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SOUTHERN AFRICA

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Periodical

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

Published monthly by the Southern Africa Committee, 637 West 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027.

VOL. IV, NO. 7

August-September, 1971

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In June, the Eighth Summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity totally rejected the idea of dialogue with racist South Africa as a tactic that could only serve to lengthen the life of that oppressive Government by delaying real confrontation and change. The O.A.U. did more than just piously take the expected stand against dialogue. A proposal to double cash allocations to the liberation movements was accepted without opposition; two unnamed countries, heavily in arrears with liberation committee payments, were reported to have settled up. On his return to Zambia from the meeting at Addis Ababa, President Kaunda announced that a military defense committee of the O.A.U. had been formed, with the aim of helping the guerrilla war against the white South. He also indicated that the committee would aim at establishing an O.A.U. passport and will examine ways in which member states can protect themselves against "enemies on the continent."

While clearly a victory for the progressive forces in Africa, the "no dialogue" vote cannot be seen as permanently settling this issue. The favorable vote only mustered exactly the two-thirds majority needed to pass a resolution at an O.A.U. summit: 28 for; 6 against (Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Madagascar, Gabon); 5 abstentions (Dahomey, Togo, Niger, Upper Volta, Swaziland); 2 countries absent (Uganda and Central African Republic).

The Johannesburg Sunday Times commented immediately after the meeting: "There are others who voted against dialogue, but whose minds are not yet closed to the idea. Ghana's Foreign Minister... said after the conference 'We voted against dialogue because the resolution was based on the Lusaka Manifesto to which Ghana subscribes. Ghana will not move alone, but only within the framework of the O.A.U. Basically we are in favor of dialogue.' Kenyan delegates also told me that Kenya was in favor of contact with South Africa 'as soon as this can be done on a basis acceptable to the O.A.U.'" (Sunday Times, June 27, 1971) There has been widespread speculation in Africa that Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast may now call a conference of those who support him, and President Banda of Malawi has continued to press for such dialogue, claiming the belief that this will

"kill apartheid with kindness."

South Africa, desperately seeking ways of splitting and weakening African external and internal opposition, is delighted with Banda, has added a glorious State Visit to past rewards given him, such as the millions of Rand paid towards building the new Malawi capital at Lilongwe, and a railway line to the Mozambican port of Nacala. Banda was greeted in South Africa with a 21-gun salute, magnificent banquets, motorcades and all the luxuries usually reserved for 'whites only.' The South African Government must find this a cheap price to pay for so useful an ally—they now have the use of an airbase at Lilongwe that could prove most useful as a launching pad against independent African States; neutral Malawian territory is constantly being used for "consultations" between various groups in Africa, as Banda forges ahead with his strategy of trying to build bridges between white-ruled Southern Africa and the Black North. The very latest such meeting in July brought together Police Chiefs from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Uganda, Malawi, and Zambia, and may bode little good for the forces of the various liberation movements of Southern Africa. Malawi is already cooperating extensively with Portugal in the fight against FRELIMO—thus for instance there is close cooperation between the navies of the two countries for policing Lake Nyasa, with the Malawians reported handing over captured freedom fighters to the Portuguese.

In the meantime, while Banda is being feted, 100,000 Malawians, forced to work in South Africa because of extreme poverty at home, are still treated as semi-slave labor, earning no more than an average \$265 A YEAR and subject to all the horrors of the pass laws and the other humiliations and brutalities that South Africa reserves for its Black population.

South African liberation movements have labelled Banda a Judas, have condemned his current visit to South Africa as a continuation of a series of treacheries that he has committed in defiance of the interests of all Black South Africans and Africans as a whole.

In this light the Banda visit cannot be regarded as indicative of any hopeful sign of change, and should be strongly condemned as fraudulent in its purposes.

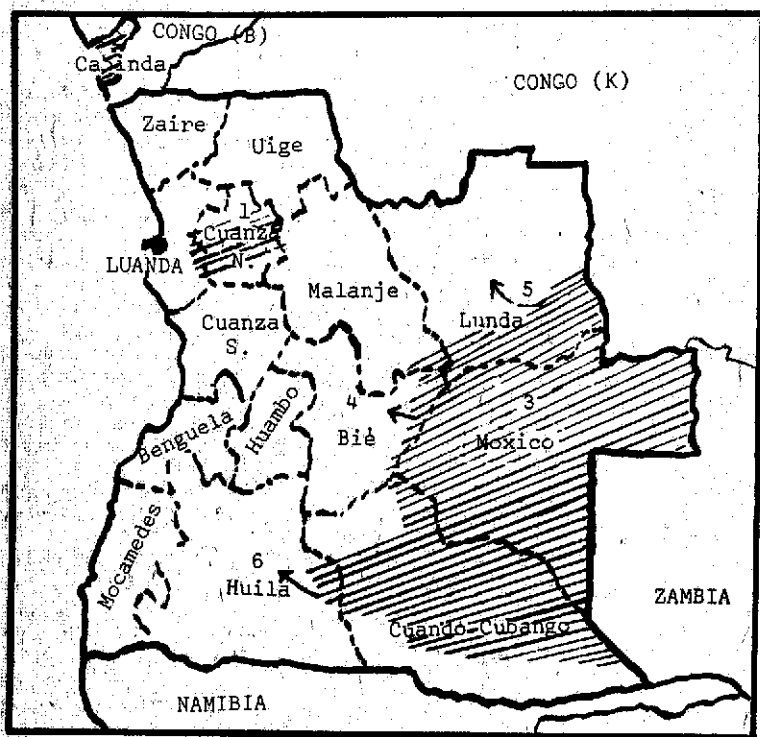
INTRODUCTION TO OUR SPECIAL FEATURE

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTACAO DE ANGOLA

SOUTHERN AFRICA has tried to bring its readers a wide coverage of the struggle for liberation in the Portuguese territories and the rest of Southern Africa. It is our belief that armed struggle is the only remaining realistic means of bringing about majority rule in that part of the world. The struggle is a long and hard one. It needs our support. However, verbal and moral support are not sufficient. For this reason we have decided to campaign for funds to buy medical supplies for the M.P.L.A. forces fighting in Angola. We have the opportunity of printing the following eye-witness report, written for us by Boubaker Adjali after he had spent time with the M.P.L.A. last summer in the liberated areas of Angola.

The M.P.L.A. was founded as a party in 1956. It has been engaged in armed struggle for the past ten years, opening its Eastern front in 1966. Portugal is heavily backed by NATO and South Africa. There are 80,000 Portuguese troops in Angola and Portugal spends about 50% of its national budget on its wars against Angola and its other African territories. The liberated areas of Angola now extend over an area four times the size of Portugal. In these areas, people are organizing themselves for a national reconstruction of their homeland, including its economy, educational system, and health services. We have to continue this kind of campaign further into the future for the other liberation movements of Southern Africa and particularly of the Portuguese African colonies.

ANGOLA



Map courtesy of Liberation Support Movement Information Center.

▨ Semi-liberated areas → Penetration zones



ALL PHOTOGRAPHS
BY BOUBAKER ADJALI

NURSING SCHOOL IN SANTOS

INSIDE LIBERATED ANGOLA

a survey of medical services

MEDICAL SERVICES OF THE MPLA

After the Portuguese massacre in Angola in February of 1961, a large number of Angolans were forced to take refuge along the borders in the adjacent Congo Kinshasa. They were entirely without means of subsistence and were dying of hunger and disease. As a consequence the MPLA began to organize a medical assistance program (Angolan Volunteer Corps to Assist Refugees—CVAAR) and some four to five months after the start of the armed struggle, about a dozen doctors and several nurses and midwives in Kinshasa began to maintain small medical stations in these areas.

Rudimentary training for health personnel was commenced at the same time. Unfortunately this initial attempt did not last because of political developments in the Congo: the MPLA experienced difficulties in its relationship both with Holden Roberto and the Congolese regimes. However, the initial experience proved valuable.

Subsequently, with the advent of a more sympathetic regime in Brazzaville, the MPLA was able to re-organize itself, to establish a political and military operation, and, as a result, social services. Early on it became obvious that medical services were required on the newly opened Cabinda front.

Hospital Established

Under the direction of Dr. Joao Viera Lopez, a new medical service (Service d'Assistance Medica [SAM]) was organized and a hospital—which is still functioning—was established in Dolisi in the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). In addition, medical stations were established along the Cabinda border and the training of health personnel was once more undertaken. Similar developments occurred after the Eastern front, in areas of Angola contiguous with Zambia, was opened, under the direction of Dr. Americo Boavida, who died in battle in 1968. At the time of his death, he had left a functioning medical organization with trained health workers operating at points within liberated areas of Angola. It is largely on this foundation that SAM functions today under the general direction of Dr. Eduardo Santos. John Marcum incorrectly reported that Dr. Santos had deserted in the special edition of Africa Report on the Portuguese Territories in 1967.

In the organization of social services in general and medical services in particular, a number of salient problems required solution. These can perhaps best be summarized into two components, the first being the provision of adequate care for persons injured in battle and the second being with the organization of medical services in a malnourished and poverty-stricken population where none, or almost none, existed before.

To give the reader some idea of what these problems mean, the account which follows summarizes interviews with doctors serving with the MPLA. This account was obtained by interviews which I had with medical personnel when I had the opportunity to visit liberated Angola and the adjacent areas last summer.

Difficulties Confronting SAM

Dr. Santos was asked first about the difficulties currently confronting SAM.

"There are many difficulties. First, we lack basic materials. There is a grave shortage of drugs and instruments. Our second most important problem is

logistic: transport within the fighting zones is entirely by foot and crossing these areas can take a month or more. To give you some idea of the scale of the problem, we sometimes have to cover distances as great as 1,200 miles or more on foot. And because our comrades are fighting in perhaps three-quarters of the territory of Angola, it is not easy to provide medical back-up services to military units. These difficulties are surmounted, but with great sacrifice. If this were not enough, we desperately need personnel. On the eastern front for example, we function with only four doctors, twenty nurses, and about fifty rescue workers (i.e. trained fighters who besides entering combat as militiamen assist with first-aid treatment). In addition, because of the distance involved, we have to establish a hospital within the Angolan interior. In some areas, comrades with only rudimentary medical training are obliged to take on responsibilities well beyond their capabilities. All that can really be provided is emergency help and for further treatment, cases must be taken to hospitals outside Angola.

"But this in turn poses further problems since these hospitals are not always available and many of the sick and wounded die before they reach them. At the very minimum, we must establish hospital facilities as close to the borders as possible and in fact we plan to establish one within Angola itself. The lines of combat in Angola have now been pushed deep into the interior, although it is in the nature of guerrilla warfare that areas under guerrilla control may, intermittently and for short periods, be re-occupied by the Portuguese Army.

"Nevertheless, with appropriate clandestine techniques we believe we can provide sufficient security to establish and defend a hospital in the territory. It would of course be relatively small with perhaps 30 beds and would provide medical, surgical, and orthopedic services. We already have ready cadres to run such services in addition to laboratory technicians and other personnel. We also expect more doctors to join us in the near future. It is difficult to be sure of the exact number, perhaps ten. Mostly we intend to employ them in covering the interior of the country, and we hope eventually to provide at least one doctor for each region in addition to the one needed to run the hospital I have just referred to, since I am sure we will build it. Each of the doctors, in addition to organizing medical services, will be responsible for training nurses, midwives, rescue workers, and personnel with sufficient knowledge to undertake the diagnosis and treatment of relatively common and simple conditions.

"Ultimately we hope to provide a system of medical services which will be structured in a manner analogous to that of the MPLA, namely a system that is totally decentralized and as far as possible is self-sufficient from a tactical point of view, but centralized from a strategic point of view.

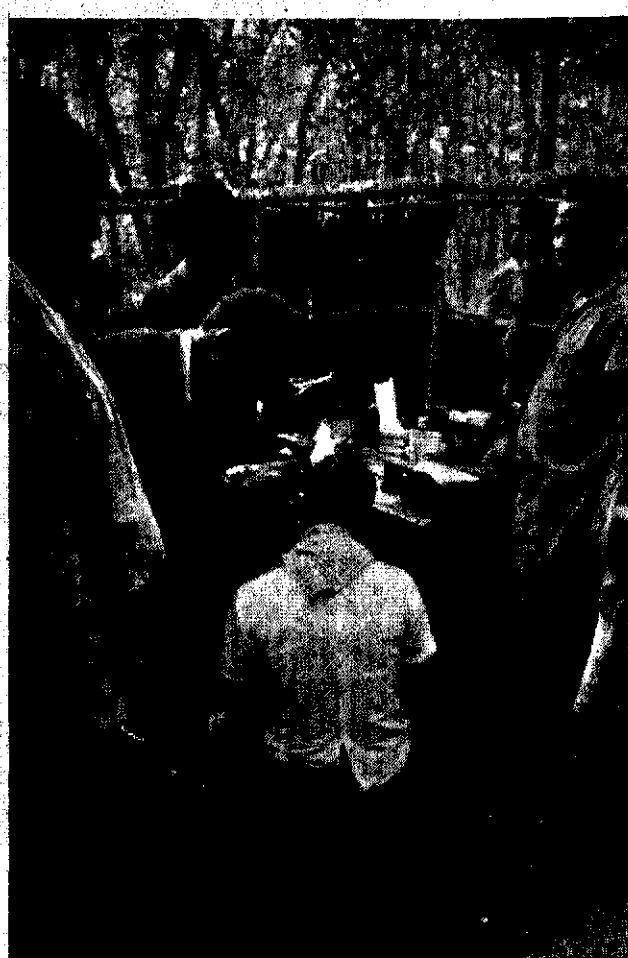
"It might be useful to give some view of how the system has operated this far. In Region III (Moxico), 60% of our personnel are stationed and we are actively developing and consolidating this area, because this is absolutely critical if we are to succeed in the operation in other regions such as Region IV (Lunda-Malange) and Region V (Bie). In region IV we have a doctor, a nurse, and some rescue workers. Elsewhere we do not have doctors yet, but in some of the regions we do have nurses and in 1971 at least two more regions will also have doctors."



DOCTOR WITH NURSE FROM THE SANTOS NURSING SCHOOL



DR. MWAMBAKA AND HEAD NURSES



SURGERY IN THE FIELD

Lunda-Malange

Medical Conditions in Angola

Next Dr. Santos went on to discuss the medical conditions commonly encountered in Angola.

"First there are the diseases that are encountered in most parts of the world and are particularly prevalent in poorer countries—malaria, nutritional disorders, contagious illnesses of childhood, all types of meningitis (and particularly meningococcal meningitis), typhoid fever, paratyphoid, various types of dysentery and poliomyelitis are all endemic. Moreover, in view of the poor nutritional, housing, and hygienic state of the population, these illnesses take a heavy toll both in mortality and in complications. Other diseases are more specific for our area: we have to contend with parasitic infections, such as bilharzia, hook worm, and round worm infections. We see all forms of leprosy. Malaria is easily our most important disease problem because it is so widespread. Where it does not kill, it often renders entire populations so debilitated and weak that they cannot function adequately to meet their own needs, let alone those of the community in general or those of the war of liberation.

"Women face additional hazards: malnutrition is particularly harmful in pregnancy and obstetrical services are virtually non-existent. Not surprisingly, maternal and neo-natal mortality, spontaneous abortion rates, and still-birth rates are alarming, and of course, as might be expected, so is infant mortality.

"Skin diseases, to our surprise, are also a problem, and this applies especially to scabies. This ailment is easily treated, but initially we did not have the medication simply because we did not think of it. This has been corrected, but it is appalling to see the complications that this relatively "minor" illness can cause. We have even seen skin sepsis followed by osteitis infections of bone which necessitated amputation. In the near future we hope to eradicate this disease completely.

"Finally we must mention war casualties and the tragedy here is that we lack the means to resolve the problems that they pose. Emergency stations, field hospitals, plasma, instruments, anesthetics, and so on are all beyond our reach, and this tragedy is compounded by the fact that we often have doctors who could provide the necessary treatment if they were equipped to do so."

Training of Medical Personnel

Next Dr. Santos spoke about the training of medical personnel.

"In 1969 we organized a nursing school, and the first year trained 16 students—8 men and 8 women. The courses were essentially those taught elsewhere, but considerably accelerated, since there is such a desperate need to get our people out into the field as soon as possible. In 1971 we hope to train about 40 nurses in two sessions. The means at our disposal have improved, but we can only expect to increase the momentum of our program when we succeed in establishing a hospital on the eastern front and have a nursing school operating in association with it. I should emphasize that the role "nurse" is not the same as it is in Europe or America. For the most part the personnel whom we train will have to undertake the entire gamut of medical care, institute preventive measures and promote medication education, largely unassisted."

Region IV has been mentioned before. The writer went there by truck to the Zambezi River and then on a 17-day march into Angola. Three rescue workers each carried about 30 pounds of medical supplies, the sole means for provisioning the medical services of region IV. Dr. Mwambaka, medical director of this region, outlined the conditions prevalent there.

"In organizing medical care in this region we actually wanted to determine the prevalent disease patterns. We had no previous publications or statistics to go on, Portuguese colonialism being what it is, and in fact the Portuguese have never provided medical services in this area. Within a radius of about 120 miles there is not one hospital and the nearest is in Luso or in Saurimo. Obviously we still lack statistics, but certainly we see the diseases of poverty, malnutrition, and ignorance far too often.

"In response to the freedom struggle by the Angolan people, the Portuguese are now showing that they are improving the health infrastructure of their administration with the obvious objective of winning people to their side. But it is ironic to see how little they understand the aspirations of our people. The brochures dropped by the Portuguese planes after bombing attacks illustrate this: (Translation) 'With this document I introduce myself to the village of peace [strategic hamlet] in order to remain here. All the people, men or women, who present themselves with this document will be directed to the closest administrative post so that they may be given clothing and have their diseases treated. Signed, The district governor.'

"Tradition, or folk medicine, mostly administered by women, flourishes in Region IV. From an early age girls are taught partly by their mothers and then partly by old wise women how to search for edible foods such as roots and herbs in time of need, when staples such as cassava may not be available. They are also taught the medicinal benefits or ill effects of roots and leaves that they minister to the sick as treatment for their illnesses.

"Traditional medicine represents a body of general knowledge and is in that sense 'democratic' medicine. The concept of the trained doctor-healer is rare although certain individuals may very occasionally be called upon to fulfill this function.

"We have to accept and work with this system of medicine, since there is no question that the people have confidence in it and since there can also be no question that its practitioners have insight into diseases that the western trained doctor lacks. It is arrogant on the part of western medicine to propose that it has nothing to learn from the traditionalists," Mwambaka said.

Our Detachment Attacked

Before the writer left Region IV, a detachment was attacked and a guerrillero was wounded, his forearm being shattered by a bullet. He arrived at the base after dark and though he required amputation, there was no flashlight and the operation was postponed until morning. Under ideal conditions, the upper forearm could have been saved with better potential for rehabilitation, but Dr. Mwambaka did not have a saw. Consequently the operation was done by cutting through the elbow joint—and that without the aid of anesthetics, as there were none available. This episode serves as a stark



FIRST GRADUATING CLASS OF SANTOS NURSING SCHOOL

example of what it means to lack medicine and equipment.

Region IV is one of the most recently established politico-military regions, and it was interesting to hear how Dr. Mwambaka had approached its problems. Prior to his arrival, medical care was limited to first aid by unqualified individuals, and there was no organization. Having established a basic organizational structure, he has begun to train rescue workers and nursing aides in the field, and he has tried to supplement the training of those already working.

"If this plan is to succeed, we need greatly increased supplies. We do not have sufficient for the number of patients already registered and this is far short of the number who actually need care. The limited number of medical stations and the limited amount of supplies cuts down the number of patients we can serve. Furthermore, we know that as soon as we increase all of these things, there will be a corresponding increase in the number of patients."

It should be borne in mind that Dr. Mwambaka was organizing his zone against a background of human misery, imposed first by colonial rule and second by the state of war. He has had to operate among people living under appalling conditions and constantly on the move.

For all of these reasons, the dominant picture is one of more or less universal malnutrition, particularly among children. Kwashiorkor and pellagra are rampant and reasonable organization to restock food supplies and to establish minimally acceptable standards of hygiene are difficult to achieve.

Prognosis for the Future

I asked Dr. Mwambaka how he conceives of the future of medicine and public health in his country.

"It is obvious that the future of medicine in my country after independence is going to reflect the victories of the revolution. We will not accept the colonial functions and goals of medicine presently existing that serve first and foremost the colonialist class. Medicine must become medicine for all peoples, all classes, and must be within the reach of everyone. On the other hand, the doctors and other medical personnel are always concentrated in the cities, which separates the public medical assistance from the great majority of the people. This will not be so. Today the people fight for a better future. We will not accept that they be deprived of the benefits of conquests of our armed struggle after victory."



**U.S. NAPALM CANNISTER
FROM A VILLAGE IN ANGOLA**



**ANGOLAN VILLAGERS, VICTIMS OF
U.S. NAPALM AND HERBICIDES**



NAPALMED MAN, FOURTH REGION



AN EMERGENCY APPEAL

This appeal from the Southern Africa Committee for money to aid M.P.L.A. follows on the heels of many appeals from M.P.L.A. itself. Since 1970 the Portuguese, in an attempt to destroy the livelihood and lives of people in liberated zones, have used smoke bombs and herbicides to defoliate vast regions of Eastern Angola. The already existent medical problems, including malnutrition, have been exacerbated and two-thirds of the crops in liberated zones were destroyed. We have a particular responsibility to respond to the appeals of M.P.L.A., for it is believed that the source of the herbicides was the U.S. (The Standard, Tanzania, April 23, 1971) Chemicals have been thrown in rivers to kill fish, and people who eat contaminated foliage or roots get respiratory, skin, and internal ailments. Seven people have

died from such poison, plus one miscarriage thus far. International organizations have responded with seeds, foods from Canada, and medicines from England. More is needed. Therefore we call upon our readers, if they can, to send the Southern Africa Committee, 637 West 125th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027 a \$5.00 donation each which will go toward providing medicines needed by S.A.M. and the Angolan people. ONE \$5.00 GIFT WILL BUY 200 250mg. CAPSULES OF THE ANTI-BIOTIC TETRACYCLINE AND A SLIGHTLY LESS NUMBER OF ANTI-MALARIAL TABLETS. Bulk medical supplies are the best, and we are working on obtaining specific information on bulk supplier prices. M.P.L.A. has a complete list of needs—you can respond. We will keep you informed on our fund's progress.

I enclose \$----- donation to aid with medical supplies the needs of the Angolan people.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip: _____

Send to: SOUTHERN AFRICA COMMITTEE—
ANGOLA MEDICAL FUND
637 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

GENERAL MOTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A Case Study In Corporate Crime

The South African Auto Industry

There are approximately 400 U.S. companies with investments in South Africa, and GM is one of the largest participants. The automobile industry, to which American firms have been the single most important contributors, has been a key to diversifying and expanding the economy. The auto industry is vital for the health of the entire South African economic structure. The Standard Bank has described it as "one of the most dynamic forces in the expanding economy, with an influence extending to most manufacturing industries, to the distributive trades and to service industries. Their future pattern of growth will affect the whole economy." Thus GM has invested at least \$125 million in South Africa, has two assembly plants and one engine plant located near the Eastern Cape Province cities of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. GM produces 84 models, engines, component parts and Frigidaire products in South Africa. In 1970 it sold 33,000 vehicles (cars and trucks) thus capturing approximately 15 per cent of the South African market.

Benefits to South Africa

The presence of GM in South Africa has provided innumerable benefits to the white minority government. Thus after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 when 69 Africans were killed by police fire and dramatic political changes were expected, South Africa responded by instituting programs aimed at making the country immune to outside pressures and creating a self-sufficient economy. One such program was to increase the "local [South African made] content" of cars formerly just assembled in South Africa. By 1976 South Africa expects 65 per cent of each automobile to be of local origin, and GM has spent more on this pro-South African scheme than any of its competitors with an expected additional \$22 million investment by 1976.

Benefits to South Africa include more investment and through import reduction a better balance of payments. GM is the only American company to have produced a South African model which it calls the RANGER. Although GM claims to aid U.S. balance of payments by being in South Africa, the firm has helped South Africa's balance through the sale of its South African made products throughout the rest of Southern Africa. More recently GM has squeezed into the European market where the Ranger is being sold. Some of GM's domestic problems (i.e. strikes, inflation) may be relieved by increased sale abroad of cheaper products produced in places like South Africa.

GM has other links with the South African Government which include the sale of 50 diesel locomotives to the government Railways system, a deal worth \$16.5 million. The company is also a heavy subscriber to the South Africa Foundation, a non-profit organization that is a major international propaganda and lobbying arm for the pro-apartheid forces of South Africa.

In order to accomplish this feat South Africa had to have outside help - like GM. Thus in 1966 a South African ruling party journal said about GM: "in times of emergency or war, each plant could be turned over rapidly to the production of weapons and other strategic requirements for the defense of Southern Africa." This understanding was confirmed recently when South African General Heimstra proclaimed that his country is now capable of exporting armaments, and can manufacture any type of armored car!

Employment Practices

GM admits that it follows the law of the land in South Africa which means that it cooperates totally with the apartheid system of racial separation and discrimination. This alliance with South African racism means that GM encourages whites from Europe to emigrate to South Africa in order to fill top echelon jobs. It is exhibited in the fact that GM pays lower wages to its non-white employees (Africans, Coloureds, Asians) and only gives more skilled jobs to them when it cannot find whites to fill the jobs. It means that GM recognizes white and Coloured unions as bargaining agents in its plants (and these unions were only recently instituted at GM), while Africans who are by law excluded from registered unions have no voice in their own working conditions. GM's compliance means that no non-white supervises a white worker, that all the better jobs are set aside for whites, and of course that all plant facilities are segregated for the different races.

GM employees include 6,100 individuals of whom 4,700 are hourly workers. Of this latter group 70 per cent are non-whites. The attitude of local GM managers to the bulk of their employees is revealed in the following quotes.

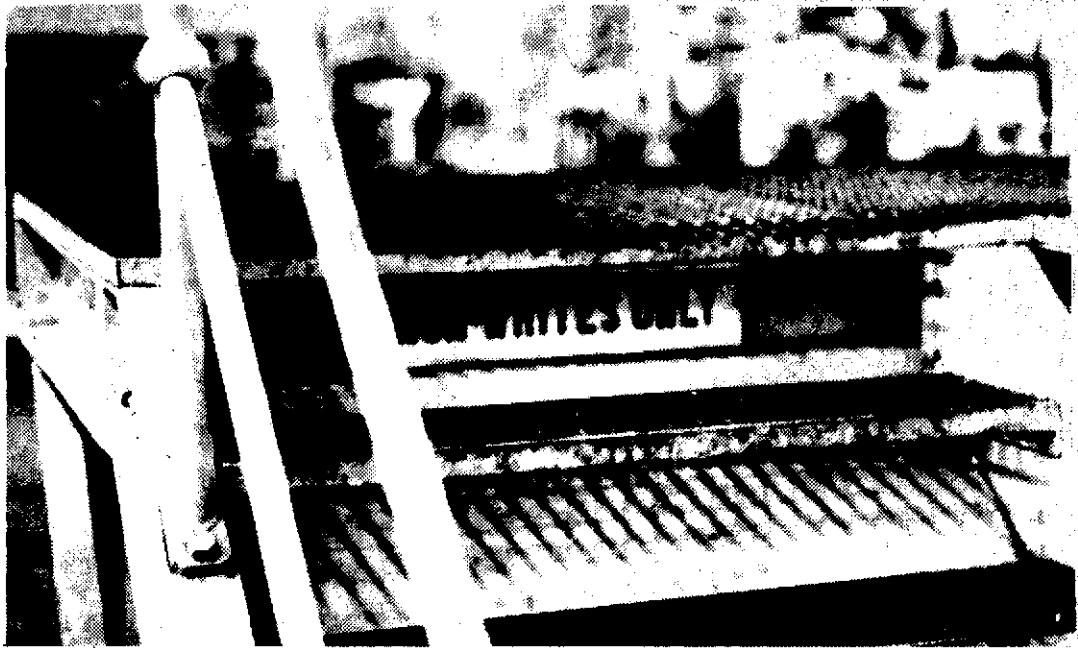
"I wouldn't say these people (Africans) don't have any reasoning power, but what they do have is very limited", (GM Engine Plant Manager, 1970)

... "our non-white peoples here in South Africa can work their way into the economy to come out of their rural and tribal existence where they can actually participate in a civilized industrial life. . . (GM Managing Managing Director , 1970)

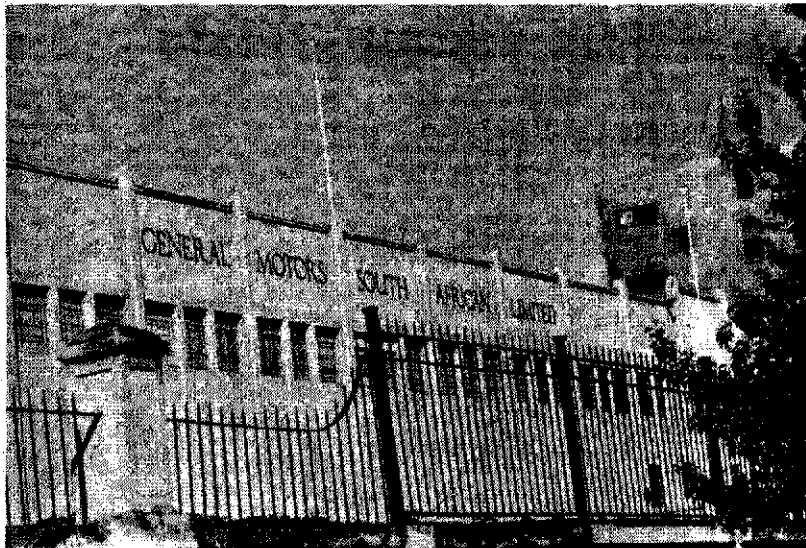
The racism inherent in these remarks is reflected also by GM Board Chairman James Roche when he calls Africans "Bantu" or "Native", terms used only by the government of South Africa or its supporters.

Jobs and Wage Structures

Chairman Roche described the South African apartheid system perfectly when he said: "GM South African does not discriminate between races as to wages except for a difference in the starting rates which are higher for Whites than for Colored and Native employees." Thus at the GM engine plant wages and categories of employment reflect the racist hierarchies to which GM subscribes.



General Motors Engine Plant, outside Port Elizabeth in South Africa



category	race	hourly wage
unskilled	African, Coloured	\$.52
semi-skilled	mainly Coloured	\$.80-.97
machine setters and changers	mainly white	\$1.96
skilled artisans	white	\$2.10

GM has proclaimed the competence and good workmanship of its South African employees, and yet Chairman Roche has the audacity to brag about paying African employees in South Africa wages which are 25 per cent above the average monthly living expense for a family of five. This living expense figure is really a minimum, i.e. in Johannesburg, the minimum was \$83.00 in 1969, in Uitenhage, \$89.50, a month. Roche's 25 per cent increase over this poverty datum figure cannot in any way be seen as generous. Health, insurance, retirement, tuition, training plans are provided by GM, but essential workers' rights in terms of unionization, the right to strike, bargaining power are non-existent.

The end of strict "job reservation" (a system of classifying by law certain jobs for certain races) has meant a jump in non-white employment at GM, but only when the white unions have agreed and only when it has been considered beneficial to the company which can of course pay an African or Coloured worker less wages for a job formerly done by a highly paid white worker. In no way does GM's employment patterns in South Africa defy or challenge a fundamental racist system.

Conclusion

In short what's good for General Motors is good for South Africa - white South Africa. GM is a mirror of the intensely discriminatory laws and customs of South Africa. Low wages and the South African tradition of treating African workers as "labor units" assist GM in making some of the highest profits found in the world. While GM claims that it is a "progressive" company in South Africa, it has not budged one inch to protest the basic conditions under which 80 per cent of South Africa's population must survive.

Even more important is the way in which the South African Government has utilized the auto industry, including GM, Ford and Chrysler, to strengthen and diversify its economy and military potential, inevitably consolidating white control and domination as a result. GM as other U.S. companies must be considered partners responsible for the creation of a strong, white South Africa.

GM states that it must conduct business in conformity with the laws of the host country but that this act in no way constitutes an endorsement of local policies, i.e. in South Africa, the philosophy and practice of apartheid.

But what if GM's investment and operations in South Africa act in a way which directly supports white minority rule or mirrors discriminatory laws, is this not a de facto endorsement of apartheid? The important point is not GM's motives but the fact that GM's massive investment assists in building the South African economy, which in fact strengthens the political control of the white government. GM cannot divorce economics and politics pretending that it is "just doing business." Such a

large investment has political consequences. In fact, GM itself admits its political nature when it claims that it is a leader in "progressive change" in South Africa.

In this case, despite GM's plea that they do not necessarily approve of the policy of apartheid, its investment acts as a support for the very policies they claim to oppose. Just as we would not have tolerated a corporation helping build the military might of Nazi Germany, even if that company claimed it had to follow German law, neither can we tolerate GM's support for apartheid any longer.

GM has stated that since 1926 its number of non-white employees has increased to more than 50 per cent, and that this is "an indication of the progressive change which has occurred over the years."

The fact is that South African industry across the board has been forced to employ more and more "non-whites" in their operations since there has been a drastic shortage of white workers. This change in the labor pattern has occurred over the violent objections of sections of white workers. It can scarcely be portrayed as a hiring program aimed at black training and advancement.

G. M. tries to paint South Africa as a land undergoing "progressive change". This is hardly the case. In fact since G. M. has invested in South Africa non-whites have lost all representation in Parliament, had all political parties banned and many political leaders jailed, had multi-racial parties declared illegal, had African unions virtually destroyed, had laws enacted allowing arrest and punishment without charges, trial or appeal, had 500,000 Africans jailed every year on pass offences. South Africa is not a land of "progressive change" but a land of increasingly harsh laws against people for the sole reason that their skins are not white. Economic growth has brought more apartheid, not less.

During the last twenty years the gap in earning power between whites and non-whites has increased. The total cash income for African wage earners remained static from 1960-1970. Is this the progress G. M. talks of?

In South Africa non-whites must still take the lowest level jobs despite personal qualifications; may not supervise whites; have no real trade union power; receive wages near the breadline. In short the system of industrial serfdom in South Africa continues with only minor adjustments. Meanwhile GM tries to build the myth that there has been "progressive change."

GM states that its operations in South Africa is "consistent with the best interests of the people of all races in South Africa."

Who is GM to define the "best interests" of 80% of the people of South Africa who are not white? The "non-white" peoples of South Africa have made it abundantly clear that they desire a fair share of the political and economic pie. How is GM's investment helping to bring about civil rights and the political power they desire to that 80%? A few jobs for non-whites compared to the massive support given the white power structure is hardly in the "best interests" of all races.

In addition, under the Terrorism Act any person advocating economic boycott in South Africa can be tried for treason. The wishes of the non-white majority therefore cannot be voiced in this police state stronghold.

	White	Africans
Population (millions)	3.8	14.9
% of population	18	69
% of land reserved	87	13
% of income received	74	18.8
average income/head/year	\$1,596	\$188
average annual wage in mining (cash)*	\$5,275	\$302
average annual wage in manufacturing	\$4032	\$828
minimum cost of living for family of 5 in city	\$1,075	\$1,075
life expectancy	64-70	35-40**
infant mortality per 1,000 births	24	200-250
no. of pass arrests/yr.	0	7-900,000

For additional information write:

American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ
815 2nd Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Southern Africa Committee
637 W. 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Social Criteria Committee
Episcopal Church
815 2nd Avenue
New York, New York 10017

How can GM even begin to understand the goals and aspirations of "non-white" South Africa when its top management has no friends or acquaintances outside of the white population? How can GM pretend to understand non-white hopes while it simultaneously, supports the all white pro-apartheid South African Foundation?

Perhaps the sentiment of black South Africa was more accurately portrayed by Chief Albert Lithuli, Nobel Prize Winner and president of the banned African National Congress when he said: "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of blood, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already, our children are often undernourished, and on a small scale (so far) we die at the whim of a policeman."

GM states that if it withdrew from South Africa other companies would be quick to take their place.

This reply misses the point. Is it right to act in a morally repugnant manner simply because someone else would do it if we did not? GM is responsible for its own actions and cannot hide behind possible reactions by its competitor.

Withdrawal by GM would have a tremendous political and economic impact on South Africa and its relations with the rest of the world. It could even start a trend of withdrawal and no more investment by numerous international firms.

GM argues that its operation in South Africa has been successful and profitable for a great many years and has been "a well-established source of earnings."

This is true. The South African government proudly advertises that an average rate of return of 15% can be expected (Wall Street Journal Jan. 22, 1971). But at what cost do these profits come? At the cost of exploiting "non-white" workers for breadline wages, at the price of being a "good citizen" in South Africa which means comfortably complying with all of South Africa's racially discriminatory laws, at the cost of building white South Africa's military potential, at the cost of strengthening and diversifying the South African economy and strengthening white political control, at the cost of supporting an international apologist for white control, the South African Foundation. We believe the price is too great.

Notwithstanding all this, I must report that the idea of doing business in South Africa is *totally unacceptable*; we could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose our integrity in the process. We should have to operate within a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute and where there is virtually no communication between the races; we should be locked into this system. We should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralize and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance.

**NEIL WATES - A PROMINENT BRITISH BUSINESSMAN WHO
RECENTLY DECIDED NOT TO INVEST IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

We should have to operate within a legal climate where the rule of law has been abolished in favour of rule by decree, which bids fair to become a reign of terror.

The cumulative effect of all these factors in the long term must be self-defeating; within the short term it must make it impossible for ourselves individually, or as a company, to connive at anything which would serve to perpetuate a system which in the last analysis has no other justification than the preservation of white supremacy as an end in itself.

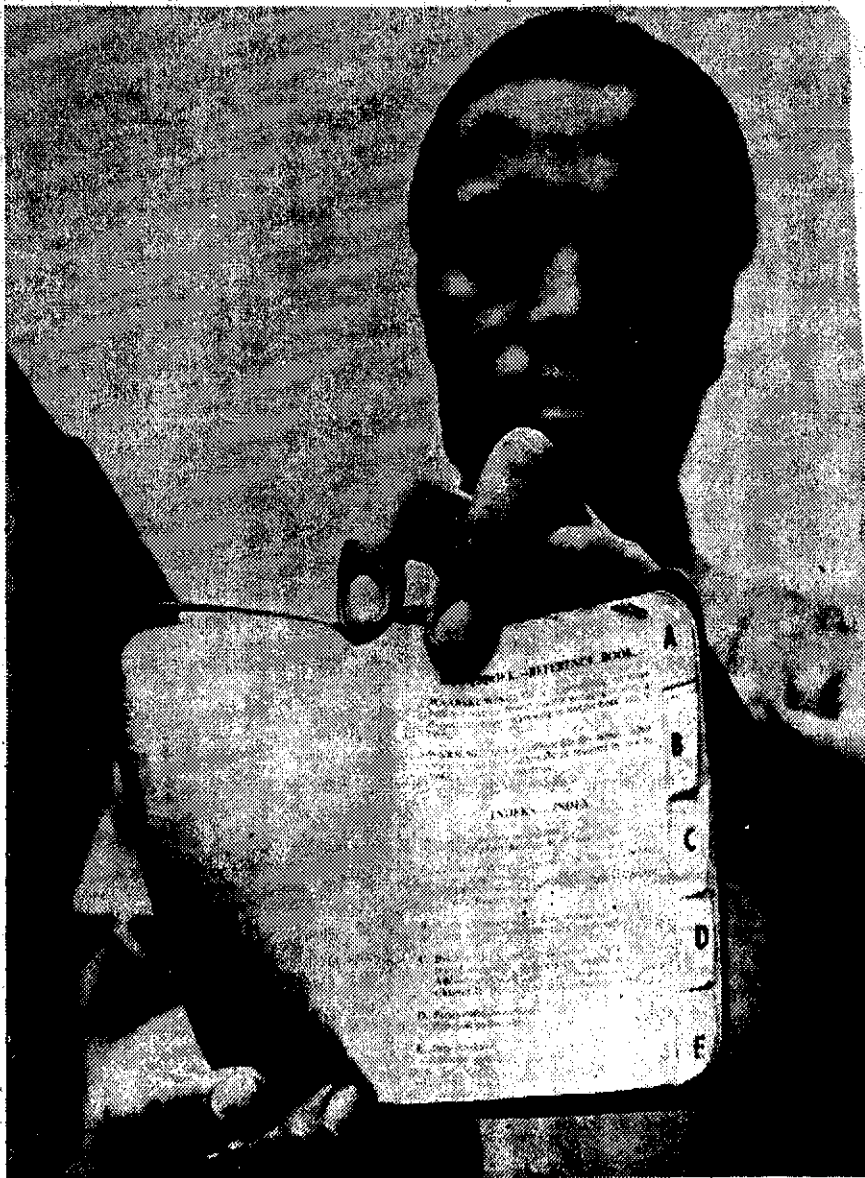
NEW PASSBOOK REGULATIONS

What The New York Times (June 8, 1971) called the "easing of penalties for passbook infractions by blacks," is in fact another attempt on the part of the South African Government to disguise the brutal realities of African existence. All Africans are required to carry "reference books" or "pass books." Approximately 1,700 prosecutions occur daily for offences under the laws governing these passbooks, and in 1970, more than 223,000 persons went to jail for one month or less on passbook violations. (Star, Johannesburg, June 19, 1971) It is to control this situation that the government is setting up a new system.

Africans have been sent to jail for violations of the Bantu Labor Act—the legislation in terms of which

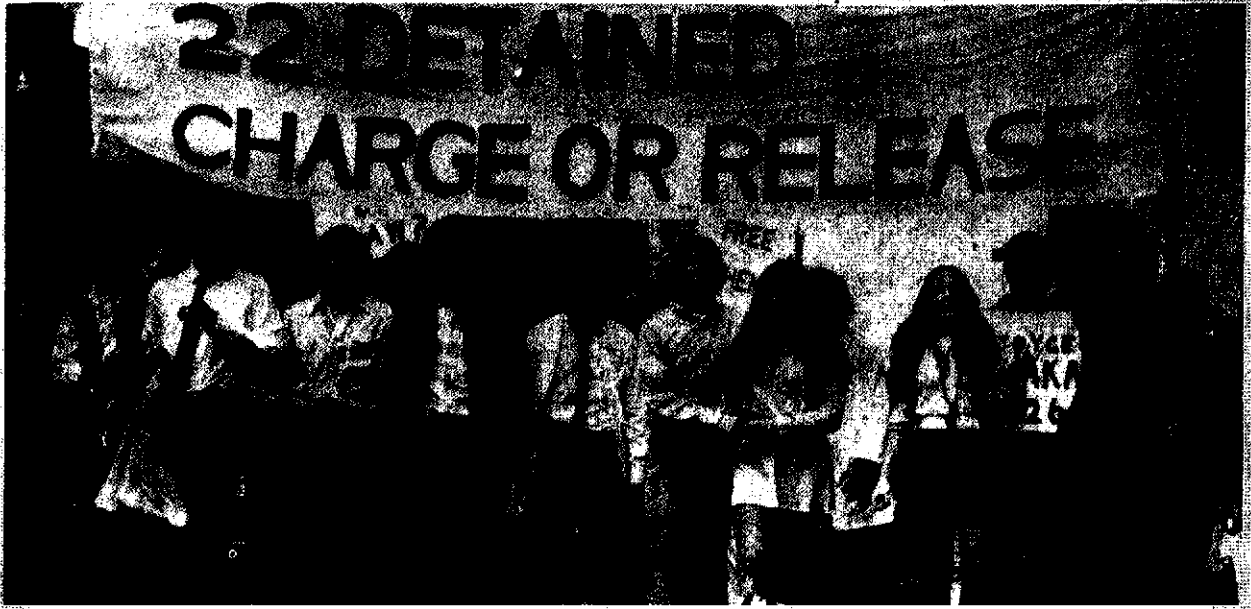
Africans must carry reference books, and the Influx Control measures. Arrests result from (1) inability to produce a reference book upon demand; (2) illegal presence in an urban area in spite of legal entry. Africans often suffer arrest because of technical infringements of the influx control regulations; (3) illegal entrance into an urban area.

According to the new plan, rather than being sent to court and then sent to jail and/or fined, offenders will be sent to "Urban Aid Centers." Their cases will be studied and their situations legalized. According to Dr. Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, the majority of Africans whose positions cannot be legalized are "won't works." They will be sent to "rehabilitation centers." These centers fall under the jurisdiction of the relevant



United Press International

All Blacks in South Africa must carry papers that contain strictures on where they may work, live and travel.



homeland government and the Africans will be taught a trade. (Star, Johannesburg, June 12, 1971)

As the Manchester Guardian (London) editorialized on June 9, 1971, "It pays to be sceptical about changes planned in South Africa's apartheid policies. . . . [These changes] amount to no more than an administrative refinement to help the white authorities. They substitute a form of detention with an undefined time limit for a prison sentence or fine. . . . How will life change for the Africans? They will still be forced to go on being corralled in their 'homelands' unable to move freely from one part of the country to another without their internal passport. . . . The plans include setting up of aid centers. . . . But there is nothing to suggest that they will differ in any way from detention camps. There appear to be no checks on how long a person can be detained. . . . The plans as a whole amount to no more than another try at window-dressing for the outside world, and a convenience for the white authorities. It does nothing for the Africans."

POLITICAL PRISONERS

The South African Prime Minister's attitude to his country's several thousand political prisoners is deceptively simple—they do not exist. So when the 10th anniversary of the Republic was celebrated in May, none of these men and women, from Nelson Mandela, leader of the African a of the African National Congress, or the Communist Bram Fischer, to the most humble member of the banned ANC, PAC, or other groups, benefitted from the amnesty promised to the jail population. Yet one of the first acts of the first Nationalist Minister of Justice on taking office in 1948 was to free six men in prison for pro-Nazi activities. (Guardian, London, May 29, 1971) The present Minister of Justice has been severely attacked for his apparent unconcern over what happens to people who are taken into detention by the Security Police under the Terrorism Act. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, May 30, 1971) To illustrate the fate of those who oppose the South African regime, the following cases are given:

James April:

James April was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment at a Pietermaritzburg court on May 10 for being trained in

guerrilla warfare "with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic." April made a statement of his beliefs and of the policy of the African National Congress of which he is a member: "Time is on our side, I guarantee it. Even if there is a world war, change will take place in our favor." (Anti-Apartheid News, London, June 1971)

Peter Magubane:

Peter Magubane, an African press photographer, has been released from prison after 589 days in detention. Mr. Magubane, who used to work for the Rand Daily Mail, was seized for the third time by police on March 7, 1971. He had not been seen since. His friends and family were given no information about his whereabouts, but his case was taken up by the Rand Daily Mail and the London Guardian. Brigadier ("Tiny") Venter, head of the South African security police, has now confirmed in Pretoria that Mr. Magubane is out of prison, but he is still a banned person restricted to the Diepkloof area of Soweto, Johannesburg's African township. (Guardian, London, July 1, 1971)

Tebeila, Mpungose, Ramafoko:

Three people, who were in banishment in terms of the old Bantu Administration Act, died last year. They were Mr. Alfred M. Tebeila, who died in the Sekhukhuneland in January; Mr. Mkuluzi Mpungose, who died in the Mahlbatini district in November; and Mr. Mokate Ramafoko, who died in the Vryburg district in December. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 24, 1971)

Helen Joseph:

An ominous significance underlines the way Mrs. Helen Joseph was freed from her eight years of house arrest. When she left hospital in June, the restrictions on her were not cancelled but only suspended "until further notice." It is a clear warning to her to behave, for the South African Government clearly regards Mrs. Joseph as an exception. It took hospitalization for a cancer operation and a surge of public protest to free her; another 42 people remain under house arrest and there is no chance of a general relaxation. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, June 13, 1971) The Ministry of Justice said these restrictions had now been lifted, but Mrs. Joseph would remain on the "named" persons list, which

bars her from being quoted in any South African publication. (Guardian, London, June 9, 1971)

Sobukwe and Naidoo:

The former leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, and an Indian woman, Miss Shantavetrie Naidoo, will not be allowed to use their exit permits to leave South Africa permanently. Mr. Sobukwe and Miss Naidoo were last year granted permits to leave. But they were unable to make use of them because the Minister of Justice, Pelsler, refused to lift banning orders confining them to their magisterial districts. Because of the banning orders, they couldn't get to an international airport or any other port of exit. A Pretoria court has now ruled that they may not leave the country. (East African Standard, Nairobi, June 25, 1971)

NATIONALISTS SPLIT OVER COLOURED

According to some observers, the Nationalists, South African's ruling whites, have not been in such a state of ferment since Sharpeville in 1960, where 67 Africans were shot and killed at a demonstration against the pass laws. (Washington Post, July 10, 1971) The present struggle is focused on the future of the two million "Coloureds" (a South African term designating people of mixed racial descent). The Government has admitted confusion over this issue. Prime Minister Vorster has said that anybody who could see a solution to the Coloured problem deserved a statue next to that of President Kruger in Church Square, Pretoria. He repeated to a student gathering the position he has expressed before: the solution to the Coloured problem would fall on those who were only youngsters now. However, he was unequivocal in telling the students that "there will be no integration." He also rejected the idea of a separate homeland for Coloureds. The official position is that of parallel development, with whites and Coloureds living together peacefully within the same boundaries. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 29, 1971)

The students, however, at the congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, voted in favor of Coloured homelands, clearly crossing the Prime Minister. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 5, 1971) There has been much debate of this question for a number of weeks. According to the Sunday Times (Johannesburg, July 4, 1971) the unity of Afrikaner nationalism is threatened. On July 30, a significant group of Afrikaner academics issued a statement calling for the political integration of the Coloureds. This set off even more debate and discussion.

According to the 29 academics who issued the statement, support is expected for their position from Afrikaner businessmen, intellectuals, and clerics. And it is expected that the statement and the reaction to its contents will have considerable impact on the large number of Nationalists currently involved in the internecine dispute over the future of the Coloureds. So far, the Government is sticking to its official position: no integration and no homeland. (Star, Johannesburg, July

31, 1971)

To the Coloureds, the Nationalists' quarrel must seem like a bad joke. Nationalists, all Nationalists, have stripped away the rights of the Coloureds and treated them shabbily ever since the Nationalists came to power. The one certain thing about the great debate is that it will not improve the Coloured lot. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 5, 1971)

ZULU CHIEF SPEAKS OUT

The Chief of the Zulu homeland, Gatsha Buthelezi, returned to South Africa in June after a six-week visit to the United States and Canada. This visit and subsequent events have given him the opportunity to express his views on a number of subjects directly affecting the Zulu people (who equal the whites of South Africa in number). While in the U.S., he appealed to industrialists to invest in Zululand instead of withdrawing. He favors the approach that Polaroid is taking: increase in wages bringing about the end of the present "disgraceful wage structure of our land." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 14, 1971)

Buthelezi has stated that, if invited, he would attend the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity next year. Since Zululand is not independent, his acceptance of such an invitation would be subject to the approval of the South African Government. He thinks the South African Government should approve of this opportunity for increased dialogue with Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, June 26, 1971)

According to Buthelezi the critical question for the future of Zululand is that of land. Without more territory the homeland is a farce. Buthelezi met with Prime Minister Vorster and discussed this and other issues. The Zulus are demanding that the port of Richards Bay be included in Zululand. Vorster favors retaining Richards Bay as a white South African enclave in the future independent Zululand. It has been the policy of apartheid not to permit any access to the sea by any African homeland. Buthelezi is reported as saying that without Richards Bay independence for Zululand would be a big bluff on the part of the South African Government. He also told Vorster that refusal to allow Zulus to carry arms was a clear sign of lack of trust, something that he deplored. "It seems ridiculous, with all this talk of independence, that we can't have a para-military organization to defend our properties, never mind our land." (East African Standard, Nairobi, July 10, 1971)

Buthelezi states very clearly that he does not accept the philosophy behind the South African Government's policy, but that nevertheless he has to operate within it. He said that those in the U.S. who suggested violence as a solution for South Africa's problems are unrealistic and do not understand the situation. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17 and July 3, 1971)

(See SOUTHERN AFRICA, March and April, 1971, "The Bantustan Policy: The Myth of Separate Development" for an assessment of the system within which Buthelezi is trying to work.)



UNITY MOVEMENT MEMBERS TORTURED AND TRIED, ONE DEAD

As the trial of 14 Unity Movement members begins in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, reports have been received of the torture of the prisoners as they awaited trial. Several of the 14 have complained of being tortured with electric shock. One detainee, Mtayeni Cushela, is said to have died in hospital as the result of maltreatment. In addition to electric shock, there have been allegations of violent assaults on the bodies of detainees with whips and fists. One prisoner, Reggie Moeng, is said to have been handcuffed with his hands above his head around a tree trunk and to have been whipped and beaten in that position almost continually for three days and nights, while the police attempted to get him to make a statement. It is stated that detainees in the case were held in solitary confinement for about six months. (East African Standard, Nairobi, August 3, 1971)

On August 13, an urgent appeal was made in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, on behalf of Mr. Pillay, by his wife. Mrs. Pillay asked in court that the police be restrained from indulging in the extremely brutal treatment her husband was suffering. Mr. Pillay was being held as a state's witness. The application for the restraint was granted. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, August 14, 1971)

The Trial of the 14 members of the Unity Movement of South Africa and its affiliated organizations was to have begun on August 2; it actually began the 16. The prisoners are to be tried under the Terrorism Act. They face four charges, including organizing the violent overthrow of the Government, holding secret meetings and collecting funds for that purpose, and recruiting people in South Africa to undergo military and political training. All charges carry a potential death penalty, and a minimum of five years imprisonment.

Established in 1943

The Unity Movement of South Africa, a federal body which seeks to unite all sections and organizations of the disenfranchised black people of South Africa, was established in 1943 by the coming together of some of the existing organizations. It adopted a basic program of full democratic rights, known as the Ten-Point Program. Its leaders and supporters have been victims of the severe political persecution that the South African Government uses against all opponents of its racist white rule; many have been jailed or escaped into exile, others live under banning orders and house arrest. Late in 1970, and during the first two months of 1971, there were widespread arrests of Unity Movement adherents under the Terrorism Act, and also under Proclamation 400 of 1960 which provides for indefinite detention in the Transkei.

The total number of people so detained is not known, but at least 25 names have appeared in the South African press reports. On June 16, 1971 the following 14 men were formally remanded in the Magistrate's Court on charges under the Terrorism Act: Kader Hassim; Joseph Bransby Vusani; Mogami Josiah Moeng; Mfolwane Mbela; Pindiso Zimambane; Dam Gideon Mahanjane; Ncikwa Nagi Vimba; Max Bantwini Tabata; Frank Anthony; Robert Cedric Wilcoz; Albert Kwenzi Tshangana;

Montford Mzoli Mabuto; Joseph Tshukudu Maleka; Surinarayan Kala Venketrathnam.

Of those 14, only 8 had been known to be in detention. This illustrates again the horror of the Terrorism Act, under which people can be detained indefinitely without the right of access to any person, including lawyer, doctor, family, or friend, or the courts. Only the authorities know how many people are being held in detention, and the law does not require them to release this information even to the families of those held.

Statement to O.A.U.

The arrests highlight the continued and growing resistance to the racist regime, and in particular to the pressure of land dispossession involved in the Bantustan system. In a statement addressed to the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in June, the Vice President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr. W. M. Tsotsi, and the President of the affiliated All African Convention (A.A.C.) Mr. N Honono, stated that the arrests must be seen in the context of a growing conflict in South Africa.

The statement recalled that in 1960 resistance by the people of Pondoland led to armed attacks by the Government which resulted in many deaths and the declaration of a State of Emergency. Since 1960 the authorities, anticipating further resistance, have set up a network of police posts in the villages at strategic points, and the military has established a permanent camp in Pondoland. In February of this year, a growing wave of resistance to forcible removals from the land was met by bloody reprisals from the police. In order to hide this reign of terror unleashed on the people, the police themselves released accounts of "inter-tribal clashes" involving 1,000 men. The press was not allowed to make an on-the-spot investigation to verify the facts, or the causes of the conflict. The Rand Daily Mail carried an interview with the assistant District Surgeon, Dr. Margaret Barlow, who said, "Not a soul is left in an area that is usually densely populated... not a home is left standing."

Fresh Wave of Repression

Mr. Tsotsi and Mr. Honono declared: "The arrest and trial of leading members of the Unity Movement is a desperate attempt to crush increasing political activity and contain the deepening ferment in the country. The vain hope of the fascist rulers is that with this fresh wave of repression they will be able to put down the mounting resistance to the tyranny of the Government. WE MUST DEFEND these men whose only crime is their implacable opposition to oppression and exploitation, their fight for Liberty. DEMAND THEIR RELEASE as well as the release of all political prisoners in South African jails..." (United Nations Unit of Apartheid Dept. of Political and Security Council Affairs; Background Note N. 35, 28 July 1971, 'Note on the Forthcoming Trial of 14 members of the Unity Movement under the Terrorism Act.')



View of the capital city of Salisbury, Rhodesia

CONSTITUTIONAL SHADOW BOXING

Constitutional shadow boxing between Britain and Rhodesia has resumed again for the fifth time in a decade. Talks about talks, secret negotiations, or just plain constitutional talks opened in June when the British Government secretly sent Cabinet Deputy Secretary Sir Philip Adams into Rhodesia. A few days later he was followed by a Foreign Office spokesman, Lord Goodman.

According to the Rhodesian Herald (June 29, 1971), Sir Philip said the talks would be official and at Ministerial level. A British Rhodesia Desk Foreign Officer, Philip Mansfield, and five others have been in Rhodesia for some time clearing up the tables. The arrival of Lord Goodman (Herald, Rhodesia, June 30, 1971) was considered an upgrading of the talks. He is regarded as a legal expert and has been to Rhodesia secretly several times this year.

According to the Guardian (London, June 30, 1971), Lord Goodman speaks for British Prime Minister Heath, "rather than Sir Douglas-Home" the Foreign Secretary. Sir Douglas-Home was British Prime Minister who led the scuttled second Tory talks with Rhodesia in 1963-64. Sir Max Aitken, of the Beaverbrook Newspapers, will also be in Salisbury on a private trip. He said that during the trip he hoped to meet Rhodesia's Ian Smith in a private capacity. (Guardian, London, June 22, 1971)

The British team of negotiators left Rhodesia after two weeks without giving a hint as to whether there was any progress in the talks or not. The Guardian (London, June 17, 1971) speculated that "things are so promising that a tentative plan has been drawn up in Whitehall which provides for a British Minister to fly out to Salisbury. . . . This negotiator could be Sir Alec Douglas-Home," the Foreign Secretary. They further speculated that "Mr. Heath is, however, much more confident than he was a

month ago about his chances of going before the Tory Conference in October to announce that the long-standing Rhodesia problem has been solved at last." The Guardian also pointed out that "the country [Rhodesia] needs international acceptance in order to attract the amount of foreign investment needed to cope with the growing Black unemployment problem, and keep the security forces at maximum efficiency to deal with future guerrilla threats." According to the Nairobi Daily Nation (July 25, 1971) the Rhodesian press reported a recommendation by Lord Goodman for a Summit Meeting. A Harris poll in England shows that voters are overwhelmingly in favor of a settlement. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971) The same Star asserts that "there is unanimity of feeling that the current discussions are crucial: that a summit will not be called this time unless a settlement is clearly in sight."

In the BBC program, Panorama, Smith insisted that the British "five principles" were of no relevance to the Rhodesian position today." The Guardian (London, June 29, 1971) further reports that there were no grounds for speculation of a summit meeting. They suggest that Smith has indicated a willingness to change the Rhodesia 1969 constitution. Peter Jenkins of the Guardian (London, June 29, 1971) believes that "Rhodesia has become a marginal issue in British politics even under a Conservative Government. . . . Sir Alec . . . is not going to settle . . . at the expense of breaking up the Commonwealth, quarrelling with the United States, and humiliating his country in the eyes of the world." The Observer (London, June 20, 1971) believes that Sir Alec would resign if sanctions were scrapped unilaterally. Several right-wing circles of the Tory Party are urging Prime Minister Heath to scrap sanctions before November.

Former Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley has warned the Foreign Secretary that Ian Smith will

"rat" on the British Government like he did in the 1965 talks with the Labour Government. According to the Guardian (London, July 7, 1971), Bottomley claimed that Smith actually reached a settlement on the "five principles" but "ratted" later on. The Guardian says, for these reasons, Prime Minister Heath may not wish to be "sucked into" a summit that could humiliate him the way it did Wilson. Sir Alec and the Foreign Office in general seem "irritated" by the leaks and speculations coming out of Salisbury. Whitehall is generally playing down the negotiations. Sir Alec gave the House of Commons a firm undertaking (Guardian, London, July 13, 1971) that "there would be no settlement with Rhodesia, except on five principles." Whitehall, however, refuses to give any assurances that African opinion will be consulted in the event of any substantive negotiations. Former British Representative at the United Nations, Lord Caradon, wrote a letter to the New York Times urging such consultations. Many African organizations in Salisbury and in exile have urged such consultations.

AFRICANS ARE ALARMED

African political opinion in Rhodesia is mobilizing against the British-Rhodesian talks now going on, says Peter Nieswand of the Guardian (London, July 2, 1971). A group which calls itself the National People's Union pinned a petition outside the hotel of the British delegation to the talks. The petition called for the release of detained African leaders and for representation at any settlement talks by those leaders. A statement of ZANU and ZAPU leaders outside the country and 32 leading Africans in the country was presented to the British High Commissioner in Malawi. Among the signatories are the head of United Methodist Church, Bishop Muzorewa, and several lecturers at the college. One of the points made in the petition is that "whatever settlement is reached without involving representatives of the masses will be regarded by the Africans as no settlement at all."

UNREST AND PROTEST

In the meantime, unrest and protests have broken out throughout the country. The police have detained without charge 20 Salisbury Africans. The Nairobi Daily Nation (July 3, 1971) reports that some of them will be questioned in connection with an arms cache found in the warehouse of a Salisbury transportation firm, Stuttaford Van Lines.

According to the Guardian (London, July 1, 1971) a cache of guerrilla arms and equipment—machine guns, grenades, and medical supplies—was found a few days before the arrival of the British team. "Security has tightened and talks are taking place against a background of intensive investigations and increased African unrest." The report suggests that this was one of ZANU's shipments bound for distribution to guerrilla cells in the capital city. Among the people taken away by the police is Betserai Madzivire, an accountant of the Bible Society and a former student in the U.S. Mr. Madzivire was taken away from his home in Highfield in the early hours of the morning and has not been heard from since.

The police also arrested 150 college students, mostly African, demonstrating against racial discrimination outside Ian Smith's offices. Demonstrations were reported at several high schools throughout the country following quiet arrests of students by the Special Branch. Police trucks were stoned at St. Ignatius College, Chishawasha, and at St. Mary's School, Wedza. According to the Nairobi Sunday Nation (July 4, 1971), 230 students were arrested in African schools around Salisbury following demonstrations against a discriminatory teachers' pay scale just announced by the government.

ARMS TO RHODESIA?

Meanwhile, the State of Emergency, which has been on since UDI in 1965, was renewed by Parliament for another 12 months. Rhodesia Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jack Howman, told the South African press that South African police (paramilitary units) "will have to remain in Rhodesia for a long time to assist in the fight against terrorism," according to the Rhodesia Herald (May 21, 1971)

In Paris, French air force officials are suddenly apprehensive that some of their arms and equipment which they are selling to South Africa may be going directly to Rhodesia. According to the New York Post (June 29, 1971), "They are convinced that South Africa is being used as a front organization for Ian Smith's Government to overcome the world arms embargo against his regime." The French government has just signed an agreement to allow South Africa to construct her own supersonic Mirage planes under license (see Defense section, this issue). She already constructs French Panhard armored cars under license and she has placed large orders of helicopters with France.



J. C. Soares

Prime Minister Ian Smith

ECONOMIC MORASS CONTINUES

Minister of Finance John Wrathall has presented a "no change" budget for Rhodesians in spite of rising expenditure and the shrinking cash economy. He budgeted for a small deficit of 370,000 pounds and left taxes and duties as they were. At the same time he warned that the "balance of payments situation was not improving." (East African Standard, July 1, 1971)

The most remarkable fact on appropriations is that servicing the national debt takes by far the largest amount of the revenue funds. As was to be expected, agriculture took the next largest share, because the government has had to subsidize former tobacco growers and persuade them into other fields of production. The next most interesting appropriations are in education. European education, which caters for less than one-twentieth of the population, has been allocated the same as African education. The police appropriation is also very high.

One of the main items of expenditure is a rise in pay scales for all civil servants. The discrepancy between the salaries of white teachers and African teachers of same or equivalent qualifications increased so considerably that demonstrations were staged in many African schools around the country by teachers as well as students. The

ten major church groups protested the discrimination to the government. (Standard of Tanzania, July 12, 1971) Replying to a question in Parliament, Minister of Labor Ian McLean said that pensions for aging Africans were out of question. Considering the numbers of Africans, "it is unrealistic even to consider the payment of such old-age pensions on the grounds of cost alone." (Rhodesia Herald, June 12, 1971)

According to the Star (Johannesburg, June 5, 1971) one of the "extremely serious" problems of Rhodesia's economy is tied up with import controls. The 1970-71 Associated Chambers of Commerce report shows that "the commercial sector is unable to service the demands of the mining, agricultural, and industrial sectors, and the position with regard to stocks and replacement of machinery has become extremely serious." The report points out that "because of deterioration in balance of payments position, currency allocations to the commercial sector during 1970-71 were not increased on previous years . . . and are running at very low levels." Minister of Industry Jack Masett said import controls would be retained. (Rhodesia Herald, June 10, 1971)

AIR CANADA STOPS RHODESIA PACKAGE TOURS

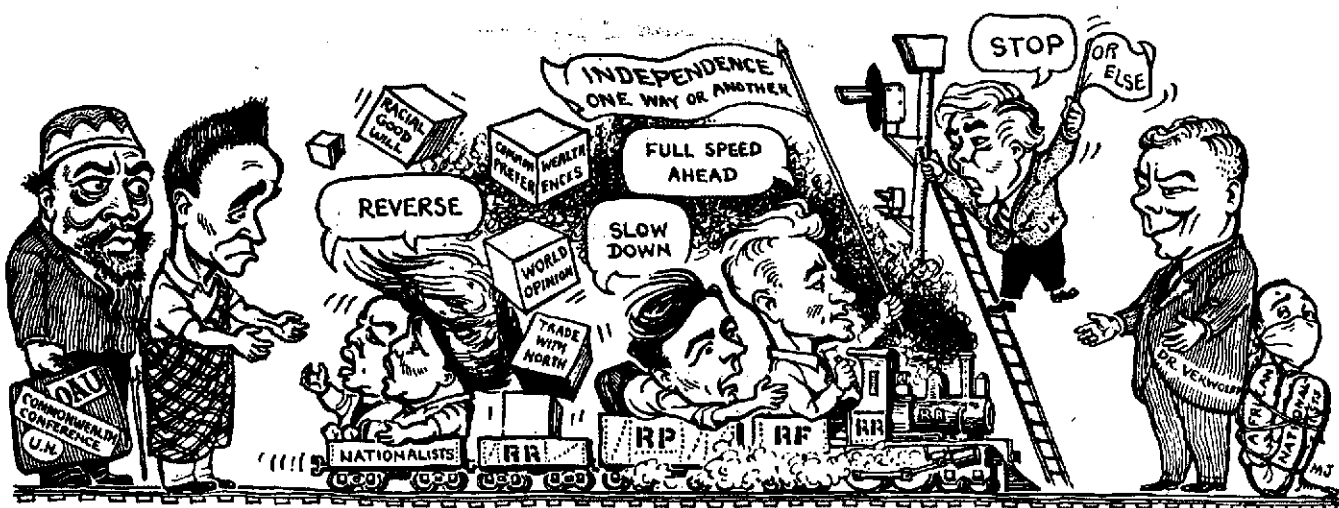
Air Canada has stopped advertising and selling package tours to Rhodesia. Air Canada spokesmen said they were dropping the package because the inclusion of Rhodesia violated sanctions. (Rhodesia Herald, June 5, 1971) Air Rhodesia will, however, pick up a new tourist package to the Malagasy Republic, which has decided to violate sanctions against Rhodesia. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17,

1971) Rhodesia is also joining a Southern Africa Regional Tourist Council whose membership is made up of South Africa, Portugal, Botswana, and Malawi. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971)

SANCTIONS AND BLOCKADE OF GOODS

The United Nations Committee on Decolonization (Committee of 24), which was meeting in Lusaka recently, has yet again committed itself to intensifying sanctions against Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal in order to end the "grip of the small white minority of abhorrent racial philosophy over the majority African population." The United Nations has also reported that Australia, West Germany, and Switzerland have admitted to having been trading with Rhodesia all the time. Australia has been selling a lot of its wheat to Rhodesia; Rhodesia has been selling graphite to West Germany and meat to Switzerland. (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971)

Because of congestion at the Mozambique ports and a "deliberate blockade of certain Zambian goods," the Government of Zambia has been forced to break sanctions and order 1.5 million bags of maize corn from Rhodesia. According to the Guardian (London, July 12, 1971), food imports from as far afield as the United States have been held up in Mozambique ports for so long that Zambia had to place the order. Internal production was at its lowest because many of the white farmers who used to dominate all commercial production of maize have left the country. African farmers are just beginning to take over and it is going to be some time before the production reaches the self-sufficiency level.



THE CAPE-CAIRO RAILWAY—SOUTHWARD BOUND?

In this cartoon in the Methodist newspaper, Umbowo, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith is shown driving the Rhodesian government toward South Africa despite protests from Britain and African nationalists.

INSIDE NAMIBIA

REACTIONS TO THE WORLD COURT RULING ON NAMIBIA

Since the June 21 decision by the World Court that South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal (see June-July issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA), the various groups involved have made clear their positions regarding that decision. The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) has called for a campaign of international pressure to remove South African administration from Namibia. In a statement issued on June 29 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, SWAPO called for a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to consider steps to implement the court's decision; for the U.N. to tax foreign companies in Namibia and specifically to declare illegal the Rio Tinto uranium mining operations there; and for the O.A.U. to campaign for total South African withdrawal. The statement also said that SWAPO's armed struggle in Namibia would be stepped up, and it called for more aid from the O.A.U.

Representatives of the O.A.U. were in New York following the decision planning for the Organization's presentation to the Security Council in September. The group will ask, among other things, that the Council set up a U.N. administration for Namibia, and issue fishing licenses and diamond-drilling permits for Namibia. But, according to Russell Warren Howe (Baltimore Sun, July 5, 1971), the O.A.U.'s "main fear is that South Africa's principal ally and arms source, France, might veto any Security Council decision depriving South Africa of effective control of Namibian waters."

Meanwhile, in white South Africa, the World Court decision has been received with bitterness but little surprise. Prime Minister Vorster called the ruling "unconvincing" and declared that his government would continue to "administer South West Africa so as to promote the well-being and progress of its inhabitants." As could have been expected, he also referred to the proposal of a plebiscite which had been offered earlier this year saying, "It is rather ironic that considerable emphasis is placed on the reasoning of the right of peoples to self-determination while South Africa's proposal to let the peoples of South West Africa leave the opportunity of expressing their opinions is dismissed in a sentence or two." Many observers had guessed when the proposal for a plebiscite was first made that its main purpose was a propagandistic one, providing South Africa with just this complaint in the name of self-determination in the event of a court ruling against South Africa.

Several of the Namibian puppet tribal leaders also spoke against the ruling.

Responses from other Namibians to the World Court ruling, aside from those voiced by puppet tribal leaders, have been forthcoming. Representatives of several important groups have spoken out in appreciation of the Court's ruling. First, the Rehoboth Basters Volksparty (the Basters represent about 3% of the population of Namibia), which received a landslide victory in elections recently, issued a statement that contained the following: "An urgent appeal is directed to the U.N. Security Council to implement the decisions of the Court as soon as possible, because the South African Government is continuing its rapid application of apartheid within South West Africa." (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)

Mr. Clemens Kapuuo, Chief of the Herero tribe, endorsed the ruling. Kapuuo is successor to Chief Hosea Kutako, the revered leader of the Hereros who died last year at the age of 100. There has been some indication that the South African Government is trying to get rid of Kapuuo, but so far he has been speaking out with the

same determination of his predecessor. (Standard of Tanzania, June 30, 1971; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 22, 1971; East African Standard, July 1, 1971)

Two churches, representing about half the population of Namibia, in an open letter to South African Prime Minister John Vorster, called for a "separate and independent state" in South West Africa. The letter, which was read in hundreds of churches of the Evangelical Lutheran and Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango denominations, and signed by the leaders of these denominations, said the World Court decision was for many "the answering of their prayers because it kept alive hope of freedom and a dignified life." (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971)

The statement, which caused an outcry among the small South West white population, rejected the Bantustan system, called for a united South West Africa, and stressed the denial of human rights in Namibia. The church leaders met with Vorster during his August visit to Namibia, and the day following reiterated their earlier call. The Anglican and Catholic churches have reported as supporting the Lutheran stand.

Finally, in Ovamboland, students, apparently supported by teachers and pastors, wrote a letter to the Chief Councillor of the Ovambo Council and Government adherent Ushona Shimi, in which they welcomed and confirmed the validity of the World Court decision, pointed out how the decision stressed the illegality of South Africa's occupation of South West, and expressed disappointment with Shimi's claims to speak for all Ovambos. The letter pointed out the decision as proof of South Africa's violation of rights in Namibia, including lack of legal protection; lack of the vote; no freedom of the press or of movement; lack of real education and work; starvation salaries; destruction of family life; farcical trials and persecution of prisoners; and armed occupation of the territory. Shimi did not comment. A school at Odanqua was shut down by marches and demonstrations. It is believed that Congressman Diggs was prevented from entering Namibia by the South African Government because of this state of agitation.

NEW YORK TIMES REPORTER BOLSTERS SOUTH AFRICAN IMAGE WHILE WORLD COURT DELIBERATES

While the World Court was deliberating, the South African Government carried off a propaganda feat by inviting a group of foreign newsmen to make a visit to Namibia. (Congressman Diggs had just been denied entry to Namibia, although he has been allowed a ten-day visit to South Africa.) Among the 12 reporters from France, Britain, and Germany and the U.S. was Paul Hofmann of The New York Times, who in his first article mentioned



that this was the "first occasion in many years" for foreign reporters to visit certain parts of Namibia." Hofmann's articles, though perhaps intended to be impartial, show a remarkable superficiality and willingness to swallow the South African line without question. For example, he says that it is his impression that the Ovambo people, the largest population group in Namibia, support the South African Government. Yet never does he report having a conversation with one Ovambo person who was not officially approved by the white tour leaders.

The articles are consistently patronizing toward the African peoples he saw, whether the "stone age" people or the ones "spoiled by development," or the puppet tribal leaders. (The New York Times, June 8, 10, 13, 21, and 22, 1971) Hoffman's series of articles failed to deal with the substantive issues of Namibian life—political or economic.

RIO TINTO TO GO AHEAD IN NAMIBIA

Despite loud protests from Namibians and their friends, the British Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation (RTZ) announced in May that it would go ahead with plans to mine uranium deposits at Rossing in Namibia. The announcement was timed to coincide with the RTZ stockholders meeting in London at which protests were voiced against the whole range of RTZ's activities in Southern Africa. It was pointed out, for example, that 44% of its world profits are made from its operations in Southern Africa, although only 7.7% of its assets are located there.

In January of this year, the German company, Urangesellschaft, which was RTZ's partner in the project, backed out because it would not get credit banking from

the German Government. Up til now, the World Court ruling notwithstanding, the British Atomic Energy Authority is still planning to buy great quantities of the uranium mined by Rio Tinto. (Anti-Apartheid News, June, 1971)

COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA ARRANGES TRAVEL DOCUMENTS FOR NAMIBIANS

On June 16, the U.N. Council for Namibia, established in 1967 to administer the territory when the General Assembly voted to terminate South Africa's mandate there, ended a three-week visit of Africa to consult with governments and representatives of the Namibian people. (The Council has always been prevented by the South African Government from entering Namibia itself.)

While in Africa the Council concluded agreements with Kenya and Nigeria regarding U.N. travel documents for Namibians (According to Muhammad Speaks, July 2, 1971, another 63 countries have agreed to accept U.N. travel documents for Namibians as valid for entry into and transit through their territories.) At Lusaka, Zambia, the Council officially inaugurated the regional office of the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia, which will be responsible for the issuance of such documents.

RAILWAY LINES REPORTED DESTROYED BY SWANUF

An article in the May, 1971 THIRD WORLD reports that agents of SWANUF (South West African National United Front) were responsible for the "paralyzing" of railway lines and derailment of a train on a railroad leading to Walvis Bay.

LAURENCE GANDAR CHOOSES POLAROID POSITION

Laurence Gandar, the former editor of the South African Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), noted for being the recipient of South African Government attacks and involved in a legal battle over the publishing of articles revealing South African prison conditions, has written a long article for the Sunday Times of London where Gandar now resides. The article calls for "creative contacts" with South Africa, not as a solution to the South African situation, but as part of such a solution. Researched, constructive, purposeful dialogue aimed at persuasion and conversion is good, Gandar says, comparing the outsider to an angler with a light line who must be "sensitive and knowledgeable" in playing the fish for fear of breaking the line. Gandar thus supports contacts of South Africa with black states, allowing gradations in South Africa's modification of sports apartheid (i.e. allow mixed teams to the Olympics in spite of no mixed trials), corporate reform, professional visits, etc. He fails to show the relationship between what he calls "pin prick" protests and current maneuvers in South Africa on the sports, corporate, and international issues. (Sunday Times, London, June 27, 1971)

NEW SOUTH AFRICA TACT?

TASS reported that nine Bulgarian fishermen were poisoned by "chemical bombs" in their catch found in international waters off South Africa. (Guardian, London, June 17, 1971)

THE SELLING OF SOUTH AFRICA—CBS UNDER ATTACK

The South Africa Foundation (pro-Government lobby/public relations group) wrote to CBS President Frank Stanton charging CBS with "dereliction of duty," raising the presumption of intentional or deliberate falsification of the news. The accusations were aimed at the CBS Special "Black View of South Africa" in which the film "End of the Dialogue" ("Phela Ndaba"), produced by South African Nana Mahomo, was used. (Star, Johannesburg, May 1, 1971) The film received a TV Emmy award in 1971 for best documentary which no doubt ruffled the Foundation's feathers even more.

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

FOREIGN INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE

De Beers Corporation has consolidated its hold over diamond production in Angola, in spite of the expiration of the 50-year contract of the Angola Diamond Company (DIAMANG). DIAMANG is a part of the De Beers (South African) interests, with participation from Belgian, Portuguese, and other capital. In the last few years Portugal has opened diamond exploration rights to other companies, including two American firms, Diamond Distributors of New York and Diversa of Dallas. But the hopes of these companies were disappointed when a new concession was recently granted to a new consortium formed by DIAMANG and De Beers Consolidated Mines. The new contract covers another fifty-year period. The Provincial Government of Angola will receive 50 percent of the liquid profits as well as a 12.5 percent royalty on the value of production at the mine pit, an arrangement similar to the contracts with other foreign firms. This new link represents a renewal of the strong ties between the Portuguese Government and the South African financial empire of Harry Oppenheimer. (New York Times, May 31, 1971)

In Mozambique the AMOCO Oil Company (Standard Oil of Indiana) has received from Gulf and Pan American Oil Companies (another Indiana subsidiary) the rights to the Pande natural gas field south of Beira, Mozambique. It

do work closely with the Portuguese in border areas, such as in southern Angola, provide sophisticated equipment repair and medical services for the Portuguese military in South Africa, and have close coordination in intelligence matters."

SPIRO AGNEW AND SIR ALEC DOUGLAS HOME VISIT LISBON

Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Foreign Secretary, spent a two-day official visit in Lisbon as the guest of the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Rui Patricio, at the beginning of June. The visit has been construed in all quarters as a triumph for Portugal, a vindication of Portuguese policy, and a return to normal relationships between Britain and Portugal after a decade without such an official visitation. Among other topics discussed were the British naval patrol off the Mozambique port of Beira, which has continued officially to try to enforce the embargo on oil shipments to Rhodesia. (Guardian, London, June 3, 1971)

Home commented while in Lisbon: "No one can ever accuse the Portuguese of racialism. You have set an example to black and white. The difference between us has been on the scope and pace of advance." (Noticias de Portugal, June 12, 1971)

On July 26, Vice President Spiro Agnew conferred in Lisbon with Portuguese Premier Caetano. The substance of the talks was not revealed, but from the Portuguese side could be expected the desire for better terms for the American use of the Azores Islands as a military base, and for American acquiescence in continued Portuguese control of its colonies in Africa. Portugal was the only NATO country visited by the Vice President, although other "conservative" regimes welcomed him. (New York Times, July 27, 1971)

IRON IN MOZAMBIQUE

The Star Weekly (Johannesburg) of July 10, 1971 reports four recent new discoveries of iron deposits in the Manica district of Mozambique, with prospecting being done by Hondeminas, a consortium. Copper mines are already in full operation in the Manica area. Copper reputed to be comparable to that in Zambia and Katanga; Congo is also thought to be in Tete Province and is being eyed for exploitation. Tete is a mineral-rich area of Cabora Bassa dam fame.

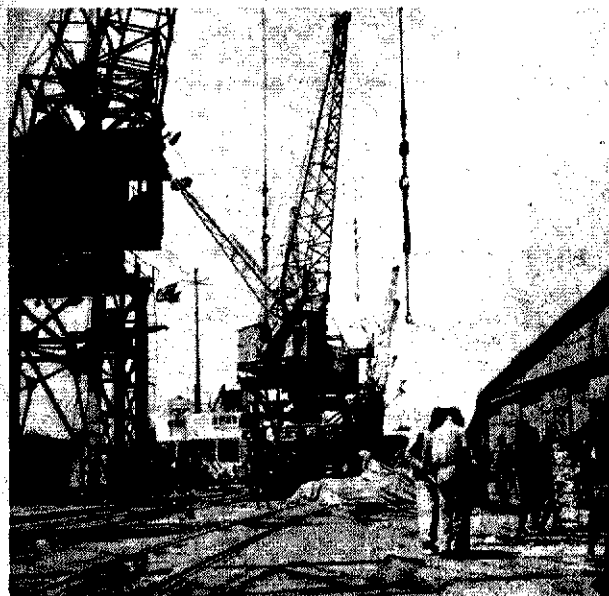
PORTUGUESE CONSUL IN LUXEMBOURG ATTACKED

Members of Armed Revolutionary Action tied up the Portuguese Consul to Luxembourg in his home and took a bundle of passports and diplomatic documents "for emigres from Portugal, deserters from the army, and political refugees." (Guardian, London, June 7, 1971)

PORTUGUESE DESERTERS HIJACK PLANE TO CONGO BRAZZAVILLE

June 9, 1971 two cousins, a civilian in meteorology and a lieutenant in the Portuguese army, both stationed in Angola, rented a small plane which they then forced the pilot to fly to Pointe Noire in Congo Brazzaville. In an interview with a correspondent of "Africasia" (No. 46, Aug. 2-15, 1971), they say "If MPLA will accept us, we will join their ranks. If not, we will go to a European capital to enter into contact with the ARA. We believe that, when the opposition to the colonial war is strong

Port of Beira, main outlet to the sea for Malawi and Rhodesia



is understood that AMOCO is to develop and produce from this field, and to ship the gas in the form of liquefied natural gas to South Africa, probably to a proposed ammonia plant planned by the Federale Kunsmis financial group. (South African Financial Gazette, April 30, 1971)

Both steps point out the increasingly close economic links between South Africa and the Portuguese colonies, as well as the continued involvement of American capital. Close military cooperation between Portugal and South Africa is also noted in an article by Jim Hoagland in The Washington Post (May 13, 1971): "South African units

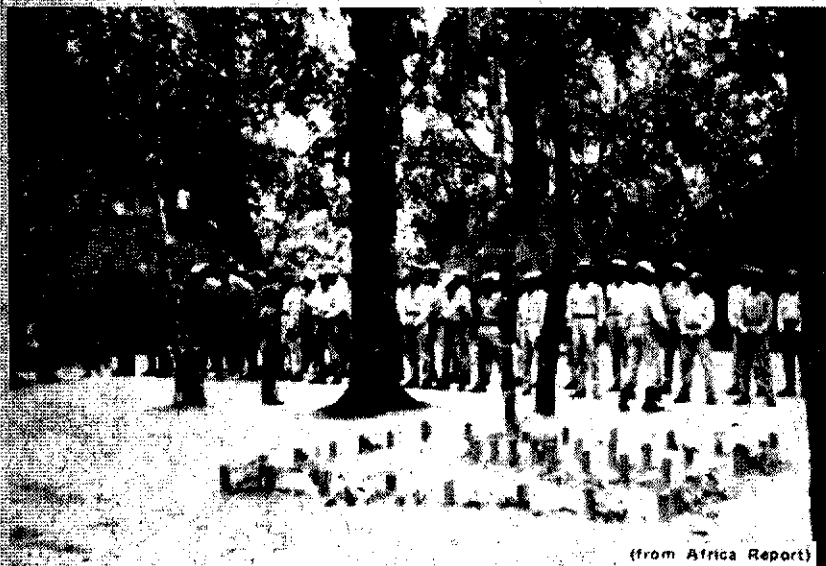
rough inside Portugal, the government will have to capitulate. Already, many peasants, workers, and even fishermen, disagree with the politics of Caetano, though the most active resistance appears among students. . . . We are young and have much to learn. Our intention is to participate in the struggle."

PAIGC APPEAL FOR AID TO PEOPLE OF CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

After three years of intensive drought, the Cape Verde islands have been hit by a famine that could reduce the population by 30-50 percent. Although droughts are periodic and severe, the Portuguese have in centuries done nothing to stave them off through development of the

islands. Portuguese Premier Caetano has visited the islands and recognized the need for "aid," but little is expected from that source as Portugal is both incapable and unwilling to provide extensive assistance. It has not done so in previous similar circumstances.

Therefore, PAIGC makes an urgent appeal for international aid for the people of Cape Verde and has asked the U.N. to take immediate measures to evaluate the gravity of the situation. It has demanded Portugal stop using the famine as a political instrument to repress the liberation struggle, and that the Caetano regime facilitate the collaboration of international and national groups wishing to give material aid against the famine. (U.N. General Assembly document A/AC.109/PET.1190, June 19, 1971)



(from Africa Report)

Troops and recruits at PAIGC's Quitafine district headquarters



"Difficult terrain. . ."

(from Africa Report)

FINNS VISIT ANGOLA WITH MPLA

Mikko Lohikoski and Borje J. Mattsson, Finnish journalists, spent part of November and December 1970 with MPLA inside liberated areas of Angola, the first journalists to visit the southern part of Angola with the movement. Working for the Finnish Broadcasting Company, they made a film, took some thousand photos and many taped interviews with villagers, guerrillas, and leaders. In an interview with Anti-Apartheid News (London, May 1971) they report: "There is one thing about MPLA's organization that shows that the situation has changed. The guerrillas used to be organized into small units. But now they are in bigger units—up to 150 men. This is because the Portuguese no longer move on the ground. They only come by helicopter, and this has meant a change in the MPLA army."

FRELIMO REPORTS THREE RHODESIAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN MOZAMBIQUE

The Zambia Daily Mail of June 17, 1971 reports from a FRELIMO Communique that Rhodesian soldiers who had crossed into a Mozambican border village in Tete province to assist the Portuguese died on April 24 when attacked by FRELIMO guerrillas.

PORTUGUESE ACKNOWLEDGE FRELIMO IN CABORA BASSA AREA

In June, during the visit of Rui Patricio to Mozambique, the Portuguese announced that it appeared FRELIMO had switched activities to Tete and the area of the Cabora Bassa dam. Several claims in July were made of Portuguese "wiping out" large guerrilla forces in that

area. (Star, Johannesburg, July 7, 10, 1971; Guardian, London, June 21, 1971)

PORTUGAL TO LEAVE UNESCO

Rui Patricio, Portuguese Foreign Minister, announced on May 28 Portugal's intention to quit UNESCO because it alleged UNESCO was giving financial aid to "anti-Portuguese terrorist movements, under the pretext of aiding education in so-called liberated areas." (Noticias de Portugal, June 5, 1971; Le Monde, May 30, 1971)

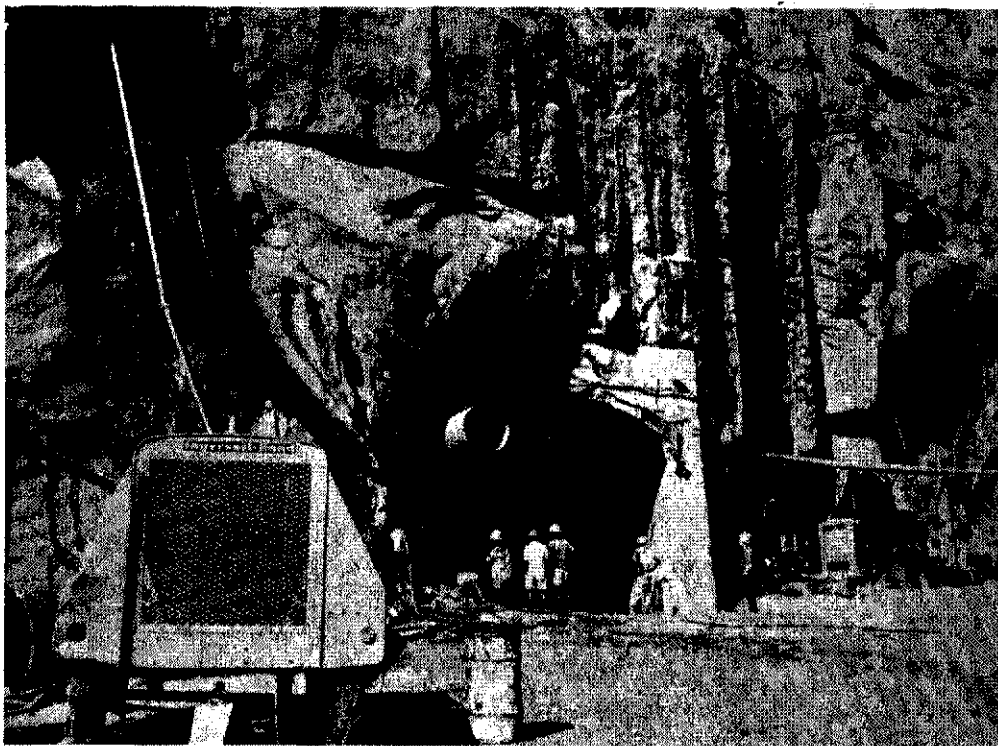
AUTONOMY FOR PORTUGUESE COLONIES?

In July the Portuguese Parliament approved constitutional reforms that would give greater autonomy in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, allowing the election of local government officials and local budget control. But foreign affairs, defense, and trade would remain with the Central Government in Lisbon. The reforms have to be signed by President Americo Tomas and published in the Official Gazette before they become law. This could take months. (Daily Nation, Nairobi, July 10, 1971)

SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL TOURISM COUNCIL

The articles of agreement of this new body have been signed by Portugal and Malawi, Malawi having initiated the idea of regional cooperation and having hosted two conferences on the topic. It is hoped that South Africa, Malagasy Republic, Mauritius, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Reunion, Comoros might also join. (Africa Research Bulletin, April-May, 1971)

Tunnel to divert the river at Cabora Bassa.



U.S. ACTIONS

BLACK MOVEMENT ACCELERATES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

A fund to aid "freedom fighters" was launched on Black World Solidarity Day, May 25 (anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity), and at various rallies and meetings throughout the U.S. about \$4,000 was raised. Organizers stressed the political importance of involving black people in the parallel struggles here and in Southern Africa. (Muhammad Speaks, July 9, 1971) In East Lansing, the rally marshalled 200 people supported by Michigan State University Black Vets protesting General Motors ties with South Africa. State Representative Jackie Vaughan linked repression in South Africa with the case of Angela Davis. (News and Letters, Detroit, June-July, 1971) Berkeley Black Councilman, D'Army Bailey, joined the public roster of blacks who did not attend the U.S.-South African Leadership Exchange Program conference in Johannesburg (see IFCO statement, this issue). Bailey said he turned down the invitation from the conference (which was funded in part by the Ford Foundation), and said if he ever did go to South Africa it would be "to join my revolutionary brothers and sisters there in their struggle for liberation." (Daily Defender, Chicago, July 23, 1971) The only blacks reported to have attended were James Rhodes and Ulric Haynes.

In Washington positive steps are being taken by Black Congressmen Ronald Dellums and John Conyers to sponsor legislation to control U.S. businesses in South Africa.

An African Peoples Liberation Rally was held July 10 in Malcolm X Park attended by 300 community people in Washington, D.C. Speakers included Judge William Booth; J. Metz Rollins of the National Committee of Black Churchmen; Charles Hightower, Washington Director of the American Committee on Africa; Sharfudine M. Khan, FRELIMO representative; Essiah Zhuwarara of ZAPU, and Hage Gottfried Geingob, SWAPO representative. (Washington Report, ACOA, August 5, 1971)

Hosea Williams of the S.C.L.C. said he did not think that non-violence would work in South Africa. In a TV interview in Nigeria he said that Blacks, if they had to go to war, should do so in South Africa and not in Viet Nam. He said independent Africa and Black America have a mutual responsibility to aid Southern Africans. (Agence France Presse, July 20, 1971)

U.A.W. President, Leonard Woodcock, has protested the softening of U.S. policy toward Southern Africa as evidenced in decreased verbal attacks on apartheid, greater stress on communications and economic ties. (U.A.W. Action Newsletter)

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR YOUTH CONDEMNS DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The World Assembly for Youth (WAY) has condemned dialogue with South Africa, recommended to the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid that all Southern African issues should be consolidated in the U.N. structure, and asked for concrete proposals from the U.N. for Non-Governmental Organizations. WAY has recently heard speakers from ANC, MPLA, and SWAPO, and met with the U.N. Apartheid Committee when it was in Brussels. (WAY Information, June-July, 1971)



John Vorster

SECHABA

Dialogue is Betrayal

BRITISH METHODISTS MOVE ON CORPORATIONS

The trustees of the British Methodist Church have been instructed to present the concern of the church that corporations are aiding apartheid at annual meetings of British firms with South African subsidiaries, including Barclays, ICI, Courtaulds, RTZ, Plessey Electronics, and Ranks Hovic Macdonald. The move was condemned by the South African Methodist hierarchy, and one spokesman said that the church in South Africa should at least have been consulted. (Star, Johannesburg, July 3, 1971) In South Africa, ICI and RTZ have stated they are doing everything possible for their workers. RTZ said its role was "non-political" citing business in both "East" and "West," and that protests aimed at disrupting British-South Africa would hurt innocent people. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 1, 1971)

LONDON DEMONSTRATIONS AND UNION ACTION

The South African Defense Minister Botha, after visiting Lisbon and Paris, was greeted with tomatoes and smoke-bombs when he was headed to a meeting at the British Ministry of Defense in June. The demonstration resulted in the arrest of two people, and was against further arms sales to South Africa. It was estimated that Botha was there to discuss purchase of the BAC missile system, Hawker Siddeley Nimrod jets, and frigates, although the meeting was only described as "a courtesy visit." (Guardian, London, June 11, 1971; Daily Nation, Nairobi, June 11, 1971) Another protest that showed imagination took place in Trafalgar Square when cars were stopped by demonstrators dressed as South African police. People were asked for their "passes" and for 10 minutes traffic was disrupted. The demonstration aimed to drawing attention to the South African pass laws. (Guardian, London, June 19, 1971)

Two British trade unions have declared members would do no work on the WASP helicopters to be assembled in one plant. The Draughtmen's and Allied Technicians Association conference passed a resolution opposing arms sales to South Africa, blocking work in this area. The union already refuses to bank at firms with South African interests. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, June, 1971) The Clerical and Administrators' Union has resolved to withdraw investments from companies with South African investments. (Ibid, May, 1971)

DOWN UNDER

The New Zealand University Students' Union is considering a university-wide boycott of the sale of South African Rothman's cigarettes, and already 35,000 students plan the boycott. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 26, 1971) The Waterside Workers' Federation in Australia has proposed to the Australian Council of Trade Unions a total ban on trade with South Africa. (Standard, Tanzania, July 8, 1971)

IN AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICAN FRUITS SEIZED

In Nigeria, South African fruits were seized after the South African label had been replaced with an Argentinian one. Students in the Ivory Coast who have opposed dialogue with South Africa are facing a situation familiar to Americans—the draft. (Anti-Apartheid News, London, June, 1971)

OAU SUMMIT MEETING

The Eighth Summit Conference of Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia June 21-13, produced not only a fairly clear objection of mutual dialogue with South Africa, as advocated by the Ivory Coast and its predominantly French-influenced bedfellows, but also, flipping the coin, indicated conviction to give more support to the liberation movements.

One of the most outspoken advocates on the issue was Nigeria. General Gowon called for contributions to the OAU Liberation Fund to be quadrupled (as did Senegal and Cameroun), and called upon the organization to liberate at least one colonial territory by 1974. That state is interpreted to be Nigeria's closest neighbor, geographically and spiritually—Guinea-Bissau. The PAIGC supported Nigeria firmly through the Nigerian/Biafran conflict. Nigeria has also pushed for the setting up of an OAU Liberation Bureau in West Africa, which appears will occur.

In general terms, African countries have promised to pay arrears or increase payments (some like Uganda have stopped payments, however). A special OAU Assistance Fund for humanitarian gifts was set up in February in part to commemorate the International Year to Combat Racism. A number of suggestions had been made after reform of the OAU Liberation Committee, but actual decisions were postponed until the 1972 Summit in Morocco. Suggestions most debated included the establishment of Defense Command Posts in countries bordering on Southern Africa.

On specifics, the OAU withdrew its unique recognition of the Revolutionary Government in Exile of Angola (GRAE), which had existed since 1964, and provided the "Government" with special observer status. Now the GRAE-related National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and MPLA are recognized by the OAU Liberation Committee in a similar manner. On a request of Congo (K.), a mediating team of the two Congos, Zambia, and Tanzania was set up. Although the de-recognition of GRAE has been on the agenda for several years, the absence of General Mobutu, chief backer of Holden Roberto, GRAE's President, may have been the cause of the resolution this year.

Other important OAU decisions included the setting up of a permanent mission to stop Western arms support, with plans to return to the U.S. where a similar mission led by President Kaunda of Zambia was snubbed by Nixon. Resolutions condemned Western economic and military collaboration in Southern Africa, called for a special U.N. meeting on decolonization in 1972, reaffirmed African rights over natural resources, and called for Israel's withdrawal from specific Arab lands. (West Africa, July 9, 1971; Agence France Presse, July 23, 1971; Financial Times, South Africa, June 24, 1971; U.N. A/AC.109/L. 723, Add. 1, 22 July, 1971; Committee of 24; Standard, Tanzania, June 23 and July 15, 1971; Nationalist, June 24, 1971; Times of Zambia, Lusaka, June 23, 1971)



Holden Roberto, President of the GRAE

ISRAELI GIFT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The Jewish Community in South Africa has always been known for its generosity to Israel (\$28 million after the six-day war), giving 20% of all non-American gifts. The miniscule Israeli grant of \$2,880 to the Organization of African Unity apparently made by low-level Foreign Ministry administrator and channeled through the Israeli U.N. mission to respond to the appeal by U.N. Secretary General U Thant for humanitarian aid to a new OAU Assistance Fund of the Liberation Committee, has created quite a stir. With the help of Prime Minister Vorster ("I certainly do not understand how Israel, which itself has a terrorist problem, can justify contributions to other terrorists") and decision by the South African Government to suspend the transfer of charitable gifts from South African to Israel until there was "greater clarity," meant the grant assumed larger political proportions. It was presumed by some that the gift, offered three weeks before the OAU meeting in June, occurring at the time Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban was visiting Israel's friends in Africa (Kenya, Congo [K.], Cameroun, Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Sierra Leone) was done for propaganda purposes, both to insure African support on the Mid-East issue and to counter growing condemnation of South African-Israeli ties. Yet the confusion expressed by Israeli officials in South Africa (an Assistant Under-Secretary of State lecturing there said the money had not been transferred and there had been a misinterpretation of facts), plus the outrage at the gift by certain independent states, including Somalia and Tanzania, and the Pan Africanist Congress (there was a report that seven of the liberation movements suggested the money go to El Fatah), has meant the whole issue has now faded away. By late June it was reported that the OAU had failed to reply to the offer of a grant, and South Africa apparently has resumed its special privilege granted to Jewish organizations to transfer monies. (Christian Science Monitor, June 4, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, June 26 and June 19, 1971; Le Monde, Paris, June 16, 1971; Zambia Daily Mail, Lusaka, June 15, 1971; Muhammad Speaks, July 9, 1971; Guardian, London, July 20, 1971) It has been reported that Israel's gift has now been transferred to the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. (Star, Johannesburg, August 14, 1971) South Africa is still undecided on whether to resume the transfer of funds to Israel.

INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Executive Board called on trade unions in their 57 affiliate countries to discourage emigration to Southern African countries. (Star, Johannesburg, July 3, 1971) At the Western European Union assembly (six common market countries plus the U.K.), a British Labor member sponsored a resolution condemning tyranny in Southern Africa which failed to pass. (Nationalist, June 17, 1971) The International Civil Aviation Organization resolved to expel South Africa from meetings although it still continues to have a seat; Portugal was not expelled. (Nationalist, July 10, 1971)

ANTI-PORTUGUESE ACTION

CANADA

Various Canadian groups, including the YWCA, CUSO, New Democratic Party, and the United Church, have been pressing through hearings and statements the Canadian Government on the Cabora Bassa Dam issue. The protest

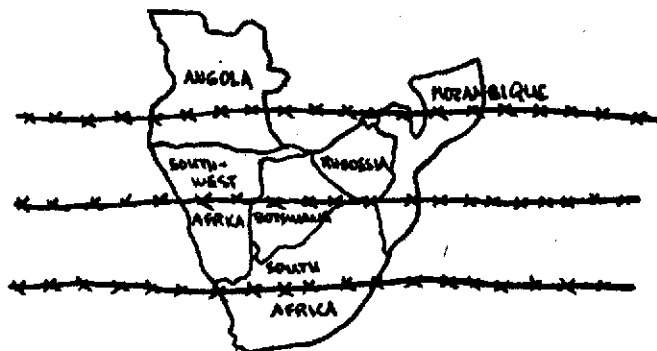
that began with the campaign against the sale of aluminium rods to the dam by ALCAN has moved into the legal arena, contending that Canadian moves violate sanctions against Rhodesia. The Canadian Trade Minister, Jean-Luc Pepin, has claimed that the matter has been "carefully reviewed by experts in this department and in the legal division" and Canada's action does not violate the Canadian Order-in-Council of Dec. 20, 1968 which states that "no person shall knowingly do anything in Canada or any other place to promote or that is calculated to promote the export from Rhodesia of any goods produced or manufactured in Rhodesia." It is clear that according to the National Export Council of Rhodesia and the Rhodesian Transport and Power Secretary that Cabora Bassa will aid Rhodesia's exports, but Canada, unlike Sweden and Italy, is proceeding and appears to ignore its own law. (Ottawa Citizen, July 26, 1971)

GERMANY

Germans have taken a similar stand, and Economic Cooperation Minister Eppler stated that involvement does not support Portugal's role in Africa, mainly of a technical nature, mainly to independent Africa, and pointed to the fact that Zambia traded with countries it didn't agree with also. (Agence France Presse, July 27, 1971) A German company, Brown Boveri, has claimed that "by its very nature and its utilization, our production cannot be exploited for political ends." (Nationalist, July 10, 1971) Eppler, upon his return from Zambia and Tanzania, said that West Germany will use "greater prudence" in future investments. (Agence France Presse, July 27, 1971)

MPLA BOOK

A new book by Mario de Andrade, MPLA figure, and economist Marc Olliver, calls the Angolan economy a "powder keg," and analyzes the growth of foreign capital, the exodus of Angolan refugees, increased Portuguese settlers, and the growth of a landless sub-proletariat in the cities—all this in the midst of a revolutionary war. (Sunday Nation, Nairobi, June 20, 1971)



THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

ANC MAN SENTENCED

A South African "Coloured," James Edward April, a 15-year sentence under the Terrorism Act in May, 1971. In his statement before the court, April said affirmatively: "Time is on our side, I guarantee it. Even if there is a world war, change will take place in our favor." Mr. April was found guilty under various counts of the Terrorism Act, including being a member of the African National Congress and Umkonto We Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"), of having trained in revolutionary warfare, of entering South Africa with forged documents (1971), of having fought in Rhodesia (1967), and so forth. April said his capture by the South African police was the result of his own weariness and not police cleverness. He said he was kept in solitary confinement and beaten. Justice Kennedy trying the case expressed sympathy with the frustrations of "Coloureds" in South Africa and April's principled position, but said, "It is not for me to condone subversive means" to solve the situation. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, May 11, 1971) The African National Congress in a press release cited April as a "hero and patriot of the struggle against apartheid and imperialism" and condemned South Africa's violation of law. (ANC, May 11, 1971)



SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNS PORTUGUESE ACTS AGAINST SENEGAL

The Security Council, on July 15, 1971, condemned "the unlawful laying of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines in Senegalese territory." It demanded that Portugal "stop immediately any acts of violence and destruction in Senegalese territory, and respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Senegal." The resolution (294 [1971]) was adopted by 13 votes in favor, none against, United Kingdom and United States abstaining. It was also requested that a special mission be sent to inquire further into the situation and make further recommendations.

The Foreign Minister of Senegal, Amadou Karim Gaye, had petitioned the Security Council, saying that violence on the border of Senegal with Guinea (Bissau) had escalated since early 1971. He cited several instances, including a raid by Portuguese troops on the village of Kandienou where 130 huts were destroyed by fire, 200 sheep slaughtered, and 200 tons of grain burnt. A second village, Karoumbou, was attacked April 16, resulting in five deaths, including a Portuguese soldier and a 7-year-old child.

Portugal, of course, "rejected any responsibility for the alleged incidents." (Guerrilheiro, June-July 1971; U.N. Press Release WS/511, July 16, 1971)

UNITA COMMUNIQUE REPORTS SUCCESSES

The Times of Zambia of July 10, 1971 reported UNITA claims to have killed more than 160 Portuguese soldiers between March and May 1971, and to have captured 4,000 rounds of ammunition, 26 rifles, and 24 grenades, documents, and other supplies. The area indicated in the communique was central Angola, with the rivers Cuanza and Casal, and towns Luso and General Machado the more easily located reference points. (Also from UNITA's "Angola: Document 2" of July, 1971.)

UNITA was founded March 13, 1966. In celebration of its 5th anniversary this year, Jonas Savimbi, the President of UNITA, taped a message to party members outside Angola, reaffirming the party's goals and successes, and solidarity with other revolutionary peoples who are forging "a new world." (Unita "Mensagem do Presidente da UNITA aos Quadros e Militantes da Unita no Exterior 1971")

BRITISH SEAMEN JAILED IN SOUTH AFRICA

In April, three British seamen were jailed for 12 months for distributing ANC leaflets in Port Elizabeth. The sailors pleaded not guilty to aiding an "unlawful organization." The three men, all in their early 20's, were sentenced under the Suppression of Communism Act. One sailor claimed an Australian girl had given him the material in Melbourne, and that he did not know distributing it (they were seen placing the leaflets on car windows) was illegal. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, May 20, 1971)

ZAPU MEN IN ZAMBIAN JAILS

Sixty men are reported being held in three Zambian jails after they tried to kidnap the political leadership of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union last March. The Daily Nation (Nairobi) reports that Vice-President James Chikerema has now seized renewed control of the political and military wings of the movement. Chikerema, leader of the ZAPU group working toward a front with ZANU, has been unable to pursue that goal since March. Ian Smith, in a move to embarrass the Zambian Government, has written to President Kaunda of Zambia asking about the fate of the jailed Rhodesians. (Daily Nation, Nairobi, July 14, 1971)

GRENADES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Grenades were removed from railway tracks near East Rand in South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, May 15, 1971)

U.S. BASKETBALL PLAYERS QUERIED--WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

In the U.S. Information Service office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, there were bigger than life size photos of basketball greats Kareem Jabbar (Lew Alcindor) and Oscar Robertson, advertising their State Department sponsored tour in Tanzania. Near by the smiling picture of Nixon evoked questions on the part of local liberation movement people--"Whose side are these people on? Don't they know the U.S. is supporting every colonial government in the world, including South Africa?" Muhammad Speaks, in reporting the incidents, suggested non-government sports tours of Africa would be truly welcome. (Muhammad Speaks, July 9, 1971)



THE U.S. AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

CLARK VISIT

In his visit to South Africa to deliver the Academic Freedom Address at Rhodes University (Grahamstown) at the request of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), Ramsey Clark condemned apartheid and urged total integration as the only answer to South Africa's problems. He advocated a withdrawal of American investment as a means to encourage that end and likened the Bantustan policy to U.S. policy of Indian reservations. He praised the actions of NUSAS and criticized violence as a means of bringing about change. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, May 13 and 18, 1971)

OTHER VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Harry Tennison, president of Game Conservation International, arrived in Durban and announced the visit of astronaut Walter Schirra to South Africa on August 10. Tennison, on his 7th visit to Durban in four years, indicated that Schirra had decided to come to visit the Wilderness Leadership School after seeing the film "Trail to Survival" produced by Ingmar Bergman's pupil Sven Persson and depicting the activities of the School in educating youth in ecology. Schirra, now retired from the Navy, heads the Environment Control Organization. Nixon's political advisor also saw the film in June and was the one who urged that it be shown to Schirra. (Star, Johannesburg, June 12 and July 10, 1971)

A group of 30 young American businessmen, all members of the Young President's Club and led by Cabell Brand, shoe manufacturer, will start their month-long African tour in Johannesburg on August 1. Some of their companies have investments in South Africa and Rhodesia and they are expected to discuss such when they meet their Southern African counterparts in Johannesburg and Cape Town. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971)

Muhammed Ali has announced his intention to visit South Africa to talk of "black and white audiences" and see if the situation there permits "separation and equality." Mrs. Bowes, a New York theatrical agent, revealed that the trip was planned for December and would consist of two weeks of speaking, reading poetry, and telling jokes. She also disclosed that other Black Americans—singer Brooke Benton, Judy Clay, and the Isley Brothers—might visit South Africa in September and October. South Africa's Minister of the Interior Gerdener said that no visa applications had been received yet and that they would be judged on their merits when received. (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971)

TANZANIA TAKE-OVER PLAN

Africa Research Group announced that U.S. Army units have been trained to take over and run Tanzania in the event of U.S. intervention in that country. For three years the Boston-based 357th Civil Affairs Unit has been

receiving special training, including extensive research, Swahili lessons, and conferences on East Africa. During two weeks of military maneuvers in 1969, the group simulated a response to a "native uprising starting in Mozambique and spreading to Tanzania." The information came from Chris Burns and other antiwar reservists of 357th unit and was confirmed in general by Col. Paul Counihan, commanding officer of the unit. (The Standard, Tanzania, June 3, 1971) The Tanzania Ministry of Foreign Affairs said it attached no particular significance to the Standard report. (Standard of Tanzania, June 3 and 4, 1971)

SUGAR QUOTA

The House Agriculture Committee of Rep. Poage (Dem.-Texas) reported out to the House a renewal of the sugar allotment bill which included the following provisions: of 11.2 million tons of sugar consumed annually by the U.S., 7.05 million would be supplied by domestic producers, the shares of the Big Five (Philippines, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Brazil, and Peru) and of the Virgin Island and Puerto Rico would be somewhat reduced, Malawi and Uganda would be given new quotas of 15,000 tons each, the quota of Swaziland would be raised to 30,000 tons, and those of Mauritius and Madagascar to 15,000 tons each, and the quota of South Africa would remain at about 60,000 tons.

Officially South Africa's quota is less than 47,000 tons, but it receives portions of Rhodesia's and Cuba's suspended quotas. (Star, Johannesburg, June 5, 1971; and The News American, June 10, 1971) In spite of opposition from Rep. Dow (Dem.-N.Y.) within the Agriculture Committee and from Rep. Diggs (Dem.-Mich.) as head of the Black Caucus, the bill passed the House by a vote of 229 to 128 with a provision prohibiting amendments. Efforts to change the prohibition failed in the Rules Committee by 8 to 6 and on the House floor by 213 to 166. The New York Times took a strong position against the renewal of the South Africa quota. (New York Times, June 9 and 10, 1971; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 9, 1971; Wall Street Journal, New York, June 11, 1971)

In testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, Sen. Edward Kennedy (Dem.-Mass.) gave added strength to the movement to end South Africa's sugar quota, calling it a subsidy of \$5 million to a racist, oppressive government and suggesting that an end of the quota might spur the drive for disengagement of American interests from South Africa. In this he was believed to have gone beyond the policies of Robert Kennedy and to have identified himself with the more radical elements of the anti-apartheid movement. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 19 and 22, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, June 26, 1971) W. J. G. Barnes of the South African

Sugar Association returned from Washington very pessimistic about changes of renewing South Africa's quota. He thought that Kennedy had gotten 53 votes for his motion in the Senate and made the question one of a "straight forward political anti-apartheid issue." (Star, Johannesburg, July 3, 1971) The Senate rejected by 47 to 45 Kennedy's amendment to eliminate South Africa's quota and by 55 to 42 Harris' amendment to reallocate South Africa's quota to domestic U.S. producers, and then passed the Sugar Quota Act (extending the quotas for three years beginning Jan. 1) by 76 to 22. (Washington Post, July 29, 1971; New York Times, July 29, 1971)

CLOSED SYMPOSIUM

The U.S.-South African Leadership Exchange Program (US-SALEP) is holding the third in a series of symposia for American and South African business, professional, and academic leaders, in closed session, at the international hotel at the Jan Smuts airport (Johannesburg). Twenty Americans, including six blacks, are attending, together with 30 South Africans, six of whom are African (including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief executive officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority), one Coloured, and one Asian. D. P. de Villiers, chairman of the management committee of the program defended the exclusion of the press. One staff reporter said that pressure against the American Blacks' participation was so strong that only the smallest circle of their friends in the States were aware of their departure. Former head of the New York City Human Rights Commission, Judge William Booth, called the black participants "patsies." Dr. Lucius Walker, President of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, had called for a boycott of the meeting by all U.S. blacks. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10 and 17, 1971)

Dr. Piet Riekert, the economic adviser to Prime Minister Vorster, debated heatedly with American delegates at the symposium, defending the job reservation restrictions in South Africa, attacking race prejudice in the U.S., and stating that economic collaboration with other countries did not require dealing with political differences between South Africa and those countries. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971)

CHROME BILL

Senator Harry Byrd (Cons.-Va.) has introduced a bill that would open the way for chrome shipments from Rhodesia, stopped now because of mandatory sanctions. Dean Acheson testified before the African Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of the measure, saying that the boycott had failed and only forced the U.S. to import chrome from the Soviet Union. Assistant Secretary Newsom opposed Acheson's position, stressing the importance of U.S. observance of her international obligations at a time when Rhodesia and the U.K. were negotiating for a settlement. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)

BOTSWANA-ZAMBIA HIGHWAY

The AID has announced approval of a contract to enable a New York engineering firm to design and prepare construction costs of the new Botswana-Zambia highway, approximately 303 kms. of all-weather road and 72 kms. of feeder roads. The road is expected to stimulate tourism and the development of livestock and mining industries, as well as trade in salt and soda ash. (Agence France Presse, June 25, 1971)

MAIL SERVICE BY SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS

Rep. Diggs, aided by Reps. Culver and Nix, have attacked U.S. postal arrangements which permit South African Airways to deliver mail to New York every

Monday, a day ahead of Pan-American Airways. Diggs called this "profitable commercial dealing with an agency of the South African Government" and demanded that the service—providing an extra income to the airways of about \$1,000—be stopped. The criticism is thought to be another example of the painstaking preparation of Diggs' new aide, Mrs. Golen Butcher, formerly of the State Department. (Star, Johannesburg, June 16, 1971)

DIGGS VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

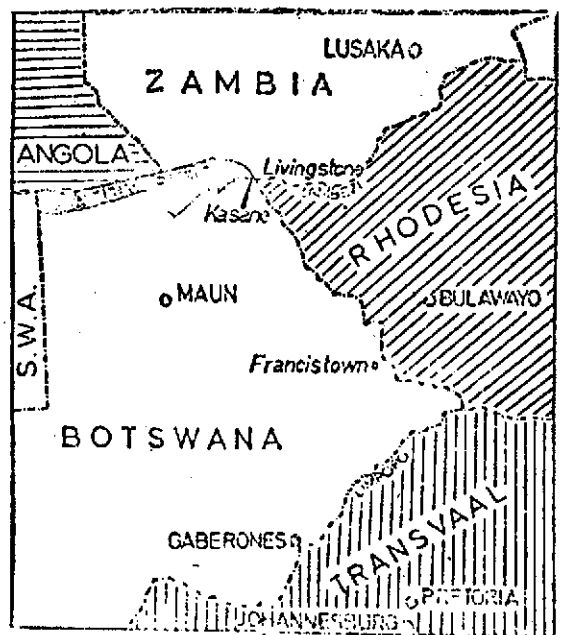
Rep. Diggs applied once again for a visa to visit South Africa, this time with the full support of the State Department, anxious to avoid another embarrassing refusal of the application by South Africa. And this time the visa was granted. The South African Government announced that Diggs and "certain other members of the U.S. Congress" would visit South Africa and six other countries on a fact-finding tour. (Star, Johannesburg, July 3, 1971; New York Times, August 4, 1971)

NAACP MOVE

The NAACP has asked its members to engage in peaceful protest against South African sportsmen, such as golfer Gary Player or tennis star Drysdale, who compete in U.S. events. This was a significant departure for the organization, usually limited to questions of domestic discrimination, and it was thought it might change the climate of sports events where white South Africans participate. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)

U.S. GOVERNMENT AND INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Polaroid's policy of trying to "do good" in South Africa as opposed to disengagement has apparently received tacit approval and assurances from the Department of State. Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom apparently assured Thomas Wyman of Polaroid that the U.S. Government "very much approves its actions in South Africa, although it would be unwise to take any public posture at this stage for fear of having Polaroid expelled by the South African Administration." (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)



U.S. MILITARY MATERIEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

During a recent visit to South Africa, Mrs. Olive Beech, chairman of the Beechcraft Corporation, told the South African Financial Gazette (April 16, 1971) that the U.S. Government had given her company a "carte blanche" to sell planes to the South African Government. She also confirmed that these aircraft could be used for military purposes such as reconnaissance and training. "Negotiations will be conducted through our agents in South Africa," she said. Beechcraft's South African agent is the National Airways Corporation based at Rand Airport, Germiston.

The U.S. is also supplying "a highly socially responsible weapon" called the stun-gun in South Africa. The stun-gun was developed in the wake of civil disturbances in the U.S. and is being promoted abroad. Mr. Brokaw, representing MBA Associates of San Ramon, California who make the stun-gun, said that "they've just released them for South Africa: they really need them there." (Herald Tribune, June 6, 1971) The stun-gun is a short, baton-like weapon that fires shot-filled bean bags, wooden blocks, or plastic pellets.

In June, a crowd of 250,000 watched the largest peace-time display of military might yet seen in South Africa. Twelve Sabre jet (U.S.) aircraft scheduled to take part in the ceremonies did not participate, perhaps due to the deaths of eleven people when three military (English) jets crashed on Devil's Peak near Cape Town May 27. There has been a strong security screen around the crash area during the investigation of the crashes. Eight of the 11 persons killed were senior air force officers. (Herald Tribune, May 28, 1971)

At the same time as South Africa's military enterprise seems to be flourishing with U.S., French, and British-supplied materiel, a representative of the U.N. Security Council announced in England that any future arms sales to South Africa by Britain and France will be referred to the Council (Guardian, London, June 12, 1971). South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster reiterated his statement that the sole purpose of arms purchases from these countries was the defense of the Cape shipping route, and not for use internally. (Guardian, London, June 12, 1971) It sounds very much like Portugal's promises not to use NATO arms against Africans. South Africa's Defense Minister Botha, accompanied by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces and of the South African Air Force, were both in London at the time of Vorster's statement. (Guardian, London, June 10, 1971) That's a rather high-powered shopping spree if the only intent is to preserve the Cape route for others and not to preserve white supremacy in South Africa!

The South African Digest (April 2, 1971) indicated that the Hughes 500 helicopters have been introduced to South Africa. These helicopters can fly for 300-400 miles at 150 mph without refueling; some 1,600 of them were sold to the U.S. Army for use in Viet Nam. The Hughes helicopters are made in South Africa, but were developed with the aid of U.S. and British technicians. The helicopters were used in large-scale war exercises in the Orange Free State (South Africa) in April. It is interesting that these war games are all geared toward guerrilla terrain warfare, and not toward sea wars (as would be the case in defending the Cape route).

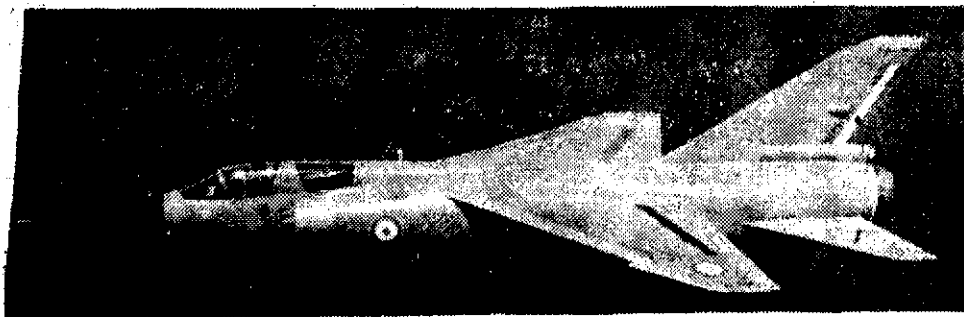
Mrs. Jennifer Davis reported on June 16 to the Sub-Committee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that continued supply of U.S. aircraft has severely weakened the arms embargo against South Africa. Mrs. Davis also called for close inspection of the transfer of foreign capital to South Africa's armament industry and special training of military and police officers from Portugal and South Africa. She also said that the U.S. continues to supply South Africa with military parts and equipment, was testing the French-manufactured cactus ground-to-ground and ground-to-air missiles for the South Africans, as well as providing technical cooperation in atomic energy and space. (Zambia Daily Mail, June 18, 1971)

In the meantime, Tunisia's Foreign Minister has denounced "dialogue" between African nations and South Africa. He said that if there were any dialogue it should be between Pretoria and South Africa's original inhabitants. (Guardian, London, June 25, 1971)

FRANCE AND SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa and France are entering into a very close working military partnership involving the exchange of top secret military information (Standard of Tanzania, June 30, 1971) and building of French Mirage fighter aircraft in South Africa (Daily Nation, June 28, 1971). The planes will be built under license for the South Africa Air Force with help from ARMSCOR (state-owned), and its subsidiary (Atlas Aircraft Corporation). The Marcel Dassault Aircraft Co. will actually build the jets.

At the same time, South Africa may buy Breguet Atlantic aircraft from France (East African Standard, June 25, 1971), a turbo-prop plane specially designed for hunting submarines. The French deals were assailed by the Kenya Government (Herald Tribune, June 4, 1971) as being "hypocritical" and "in defiance of world opinion." Only a few days earlier the Marcel Dassault Aircraft Co. confirmed reports that it had concluded a multi-million dollar deal for construction of the planes in South Africa

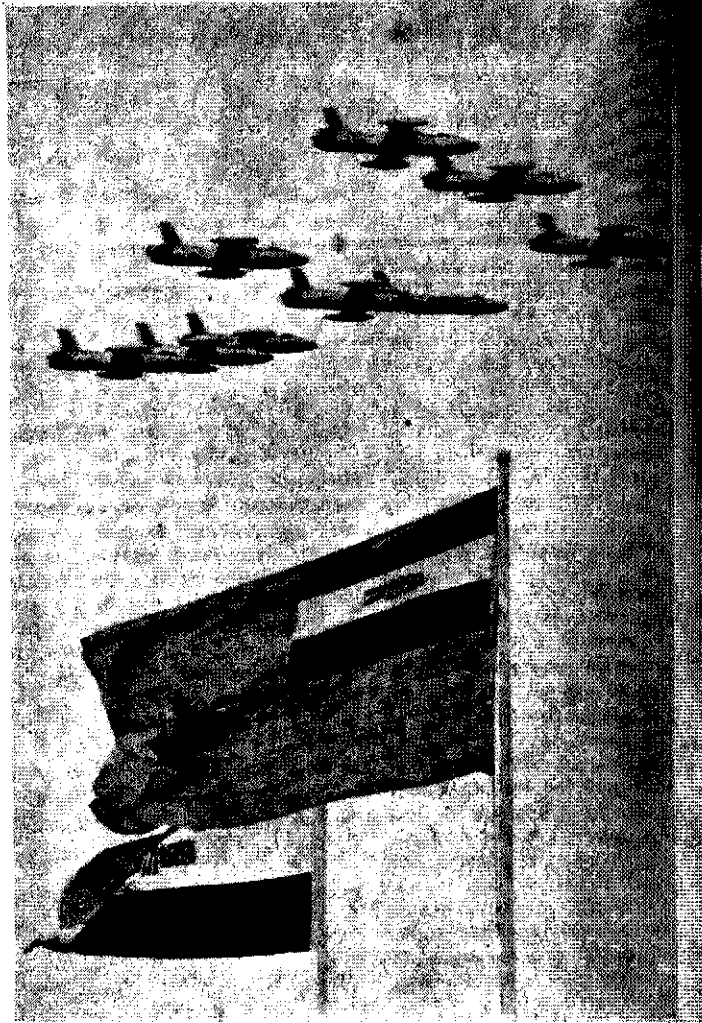
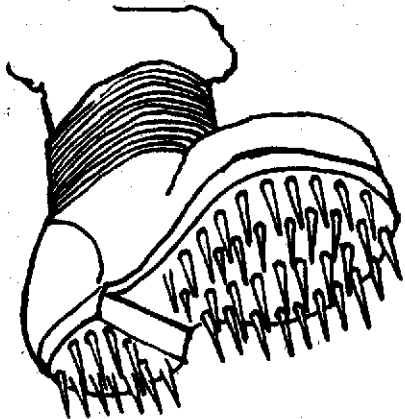


The Mirage F-1 in flight. This is the Mach 2 fighter aircraft to be built in South Africa under licence from France. An all-purpose machine, it carries two 30mm machine-guns and can be fitted to carry bombs, rockets or air-to-air missiles.

(Herald Tribune, June 29, 1971). The company will build 50 Mirage F-1 and Mirage-III jets to add to South Africa's 42 already in service. (East African Standard, June 29, 1971). The French Foreign Minister, Maurice Schumann, defends the deal in the same words as South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster—that the materiel and equipment is all for the purpose of defending the Cape route. He said, "As far as the Mirages are concerned, they cannot be used for anti-guerrilla or repressive operations." (Herald Tribune, May 20, 1971)

Some commentators see the Mirage deal as a prelude to a more extended defense pact in Southern Africa. The Sunday Times (July 4, 1971) stated that the deal "is a step in a master plan, still in its formative stages, to establish a dominant power bloc in Africa. . . . The major countries in the scheme are South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal. Included are Malawi, Madagascar, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, and any other moderate African states that can be fitted into context—though it is likely at this stage that they are not yet aware of what is going on, and that they are being drawn into an extraordinary game of international power politics."

The article continues: "There you have it—the gradual emergence of an African entente that could become a major world force. The alliance of moderate black states around a white power center, and a Black-white, multinational strategic and economic bloc built around a core of apartheid that could dominate all Africa." (Sunday Times, July 4, 1971)



Locally manufactured Impala aircraft of the South African Air Force fly in formation above fluttering national and Air Force flags during a recent Wings Parade at the Langenhoven Flying Training School, Western Province

ZAMBIAN UNREST OVER FRENCH DEAL

There were strong repercussions to the French deal with South African in neighboring Zambia. Nearly a thousand Zambian students demonstrated at the French Embassy in Lusaka (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971). The students, mainly from the University of Zambia and including a sprinkling of white lecturers, were attacked with teargas and batons of the armed Zambian police at President Kaunda's order. Kaunda later ordered a halt to demonstrations over the French deal, saying that he and his Government strongly opposed the arms deals but he wanted the country to leave the matter alone (East African Standard, July 12, 1971).

One of the groups that may be affected by Kaunda's ban on demonstrations is AFRICA 2000, an anti-apartheid group mainly made up of white expatriates. The group had planned to march on both the French Embassy and the British High Commission on July 31. AFRICA 2000 planned to invite Government ministers to the nonviolent demonstration that would have marked the opening of an anti-apartheid exhibition. (East African Standard, July 12, 1971)

The French Government is demanding compensation for the damage the students did to its Embassy in Lusaka.

About 70 windows and between two to 70 heat-resistant panels were broken by stones and bricks. The students have urged the Zambian Government to break all diplomatic relations with France, and have accused the Zambian police of brutality. The University of Zambia was closed on July 15 by troops and riot police (Herald Tribune, July 16, 1971), and nearly a thousand Zambian troops occupied the campus. The ten members of the executive of the student's union were sent down by government order, while their fellow students will have to re-register. They were forced out of their rooms at 4:00 a.m. by the police. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971) The Zambian Government has also served deportation orders on two university lecturers, Michael Etherson (British) and Dr. Andrew Horne (American). They are believed to have been involved in the demonstrations.

The French Foreign Minister said in Copenhagen on July 24 (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971) that when current contracts were fulfilled, France would not permit any further sales of helicopters or light armored weapons to South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portugal. Nor would France make license agreements for the manufacture of these arms, he said.

A HOLIDAY INN FOR WHOM AT NEW JOHANNESBURG HOTEL

In June the much publicized new Holiday Inn opened at Jan Smuts International Airport, and soon afterwards hosted a U.S.-South African Leadership Exchange Program (U.S.-SALEP) conference—the first multiracial meeting of its kind in South Africa. This Holiday Inn (the Memphis-based company plans to build more than 30 inns throughout South Africa [all white] and its neighbors) was commissioned by the South African Government and therefore its multiracial aspects exist only with Government sanction. Thus all “non-whites” residing at the airport hotel must prove that they are travelling from or into South Africa and have valid documents (white patrons don't have to prove anything) and departure dates. Less than three percent of the clientele has been Black thus far, and mainly travellers going to Lesotho, Swaziland, etc. The only overt social taboo is that there can be no public interracial dancing, and Blacks must have private dances, although apparently the swimming pool (it was reported earlier that the hotel would have no pool for fear of racial contamination) and even bedrooms can be used jointly by different races. (Baltimore Sun, August 9, 1971)

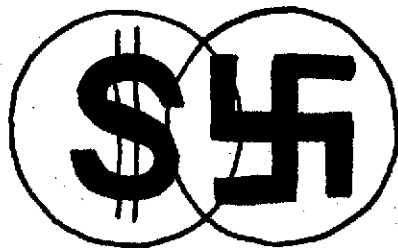
The hotel manager, speaking at the opening, put the status of the hotel in a nutshell: “We were asked by the Government to build a multiracial hotel and this is what Holiday Inn is. We are not a political hotel. We obey the laws of the land. But every guest in the hotel will be treated [ed. note: if he's allowed in] with complete equality.” (Herald Tribune, June 4, 1971) Obviously the Vorster “outward look” (“dialogue”) policy, which involves entertaining willing guests of non-white hue, is aided by the new Holiday Inn.

The Seattle-based firm, Western International Hotels, will have a South African subsidiary connected with the huge Carlton Centre being built in Johannesburg. The expected cost of the Carlton Hotel is \$95 million. (Star, Johannesburg, August 7, 1971)

NO OIL IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT EXPANDED DRILLING CONTINUES

Four companies, including the U.S. firms of Chevron-Regent (a Caltex subsidiary); Continental Oil (of New York), and the South East Asian Oil and Gas of Houston, will commence plans for drilling for oil off-shore South Africa. The pace of drilling has been delayed because of the shortage of rigs, and the South African Government oil agency, SOEKOR, has had to be flexible in applying the stipulations in the companies' contracts that demand strict drilling schedules. The two rigs that were used by off-shore concessionaires (i.e. Total Consortium, Superior Oil, Placid, etc.) are now in the North Sea. The drilling by these companies costs \$35 million. (South African Financial Gazette, June 4, 1971) Some of the off-shore problems may be solved by the presence of Brown and Root, a Texas construction company already involved in Cabinda Gulf Oil, which has just established a South African office (South African Financial Gazette, May 7, 1971). The drilling costs for the new companies will average \$2.1 million per company. On-shore efforts involve the U.S. Midlands company and Texas John Bradfield, who is working with a South African drilling concern, Brads Petroleum. (South African Financial Gazette, June 4, 1971)

Elsewhere in the oil world, Mobil plans a \$28 million expansion of its refinery in Durban to be completed in 1974 increasing the facility's capacity by 60%. Mobil, together with Caltex and Total, plan a new lubrication oil



refinery costing \$28 million also, to be established through a new venture, the South African Oil Refinery. (South African Digest, July 23, 1971) Another U.S. firm, Badger, is already bidding for the construction of a refinery near Durban for Shell-BP, and it appears that companies are coming in anticipating larger contracts in the future. (South African Financial Gazette, May 7, 1971)

In Rhodesia, Caltex, Mobil, and Total (with BP and Shell) were praised for their gift of Rhodesian \$50,000 to the Botanic Gardens in Salisbury. The illegal government's Minister of Agriculture has set up a committee to allocate the spending of the grant. (Rhodesian Commentary, July, 1971)

COMPUTERS—SOUTH AFRICA'S SOLUTION TO THE LABOR SHORTAGE?

Numerical Control (n/c) is a method of using electronic devices to operate complex machine tools. Benefits, after initial computerization costs, include the reduction of assembly expenses, space saving, and technical contributions. A spokesman for the Cincinnati Machine Co. said that n/c is “tailor made” for South Africa. (Financial Mail, March 12, 1971) Two U.S. computer giants, IBM and Honeywell, have received lucrative South African deals recently. Honeywell sold a \$700,000 computer to the South African Legal and General Assurance Society (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971), while IBM will install a system for current and savings data for the huge Afrikaner banking complex, Volkskas. (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971) Volkskas corresponding bank in the U.S. is Chemical Bank of New York, which is also the banker for the South African Reserve Bank as well.

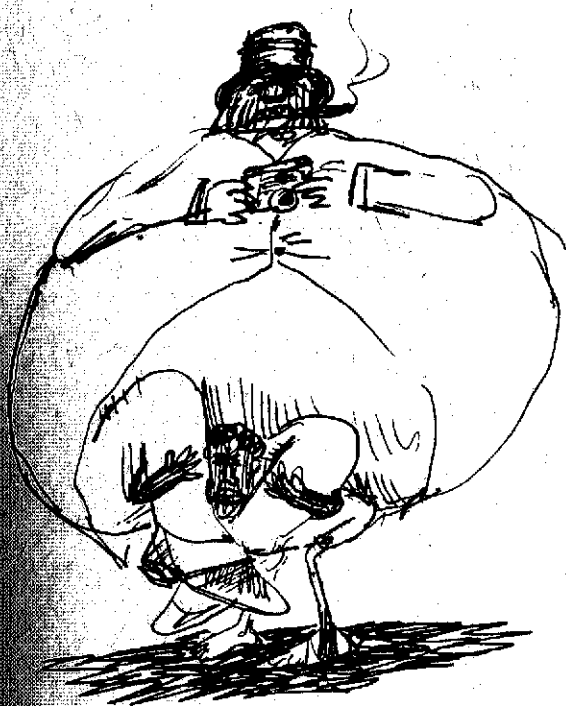
More strategic is the use of IBM 360 systems by the South African Government in establishing the new population registration system to be implemented in February, 1972. The Government will pay a rental of \$43,000 per month per model. The population registration system will be the new identity structure, at first applicable to the non-African races (whites, Coloureds, Asians) to be followed by more complete control, through documents (passes), over Africans. (See Hansard Parliamentary Questions and Replies, March 2, 1971)

U.S. FIRM TO PROVIDE T.V. PROGRAMMING FOR SOUTH AFRICA

F & M Systems of Dallas will head a consortium to provide television program production facilities to South Africa. In Britain, Thames Television executives have said they were members of the consortium; they have provided advice and would continue to aid South Africa. However, in England the International Federation of Actors and British Equity, together with the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, have called for no T.V. ties with South Africa. The latter union will ban technicians from going to South Africa except for news and current affairs programming. The

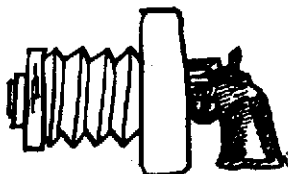
38 ACTT also withdrew its funds from Barclays Bank for its South African links. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, August 6, 1971) It is expected that the International Federation of Actors (which includes T.V. actors in 30 countries) has called for a boycott. British T.V. stations cannot sell programs without the union OK. (Guardian, London, August 7, 1971)

POLAROID AND SOUTH AFRICA



POLAROID LOOKS TO 1972

In testimony before Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) Sub-Committee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Polaroid Vice President James Wyman said that by January, 1972 the company would be looking for signs of the success or failure of its South African "experiment." Polaroid claims to have raised wages for non-whites between 13 and 33%, provided school fees for workers' children, and given \$125,000 to South African education. Congressman Diggs severely criticized the "experiment," and Wyman did say that giving away money was not the answer. He stressed the importance of others following Polaroid's lead, and said that ten or twelve other firms were working on the issue. (Argus, May 5, 1971) In Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has announced an international boycott of Polaroid. Caroline Hunter of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement spoke at a rally of 500 in early July in London. (Guardian, London, July 5, 1971)



YOUNG PRESIDENTS CLUB DOESN'T SWALLOW APARTHEID STABILITY

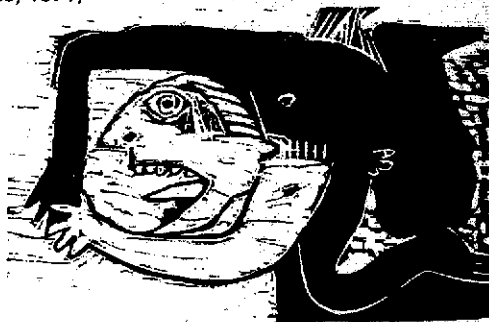
The Young Presidents Club, composed of young businessmen who are presidents of their corporations, visited South Africa as part of an African tour in August. An interesting result of the growing concern with American investment there was the reactions of the group to business in South Africa.

The 35-member group's leader, Mr. E. Cabell Brand, when interviewed, said: "There are two reasons I have decided not to seek any business links with South Africa. First, production costs are too high, and all I would consider buying are Zulu handicrafts. Second, and perhaps more important, I AM NOT PREPARED TO DO BUSINESS WITH ANY COMPANY THAT DOES NOT PAY EQUAL PAY FOR THE JOB WITHOUT COLOR PREJUDICE." Another young president said, "I would not recommend investment on moral grounds. I see an affluence similar to our own—but I'm worried about apartheid." A Johannesburg stock exchange official urged the group not to ostracize South Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, August 7, 1971)

The Johannesburg Star, in another survey, evolving from the "disengagement debate" in the U.S., spoke with American companies in South Africa. Several corporate people denied an interview (Timken, Dow), others belittled the anti-apartheid question (Champion Spark Plug), some denied pressure from the U.S. (Singer, United Artists, Vaseline Oil), and finally a few defended their presence (IBM). (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971)

MEMPHIS CHEMICAL FIRM SETS UP IN SOUTH AFRICA

Formerly exporting through a South African agent, the firm Buckman Laboratories (Memphis) now directly owns a subsidiary in South Africa and will begin to produce liquid chemicals on September 1. The Buckman Lab director said that the decision to enter South Africa was based on the high growth rate, and stability "in both Government and currency." (South African Digest, July 20, 1971)



AUTO COMPANIES PROVIDE BENEFITS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Engine blocks and cylinder heads built by a South African concern will be used by the four U.S. automobile companies in South Africa. (South African Digest, July 30, 1971) South African platinum concerns will reap tremendous gains with the adoption of a platinum catalytic device for cars to aid in anti-air pollution control efforts. Lectrolite Products made in South Africa, mainly automotive parts and accessories, have been exported to Texas (South African Digest, July 19, 1971). Ford Motor Company is arranging a tour of South African farmers to the U.S. (South African Financial Gazette, May 7, 1971)

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



IFCO TAKES STRONG STAND

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, a black interdenominational community-work agency directed by Dr. Lucius Walker, has taken the strongest stand on Southern Africa of any church-related group. Boldly denouncing "dialogue" with South Africa, IFCO also called for an end to the U.S.-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program, and to all U.S. tourism to Southern Africa. (Muhammad Speaks, July 9, 1971) The IFCO press statement and press conference was convened to:

"1. to urge public examination and rejection of dialogue with South Africa until apartheid is ended and majority rule instituted.

"2. to announce our rejection of a United States-South African Leadership Exchange Program invitation to participate in a symposium to be held in Johannesburg, South Africa in July.

"3. to place on the record our call to all brothers and sisters to refrain from support of this and similar programs so long as apartheid and the illegal government of South Africa continues.

"4. to declare publicly our solidarity, advocacy, and full support for those African majorities who seek self-determination and liberation from oppressive and racist minority regimes.

"5. to call upon the churches of America: (a) first, to develop a program of study and action to combat the evils of apartheid; (b) secondly, to develop a program of Christian witness and assistance to bring about self-determination for the oppressed people of Southern Africa; (c) thirdly, to withhold participation in programs such as U.S.-SALEP until apartheid is ended and South Africa is restored to majority rule." (IFCO News)

OPEN LETTER EQUATES APARTHEID WITH NAZISM

In "An Open Letter to South Africans" published in Pro Veritate, the religion and politics of South Africa's apartheid has been equated with Nazi Germany under Hitler. In perhaps the strongest public denouncement of apartheid ever made by a church-related group, the letter listed various aspects of the South African mentality that parallel those of Hitler's Germany. The letter was signed by 45 prominent South African church men.

Included were the strong nationalism (especially the emphasis on the elected nation of "white folk"), national messianism, racialism, labor policies, absolutism, secret police and informers, prison population, anti-liberalism, anti-communism, propaganda, the mortality rate, and the racially exclusivist brand of Christianity practiced. Full copies of the statement may be secured from Pro Veritate, Box 31135, Braamfontein, Transvaal, South Africa.

U.S. CHURCHMEN, JUDGE HELD BY POLICE

Three U.S. citizens who went to South Africa in May to report on the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, were detained by



JUDGE BOOTH

South African police. The three were Judge William Booth (a distinguished black jurist and member of the National Board of the NAACP), the Bishop of Washington (Episcopal, Dr. W. Creighton), and the Very Rev. Francis Sayre. The three made full reports to the press and to the United Nations on their return to the U.S., which indicated that apartheid is much worse than they had thought, that apologists for apartheid are often not sincere, and that their impression of South African prison conditions was one of shock (Standard of Tanzania, May 30, 1971).

Judge Booth said he was shocked by the immense poverty, inadequate housing, malnutrition, and general lack of facilities in the African "townships" he visited. "There are no opportunities for work for the people; no sanitary facilities. . . ." Judge Booth also said that as a lawyer he was "absolutely unable to understand" South Africa's detention without charge law. (Star, Johannesburg, June 6, 1971)

The two churchmen agreed that U.S. business should stay in South Africa and try to work for social change. They also felt that the proceedings against the Johannesburg Anglican dean were an effort to intimidate the English-speaking churches and particularly the Anglican Church in South Africa. Bishop Creighton said the churches were the main source of white opposition to apartheid, but that the strength of that opposition should not be overestimated. "Most of the (Anglican) Church there is stuffy English and not very courageous," he observed. (Guardian, London, Aug. 21, 1971) In promoting continued U.S. investment in South Africa, the two churchmen are taking issue with their own church's recent history of pushing for divestment, and are giving President Nixon's policy of trying to improve contacts and dialogue with South Africa an important boost. Bishop Creighton did, however, advocate a boycott of South African goods. (Star, Johannesburg, June 24, 1971)

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

The Lutheran World Federation has announced that a delegation will visit member churches in South Africa to implement action taken at last summer's LWF assembly calling for visits to churches where the communion of all races constitutes a special problem. LWF action was taken

40 in advance of the World Council of Churches' postponement of their visit to South Africa, and plans for the LWF visit may have to be postponed also, since the Federation has also granted funds to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. The WCC visit had been postponed because of Vorster's "unacceptable" restrictions on it. (Religious News Service, June 15, 1971) The Lutherans have given \$92,900 to FRELIMO. (Star, Johannesburg, May 1, 1971) In addition, the Rhineland Division of the Lutheran Church (Germany) has passed a resolution asking congregations for voluntary contributions from individuals to a fund for freedom fighters. The Rhineland Synod voted to donate \$192,000 for projects for blacks in Southern Africa. (East African Standard, June 21, 1971)

U.C.C. REAFFIRMS GULF BOYCOTT

Despite a plea from a Gulf Oil Corporation executive, the Ohio Conference of the United Church of Christ overwhelmingly reaffirmed its year-old boycott of Gulf products.

A nation-wide Gulf Boycott campaign was called by a gathering of several groups and individuals concerned with Southern Africa in Dayton, Ohio over the July 4 weekend. Also, at its national organizing conference in late August in Ann Arbor, Michigan, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, a national peace organization, held long deliberations in support of a Gulf campaign.

After the Ohio Synod of the UCC reaffirmed its stand on Gulf, 15 of the delegates turned in their Gulf credit cards. Robert J. Ruck, UCC layman from Cleveland who was elected Moderator, said the Ohio Conference action should be a "springboard" for similar action at the UCC General Synod June 25. The Synod, however, though not calling for a firm Gulf boycott, did urge divestment from Southern Africa and continued pressure by churches and other agencies to change apartheid practices in that part of the world. (Religious News Service, June 15, 1971)

ALAN PATON CONDEMNS CHURCHES

Speaking to a United Church congregation in Toronto, noted South African author Alan Paton said that churchmen in South Africa are tempted to believe that

the commandments of the State and the commandments of God are one and the same thing. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 1, 1971) He went on to say that "there is a great danger that the church is not aware it is being corrupted by the society in which it finds itself." He linked many South African churchmen to the German Christians who acquiesced to the Nazi regime in Germany.

Mr. Paton's passport was returned after being withdrawn for ten years. Paton also said that Canadian and other foreign-owned companies in South Africa could make a significant contribution to breaking down apartheid by paying higher wages to African workers. In that respect, he lauded Polaroid for their efforts in that direction. Although foreign firms are bound by many legal restrictions, he said, they also conform to practices they don't have to legally, including the wage differentials between whites and African workers, he said. (Religious News Service, June 9, 1971)

BRITISH COUNCIL CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S TELEVISION AND WASP SALES

South Africa's plans for apartheid television were condemned by the British Council of Churches. The Rev. Stanley Booth-Clibborn, vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, said that the mass media had an important role in holding different communities together within a country, but that South Africa's plan could only divide them further. He hoped England would not send any television material for use in apartheid programs.

At the same time, the Council of Churches reaffirmed its opposition to the sale of arms to South Africa, especially the sale of the six Wasp helicopters. (Guardian, London, Marcy 29, 1971)

CHURCHMEN PLEAD FOR SEPARATE SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Two churches appealed recently to South African Prime Minister Vorster for a "separate and independent state" in South West Africa (Namibia). The Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa (formerly the Rhenish Mission) claim to represent more than half Namibia's population. The letter came as a response to the World Court decision in June. (Star, Johannesburg, July 24, 1971)

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