scheme, a series of some 28 dams, barrages, diversion works, irrigation projects, and generating stations that is being undertaken jointly by South Africa and Portugal in the border area between Namibia and Angola. According to the Standard of Tanzania (May 11, 1971) South Africa has agreed to provide most of the capital for the first phase of the work and also to buy a large amount of electricity from the generating stations in central Angola. The Standard also lists the West German Krupp Corporation, which has massive interests in the Cassinga iron mines, and the American Metals Climax Company, which is involved in the Tsumeb mine, as being among the foreign companies that will benefit greatly from the cheaper power.

However, reports the Standard, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is beginning to pose a real threat to the construction of the dam. "Over the past two years, attacks have been made on construction convoys and camps, and in one attack a whole camp was overrun. The Standard quotes a recent SWAPO statement:

"Although we have not succeeded in destroying this scheme, we have made several attacks against the enemy's military and air bases at Ohopoho and other camps on the border near the Ruacana Falls. Constant attacks and harassment are still our plans in this part of the country until the imperialists are forced to withdraw from the whole scheme."

In an earlier press release (April, 1971) Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO Secretary for Economic and Legal Affairs, pointed out some of the implications of the Cunene scheme, comparing it to the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique. Katjavivi said in part:

"The agreement between the Portuguese and the South African Governments to utilize the waters of the Cunene River for the generation of power and irrigation is a rough parallel to the Cabora Bassa scheme in Mozambique, with the difference that the Cunene scheme not only involves

international boundaries, and that of the illegally occupied territory of Namibia, but also that a far greater number of dams and other projects are envisaged on the Cunene than in the Cabora Bassa scheme.

"Both have a main function as a consolidating link between Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the settler regime in South Africa. The placement of the (Cunene) scheme on the border between Namibia and Angola, facing the Atlantic, gives it great strategic importance for the minority regimes in Southern Africa. Its economic and political implications are obvious.

"The area around the scheme is going to be used for extensive settlement of white immigrants, particularly on the northern side of the border. The implications of this are several: by clearing the bushland on both sides of the border and subsequently creating a white settlement, South Africa and Portugal hope to have a buffer strip between the two countries. This, again, will make the communications between Namibians and Angolans more difficult because of the 'white belt' they will have to cross. Another implication is that a larger military force is likely to be stationed in the area on both sides. This will safeguard military cooperation between South Africa and Portuguese colonialists, as well as political cooperation, against us, the rightful owners of the countries.

"There is already military cooperation in the border area between the South Africans and the Portuguese. We know that Portuguese soldiers capture Namibians north of the border, keep them for a while, and eventually hand them over to Pretoria. The brutality by the South African police and army is increasing, although this is not mentioned in the press. We know, for example, that many Namibians have been arbitrarily shot dead during the last year. One example is Mr. Nicodemus Hilombua, a sub-headman of Otjavahenge in Northern Namibia, who was shot dead in front of his house in the presence of his wife. As one eye-witness put it: 'As his wife came out of the house, a white man in plain clothes descended from the van, and fired two shots at Nicodemus, who fell down and died. His wife ran into the kraal.' The reason

for this brutal killing was later said to be that Mr. Hilombua had been suspected of having given shelter to a SWAPO leader hunted by the South African police and army. Many Namibians have been tortured to death in the border area as well as elsewhere. Those who have survived torture have been maimed for life.

On the Angolan side of the border, the Portuguese have burned down thousands of homes of Angolans who have been rounded up and forcibly removed into restriction camps—'Aldeamentos' in Portuguese—where they are constantly guarded by the Portuguese secret police, PIDE, at the same time, many able-bodied men are being removed to the northern part of Angola as contract laborers, while laborers from the North are brought to the Southern part of the country to work for white farmers. The farmers have during recent years been

encouraged to form their own private armies by the Portuguese Government, with large arsenals of weapons and ammunition. One farmer, Von Rochow, for instance, has the following arms ready for immediate use: 7 automatic rifles of the G-3 type, 6 machine pistols, 20 German Mauser rifles, one elephant rifle, one shotgun, 10,000 rounds of ammunition, and 100 hand grenades. His private army consisted of 23 men patrolling day and night. (Stern: March 1, 1971). . . .

"We appeal to all men of good will—and, indeed, those with economic interests in the scheme—to prevent the building of this hydroelectric scheme, which so blatantly aids colonial exploitation and furthers the rule by white racist minorities in Southern Africa. SWAPO will not sit back and look at such developments: the obstacles in our road to freedom will be dealt with at a time we see fit."



SOUTH AFRICA'S IMAGE BUILDING

MORE DIALOGUE:

SOUTH AFRICA'S TENTACLES STRETCH AGAIN

The most over-used word in the ante-rooms of power in Africa today is probably the word "dialogue"; the most over-interpreted six sentences must surely be those which summarize the major conclusions of the 1969 Lusaka Manifesto:

"On the objective of Liberation as thus defined, we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve it without violence. We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence; we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. *But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the states of Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the people of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors.*" (Issued by the 5th Summit Conference of East and Central African States.)

There is obviously room for maneuver within the "general sense" of the statement. Some who seek to negotiate with the South African Herrenvolk while at the same time preserving some appearance of decency follow the kind of reasoning used in the Ghanaian Parliament this March: "When the debate resumed the Foreign Minister said that he would be prepared to go to Pretoria for discussions. If black South Africans saw him entering hotels from which they were barred it could give them some inspiration. Parliament called for a policy towards South Africa 'that will give comfort to our oppressed brothers of that country.' It approved a government amendment that 'dialogue based on the philosophy underlining the Lusaka Manifesto is one of the weapons which could be used in the struggle to eliminate apartheid.'" (West Africa, April 2, 1971)

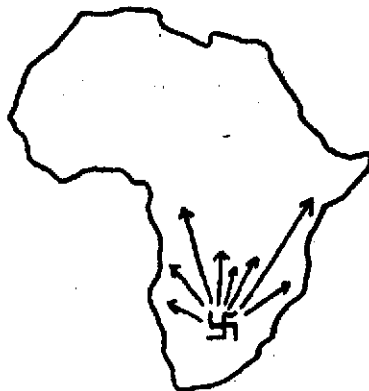
In the face of South Africa's strict pre-condition of non-interference in internal matters, this Ghanaian phrase indicates an interpretation of the Manifesto which allows for "talking" on any basis in order to avoid violence. Other commentators actually leave out the last sentence when quoting the Manifesto—thus justifying a peace at almost any price interpretation. On the other hand there are those such as Zambia who oppose any dialogue except with fundamental prerequisites set out in the Manifesto such as the drawing up of an agenda to include basic change in apartheid before any talking can begin.

Manifesto Accommodates All

The Manifesto is in fact so broad a statement that it easily becomes all things to all men, and one must look behind the rhetoric to the basic relationships developing in Africa to understand who stands where in relation to the liberation struggle and the government of South Africa.

South Africa is increasing its pressure on and penetration of Africa. Not surprisingly, despite its much vaunted "new look," it resorts to the bludgeon very quickly when the opposition refuses to talk with it.

Following the Press Conference at which Vorster said he would be willing to "explain" apartheid in any dialogue meetings and also announced that Dr. Hastings Banda, President of Malawi, would soon visit South Africa (see Southern Africa, May, 1970), President Amin of Uganda and Foreign Minister Ofori-Atta of Ghana announced they would be willing to visit South Africa, and the Ivory Coast began making announcements about an important press conference the President would hold on April 28. On April 21, a week before that press conference (about which the South African clearly knew everything,



including what was going to be said), Prime Minister Vorster made a "sensational disclosure" of his government's secret contacts with President Kaunda over a period of years. Vorster, speaking in Parliament, accused Kaunda of "double talk and double standards" in that while imploring other African countries to boycott and isolate South Africa, he had himself engaged in a series of secret diplomatic contacts with Pretoria aimed at setting up a personal meeting with Vorster, and had written letters to the South African Prime Minister. These revelations were clearly designed to serve two functions. First, to discredit President Kaunda and the Zambian opposition to dialogue just before Houphouet-Boigny made what was certain to be a second call for getting together, thus strengthening the hand of South Africa's potential "allies," and second and even more significantly, to attempt to weaken President Kaunda's position inside Zambia.

Initiative Came From Vorster

On April 23, the Zambian Minister of Information, S. Wina, held a press conference at which he outlined the series of events which had led to Vorster's revelations and at which he also made available the series of letters which had passed between Vorster and President Kaunda in 1968. It became clear that the initiative for the contact had come from South Africa and that President Kaunda had at no time deviated from a firm stand that the only basis for a relationship of cooperation between Zambia and South Africa was the creation of a free, open, and equal society. "From the above it will be readily noted that while it is admitted that the relations between Zambia and South Africa have deteriorated, improvement can be made through the removal of the root cause of such a state of relations. Only by removing these causes... can genuine cooperation based on an honest approach to life be promoted on the basis of mutual respect and in the interest of peace and development" (letter from President K. Kaunda to Prime Minister Vorster dated April 1, 1968). Vorster replied, one month later, "your letter... strikes me as being as presumptuous as it is uninformed. Presumptuous in that you take it upon yourself to criticize the domestic policy, as well as

certain aspects of my government's foreign policy [Rhodesia] in terms like 'offensive.'" And again, "Thirdly our domestic policy is our concern and I do not expect you or any other leader to subscribe to it." (Letter from Prime Minister Vorster to President Kaunda, May 2, 1968) The correspondence terminated in August, 1968 although the South Africans continued to maintain some diplomatic pressure on the Zambian Government until the time of the disclosures, in an attempt inter alia to persuade President Kaunda to meet with Vorster.

The motive is clear. Despite its severe economic problems arising from historical trade and investment relations between South Africa and Zambia, Zambia has maintained a strongly independent political position, providing support for the liberation movements and opposing apartheid with a ringing and uncompromising voice. A meeting between President Kaunda and Vorster would inevitably have enormously strengthened all South African and pro-South African forces. In fact, Zambia refused to collaborate with the South African scheme—hence the "revelations." Vorster has set out his view of how a "good" African leader should act: "What the world, and Africa in particular, today need, are leaders who mind their own business and govern their countries in the best interests of their subjects in cooperation with their neighbors in a spirit of friendship and helpfulness." (Letter from J. B. Vorster to President Kaunda, May 2, 1968.) Those who refuse to fit this mold will find themselves facing increasing overt and subversive pressure from South Africa in the months to come.

"Communism" the Danger

The much-trumpeted Houphouet-Boigny press conference on April 28 yielded few surprises, despite the fact that he had gathered 100 journalists from all over the world to hear his announcement. He reiterated a call for

dialogue on a theme of "Peace in Africa" and hinted at future diplomatic relations with South Africa. In subsequent interviews he said that in his view it was communism, and in particular the role of the Chinese that threatened African unity, that would divide the O.A.U. and African states, not apartheid which "is a relatively minor aspect of this issue." In an interview with the weekly, *Paris Match*, he said the "real danger is communist expansion... it is China." "Against this danger there is no better rampart today than South Africa with its military power and its technical capacity." (Star, Johannesburg, May 15, 1971) In a step which must have endeared him to his future South African allies, he recently took vicious action against university students who have been stirring up opposition to him and his call for dialogue. He closed the university, ordered all its "ringleaders" drafted into the army, and others who want to continue with their education have been told they must first sign a pledge against getting mixed up in politics. (Star, Johannesburg, May 1, 1971)

Report from South Africa, which is distributed by the South African Foundation, an apologist organization headed by representatives of South African big business, has specified South Africa's policy in the rest of Africa: "Decolonization has left a vacuum in black Africa which South Africa is quietly moving out to fill. South Africans are playing an important role as expatriate experts vital in the newly independent nations. Their companies are busy in such lands as Malawi and Mozambique. Their money is financing the projects. And their intelligence men are building a chain of listening posts across the continent."

There is an old African story about the fate of the sheep who lay down with a wolf. The South African government is showing itself increasingly dangerous not only to the people under its direct rule, but to all the free people of Africa.

THE U.S. and SOUTHERN AFRICA

SUGAR BILL GOES ON TO SENATE IN FIGHT TO REMOVE SOUTH AFRICA'S QUOTA

After weeks of waiting, Sugar Act No. 8866 was voted upon in the House of Representatives on June 10. The bill emerged from the conservative House Agriculture Committee with South Africa still receiving an approximately \$4-5 million subsidy for a 60,000-ton quota per year. (The South African percentage of the quota was raised from 1.06 to 1.44 percent.) More African states were added (Uganda and Malawi) and other former recipients raised, but in spite of intensive lobbying, particularly by Congressmen Bingham, Reid, Dow, and the entire Black Caucus, the South Africa quota was not eliminated.

The House Rules Committee in an 8-6 vote had voted for closure preventing the amendments from the floor during debate on the bill, but a key resolution aimed at eliminating the South African quota did manage to receive 166 yeas votes in the House, the largest anti-apartheid vote recorded in years. 213 members voted against the motion. A number of groups, including the Southern African Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church, the United Auto Workers, the N.A.A.C.P., the editorial board of *The New York Times*, the American Committee on Africa, and others had publicly lobbied against the quota, and for the first time the sugar issue became a more vivid symbol of U.S. complicity with the apartheid system. Speakers on the House floor for elimination of South Africa included: Charles Diggs (D-Mich); Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.), John Dow (D-N.Y.), Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.), John Anderson (R-Ill.).

The Sugar Bill now goes to the Senate, first through

the Senate Finance Committee. Senator Edward Kennedy, long committed to removing South Africa's privilege, introduced an amendment to that effect reiterating the basic rationale for ending the quota: i.e. South Africa violates the rules created by the House Agriculture Committee for granting sugar quotas. (1) The recipient should not discriminate against U.S. citizens. South Africa discriminates by law against non-whites, American blacks included; (2) The benefits of the quota should be shared between owners and workers. In South Africa, 92 percent of the sugar is controlled by 15 white firms with wages generally below the poverty datum line; and (3) South Africa is not defined as a developing country, and as the sugar quota is a form of foreign aid (not foreign trade), "it is impossible to establish that country's need for a premium priced market in the U.S. as a means of bolstering its strikes to achieve economic development," said Kennedy. (Statement by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy before the Senate Finance Committee on Proposal to Terminate South African Sugar Quota, Monday, June 21, 1971) Most interestingly, Kennedy stated that the termination of the sugar quota would result in three benefits: (1) It would be a good moral gesture, (2) it would provide others with economic assistance, and (3) "it would lend support to the increasing clamor for private business enterprise to disengage from South Africa." (Ibid.)

If the Kennedy Amendment which a number of other bipartisan liberals are supporting manages to pass the Senate, the House and Senate will have to develop a new "compromise"—hopefully without South Africa receiving a quota.

BOMB EXPLOSIONS AND SOUTH AFRICAN INSTALLATIONS IN THE U.S.

Two recent explosions at the South African Consulate in New York (Easter weekend) and at the South African Tourist Corporation (Satour; April 19) have focused concern among South African and U.S. government officials about the protection of South African installations in the U.S. U.S. Ambassador Hurd expressed regret to the South African government and South African Ambassador Taswell met with Emil Mossbacker, chief of protocol at the State Department. According to Washington sources they have concluded extraordinary measures of protection for South African offices, which include, in addition to those bombed and the Embassy in Washington, the bureaus of South African Airways and a consulate in New Orleans. The Embassy is under the protection of the crack Executive Protection Services, an extension of the Secret Service which protects the U.S. President, but New York offices are the responsibility of the local police.

No one was injured in the Consulate blast although Consul-General Booyesen and Vice-Consul Harvey had planned to meet there at about that time. A news agency received a phone call shortly after the explosion from a member of a "Black revolutionary assault team" eager to end white rule in "Fascist" South Africa. The explosion at Satour injured one person slightly. Both bombs were placed in the corridor outside the offices and consisted of pipes filled with ball bearings, glass, nails and other objects. (Star, Johannesburg, April 13, 17, and 24, 1971; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 20, 1971)

U.S. AND BRITISH POLICIES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Africa Bureau report (April 3, 1971) indicates that British and American policies towards Southern Africa are drifting apart, and cites three indicators. First, while the U.S. representatives at the International Court are urging the transfer of rights over Namibia to the U.N. and saying that the recent proposal of a plebiscite is immaterial, Britain has not even sent a legal team to the Hague. Second, Muskie's speech in Lagos against support of South Africa and Portugal. Finally, Nixon's reiteration of the arms embargo against South Africa, the economic sanctions against Rhodesia, and the ban on arms for use in Portuguese African areas.

LAGOS DIALOGUE

The five-day meeting of Americans and Africans at Lagos in early March was not widely known until midway through the sessions—in fact, until the death of Whitney Young on March 11. General Gowon of Nigeria in his opening address was sharply critical of Western trade and financial dealings with the white-controlled regimes of Southern Africa. One week earlier a Nigerian commentator had put the finger on the central contradiction of Nixon's State of the World Message: the support of U.S. intervention and violence in Vietnam as against the urging of Africans to refrain from the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. (Muhammed Speaks, April 9, 1971)

DEAN ACHESON AND NAMIBIA'S PLEBISCITE

Dean Acheson (in the New York Times of April 21, 1971) argues in support of South Africa's proposals to the World Court to hold a plebiscite in South West Africa and to be given the opportunity to rebut the charges made against its administration of the area. He reiterates his opposition to any "binding status" to legislation passed

by the U.N. General Assembly, saying that would destroy some small states and the U.N. itself, and recalls the "internationally administered chaos" when the U.N. sought to intervene in the Congo. He thereby opposes any "unilateral action" by the U.N. in South West Africa and urges reaching an "agreement" with South Africa on the question.

ANXIOUS AND SENSITIVE?

C. L. Sulzberger (in the New York Times) writes in support of the new Nixon policy of "moral criticism" without isolation. He notes that the percentage of U.S. African investment located in South Africa has decreased from 29.3% in 1967 to 25.4% today, that G.M. has increased its nonwhite payroll to 65% of the total work force and that Polaroid is "pressing toward gradual equality of white and nonwhite salaries." He thinks there is a mounting pressure on South Africa for reform and that South Africa is anxious and sensitive to that pressure.

BLACK CAUCUS REBUFFED—ON SOUTHERN AFRICA TOO

In the Statement submitted by the House of Representatives 12 member Black Caucus on March 25, the group called for a "major overhaul" in U.S. relations with Africa and Southern Africa. It called upon the U.S. to "take the lead in isolating the Republic of South Africa. . . ." including "disincentives . . . to discourage the expansion of further private American investment there"; withdrawal of the sugar quota, and the implementation of "U.S. pronouncements in the U.N. to help liberate remaining areas under colonial rule." The caucus urged greater involvement and monies in independent Africa, and asked that recommendations suggested by the House Subcommittee on Africa be considered. What was Nixon's reply?

The President said that communication with South Africa was important as Pretoria is "sensitive to the attitude of other nations and particularly desirous of a good relationship with the United States." He also rejected end of South African sugar quota, but that independent Africa's quota would go up. (East African Standard, April 2, 1971) The caucus' reply to the President on the "communication" issue was that there is lack of evidence that such communication is being pursued "among the majority or among those liberal elements working for peaceful change in South Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, May 29, 1971)

AGNEW AND MULDER—LIKES ATTRACT

While the Black Caucus received rebuffs, Spiro Agnew sat down with South African Minister of Information, C. P. Mulder, for chats called "historic" by the South African press. The meeting, the first on such a high official level, included South African Ambassador to the U.S., and dwelt on South Africa's "dialogue" policy with Africa and the Bantustan development. Mr. Mulder mentioned the Indian Ocean and said questions of security and defense should be solved at the conference table. (Star, Johannesburg, May 29, 1971) And according to the Star, Mulder told a press luncheon that "relations with the United States had improved under the Nixon administration, which was more understanding of South African problems than its predecessor."

DEFENSE

THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE ARMS TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

In recent months the United States has taken several steps which mark at least a de facto violation of the UN arms embargo against South Africa. The sale of Lear 'executive' jet aircraft and Bell helicopters has already been described in SOUTHERN AFRICA (Vol. IV, Nos 2 & 3). The State Department has maintained that such craft are strictly for commercial use. Referring particularly to the Bell helicopter, the State Department wrote to the American Committee on Africa stating that 'we maintain...a comprehensive embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa. Under that embargo we do not license for export to South Africa any helicopters which have a military configuration or helicopters of any kind destined for use by South African military or other security forces. We do license civilian model helicopters for sale to civilian purchasers for exclusively civilian uses.'

(See related story and pictures, p. 11)

However, a New York Times article of April 13 disclosed that the State Department is well aware of the military potential of the Bell Helicopter. Referring to the Ceylonese government's attempts to put down guerrilla uprisings, it stated that 'the State Department disclosed that the United States was selling to Ceylon--via Britain--six Bell OH-133-H, or 'bubble' type helicopters to help suppress the left-wing guerrilla uprising in that country. In 1969, it was said Ceylon bought--on military credit terms--three Bell helicopters. The six smaller Bell craft--a type widely used in this country for police surveillance--are being sold at 'nominal cost', sources said. (New York Times, April 13, 1971)

"Glad to Furnish South African Defense Force"

The most recent development is the licensing of a third type of 'civilian' craft, the Beech aircraft. The Johannesburg Star reported the new sale thus: 'The South African Defense Force can now buy light American aircraft for reconnaissance and training purposes with the sanction of the United States Government, according to Mrs. Olive Beech, head of the American Beechcraft Corporation.... Mrs. Beech said that her company, which is one of the big three among American light civil aircraft manufacturers, had recently been given Government permission to sell to the South African Defense Force if the South African Government wants to buy any of their aircraft. 'Our government uses our aircraft for military purposes such as training, reconnaissance, and ambulance work,' said Mrs. Beech. 'And we would be glad to furnish the South African Defense Force.' The Americans for years operated an arms embargo against South Africa.' (Johannesburg, Star, April 17, 1971).

Pending partial lifting of the trade embargo with China also reveals that the Government is highly aware of the military potential of civilian aircraft. The New York Times reports that the list of exportable items released by the White House included 47 categories of non-strategic goods, but 'carefully omitted several major items of possible strategic value, such as locomotives, trucks, high grade computers, advanced telecommunications equipment, petroleum products, and commercial aircraft.' (New York Times June 11, 1971) All these items can now be freely traded with South Africa.

In an unrelated incident, it was disclosed that Dr. Sverre Kongelbeck, chief engineer at the U.S. Navy's main missile laboratory, visited South Africa in March to seek employment after his retirement from the U.S. industry next year. Dr. Kongelbeck developed the Mark II, the world's first fully automatic guided missile launcher, now installed on American warships. Believing that he "could help South Africa in the field of missiles, radar, and satellites, even though I could not divulge certain classified information," he said that South Africa is "God's own country. I'm not bothered about the racial situation." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, March 13, 1971)

Work on the joint British-American naval base on the island of Diego Garcia, 2000 miles to the east of Madagascar, began in March 1971. This base has been strongly opposed by Tanzania and India and has raised fears that in view of the renewed naval co-operation between Britain and South Africa, use of the base might be extended to South Africa. (News Review, Feb. 1971)

WORLD REACTION TO THE BRITISH ARMS SALE

As expected, the 8-member Commonwealth study group set up in January at the Singapore Prime Ministers' Conference to study Indian Ocean security has collapsed as a result of the British agreement to sell seven Westland Wasp helicopters to South Africa. Its convener Mitchell Sharp of Canada, declared in Lagos, Nigeria, that there was no purpose in holding a meeting of the committee, since three members had withdrawn: India, Malaysia, and Nigeria. (Report of the Special Committee on Apartheid, April 19, 1971).

UN Secretary General Thant has rebuked Britain for the sale of helicopters recalling that the sale violated Security Council Resolutions of 1963, 1964, and 1970. (New York Times, February 25, 1971). The decision has also been condemned by the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association (Times of Zambia, March 22, 1971). Even the United States Security Council in a report to President Nixon criticized the British case for resumption of arms sale. (The Africa Bureau, March 1, 1971). In South Africa itself, the National Union of South African Students appealed to Britain not to sell arms, which brought an open threat to its head Neville Curtis by United Party member W.V. Raw. (Johannesburg, Star, May 8, 1971). And in Britain a new group called the Committee against Arms for Apartheid (CAAA) has been formed which plans to use industrial action to stop delivery of arms. Its assistant secretary, South African Dennis Brutus, said that one possible tactic was for a trade union declaration blacklisting arms and arms components for South Africa. (Standard of Tanzania March 8, 1971).

MORE BRITISH ARMAMENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The British official position towards further arms sale remains ambiguous neither ruling them out nor promising them, but there are many signs that the Heath government is testing the wind in hopes of more sales. Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home in a parliamentary debate refused to give an assurance of no further sales and said that 'The Government reserves their position on this and we must be the judges of whether at any future date we sell any more arms to South Africa.' (Johannesburg, Star, March 27, 1971).

Clear indication of the Conservative Party's real intentions was revealed in a document prepared for private circulation in 1970 by a working group of the Conservative Commonwealth and Overseas Council, and released by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. The document advocated that Britain should 'restore relations based on the recognition of mutual interest with South Africa,... encourage trade and sell arms for external defense. The farce of Rhodesian sanctions should be ended.... Steps should be taken to reactivate the Simonstown Agreement.... Stock piling of naval stores in Cape Town and Durban should be re-examined.... There should also be friendly re-examination with Portugal of ways and means of utilizing the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to establish mutually valid and workable defence arrangements in the Southern Atlantic.' (Venceremos, Vol. 1, No. 5).

The most forthright indication of Tory intentions has come from British Consul-General H.A.N. Brown, who said in South Africa that he was sure Britain would expand its arms sales to South Africa beyond the seven Wasp helicopters announced. (Toronto Star, February 24, 1971). The ECONOMIST (London) summed up the situation in this way: 'Mr. Heath wants to sell more than Wasps. South Africa's Shackleton reconnaissance aircraft, and some frigates, are getting close to the end of their useful lives. But he presumably also wants to see whether Britain rather than France, can get the order for their replacements without doing major damage to the Commonwealth. The Wasps are one way of finding out.' (The Economist, February 27, 1971).

South Africa Expects More Arms

South Africa has also made it quite clear that it wishes and expects to purchase more arms. On March 15, the British Aircraft Corporation (BAC) admitted that talks have been going on between South Africa and a consortium of British companies which it heads over the sale of the Thunderbird or Rapier anti-aircraft missiles system. According to the London Times the sale could amount to \$120 million, but a spokesman for the Foreign Office has denied that any commitment to South Africa has been made. (Special Committee on Apartheid April 19, 1971).

On a more formal level, the South African government sent a mission to England in February to explore the possibility of future arms sale. The mission had talks with the Ministry of Defense, the British Aircraft Corporation, and Yarrows, a ship-building firm. Then on April 17, British newspapers disclosed that South Africa had asked to buy six frigates, probably negotiating through the South African Ambassador Hendrik Luttig. (Today's British Papers April 17; Daily Nation of Kenya, April 17, 1971). A possible obstacle to purchase of such expensive military hardware, however, may come from South African itself due to its financial status (South Africa had a \$1,135 million deficit in 1970). But according to the LonGuardian, there is within the Vorster cabinet the confident assumption that 'they have an automatic claim on Britain to provide replacements for the destroyers and frigates originally supplied from British yards.'





THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

CHURCHMEN RAISE APARTHEID QUESTION AT GM STOCKHOLDERS MEETING

A resolution proposed by the Episcopal Church to force GM to wind up its operations in South Africa was defeated at the annual stockholders meeting of GM on May 28. Although it only received 1.3% of the votes cast, this resolution received national debate not only in the press but among individual and institutional stockholders.

Many churchmen were on hand to speak in favor of the resolution. One of the most impressive speeches of support came from the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Philadelphia Baptist pastor and economic developer who is GM's only black director.

With the resonance of the preacher in his voice, Mr. Sullivan declared: 'American industry cannot morally continue to do business in a country (South Africa) that so blatantly and ruthlessly and clearly maintains such dehumanizing practices against such large numbers of people. I hear voices say to me: Things will work out in time...things are getting better...let us go slow on this matter. And I ask: Why does the world always want to go slow when the rights of black men are at stake?'

The Episcopal Church's resolution was last on the agenda. Since he had to catch a plane, Episcopal Presiding Bishop John E. Hines was allowed to speak earlier. He said that GM's presence in South Africa is 'increasing the strength and control of the racist dictatorship.'

Through its official body of incorporation, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church announced last February that it would challenge GM on South African manufacturing. The Society holds 12,574 GM shares. The Society's resolution, in a proxy statement, stated: 'RESOLVED, that the stockholders request the Board of Directors to adopt appropriate resolutions to initiate the process of amending article THIRD of the Certificate of Incorporation by adding the following new subparagraph at the end thereof: '(j) Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Corporation shall not conduct manufacturing operations in the Republic of South Africa and shall wind up its present manufacturing operations there as expeditiously as possible.'

Among the resolutions backers were the American Baptist Home Mission Society with 20,000 shares, the United Methodist Women's Division with 7,047 shares, and the interdenominational Riverside Church in New York City with about 9,500 shares. Riverside Church sent no spokesman but issued a statement in New York explaining why it voted for the Episcopal resolution. While not totally pleased with the wording of the Episcopalian measure, trustees of the wealthy congregation said they approved it as a 'profound condemnation of apartheid and of encouragement to

socially sensitive members of the management...to greatly increase their efforts to oppose and undermine apartheid in South Africa.'

According to some interpreters, both the appointment of Mr. Sullivan to the board of directors and the naming of a vice president on environmental pollution resulted from earlier pressure by Campaign GM. However, Campaign GM feels these changes are just 'window-dressing' and that no meaningful change has occurred in GM structure or decision-making process, and they point to a long list of examples of GM'S continued 'corporate irresponsibility.'

In addition to Bishop Hines, believed to be the highest U.S. churchman to address a meeting of corporation stockholders, other church representatives asked GM to withdraw from South Africa. Horace Gale, treasurer of the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, said, 'When our company contributes to a government that is keeping a large segment of its population in virtual slavery, then we as shareholders with Christian convictions must urge that this arrangement be brought to an orderly end.'

In addition to the 20,000 shares owned by Mr. Gale's society, other American Baptist agencies cast 35,276 for the South African resolution and two Campaign GM proposals.

The National Council of Churches voted with Campaign GM and sent Mark G. Birchette, its assistant treasurer, to address the stockholders. In explaining why the NCC would like to see the GM board of directors opened to employees and consumers Mr. Birchette said: 'We are troubled by the degree to which great corporations... are able to make decisions vitally affecting the lives of millions of people without those millions being able to influence those decisions in any way.' He accused General Motors of 'systematic circumvention of the democratic process.'

Numerous other universities, foundations and denominational agencies either voted with management or abstained (Carnegie Corporation, Carnegie Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Harvard University were among those who voted for management), but often accompanied their vote with letters expressing their concerns.

GM's critics claimed a moral victory, since their efforts were not aimed at piling up proxy votes for their proposals but to further the debate on the role of U.S. corporations in supporting apartheid in South Africa.

'GM Board Chairman James M. Roche, referring to racial discrimination practiced by GM in south Africa has said: 'I cannot give you a comparison of the wage rates between the Whites and the nonwhites, because, as you know, there are three different wage scales in South Africa. One is for the Bantus (the designation for Africans used by the South Africa government), one is for the Coloreds (persons of mixed race), and the others are the whites: the Bantus are the lowest, the Coloreds are in between, and the whites are other.'

In answer to a further question whether there were any African or Colored workers who are in upper management he stated: 'There are none who are foremen or upper management, because those are jobs reserved for white people (by South African law).'

(See the next issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA for a background article on GM)

BRITISH CHRISTIANS SPURN ARMS SALE

The Roman Catholic Bishops of England and Wales are under fire from Pax Christi, the International Catholic Movement for Peace, for alleged inadequacy in speaking out on the sale of British arms to South Africa. The bishops, at their May meeting in London, decided that they "do not consider themselves competent to judge the military and political aspects of the proposed sale of arms. . . . We have given our priests and people," they added, "the moral principles on which to base a conscientious decision. . . . We feel that it is for citizens to support or oppose the government according to the moral principles we have outlined."

Pax Christi reacted immediately with a statement in which it "noted with regret the inadequate statement on the morality of arms sales to South Africa. . . . The statement says nothing about the actual moral issue and is even hesitant about making a direct condemnation of South African apartheid legislation itself. It would have been better to have made no comment at all, than to have written a letter giving so little guidance."

Underlying the controversy is the recent decision of the British Government to sell six Wasp helicopters to South Africa. The decision was made in the context of an agreement between the two countries under which Britain uses the South African naval base at Simonstown.

Also, the British Council of Churches, representing 23 Anglican and Protestant churches, overwhelmingly passed a resolution at its April session regretting the British decision. It also regretted the government's "refusal to respect the appeal from the U.N. Security Council to establish a complete embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa." (Religious News Service, May 11, 1971)

ANC EXPRESSES THANKS TO WCC

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) unanimously adopted a resolution expressing deep gratitude and appreciation for the donation voted to the ANC by the World Council of Churches. The ANC also expressed its disgust at the "unwarranted and libelous condemnation of the World Council of Churches by those forces that support domination of one people over the other on the basis of race or the color of the skin. The leaders of the white minority section in South Africa, both from the Government side and from the so-called Opposition Parties, have been particularly vocal against and quick to brand the WCC humanitarian decision to assist the victims of apartheid as an act calculated to assist the spread of communism. Of course the bogey of communism is so often used by the racists in South Africa that it has long ceased to be taken seriously." (Sechaba, Feb. 1971)

WORLD COUNCIL INCREASES PRESSURE

The World Council of Churches has announced a fullscale campaign for the complete economic and political isolation of South Africa. It has instructed its 200-member churches in 83 countries to work not only for a ban on all arms sales to South Africa, but also for a stop to white immigration and tourism. (Star, Johannesburg, April 3, 1971)

The campaign has been approved by the Commission for the Program to Combat Racism, the same body which has been under fire from many points for its financial support of a number of organizations which included some of the Southern African liberation movements. The Commission also agreed that the Program to Combat Racism should give special emphasis to the investigation and analysis by WCC member churches to "dissuade investments in international companies and banks

operating in southern Africa and in any countries practicing white racialism."

The Program has outlined three main initiatives in its efforts: (1) "Extension of prisoner-of-war status to freedom fighters, in accordance with the Geneva conventions; (2) Opposition to military alliances with South Africa and particularly the supply of arms to the Governments of South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia; and (3) Discouragement of white immigration to South Africa and tourism to Southern Africa, Malagasy, Malawi, and Portugal. (Star, Johannesburg, April 3, 1971)

ROMAN CATHOLICS CONDEMN APARTHEID

Latest to join in the international church condemnation of South Africa is the Roman Catholic Church, with nearly 48 million members in the United States. The international affairs committee of the United States Catholic Conference has urged the American government to cease "all military cooperation" with the Southern African governments, and to exert the strongest possible diplomatic action to bring about equality of the races in Southern Africa.

At its March 26 meeting in Washington, D.C. the committee added that embassies, consulates, and space installations of the U.S. should refuse to cooperate in any way with policies of racism "as an absolute condition for their continued presence." It also called on all Catholics who are responsible for invested funds, "whether their own, or those of churches or other institutions," to use their influence in stockholders meetings and elsewhere to effect needed reforms in Southern Africa and to cooperate with other Christians in this endeavor. (Agence France Presse, March 26, 1971)

CHURCH STOPS WCC MONEY

The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa has suspended payments to the World Council of Churches and has warned that unless the WCC stopped dictating "unrealistic policies" it would consider leaving the world body. The Rev. Michael Rowe, Moderator of the Presbytery of Mashonaland, said the church "had decided to remain a member of the WCC because it is felt to be of great importance to have a voice on it to express our point of view." He asked: "If, however, the WCC continues to dictate unrealistic policies to its members and fails to give credit to the efforts of churches of Southern Africa to combat racism, the Presbyterian Church will have to consider terminating its membership." (Star, Johannesburg, April 3, 1971)

SMITH "NATIONALIZING" WCC MONEY

Ian Smith, leader of the rebel Rhodesian regime, may withhold money due to the World Council of Churches from the planned sale of the multiracial Cold Comfort Farm. The Rhodesian authorities declared the farm society an unlawful organization in January, seized the property, and appointed a liquidator. In February, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the WCC, wrote to the liquidator claiming the proceeds of the sale.

The WCC provided \$200,000 towards the cost of setting up the farm, and the rest of the cost was provided by two Christian charitable organizations in West Berlin and Switzerland. The WCC said the society's constitution provided that in the event of its being wound up, remaining funds or assets after payment of debts should go to a body nominated by its members or failing that to the WCC.

Because the Cold Comfort Farm had been declared an unlawful organization, its constitution no longer applies, according to the Rhodesian leader, and any payment

could only be made by the Rhodesian "government." The liquidator's letter said the most the WCC could hope to obtain was repayment of the money it had put into the project. (Standard of Tanzania, March 6, 1971)

ANGLICAN PRIEST FACES MANY THREATS AFTER DEMONSTRATION

The Rev. David Russell, a 32 year old white Anglican priest, continues to receive threatening phone calls following his recent 'fast' to draw attention to the plight of the black Africans. His black parishioners call him 'Mfundisi,' which means priest or teacher in the Xhosa language. But anonymous callers charge him with being a 'troublemaker' and death threats continue.

The tires of his small truck were recently spiked and an anonymous caller warned that a bomb had been placed in an Anglican church in King Williams Town. The call was a hoax but added to the tensions. Despite the threats, Mr. Russell believes things are beginning to change and predicts better treatment for those living in Dimbaza, a resettlement camp for an estimated 7,000 displaced Africans on the outskirts of King Williams Town. (Religious News Service, June 16, 1971).

BISHOP IN TROUBLE

Three hundred students at the University College of Rhodesia walked out of the University Chapel in Salisbury when the Bishop of Mashonaland, Paul Burrough, rose to preach. The students were protesting the fact that Bishop Burrough had walked out of the Anglican Consultative Committee in Kenya because the committee supported African nationalist movements in Zimbabwe. The Bishop was praised by white settlers for "acting with integrity." The students felt that the Bishop had acted on behalf of the white members of the church only and not on behalf of the predominantly African membership.

U.N. BOOKLET AVAILABLE

"Responsibility of United States Catholics and Racism in Southern Africa" is available from the Unit on Apartheid of the United Nations for readers who wish to secure personal copies. It is Document No. 19/71, dated May 1971.

CALL FOR MASS PROTESTS

The Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute of South Africa, has called for massive peaceful protests against injustice and suppression as the alternative to violence in South Africa. Writing in the March issue of Pro Veritate, Mr. Naude also called for a national conference on justice and peace sponsored by all religious bodies which are concerned about the persecution of the church in South Africa, but "above all" about the millions in South Africa who are suffering as a result of policies of injustice and "institutional violence." (Star, Johannesburg, March 27, 1971)

He accused the Government, the Security Police, and certain white voters as unwittingly furthering the aims of communism. He said they were providing communists with highly serviceable ammunition to pose as the real liberators of all those who felt themselves oppressed in South Africa.

"We wish to issue a solemn warning that unless we heed the danger signs of an increasing turbulence among the dispossessed citizens of our country, we are unavoidably steering towards the Gotterdammerung of civilized South Africa." (Standard of Tanzania, March 14, 1971)



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

Our demands are stated in the FREEDOM CHARTER.
We fight for freedom—the right to rule our own
destiny.

PRIEST PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST

A Franciscan Catholic priest, Father Cosmon Desmond, author of a controversial book (*The Discarded People*) that deals with South Africa's apartheid laws, has been placed under house arrest. The order was signed by Justice Minister Petrus Pelsler.

Father Desmond was also involved in the making of a British television film which showed actual living conditions in black resettlement areas. When the film was shown in England, it drew a protest from South Africa's Ambassador to Great Britain.

Under the conditions of the house arrest, the 35-year-old British-born priest will be confined to his home from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. on week days, and all day on Saturdays and Sundays. He is forbidden all visitors except for his family (who live in England), or a physician approved by the authorities, and may not attend any social or political gatherings or participate in study groups.

In addition, when he does leave his home, he must stay within the limits of the Johannesburg magisterial district. He is barred from visiting any African, Asian, or "Coloured" (mixed race) areas.

Publication of his book, *The Discarded People*, did not endear him to the South African Government, but when the television film on black resettlement areas was shown in England, the Government moved to deny Father Desmond a passport that would have enabled him to travel to England to visit his family. At the time, the Franciscan priest, who is a member of the Christian Institute of South Africa, said he simply gave the television producer "some factual data" about employment opportunities and population densities in some resettlement areas.

According to the "Terrorism Act" of South Africa, any action that "embarrasses" the Government is defined as terrorist activity. The law applies to publications and films, even if they are factual. (Religious News Service, June 28, 1971)

WCC MEETING POSTPONED

The planned meeting between the World Council of Churches (WCC) and its member churches in South Africa has been "postponed indefinitely," according to Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the 252-member WCC.

The consultation was to have concerned itself with the violent reaction of some South African churches to the grants made by the WCC Program to Combat Racism to liberation movements in Southern Africa. Several South African churches have withdrawn from the WCC as a result of the grants, and others have discontinued their contributions to the WCC.

Dr. Blake told a press conference in Geneva that South Africa's Prime Minister, Balthazar Vorster, had placed restrictions that were "totally unacceptable" to the WCC, forcing the postponement of the consultation. Vorster had said he would not permit the WCC delegation to go further than the international hotel at the Johannesburg airport, nor stay longer than the actual duration of the "confrontation."

The convener of the South African delegation, Dr. Alex Boraine, said on the radio in South Africa that member churches are being asked to consider meeting outside the country with WCC members. Dr. Blake said that although the plan for meeting outside South Africa

has not yet been formally proposed to the WCC, the interdenominational body is open to a meeting wherever conditions are acceptable.

Under South African law, it is illegal to give any kind of aid or support to families of political prisoners, much less to the exiled liberation movements. Such actions are considered "sabotage," "terrorism," "treason," and "communistic." The WCC Program to Combat Racism had given grants for use by several of these "treasonous" liberation movements for their medical, education, and refugee work. (Religious News Service, June 14, 1971)

AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL URGES SPRINGBOK BOYCOTT

Australian clergy will be urged to use the pulpit to preach against the scheduled tours of Australia by South African rugby and cricket teams, according to the Rev. Frank Engel, general secretary of the Australian Council of Churches (ACC). South African's Springbok Rugby Union team is scheduled to visit Australia this June. Its cricket team is due to arrive in October.

The ACC executive committee has called on all Christians to support 'non-violent agitation' against the tours, even supporting moves to bring about cancellations. It also urged radio and television stations not to contribute financially to the tours by underwriting coverage of any matches, should they take place.

Earlier, certain sections of Australia's trade-union movement issued 'a declaration of non-cooperation' in protest against the proposed South African tours. Some observers have predicted the probability that the Australian Council of Trade Unions would support a boycott of the visiting team matches. Mr. Engel said he believed that opposition from church groups, trade syndicates, and other organizations would force cancellation of the tours. The Australian Senate's majority leader, Sir Kenneth Anderson, said however that he thought Australians 'overwhelmingly' believe that the Australian Council of Churches is wrong in opposing the visits by South African teams. Recently a national opinion poll showed that 85 percent of Australians had no objection to all-white sport touring teams coming from South Africa.

In the meantime, on May 10 an Anglican bishop ousted from South Africa in 1967 for opposing apartheid told the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid that he feels this will be the last year it will be 'safe' for all-white South African sports teams to go to Australia and New Zealand. Bishop Edward Crowther, formerly head of the Diocese of Kimberly and Kuruman, made the report on the basis of a recent visit to the South Pacific countries. Crowther is now the Assistant Bishop in the Episcopal Diocese of California. He said that he found active opposition to apartheid in Australia and New Zealand and he reported 'powerful vested interests' leveled against anti-apartheid activities. He said that South Africa is in a 'state of advanced paranoia' over the fear of being isolated, and that white South Africans are trying to 'proselytize' its way of life through sports. Bishop Crowther urged the U.N. Committee to support anti-apartheid forces in Australia and New Zealand. He said he saw little hope that an economic boycott would serve as an effective tool against apartheid, which he called 'legislated violence.' He said those who say the oppressed must be encouraged in non-violence ignored 'the appalling violence of the status quo.' (Religious News Service, April 23 and May 10, 1971).

INSIDE ZIMBABWE

ECONOMIC MORASS

After five and a half years of rebellion which led to economic sanctions against it, Rhodesia is still in an economic morass which does not augur for a bright future, concludes an economic survey of the Africa Bureau, London (April 19, 1971).

The survey points to three main trends: 1) a deteriorating balance of payments; 2) a growing degree of State control over the economy, and 3) the diminishing importance of the money economy as compared with the subsistence economy.

The survey shows that one of the trends have developed directly as a result of sanctions, but are the effect of colonial Settler Society. Sanctions have, however, undermined the basic economic structure of the Society, impeding the growth of the money economy. They conclude: "The Rhodesian problem is not related to the persistent attempts to find a constitutional formula acceptable to the current leaders in Britain and Rhodesia. The crisis arises from the failure to find a political and economic system consistent with the peaceful achievement of majority rule."

The survey points out that a correct reading of the census figures shows that white population was on the decrease, contrary to the claims of the regime; African employment has dropped; and the discrepancy between the wages of whites and Africans has increased; that UDI has not settled the question of Rhodesia's future; there has been a state of emergency since 1965 and Rhodesia will have to rely more and more on South African and Portuguese military support as the years go by; that the purpose for which the white regime risked illegal government, that of keeping the African out of their society, has not been achieved. There are many more Africans in white areas than before; that "maintaining the tribal system" one of the regimes goals, discourages 90 percent of the population from participating in the money economy and ultimately stifles all and any development of the country; that the regime attempts to implement racial policies on the land are going against the economic interests of the country. The survey concludes that even if sanctions were removed the regime would not be able to solve these problems.

The survey shows that in mining sanctions have not worked as expected. The United States and China are mentioned as two of the countries that have made substantial purchases of chrome, besides the many other minerals that have been going into the European market.

John Graylin, a former Federal Cabinet Minister, and now Chief Executive of the Association of Rhodesian Industries (ARNI) has warned that new industries have been frustrated in their development by a lack of foreign currency. "We are worried about the future now, because only recently new projects have been virtually stifled," he said. (Africa Research Bulletin March/April, 1971)

President of the Tobacco Trade Association, D.F. Bell, told his annual meeting that countries were beginning to feel the need for Rhodesian tobacco. "It is most certainly costing those countries far more to obtain their Rhodesian replacement supplies," he said.

EXPECTED SELL-OUT SOLUTION

Britain, South Africa and Rhodesia are expected to reach "a sell-out" solution on Rhodesia soon, according to a Times of Zambia editorial (April 28, 1971). Recent communication between London, Pretoria and Salisbury leads the editors to the conclusion that some "diabolic tripartite sell-out" solution was in the making.

Following the return of the British Ambassador to South Africa from London, Rhodesia's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, O'Donnell, has recently been "visiting" Cape Town and so has Rhodesia's Minister of Justice and "Constitutional expert" Lardner-Burke. According to N.Y. Times (April 27) the speculation was that the Rhodesians would make every effort to meet the British diplomat, Sir Arthur Snelling, who has been known to be involved in these informal consultations.

British Prime Minister Heath is reported to have said that "exploratory exchanges" are still proceeding. Replying to a question in the House of Commons Heath said that "exchanges" were based on the "five principles" set by a former Tory Government. (East African Standard April 23, 1971).

According to the Guardian (April, 16) Rhodesian Prime Minister Smith said that the "five Principles" were no consequence to him. "As far as I am concerned," said Mr. Smith, "our present constitution does not require amendment." Smith's Foreign Minister Jack Howman was reported in the Bulawayo Chronicle as saying: "I am by no means optimistic. But it is our duty to try." Howman pointed out that Rhodesia was not in a much stronger position in negotiating with Britain, adding that sanctions had failed to break Rhodesia but they were inhibiting her development. (Standard of Tanzania, March 29, 1971).

The Christian Science Monitor (May 10, 1971) suggests that Britain will end its sanctions policy whether a settlement is reached or not. The paper suggests that revelations by former Prime Minister Wilson do not augur well for the kind of negotiations Smith wants. The disclosures in the Sunday Times of London, extracts from a book by Mr. Wilson, suggest that Mr. Smith was very devious, indecisive and untruthful in talks with him at top level. Mr. Wilson suggests that "no weight whatever can be reposed in Mr. Smith's undertakings." (Johannesburg, Star, May 1, 1971).

ILLUSIVE FRONT

Hopes for a merger between ZANU and ZAPU have apparently faded, according to the African Digest (May, 1971). Two of ZAPU leaders, Silundika and Moyo, have denounced any such moves and have made talks with ZANU unproductive. The situation has been complicated by the kidnapping of 18 ZAPU leaders, including Silundika and Moyo, by the military of ZAPU. Several other ZAPU leaders are in protective custody of the Zambian police. A middle group that is trying to pressure the leaders of both parties into talking has threatened that "the people of Zimbabwe" may go it alone and form a united fighting front without their leaders. A letter signed by local leadership of ZANU accuses the national leadership of frustrating efforts of people to merge for selfish personal reasons.

DISSENSION ERUPTS IN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Two editors of Catholic newspapers, Timothy McLaughlin and his deputy, Anthony Chennels, have resigned from their posts on the paper, The Shield, in protest to the Catholic Churches compromise with the Smith regime.

Under a law passed last year, the Land Tenure Act, churches are required to register as voluntary associations, and therefore seek permission to work among Africans in African Areas and conversely seek permission for Africans entering schools and institutions in European Areas. Last year Catholic Bishops denounced this law and defiantly announced their refusal to register.

Following discussions with the Government leaders and the advice of Father John Schuette, a church official

from Rome, a majority of the Bishops changed their minds and the Catholic Church is registering under protest.

The editors of *Moto*, a Catholic weekly which is mostly for African readership, attempted to put their protest in print but were prevented from doing so by the Bishop. They went to press with blank spaces on their editorial pages.

In their protest the resigning editors said: "There can be no doubt that the implementation of Government

policy to maintain racial segregation and to discriminate on grounds of race alone, has been made easier by the church's willingness to negotiate. This we consider indefensible. By her actions, it can be argued, the church is in-fact co-operating with racist intentions of the Government in the field of education."

Up to this point only the Dutch Reformed Church had announced its support the Government policy. It is now expected that all the other churches will follow suit.

SPORTS

MINISTER OF SPORT BOOED BY WHITES

Frank Waring, South Africa's Minister of Sport, was loudly booed by white spectators at the National tennis championships in April when he was brought on to the center court to present prizes to finalists in the women's singles events. The booing lasted several minutes. (Washington Post, April 20, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICA BANNED FROM NINE INTERNATIONAL EVENTS IN 1970

Answering a question in Parliament, Mr. Waring reported that South Africa was barred from 9 international sports events in 1970. These events were the World Women's softball championships, world women's netball championships, world men's life-saving tournament, world aero-club tournament, and world swimming championships. In addition tours were barred by cricketers to Britain, swimmers to West Germany, track and field specialists to Greece, and basketball players to the United States.

Mr. Waring also reported that both a West German hockey team and a Spanish water polo and swimming team had refused invitations to visit South Africa. (The Star, Johannesburg, April 11, 1971)

THE STAR AND MR. HAWKE

The Johannesburg Star, a daily newspaper with probably the highest daily circulation in South Africa, has a misplaced liberal reputation. Ever since the disruption of the South African rugby tour to England in 1969, the Star has published editorial condemnation of the world-wide campaign to isolate South African sportsmen in terms as reactionary as those expressed in the Afrikaans press.

In its latest effort as apologist for white sport, the Star sent its Assistant editor, John Pitts, to Australia "in the cause of better understanding" and generally to plead the case for the maintenance of South African/Australian sporting relations. During a discussion with Bob Hawke, chief of the Australian trade union movement, Mr. Pitts suggested that pressure against South African sports bodies should be eased because they were the victims and not the instigators of political policy. Mr. Hawke, a former Rhodes scholar, replied in terms which devastated Mr. Pitts' argument, which is a common one among white South Africans. (The Star, Johannesburg, May 15, 1971)

NEW SPORTS POLICY

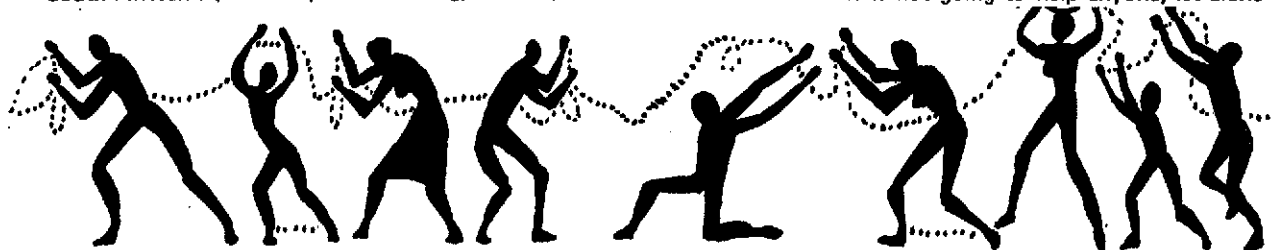
Faced with the prospect of total isolation from world's sports and a rising tide of protest within South Africa, the South African Government has announced some adjustments to its sports policy.

In terms of the policy, white and black South Africans will be allowed to participate together in sports meetings that are international, i.e., events in which foreign sportsmen compete. These events will be held only at certain designated "international sports centers" such as Ellis Park in Johannesburg, venue of the national tennis championships. Other centers will cater for such sports as golf, swimming, track and field. These "centers" will thus become lonely islands of integration in a sea of segregation. Matches against Rhodesia, however, will not be regarded as "international."

Visiting cricket and rugby teams from abroad will be allowed to play matches against representative teams of Africans, Indians, and Coloureds, but white spectators will be excluded from viewing these matches. Furthermore, when the visitors are playing the Coloured representative team, only Coloured spectators will be allowed and the same racially restrictive provisions will apply for the games against the African and Indian teams.

Non-whites will not, however, be allowed to travel abroad as members of South African cricket or rugby teams—these will remain all white, but they will be allowed to be members of teams representing sports whose international governing bodies demand non-racial selection criteria. Thus, mixed Davis Cup Tennis teams and Olympic teams will be permitted—mixed trials within South Africa for the selection of these teams will not, however, be condoned. (South African Digest, April 30, 1971)

This "new" sports policy is simply a pragmatic attempt by the South African Government to protect the international position of white sportsmen. As such, it has been widely condemned both from within and without South Africa. Mr. Abe Domingo, Chief Whip of the Labour Party in the Coloured's Representative Council, described the policy as "an attempt by whites to use non-whites as a passport back into international sport," while Hassam Howa, chief of the non-white cricket union, termed the policy "nothing new." Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party, described the plan as "half-baked... it is not going to help anyone, let alone



South African sportsmen." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 24, 1971)

BLACK SPORTSMEN REJECT GESTURES

The South African Rugby Union, the major non-white rugby body, has rejected an Australian offer for a non-white South African team to tour that country in 1972. Mr. Ebrahim Patel, the Union President, described the Australian offer as "merely a selfish gesture to ensure the (white) Springbok tour of Australia takes place. We see all through this and cannot allow ourselves to be used as pawns."

Mr. Patel also announced that his Union would refuse to select separate racial teams to play against the British rugby team which will tour South Africa in 1972. (The Star/Johannesburg, May 15, 1971)

In March, the President of the white South African Cricket Association, Mr. Cheetham, offered to include two Coloureds in its cricket team to tour Australia. The move came to naught, however, when the Minister of Sport, Mr. Waring, announced that the government would not tolerate the selection of a mixed team.

Mr. Cheetham's offer was also denounced by Mr. Hassan Howa of the non-white Cricket Union "as an ill-timed and badly handled publicity statement designed to safeguard the Australian tour."

Both Mr. Howa and Mr. Patel emphasized in their statements that they would tolerate nothing less than teams selected on merit alone without any regard to racial criteria. They indicated that they would even accept all-white teams, provided that merit had been the only criteria. (See related story, Churches section herein)

FRENCH CAPITULATE TO PROTESTS

The French Rugby Union has capitulated to nation-wide protests at the exclusion of a coloured rugby player from the French team to tour South Africa in July and announced recently that Roger Bourgarel will be a member of the team after all.

Mr. Bourgarel, one of France's top players and regular representatives, was originally selected as a reserve—a more widely interpreted concession to apartheid. So vehement were the protests at this act of appeasement, however, that one of the originally selected players withdrew from the team to make way for Mr. Bourgarel. (The Guardian, London, April 30, 1971)

CLUB CRICKETERS ENDORSE MULTI-RACIAL CRICKET

A poll conducted recently by the Johannesburg Star on whether white club cricketers favored multiracial cricket found that 94.5% favored such cricket, 3.4% opposed it, and 1.1% were non-committal.

In the same edition of the Star, it was reported that the Minister of Sport, Mr. Waring, had blocked a move by an Indian cricket team in Johannesburg to join the all-white Transvaal cricket league. The Transvaal Cricket Union had apparently been willing to admit the Indian team but had to reject the application on orders from Mr. Waring. (The Star, Johannesburg, April 10, 1971)

NON-WHITES GIVEN REPRESENTATION ON OLYMPIC COUNCIL

In a further attempt to regain South Africa's admission to the Olympic Games, the all-white South African Olympic Council has decided to admit three non-white representatives onto the Council. The move meets one of

the major criticisms of the International Olympic Committee over the lack of representation of non-white sports bodies on the South African Olympic Council.

BLACK NAMED COACH OF U.S. TENNIS TEAM

Mr. Bill Morton, Black American tennis player, has been named coach of an American Women's professional tennis team that will tour South Africa in October.

Morton is a colleague of Arthur Ashe who has twice been refused visas to visit South Africa. Mrs. Gladys Heldman, President of "World Tennis" magazine, who selected Morton, said that if he was refused a visa the trip would be abandoned and re-scheduled for elsewhere in Africa. (The Afro-American, May 11, 1971)

WEST INDIES REQUEST ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET

The West Indies Cricket Board of Control has placed on the agenda for the July meeting of the International Cricket Conference a resolution calling for the isolation of the white South African Cricket Board until South African cricket is played on a multiracial basis.

The International Cricket Conference is the governing body of international cricket. (SANROC circular.)

FIVE NATIONS WITHDRAW FROM WORLD HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIPS

Of the original 17 participants, 5 nations have withdrawn from the women's world hockey championships in New Zealand because of an invitation extended to an all-white South African team. Among those withdrawing are the three dominant nations in field hockey—India, Pakistan, and Kenya. Others to withdraw are Trinidad and Hong Kong, while Malaysia and Fiji have threatened to withdraw unless the invitation to South Africa is revoked. (Circular issued by Citizens Association for Racial Equality, Auckland, New Zealand.)

SPRINGBOK TEAM DIVIDES AUSTRALIANS

A number of riotous demonstrations occurred in Australia in the first week of July against the visiting South African rugby team (the "Springboks"). The riots have become so tense that Prime Minister William McMahon, a supporter of the tour, is considering calling national elections a year or more ahead of schedule in the expectation of profiting at the polls from the controversy. Public reaction against the disorders has seemed to favor the Conservatives represented by the 63-year-old Prime Minister, according to the New York Times (July 4, 1971).

Some of the protest has included day-and-night harassment of the visiting all-white South African team, such as preventing the athletes from getting any sleep by keeping up a night-long din outside their hotels. It is such activity that, according to the Times article, "offended the strong Australian sense of hospitality and fair play, two key elements in the national mystique."

Meanwhile, the South Africans have won all their games by lop-sided scores, such as 44-18 against Western Australia in Perth, and 43-0 against Adelaide, and 50-0 against Victoria.

STUDENTS

NUSAS OFFICIALS WALK OUT OF U.S. RECEPTION

The President and Vice-President of Nusas, Neville Curtis and Paul Pretorius, walked out of a reception given by the American Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. John Hurd, because it was a segregated "whites only" function. The Nusas officials had attended the reception under the impression that it was open to all races, but left when they found it was segregated "in order that members of the Nationalist Cabinet would attend," according to Mr. Hurd. (Cape Times, June 2, 1971)

BLACK GROUP URGES BOYCOTT OF REPUBLICAN FESTIVITIES

The South African Students Organization (SASO), a black group with 3,000 members, recently urged all black university students to boycott the festivities planned to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of a Republic in South Africa and to organise instead "republican protests." (Johannesburg, Star April 10, 1971)

BLACK STUDENTS BOYCOTT INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS

The entire student body at the black University of the North boycotted the celebrations held in April to mark the University's independence from its parent body, the University of South Africa. The university was established in 1959 when the government prohibited black students from attending white universities. In a statement the students said: "Independence from the University of South Africa is premature. It can be seen in no other light except as another calculated move by the Government to drive black students into a life of isolation, despair and perpetual frustration."

DISTURBANCES AT BLACK HIGH SCHOOL

Disturbances have occurred recently at three black high schools. 450 male students at the Healdtown Institute in the Eastern Cape were suspended after a series of stone-throwing disturbances in March. No mention was made of the specific grievances of the students. (Cape Argus, March 18, 1971).

Police arrested 152 students at the Matanzima school in the town of Cala in the Transkei after a riot in April. The disturbance was related to grievances over the quality of the food supplied to the students. (Johannesburg, Star, April 24, 1971).

At another Transkeian high school, St. Johns College in Umtata, two black teachers were severely assaulted during a riot which following the suspension of three students for playing truant. One of the teachers suffered a fractured skull and a staff bedroom was wrecked during the riot. 85 students were arrested. (Johannesburg, Star, May 15, 1971).

OXFORD DONS PETITION TO END RHODES SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME

Over 120 professors at Oxford University have signed a petition urging the discontinuance of the Rhodes Scholarship scheme in South Africa and Rhodesia unless there is a fair contingent of black students among future Rhodes scholars. Though the scholarship program is open to all races, no non-white South African has ever been awarded a scholarship. (Johannesburg, Rand Daily Mail, May 12, 1971).

POLICE RETURNS, THEN SEIZES NUSAS PAPERS

Ten minutes after returning to Nusas documents illegally seized in a February raid, Security Police served a new search warrant on Nusas and seized the same documents. The Police were ordered to return the documents by Mr. Justice Van Zyl of the Cape Supreme Court. So much material was taken from the Nusas office that it took police 8 hours to fill out receipts for all the confiscated documents. (Johannesburg, Rand Daily Mail, March 12, 1971).

RISE IN UNIVERSITY INFORMERS

In a recent statement, Nusas President, Neville Curtis, reported an increase in the number of paid police informers on English-speaking campuses. Mr. Curtis estimated that there was at least one informer on every Student Representative Council, an elected body, and in every organization "even vaguely connected with social concerns." Mr. Curtis reported further that informers were no longer passive agents but were now performing the role of active provocateurs. (Johannesburg Star, March 20, 1971)

RAMSEY CLARK ADDRESSES FREEDOM CEREMONY

Former U.S. Attorney-General, Ramsey-Clark, addressed the 9th annual Academic and Human Freedom Ceremony, sponsored by Nusas, at Rhodes University Grahamstown, in May. Mr. Clark spent 6 days in South Africa.

UNIVERSITY HONORS PORTUGUESE MINISTER

Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, awarded an honorary doctorate degree to Dr. Jose Veiga Simao, the Portuguese Minister of Education, at its graduation ceremony on April 24. Dr. Simao was, until recently, President of the University of Lourenco Marques, in Mozambique. (Johannesburg, Star, April 10, 1971).

PROPAGANDA INC.—SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

South Africa's Government Broadcasting Corporation produced and distributed 260 films last year, that were sent to countries all over the world, including Portugal, Belgium, Germany, South America, Britain, Australia, and the U.S. for use on TV Channels.

Radio South Africa now has an external service that is five years old and growing all the time. Powered by four powerful transmitters, the Voice of South Africa covers large sections of the globe, is heard throughout Africa. Some have described it as "the most penetrating herald of Pretoria's outward policy, that is slowly eroding the ground under the anti-Pretoria camp." Dr. Banda, the Malawian President, is a regular listener; so, apparently, are many other African leaders. (Star, Johannesburg, May 15, 1971)

A THANK YOU TO OUR READERS

The Editors would like to thank those readers who responded so generously to our request for funds. As we stated in our appeal letter, SOUTHERN AFRICA is financed through grants from Protestant denominations and from readers' donations. Our costs for printing and mailing have inevitably risen over the past years. At present \$3 barely covers the yearly printing and mailing costs for one subscription. Therefore yearly donations from readers have become even more important. Up until now we have functioned on a voluntary donation basis so that students and others who want to read SOUTHERN AFRICA but don't have the funds can still be subscribers.

We would appeal to readers who have not yet contributed to send a donation of \$3 if possible.

We have also appreciated the comments and suggestions readers have sent us. Please continue to let us know of your criticisms and evaluations of the content and style of SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The Editors

THE SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE

SOUTHERN AFRICA is published ten times a year by the Southern Africa Committee (SAC). For the last six years, the New York based Committee has been involved in education and other action aimed at full independence and majority rule in Southern Africa. Thus, for example, SAC actions have reflected a belief that U.S. corporations should disengage from Southern Africa; that U.S. governmental policy should be radically altered; that the liberation movements should be directly aided; and that institutions such as the church should be pressured to take firm steps opposing colonial domination and white minority rule.

The SAC was formerly a part of the University Christian Movement, but became a totally independent, totally volunteer group in 1968.

SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE
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NOTICE TO OUR READERS

The INTERRELIGIOUS FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (IFCO) has recently come out with a very strong statement calling upon the churches to support the liberation movements and denouncing South Africa's "dialogue" offensive (see p. 23 this issue). The Southern Africa Committee feels that this action by a black organization such as IFCO is of great significance to the Southern African cause. We are therefore grateful to be able to enclose the current IFCO Newsletter, which contains the full text of the IFCO statement.