

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Northwestern University
Library

NOV 12 1971

Periodical

A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion

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

VOL. IV, No. 8

October, 1971

CONTENTS

1. INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA		3
Vorster and Botha React to Buthelezi's Call for a National Convention	3	
Independence of Judges Threatened	3	
Top Doctor Quits Because of Apartheid	3	
Problems with the Press	3	
ANC Leaflet Bombs	3	
2. INSIDE NAMIBIA		4
Namibians Continue to Respond to World Court Decision	4	
800 Namibians Arrested in August	4	
Provisional Government Announced by SWANUF	4	
3. THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES		5
Portuguese Worried About PAIGC	5	
Portuguese Political Arrests Jump	5	
U.N. Teams Investigate Portuguese Incursions in Senegal and Guinea-Conakry	6	
Extreme Security Measures in Cabora Bassa Area	6	
Portuguese Terrorize and Massacre Mozambican Peasants	6	
Portuguese Lose Aircraft	6	
400 New Mozambique Settlers?	6	
MPLA Successes	7	
Notes on GRAE in Angola	7	
Soil Science Major Examines Crops Destroyed by Herbicides	7	
More on U.S. Sale of Boeing 707's to Portugal	8	
Congressmen Dellums and Bingham Hit Military Aid to Portugal	8	
U.S. Astronauts Visit Lisbon and Mozambique	8	
Malawi Turns Over Patrol Boats to Portuguese Command	8	
4. FEATURE ARTICLE: FRELIMO -- September 25, 1971		9
by Barbara Barnes	9	
5. SPORTS AND CULTURE		14
Cricket Tour Cancelled	14	
Further Cancelled Tours	14	
But Some Games Continue	14	
Tennis Tournaments Disrupted	14	
Golf May Open Doors to Blacks	14	
Visitors to South Africa	15	

CONTENTS

6.	ACTION NEWS AND NOTES		16
	CORE Leader Calls for Black Skills to Aid African Revolution	16	
	Propaganda Victories for South Africa and Portugal	16	
	International Actions	16	
	South Africa's Diplomatic Image Building	17	
	Response to Gandar's Call for Continued Contact with South Africa	17	
	FRELIMO's Armed Struggle Anniversary Commemorated	17	
	Pan Am -- Animals First	17	
	Talk of Cooperation Among South African Movements	18	
	Zimbabwe Movements' Problems Continue	18	
7.	ECONOMICS		18
	Johannesburg Star Surveys U.S. Firms on Involvement in South Africa	18	
	Barclays and Standard Banks Declare a Rate for the Job: Some Questions	19	
	Government Response to "Upgrading Nonwhite Labor"	19	
	Mobil Helps South Africa in Oil Self-Sufficiency	20	
	South Africa's World Sugar Quota Increases	20	
	Unemployment and the Cost of Living Soars	20	
	Auto Industry in Trouble	20	
	Wage Gap Widens	20	
	Business Leaders Gloomy Over Economic Picture	20	
	South Africa May Seek IMF Credit	21	
	Commission of Inquiry into Export Trade Appointed	21	
	South African Freight Boat Boycotted	21	
8.	REPRINT: "POVERTY, APARTHEID, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH" by Sean Gervasi		22
	The Breakdown of Apartheid		
	Two Versions of the Argument		
	Narrow Definition of Apartheid		
	The Real Essence of Apartheid		
	Apartheid Becomes More Oppressive		
	(Part II to be in November, 1971 issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA)		
9.	THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA		26
	Secret Parley	26	
	Sugar Quota	26	
	Agnew Trip	27	
	Diplomatic Parties	27	
	USIA Official's Visit	27	
	Dellums' Proposal on U.S. Firms	27	
	Tour of the U.S.	27	
	Diggs Visit to South Africa	27	
	Buthelezi and Diggs	28	
	Kaiser Matanzima and Diggs	28	
	Other Diggs Contacts	28	
10.	THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA		29
	World Council of Churches Announces 1971 Antiracism Grants	29	
	Some Reactions to the Grants	29	
	GRAE Refuses WCC Grant	29	
	German Protestants Urged to End Neutrality on Apartheid	29	
	Response to "Open Letter"	30	
	Students Demonstrate for Church People	30	
	NUSAS, SASO, UCM Statements	30	
	Trial of Dean French-Beytagh	30	
	Six Arrested for not Producing Hymn Books	31	
	Death Threats Against Priests	31	
	Adventists Aid Resettlement	31	
	Court Annuls Lutheran Pastor's Conviction	31	

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

VORSTER AND BOTHA REACT TO BUTHELEZI'S CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief executive of the Zululand Territorial Authority, says that he is opposed to apartheid but he agrees to work within it because he sees no alternative. He refuses to toe the line and has embarrassed the Government. At a recent meeting in Soweto, the African township outside Johannesburg, he was cheered by Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, and others. He told the meeting, "I have a special message for the people of Soweto. For God's sake do not allow yourself to be divided into ethnic groups. If you do this then you are the biggest bunch of fools God has ever created." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, August 3, 1971)

Buthelezi has called for a national convention of all race groups in South Africa to discuss the nation's problems. This call has been flatly rejected by the Nationalist Government. Vorster attacked it in a speech at Potchefstroom, saying it was an idea that always came up when there was bankruptcy in certain quarters. Vorster went on to reject the idea of an "umbrella body," which would lead to the central parliament losing any of its power. "I do not believe that our future lies in the removal of boundaries," he said.

The subject of Vorster's speech was the role of South Africa in Africa. He said he believed the greatest injustice done to Africa and its leaders was that they had been given more importance than they either deserved or was good for them. These African leaders had also been given greater responsibility than their shoulders could carry. Vorster claimed that South Africa had the most experience on the subcontinent of difficult human relations. He would go so far as to say South Africa was the most experienced country in this field in the world. He knew that if South Africa adopted a policy of multiracialism, "what happens in America on the hottest summer day will be child's play to what will happen in South Africa on a cold winter's day" (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, August 28, 1971)

Buthelezi says that any pseudo friendships across the color line which are based on paternalism, tolerance, or suffrance are an insult to the dignity of the black man. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, August 8, 1971)

Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, claims that the idea of a multiracial national convention to discuss South Africa's political direction did not come from "nonwhite" leaders but from people who "suggested" it to them. (Star, Johannesburg, September 4, 1971)

INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGES THREATENED

A debate is going on in South Africa over the appointment of senior magistrates to the Supreme Court bench. A magistrate is a public servant, the most important representative of the Government in the district in which he serves. It is his duty to carry out the policy of the Government in that district.

In the past, judges on the Supreme Court bench have been drawn from the ranks of the Bar, not from the magistrates. This has assured a tradition of independence in the courts. The Judge President of South Africa has suggested that this be changed and that magistrates be allowed appointment. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsler, has approved the idea. The general council of the bar of South Africa has come out unanimously and firmly against it. Mr. Eksteen of the Eastern Cape Supreme

Court opposed the idea in a recent address saying, "... In the years immediately after the Nazi accession to power in Germany cases were brought to court where the Nazi party sought to influence and intimidate the judge to give judgments not in accordance with the law or with justice, and those judges succumbed to that pressure and perverted the law and justice, for which they were tried and sentenced after the war. Why? Because they had no tradition of independence. The German judiciary was appointed from the civil service and they had no tradition of fearless independence to guide their instincts. . . ."

The fear is that the same thing will happen in South Africa if magistrates are appointed. The rule of law has already been badly eroded in South Africa. Laws have been passed enabling the imprisonment of people with no recourse to the courts whatsoever; others have been passed and made retroactive. Till now, however, there has been a tradition of independent judges. This is now threatened. (Star, Johannesburg, August 14 and 28)

TOP DOCTOR QUILTS BECAUSE OF APARTHEID

Dr. Stewart Truswell, a Groote Schuur medical lecturer and specialist, will leave South Africa permanently because "he is totally opposed to the Nationalist Government's doctrine of apartheid." He said his resolution to leave dated back to when the medical school lost the fight over Dr. Bill Hoffenberg's banning and his subsequent departure on an exit visa in March, 1968. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, July 25, 1971)

PROBLEMS WITH THE PRESS

The night editor of the Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), Mr. Benjamin Pogrund, has been charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. Mr. Pogrund is charged with having taken certain documents from the police. (East African Standard, Nairobi, July 28, 1971)

A New York Times correspondent has told his editor that "It is not possible for any frank speaking journalist to remain for long here [South Africa] and therefore I recommend that we give up reopening our South African office." (Standard of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam, July 27, 1971). The correspondent left South Africa and is known to be disgusted with the way South Africa controls the foreign press.

South Africa prides itself on having a free press and the English press does print a significant amount of criticism of the Government. However, that criticism is within limits and reporting is selective. For example, there has been far greater coverage of the trial of the Anglican Dean, the Rev. French-Beytagh, than there has been of the 14 Unity Movement members on trial in Pietermaritzburg. Both trials continue.

ANC LEAFLET BOMBS

Thousands of pamphlets printed by the African National Congress were scattered in South Africa's major cities on August 10. They were distributed by time bombs at African bus and railway terminals in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth. A similar distribution took place in August a year ago. This year the text of the pamphlets was in Zulu and Xhosa. Last year some were in English. The text of the pamphlets was not published in the press. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, August 11, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, August 14, 1971)

INSIDE NAMIBIA

NAMIBIANS CONTINUE TO RESPOND TO WORLD COURT DECISION

In June, the International Court at the Hague ruled that South Africa is occupying Namibia illegally and that it should end its administration at once. In the last issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA we began to report the responses to that ruling. The only major statements against the ruling coming from Africans in Namibia were made by such puppet leaders as Ushona Shiimi of Ovamboland and David Goreseb of the Damara. Both of these statements have since been repudiated by groups that claim to be more genuinely representative of the people.

Probably the most significant responses to the Court decision have come from church groups. The open letter to South African Prime Minister John Vorster that was written by the leaders of two Lutheran groups in Namibia reportedly represents almost 300,000 people. This letter condemns the lack of human rights for nonwhites in Namibia, and it calls for independence for the whole territory in cooperation with the United Nations. In August, the two leaders, Pastor Paulus Gowaseb and Bishop Leonard Auala (the Christian Science Monitor referred to Auala as "the most powerful and highly respected man in Ovamboland"), met with South African Prime Minister John Vorster. The meeting was held in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, and it lasted 3-1/4 hours. Apparently this was much longer than the Prime Minister had expected since he had scheduled another meeting with Chief Shiimi and other Ovambo leaders; and they were left waiting for an hour. No statements were made by either the churchmen or Vorster after the meeting.

However, this action of the Evangelical Lutheran leaders did evoke reactions from other church groups in South West Africa. Another Lutheran group, the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, disassociated itself from their stand; the (white) Anglican Bishop of Damaraland supported it; and two (white) Catholic bishops supported the letter only "in so far as it is concerned with human relationships in South West Africa." That is, they did not support the demand for freedom or the request for help from the United Nations.

Meanwhile, other events in Namibia also indicate a renewed sense of hope and determination within certain groups. In Katutura, the African location of Windhoek, hundreds of leaflets calling on people not to cooperate with Chief Shiimi have been distributed. And due to demonstrations and a student boycott, a new showpiece school in Oshakati Ovamboland was formally opened and then mysteriously closed. No details were available about the school's closing because the press was denied permission to enter Ovamboland; but the demonstration that preceded the school's opening and closing consisted of over 500 students and 1,000 townspeople. Through written petitions and placards, the group was asking for freedom; for an end to arbitrary removal of people from their homes, imprisonment without trial, discrimination in salaries, and arbitrary dismissal of people from work. The largest banner in the demonstration expressed support for the United Nations.

The World Court decision is due to go before the Security Council for discussion as to implementation in the end of September. (Christian Science Monitor, August 12; Star, Johannesburg, August 21; Advertiser, Windhoek, July 26, August 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 26, 1971.)

800 NAMIBIANS ARRESTED IN AUGUST

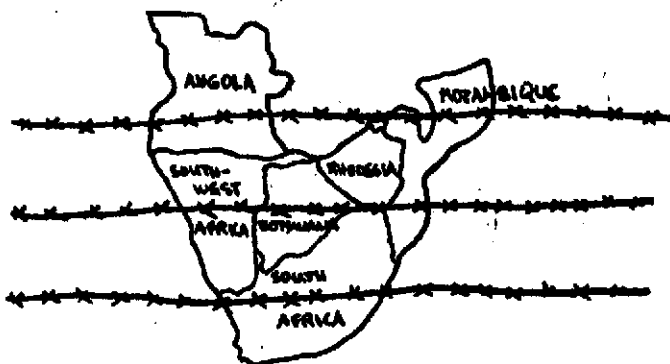
According to a SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) spokesman, 800 Namibians were arrested in August as a result of a strike at the Metal Box Company in Walvis Bay. This was a result of a series of strikes that began early this year. (Standard of Tanzania, August 18, 1971)

At the same time South Africa was taking pains to polish up its image as benefactor of the territory by announcing an intensified development program for Namibia's third Bantustan. According to Mr. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration, the new development program will ensure "further phenomenal progress in the native homelands of South West Africa." It will provide advances in economic development, agriculture, infrastructure, education, health, and constitutional development (enhancing the power of the puppet Bantu regimes).

In Damaraland an interim administration body will be headed by the paramount chief of the Damaras, Mr. David Goreseb. This provisional body is to function for two years or until it becomes an elected body. (Star, Johannesburg, August 9 and September 4, 1971)

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED BY SWANUF

In early September, Mburumba Kerina of SWANUF (South West African National United Front) called a press conference in New York in which he reported that after secret meetings in Namibia and other meetings among Namibians in East Africa a decision had been made to form a provisional government in exile. The government headquarters would be somewhere in Africa and would consist of a Prime Minister's council of three assisted by commissions that would draw up a constitution and deal with problems of race relations, foreign investments, and defense. The government would seek to gain international recognition and representation, would relate to U.N. activities and the problems of education for Africans. SWANUS has claimed significant organization in Namibia. It is not recognized by the O.A.U. and to date there has been no official response from the U.N. to the formation of the provisional government.



THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

PORTUGUESE WORRIED ABOUT PAIGC

Bruce Loudon, Lisbon correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, reported on August 5, 1971 that PAIGC is "attacking on an unprecedentedly big scale . . . more as a conventional army. . . . They use vehicles, possibly even armored cars, sometimes inside Portuguese territory, in place of their former bicycles and donkeys. . . the guerrillas are equipped with the finest Kalashnikov rifles, bazookas, rockets, grenade launchers, and even mortars."

The Portuguese admit the guerrillas have fired rockets into Bissau itself. The PAIGC says its men "have entered Bissau and Mansaba, another administrative center . . . rumors in high places . . . suggest buildings were indeed destroyed in Bissau and as many as 20 people killed."

PORTUGUESE POLITICAL ARRESTS JUMP

The National Commission for Aid to Political Prisoners in Lisbon reported September 1, 1971 that between January and August 15 this year the number of political prisoners, both serving sentences and under preventive detention had jumped from 79 to 160, with 70 serving sentences and 90 under preventive detention at the date of the report. (New York Times, September 2, 1971) Many of those arrested have been trade union people and demonstrations and strikes have followed in several cases this summer, notably among bank clerks, 1,500 of whom were reported to have marched, demonstrated, battled with police on several occasions in late July. (Financial Times, London, and Le Mond, Paris, July 20-29, 1971)



Villagers and cadres of the PAIGC talk over plans in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau. (LNS, 2/10/71)

U.N. TEAMS INVESTIGATE PORTUGUESE INCURSIONS IN SENEGAL AND GUINEA-CONAKRY

On July 28, 1971 a United Nations Security Council Commission arrived in Senegal to investigate charges of aggression by Portugal. There it met various villagers wounded in attacks from Guinea-Bissau since the beginning of the year, interrogated a black Portuguese army mercenary named Manga Kante who had deserted the Portuguese army, and visited the Senegalese village of Bousanoum that was shelled from Guinea-Bissau just a few days before the arrival of the team in the country. The commission saw shell holes, shell fragments, bullet marks, captured arms, ammunition and explosives, and photographs of a captured Portuguese soldier and of Senegalese army vehicles blown up by mines. Portugal refused permission to the U.N. team to cross the border to the Guinea-Bissau side. The commission is composed of members from Nicaragua, Belgium, Burundi, Japan, Poland, and Syria. (From The Standard, Tanzania, and The Nationalist, Tanzania, July 20-31, 1971)

On August 3, 1971 the United Nations Security Council decided to send a team to Guinea-Conakry to investigate charges that Portugal planned to attack it from neighboring "Portuguese" Guinea. In a written request, President Sekou Toure said that Guinea security forces on the previous day monitored conversations between "foreign navies and staffs of two units of the colonial Portuguese army mentioning an imminent military aggression against Guinea." (Evening Star, Johannesburg, August 4, 1971) On August 5, the mission was indefinitely postponed at the request of President Toure. (New York Times, August 6, 1971) On August 26 the team was finally selected and cleared to go to Conakry. It consists of members from Argentina and Syria, accompanied by members of the U.N. secretariat. (Guardian, London, August 27, 1971) Portugal said both the Senegalese and Guinea charges were without foundation.

EXTREME SECURITY MEASURES IN CABORA BASSA AREA

On May 8, the West German journal *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* reported that because of liberation movement attacks on the Tete-Songo road, security measures for the foreign technicians working at the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique were to be increased. A defense circle in a radius of nine miles was being built, while traffic on the 62-mile road between Songo and Tete moves only with military escort. A special pass is required for technicians and their families to leave camp and a 7 p.m. curfew was imposed.

In July three Europeans of Portuguese citizenship were arrested in Mozambique concerning the explosion on board the ship *Angoche* off the Mozambique coast in April. The incident has resulted in intensive security checks by Portuguese authorities on the more than 1,000 European workers and their families at the Cabora Bassa dam site, in an attempt to discover any possible further infiltration of alleged members of Armed Revolutionary Action among white contract workers on the site. The A.R.A. claimed responsibility for the *Angoche* event and the Portuguese claim the three men arrested have admitted to being members of the A.R.A. (Sunday Telegraph, London, August 1, 1971)

PORTUGUESE TERRORIZE AND MASSACRE MOZAMBIKAN PEASANTS

FRELIMO activity south of the Zambezi River and closer to the Cabora Bassa dam has brought intense Portuguese reprisals. On both sides of the river thousands of leaflets have been dropped on villages warning that

anybody trying to cross the river will be killed since the Portuguese army cannot distinguish between "bandits" (guerrillas) and the people. Furthermore, it warns that the Portuguese will be burning all of the boats it finds. (Sunday Times, Tanzania, July 18, 1971)

On August 12, 1971 the Standard (Tanzania) reported that following the death of three Rhodesians inside Mozambique in April, the Portuguese have massacred dozens of unarmed villagers in the area. Missionaries who protested the atrocities are reported to have been told by the Portuguese that reprisals would continue as long as FRELIMO was active in the area. Villages mentioned as affected during May included Changwa, Kapinga, Catacha, Mahanda, Antonio, Caponda, and Canhembenhema, the last two being completely destroyed by the troops. Information, so far, is from FRELIMO military leaders of the Tete province who plan to produce "indisputable, documentary evidence" of their claims soon.

PORTUGUESE LOSE AIRCRAFT

A FRELIMO communique reports that on July 14 a FRELIMO unit shot down a helicopter in the region of Mueda in Cabo Delgado Province. The helicopter was a French-built Sud Abiation Alouette 3, able to carry about nine people, built for civilian use but carrying soldiers, all of whom were reported killed. (Standard, Tanzania, August 14, 1971)

On July 16, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Second Vice President of Tanzania and also Defense Minister, disclosed in Parliament that the Tanzanian Peoples Defense Forces had shot down one Portuguese air force plane on the southern borders of Tanzania.

400 NEW MOZAMBIQUE SETTLERS?

Barclays Overseas Survey 1971 reports that in Mozambique a new settlement is being prepared at Lioma, near Gurue, for the accommodation of some 400 new families, mostly from Madeira.

This Barclays annual, supplemented by their monthly 1971 issues of *Barclays Overseas Review*, indicates Portuguese activity in the extension of the power network



A BAS LE COLONIALISME PORTUGAIS!

DOWN WITH PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM!

- A poster of the liberation movement

in Mozambique beyond the Cabora Bassa scheme. For instance, the purchase of a generator and construction of high and low tension networks and electric plants in Montepuez; the opening of contract works for construction of Masingir Dam in the Elephants River, a tributary of the Limpopo; a new high-tension line being built from the Mavuzi river to Beira; a substation at Dondo being built; a hydroelectric plant already in operation at Alto Molocue. Mozambique is apparently forging ahead and waiting to see if the Cabora Bassa dam will in reality be completed.

MPLA SUCCESSES

The Tanzania Standard of August 14, 1971 reported that on August 7 in Nucuto in the north of Cabinda, MPLA "wiped out a Portuguese army patrol of about 30 soldiers" and seized "a large stock of arms and ammunition of Israeli origin." The same paper on August 5 reported that from January to May, 1971 MPLA reported killing 335 enemy and wounding 243 in major operations. During the same period the Portuguese reportedly bombed cultivated areas intensively with herbicides and defoliants—and also bombed their own Kalunda barracks, killing 50, and then blamed Zambia for the incident. In June and July the Portuguese army is said to have evacuated Lwatamba Barracks in the Luzo municipality, and Karipande Barracks in the Kazombo municipality, being no longer able to defend them.

Two Dutch journalists and filmmakers on their return to Zambia from inside Angola with MPLA, reported that "Weapons were better than we expected. The food situation is better than most movements and the supplies of bullets are even better than were those of Biafran soldiers." The journalist who made the comment had visited Nigeria during the civil war and been with guerrillas in Chad. (Times of Zambia, Lusaka, June 17, 1971)

MPLA Visits China and North Korea

A five-member delegation of MPLA, headed by President Agostinho Neto, arrived in Peking July 24 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese African People's Friendship Association. On August 3, Mr. Neto met with Premier Chou En-lai and Chief of General Staff Huang Yung-sheng. (Agence France Presse)

On August 7, the MPLA delegation was in North Korea attending functions of the North Korean Workers' Party. North Korean Vice Premier Kim Il Sung indicated his country's active support for MPLA. (Standard, Tanzania, August 11, 1971)

The "Diamang" Army

The Frankfurter Rundschau (West Germany) of July 3, 1971 carried a report by Josef Raab that Diamang, which currently has the monopoly on Angolan diamonds, reportedly includes about 100 million escudos (\$3 million) for "military purposes" in its annual budget. For the protection of its territories in northeast Angola, it uses its own forces and secret police, and rarely allows visitors into the area. In particular, Mr. Raab asserts that Diamang supports approximately 300 soldiers originally from the Katanga province in nearby Congo (Kinshasa), well-armed and well-trained, and prepared to march on Katanga if the Congo should ever let Angolan guerrillas enter the country in the Diamang area.

Mr. Raab was first given permission to visit Verissimo Sarmiento, the town where the Katangese supposedly stay, but permission was withdrawn by the Governor of Angola, with this explanation by a Portuguese Colonel Ilharco, "You know, we wish to maintain good

relationships with Kinshasa. If now we let a representative of the foreign press visit Verissimo Sarmiento who reports the existence of 300 Katangese under arms—supplied by us—then we can no longer officially deny this."

NOTES ON GRAE IN ANGOLA

Actualites No. 3, published by GRAE in March, 1971 reports a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the struggle in Angola. The speech by GRAE President M. Holden Roberto, besides affirming strength and determination to continue, cites a quote allegedly first spoken by the head of the armed forces (Portuguese) in Angola: "From time immemorial until now, troops using classical methods have never been able to overcome guerrillas. Here are some examples: The famous army of Napoleon was not able to conquer guerrillas in the Peninsula; the Germans, in spite of using seven division in Yugoslavia, were not able to dominate the guerrillas of Tito. They committed the error, among others, of going back to mass punitive expeditions against the people. The French lost Indochina and Algeria, in spite of having faced only a small part of the population. Finally the extraordinary potential of the Americans has not been able to crush the Vietnamese guerrillas; the victories they have experienced since 1967 have served principally to unify the direction of the war and modify their style of operation."

The same publication presents 7 pages of photos allegedly showing armed guerrillas of ALNA, the military wing of GRAE, in action in Angola, ambushing several Portuguese vehicles, and capturing a Portuguese soldier named Joaquim Alberto Jorge Franco during February, 1971.

SOIL SCIENCE MAJOR EXAMINES CROPS DESTROYED BY HERBICIDES

An Angolan, Luciano Kassoma, returning from studies abroad to join UNITA sent out a letter/report dated April 5, 1971 detailing his return and sense of strength and correct direction of the movement he is joining. His training was in Soil Science and his notes on the defoliants and herbicides which the Portuguese have sprayed on the people's crops are of particular interest. He indicates that the people have learned that the chemicals only gradually descend the plants to the roots, and that the plants can be saved if the tops are cut off immediately after spraying occurs. The process observed by the people was as follows: "After 24 hours the foliage begins to wither and turn brown. Each leaf first elongated, then curled and finally wilted. By the end of the week the leaves fell off the trees. Starting from the top, gradually the chemicals penetrated further down. In the second week, the herbicides destroyed the whole plant and reached the cassava tubers. The toxicity caused irritation to the skin, and those who came into contact during the cutting it was necessary to flush the eyes for twenty minutes after. People, who for reasons of economy, tried to eat the tubers which had been dug out, suffered from constant, heavy thirsting for two to three days, but none of them was permanently injured. . . . I came to the conclusion that the chemicals used were either Formula 40R which contains alkonomaline salt of 2, 4-D, or dimethylarsenic acid with 54.29 percent arsenic. . . . The surviving plants are stronger than the normal ones."

Mr. Humbarari (head of the Zambian Information and Tourist Center for Western Europe which was recently asked to leave its Rome headquarters), and Mr. Muhammed Sahnoun, Assistant Secretary of the O.A.U. announced at a press conference in London that the Portuguese and South African air forces were destroying manioc and other crops in Angola. Presenting samples of

8
manioc ruined by herbicides, the Sunday Times took up the offer by the men to have the specimen chemically analyzed. The spokesmen cited four different kinds of herbicides being sprayed in Angola, including Dow Chemical's picloram. The information will be submitted to the U.N. Stockholm Conference on Human Environment. South Africa's Ministry of Defense has denied the role of his air force in chemical warfare in Angola. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 9, 1971)

MORE ON U.S. SALE OF BOEING 707'S TO PORTUGAL

The American Committee on Africa received a single reply from the State Department to letters addressed in July to Mr. David D. Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State, and Secretary of State William Rogers, protesting the sale of two Boeing 707 jetliners to Lisbon for troop transport. The response, dated August 19, 1971, is as follows:

"First, let me assure you that the sale of the two Boeings to Portugal does not reflect a change in the United States arms embargo policy. We have been selling Boeing 707 aircraft to Portugal for some years, and that country relies primarily on American civil aircraft for its air services, including flights to and from Africa.

"The decision to license the sale of Boeing 707's to the Portuguese Directorate General of Civil Aviation was made after careful examination of the requirements of the United States embargo on sale or shipment of arms and military equipment for use in Portuguese Africa. On the basis of this examination, the aircraft were not deemed to fall within the terms of the embargo, as they were neither arms nor military aircraft. The aircraft are civilian in type and were sold to a civilian agency of the Portuguese

Government. Accordingly, the only restriction imposed on the sale was the standard one requiring prior U.S. approval before the aircraft could be resold to a third country."

CONGRESSMEN DELLUMS AND BINGHAM HIT MILITARY AID TO PORTUGAL

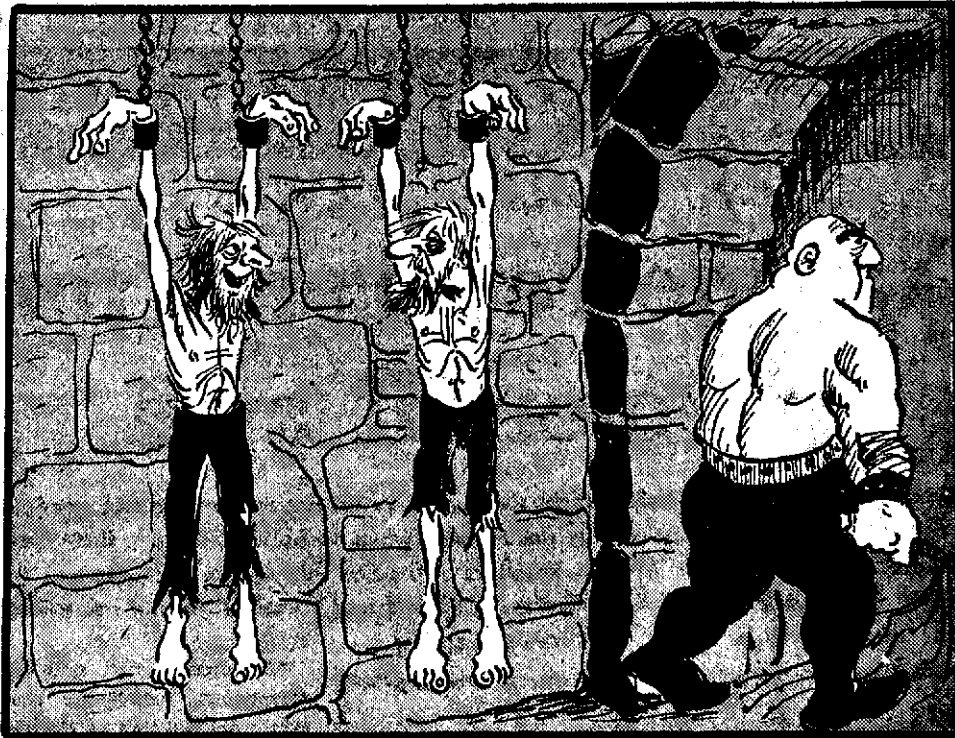
Representatives Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) and Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.) will sponsor an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act intended to remove Portuguese assistance allocations because of Lisbon's use of such aid in conducting the colonial wars in Africa. (Washington Notes on Africa, ACOA, August, 1971)

U.S. ASTRONAUTS VISIT LISBON AND MOZAMBIQUE

Astronauts Stuart Roosa and James Lovell were in Lisbon in August, gave a press conference on August 12, and then went to Mozambique for a two-week hunting and sight-seeing safari in Manica and Sofala.

MALAWI TURNS OVER PATROL BOATS TO PORTUGUESE COMMAND

Two patrol boats on Lake Malawi (known in Mozambique as Lake Niassa) have been seconded by Malawi to Portuguese naval officers to watch activity around the 360-mile lake both by FRELIMO and by possible opponents of Malawi's President Banda. (Guardian, London, August 19, 1971) In September, President Banda will visit Mozambique for the inauguration of the new rail link between the two countries and hopes to visit Cabora Bassa. (Noticias de Portugal, July 17, 1971)



"I'm glad he explained that: This is not a punishment; it's to keep us out of mischief."

MOZAMBIQUE

9

FEATURE ARTICLE

FRELIMO—September 25—Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

by Barbara Barnes

FRELIMO VICTORY

"A MANGO DOES NOT BECOME A GREAT TREE IN ITS FIRST DAY, BUT LIKE A GROWING MANGO TREE, WE ARE DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE SOIL THAT IS OUR PEOPLE, AND THE MASSES ARE NOW TASTING THE FIRST FRUITS" - SAMORA MACHEL

SEPT. 25, 1970

FRELIMO -- Sept. 25, 1971

On September 25, 1964 FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front, launched its first armed attack against Portuguese military outposts in Cabo Delgado province in Northern Mozambique. Today, seven years later, FRELIMO controls more than one-fifth of their country (which is about the size of California), and has operations going in the rest. For the one million people now living in liberated Mozambique, all energies are directed toward defeating the Portuguese government and its allies, and reconstructing their own society.

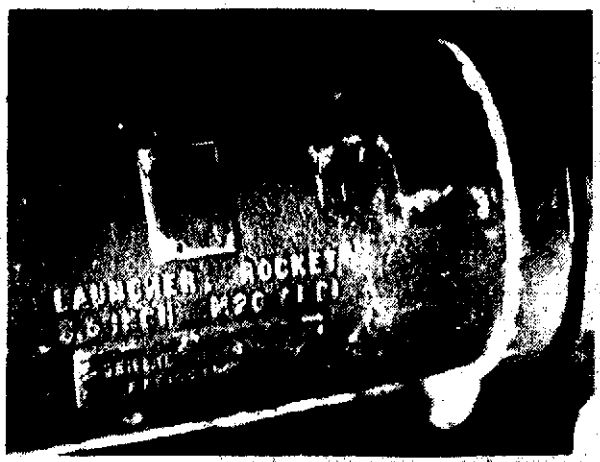
These goals will be extremely difficult to achieve. The Portuguese, Rhodesian, and South African governments are united in their determination to maintain a white-ruled Southern Africa. The U.S. government's economic and strategic interests in Southern Africa are also better served by the existing regimes than they would be under Black African majority rule. But the people of Mozambique are totally dedicated to their struggle for independence. Just as the National Liberation Fronts in Southeast Asia have been able to sustain themselves despite overwhelming odds, so might FRELIMO be able to survive, even though powerful forces are opposing them.

Portugal has a 500-year history in Africa with colonies in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau and one of the worst records of any of the imperial powers for mistreating the local population. Only .08 percent of the Mozambicans and .7 percent of the Angolans (when added together still totalling less than 1 percent!) have obtained the status of citizen in their own countries; and, to do that, they have been forced to reject their African heritage and to embrace Portuguese cultural values and lifestyles.

Portugal is a poor country, illiteracy is 40 percent and the per capita income is the lowest in Europe. The government has always looked to the colonies as a primary source of wealth for the nation; but, without capital, Portugal has not been able to exploit their to the fullest extent.

In the last decade, however, Portugal has encouraged corporations from the United States and Europe to invest in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. The Caetano government's hope is that with enough Western money committed to the colonies, western powers will continue to support Portuguese rule there. (A similar strategy has long been employed by South Africa where many of the major American corporations—General Motors, Ford, IBM, General Electric, just to name a few—are fully entrenched under the apartheid system.) The Portuguese government also considers an increase in economic activity in the colonies as a possible means of winning some of the Africans back to its side. Taxes and royalties which the Portuguese collect from the international corporations help to finance the colonial wars as well.

This is important because opposition to the wars is increasing within Portugal. 160,000 Portuguese troops are stationed in the colonies, and almost half the national budget goes for defense. Military service has been extended to four years. Morale within the Army is low and Portuguese soldiers, like many American soldiers in Viet Nam, spend much of their time avoiding combat. Some reports estimate as many as a half million Portuguese have deserted into France to avoid serving in Portugal's African wars. FRELIMO's policy of clemency to all deserters and leniency with prisoners increases their unwillingness to fight.



The above and below pictures are of captured N.A.T.O. arms which were taken by the liberation forces in the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique.

Frelimo

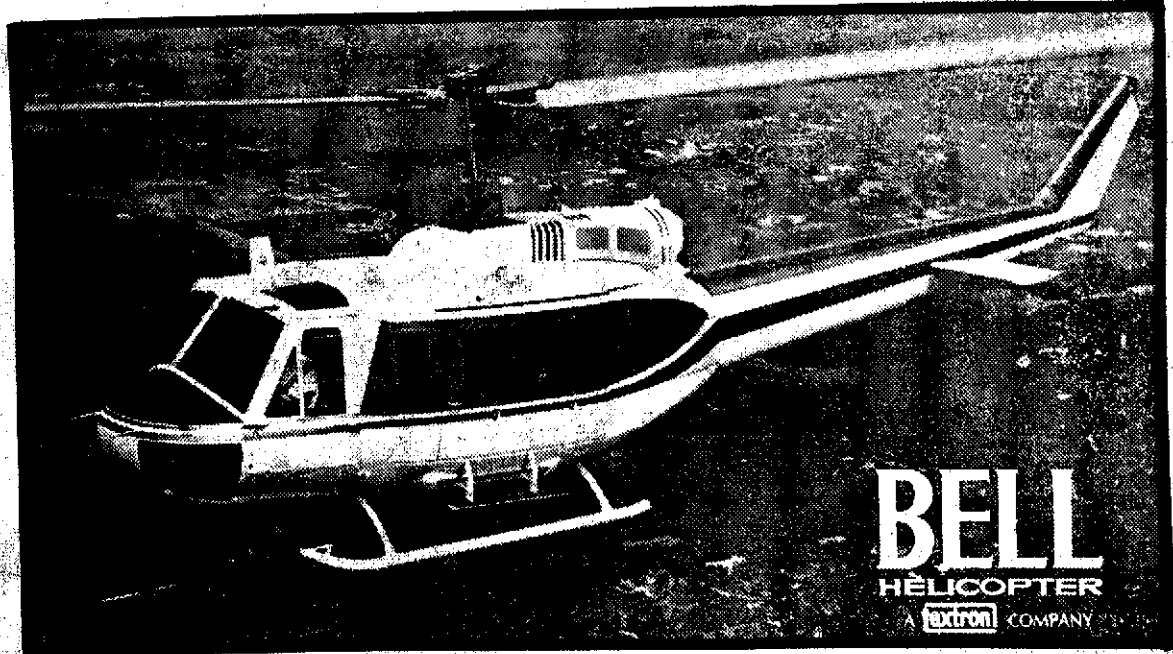
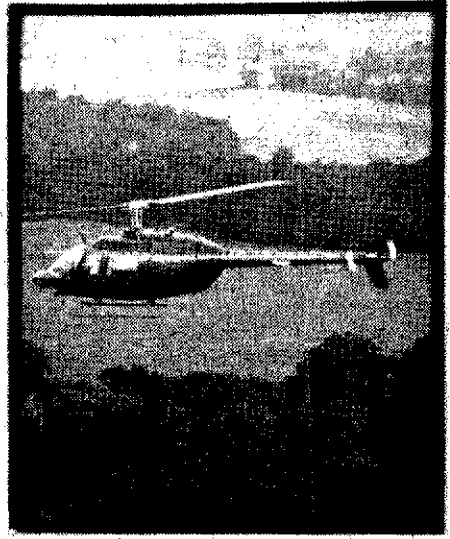
Portugal receives most of her military equipment as a member of NATO. According to NATO regulations, these resources are to be used only for the defense of Western Europe and the Mediterranean, but NATO markings on planes and napalm canisters have been discovered in the colonies.



The United States government has refused to acknowledge Portugal's illegal use of NATO munitions in Africa or to take any action opposing Portuguese colonial rule. They claim that to work against Portugal's interests in Africa would bring about a split with Portugal, weakening NATO and jeopardizing America's strategic need for a major military base on the Portuguese Azores Islands. (See the section on U.S. sale of Boeing 707's to Portugal in this issue.)

The export from the United States of napalm and herbicides to Portugal is increasing while at the same time the use of napalm and herbicides by the Portuguese in the colonies is going up. Ten years ago the United Nations requested member states not to sell military weapons to Portugal. A herbicides marking has been identified as the Dow Chemical Company brand by MPLA, a major liberation group in Angola, and exhibited as evidence of American violation of the U.N. resolution and of support for the Portuguese war effort.

The sale of helicopters to the Portuguese in early 1971 by the Bell Helicopter Company in Texas for delivery in Tete province of Mozambique, the area of the heaviest fighting at this time, is considered another violation. Bell spokesmen have argued that the helicopters are for use in building the dam at Cabora Bassa. But there would be no way to stop the Portuguese from using the helicopters militarily.



BELL
 HELICOPTER
 A **Textron** COMPANY

The Cabora Bassa dam scheme is the largest economic development project in Mozambique. With it the Portuguese colonialists will increase their economic links with their racist neighbors, Rhodesia and South Africa. This dam, which will be almost twice the size of the Aswan in Egypt, will provide energy for all the countries of Southern Africa and power to develop industry in Tete province. The newly-controlled water system will also greatly increase the agricultural potential of the surrounding land. Portugal hopes to attract one million white settlers from Europe and Southern Africa to live in Tete. FRELIMO is against the Cabora Bassa project and views these settlers as a human barrier being established to oppose them.

As FRELIMO fighters have become more active in Tete, especially south of the Zambezi River, the repressive tactics of the Portuguese have increased. Portuguese military officials have now declared that any African crossing the river in either direction is subject to being shot. By the end of this year, the Portuguese intend to move 85,000 Africans from Tete into strategic hamlets, similar to those created by the United States in South Viet Nam.

It is no longer a question of winning the hearts and minds of the people. To the Portuguese and their allies in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the rest of the world, the aim is to keep control over a vast area of land and to maintain a system that allows them to exploit its resources and its people. Rhodesia already has troops in Tete province and South Africa has sent in military and economic advisers. Portuguese military personnel have also been trained in the United States.

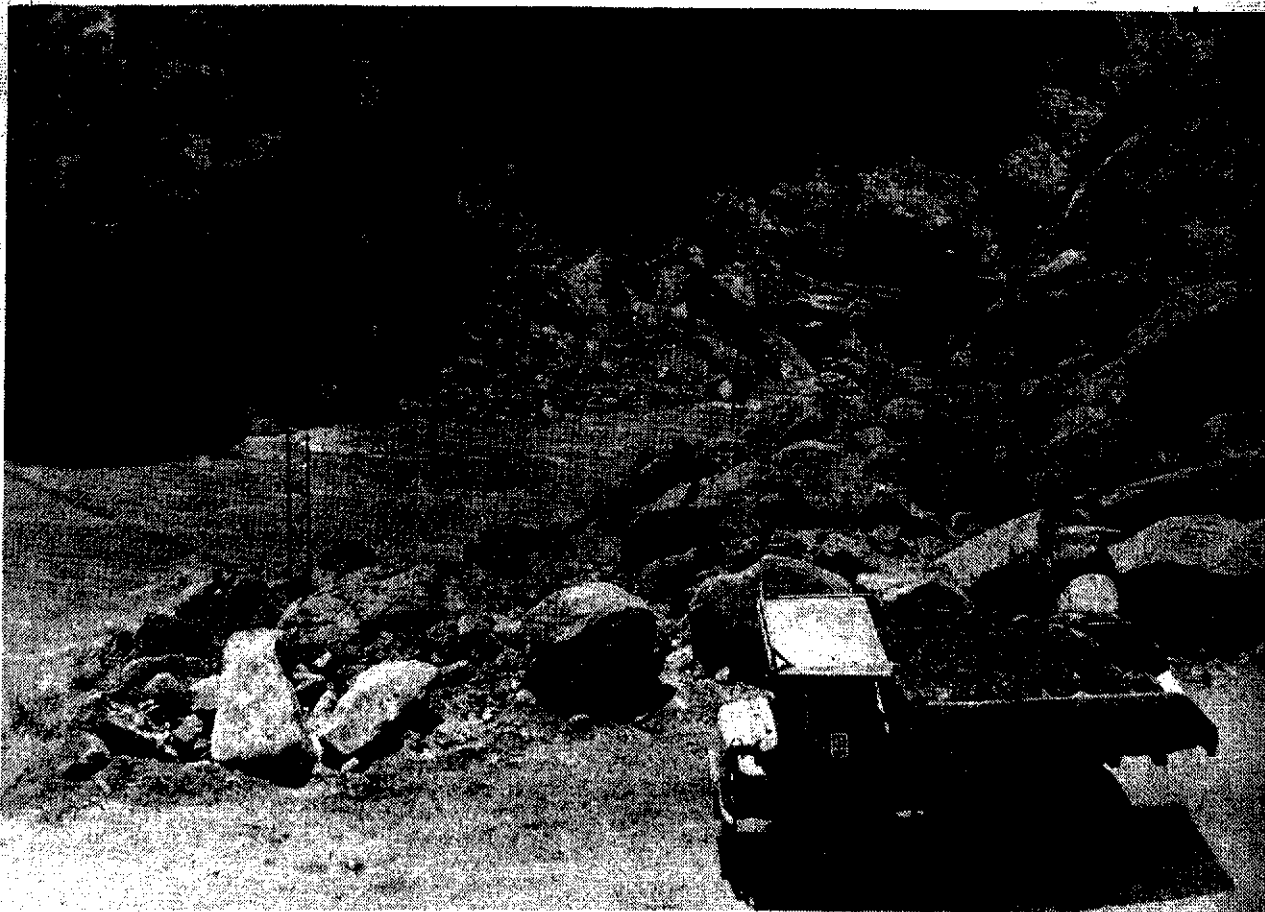
South Africa and Rhodesia will increase their support as the military situation requires, for it is inconceivable they would allow a FRELIMO government to gain control

over all of Mozambique. Such a victory would be a major step toward the liberation of Southern Africa from white racist domination. But as South Africa and Rhodesia are forced to spread their military resources over a larger area, they too will become vulnerable to attacks from within. This is the hope of the liberation groups in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa who view their efforts as part of a common struggle.

Recently I interviewed some FRELIMO members and talked with journalists who had observed the work of FRELIMO inside Mozambique. I was also among a small group of American supporters of FRELIMO who met with Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, and with a member of the Central Committee, in their offices in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He described the work of FRELIMO in clear and committed terms. The vitality and warmth in his face and the force of his personality were inspiring, and I could easily imagine him conversing with peasants and freedom fighters, explaining the causes of their hardships and the steps FRELIMO was taking to improve conditions.

"Transforming society within Mozambique is the fundamental goal of our struggle," he told us. "Breaking down the structures and remnants of colonialism is our first task. When FRELIMO goes into an area, we talk with the people about their problems. The most obvious are the high taxes and forced labor which the Portuguese extract from them. But there is also religion. The Portuguese taught people to believe in supernatural forces and to reject science, taking away their initiative and confidence in their own efforts. Our aim is to create a dignity and personality among our people and to show that progress comes as a result of our own hard work."

With the expulsion of the Portuguese in the liberated areas, FRELIMO has taken over responsibility for



The site where the Cabora Bassa dam is being built. David Lomax, Camera-Press London

education, health, agriculture, and commerce as well as defense. In the liberated areas local and provincial councils have been set up that link to a FRELIMO Central Committee. Mass village meetings are a frequent method for discussions between the FRELIMO leadership and the people. Great emphasis is given to the need for popular participation within FRELIMO to ensure active support in the struggle against the Portuguese.

Education is considered one task of the revolution. Great care is taken to break down the colonial and western idea that an educated person is privileged and deserves a higher standard of living than an uneducated person. Many times during our discussion, Machel referred to FRELIMO's belief that knowledge is only valuable when it can be shaped and used for the collective good. He defined an educated Mozambican as "one who understood the interests and needs of his people and knew best how to serve them."

This philosophy was evident at a Secondary School we visited at a FRELIMO Center in Bagámoyo, Tanzania. Fifty-two students are taking a four-year program which combines academic with agricultural and manual training. The rigorous schedule includes 46 hours a week of classes, agricultural work and duties within the school. Also for at least two months each year the students return to Mozambique so they will not become too removed from the war efforts.

In addition to the Secondary School at Bagamoyo, there is a program for upgrading primary school teachers. Training courses in administrative techniques, commerce, and cooperative management and public information are scheduled for the future.

More children attend primary school in liberated Mozambique than did under Portuguese control. Their curriculum has been changed to include training in agriculture and military skills as well as academic subjects. The aim is to integrate academic skills with practical training to ensure the students will be prepared to contribute actively to FRELIMO when they finish. The schools are self-sufficient except for textbooks and writing supplies. Food is grown by the students, and if there is a surplus, it is exchanged or sold for other necessary equipment.

Providing adequate health care is one of FRELIMO's more difficult tasks. Preventive health services and hospitals were practically nonexistent under the Portuguese. Beyond that, injuries caused by the war, both to the fighters and to those who are victims of Portuguese bombs and napalm, have increased the need for health personnel and facilities. There is a range of health stations, from the simple first-aid post to rural hospitals inside Mozambique. The main FRELIMO hospital is just over the border in Mtwara, Tanzania. FRELIMO has no Mozambican doctors and there is not enough trained medical staff, but recently a team of Italian doctors and nurses arrived at Mtwara to work in the hospital and to train health workers.

In the field of agriculture, there has been a shift away from mainly producing crops for export—cotton, sisal, and cashew nuts—to growing more food for internal consumption. Commercial links with the outside, which used to be controlled by the Portuguese, are now being developed through Tanzania. Cashew nuts are already being exported.

Agricultural cooperatives have been formed for the production and distribution of food. Part of the crop is consumed locally and the rest exchanged to satisfy other basic needs. Individual farming is being phased out,



Photo from Mozambique Revolution

"... We have always attached such great importance to education because, in the first place, it is essential for the development of our struggle, since the involvement and support of the population increase as their understanding of the situation grows; in the second place, a future independent Mozambique will be in very grave need of educated citizens to lead the way in development."

The Struggle for Mozambique
Eduardo Mondlane

Machel said, so that the development and use of resources can be more efficiently and effectively controlled in the interest of achieving independence.

FRELIMO has a 20,000-person army. Journalists who have travelled with them inside Mozambique have been extremely impressed by the ease with which they relate to the people. The fighters have been trained never to take food or supplies from peasants without paying. But most of the time, it is reported, villagers give freely of their food and are eager to have fighters stay with them. Each village also has its own militia for self defense.

FRELIMO has always stressed that educational training, health service, food production, military actions, transportation, or any other support activities, are all equally important to the defeat of the Portuguese. This attitude has helped to prevent the development of elites within FRELIMO ranks, I was told, and has increased the feeling of solidarity among the people.

The level of guerrilla activity and military combat in Southern Africa will steadily increase in the years to come. As fighting by both sides becomes more intense, American support through economic investments, arms sales, and military advice are likely to increase. Attempts may even be made to persuade the Portuguese to establish a Black puppet regime in Mozambique that will oppose

FRELIMO and pledge noncooperation with any groups working to overthrow the present Rhodesian and South African governments.

Campaigns to assist the liberation movements in Southern Africa are growing in the U.S. Material and financial contributions are being collected, but, more important, the role of the corporations, the nature of American economic aid, and the extent of U.S. military assistance are being researched and reported. For only if the American people know what our government's involvement in Southern Africa is, can there be an effective campaign against it. And keeping the United States out of Southern Africa will help prevent what has happened in Indochina from occurring once again.

SPORTS AND CULTURE

CRICKET TOUR CANCELLED

The Australian Cricket Board of Control has cancelled the forthcoming tour of Australia by an all-white South African cricket team because of the difficulty of protecting the team from anti-apartheid demonstrators. The South African Minister of Sport branded the Australian action as a "surrender to anarchy and threats." (The New York Times, September 9, 1971)

The cancellation came in the wake of a chaotic tour by a party of white South African rugby players. Practically every game on that tour was disrupted by demonstrators, while off the field the team was forced into virtual seclusion by groups of vigilant demonstrators. In Queensland, the state government declared a state of emergency and curtailed all civil liberties in order to protect the South Africans during their two-day stay in that state.

The Australian Government transported the team from state to state in air force planes, as all commercial groups refused to transport the team in accordance with a ban on assisting the South Africans imposed by the Australian Trade Union Council. In all, 675 demonstrators were arrested during the tour and the cost to the taxpayer in providing police protection for the tourists was put at over \$2 million. (Boston Globe, August 8, 1971, and East African Standard, August 10, 1971)

FURTHER CANCELLED TOURS

The South African women's hockey tour of New Zealand has been cancelled. The action was taken by the South African women's hockey association because "it would obviously not have been safe for the girls to have gone there." (Guardian, London, July 20, 1971)

A six-week tour of South Africa by a team of Canadian badminton players has been cancelled because the tour "was not in Canada's best interests," according to the President of the Canadian Badminton Association. (Contrast, July 5, 1971)

The West German foreign ministry has refused to grant visas to a team of black and white athletes from Rhodesia. The ban was imposed in terms of U.N. resolutions barring the admission to member nations of Rhodesian passport holders. (Guardian, London, June 11, 1971)

The American softball association has withdrawn an invitation to a South African softball team to visit the United States in retaliation for the refusal of the South African Government to allow a women's college team to compete in South Africa. The college team included two black players. (Atlanta Journal, June 20, 1971)

BUT SOME GAMES CONTINUE

After much confusion, it appears that Lee Elder, one of the few black professionals on the U.S. golf circuit, will shortly visit South Africa at the invitation of Gary Player.

Ignoring the mounting protests against South Africa's racial policies and attempts to expel the country from the international sports arena, a six-member U.S. badminton team toured South Africa in August and played six international games against an all-white South African team.

The International Lawn Tennis Federation is also ignoring the boycott movement since at its July meeting it decided that the 1972 Federation Cup games (women's equivalent of the Davis Cup) would be played in South Africa. South African officials were naturally delighted—one commented, "I'm sure it means we are on our way back into the Davis Cup." South Africa was suspended from the Davis Cup competition in 1969. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)

TENNIS TOURNAMENTS DISRUPTED

The opening day of the Wimbledon Tennis Championships in London were disrupted by six anti-apartheid demonstrators who invaded the court during a match involving South African Cliff Drysdale. One of the demonstrators, Dennis Brutus (President of the South African non-Racial Olympic Committee [SANROC]) and a South African "Coloured" was arrested.

About 30 members of the Boston NAACP disrupted matches involving South Africans during the U.S. Pro-Tennis Championships in Massachusetts. The demonstrations were aimed at Cliff Drysdale, Robert Maud, and Frew McMillan and consisted of placard waving, booing and chanting of "Paint 'em black and send 'em back." Both Maud and McMillan admitted to being upset by the demonstrators.

GOLF MAY OPEN DOORS TO BLACKS

In a significant move towards racially integrating golf within South Africa, the South African Golf Union has asked the Ministry of Sport to declare all professional golf tournaments within South Africa "international." This move would, in terms of the government's new sports policy, open all tournaments within South Africa to black golfers from within the country and overseas. (Star, Johannesburg, July 31, 1971)

VISITORS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Tourist Agency announced recently that there had been a 32.2 percent rise in the number of North American tourists visiting South Africa in 1970. (South African Digest, July 30, 1971)

The Queens Booking Agency has announced that former world heavyweight boxing champion, Muhammed Ali, has signed a contract to give ten lectures to all-black audiences in South Africa for a fee of \$300,000. (Amsterdam News, New York City, August 21, 1971)

If this visit occurs, it will be the second by a major black American sportsman, following shortly on a visit by the professional golfer, Lee Elder. However, Kareem Abdul Jabbar (Lew Alcindor), probably the world's greatest basketball player, told a press conference in Tanzania that he would never accept an invitation to South Africa. (Star, Johannesburg, June 26, 1971)

In the coming months, several well-known Americans are planning to visit South Africa. Among them are former astronaut Walter Schirra who decided on the visit after seeing a film on South Africa's wild-life. Arrangements for Schirra to see the film were apparently made by a political adviser of President Nixon. (South African Digest, July 30, 1971)

In South Africa recently was Dr. Sverre Kongelbeck, a top American nuclear missile scientist. Dr. Kongelbeck was reportedly seeking employment after his retirement in 1972 as the chief engineer at the U.S. Navy's main missile laboratory. Dr. Kongelbeck developed the Mark II, the world's first fully automatic guided missile launcher. He described South Africa as "God's own country. I am not bothered about the racial situation. I believe I could help South Africa in the field of missiles, radar, and

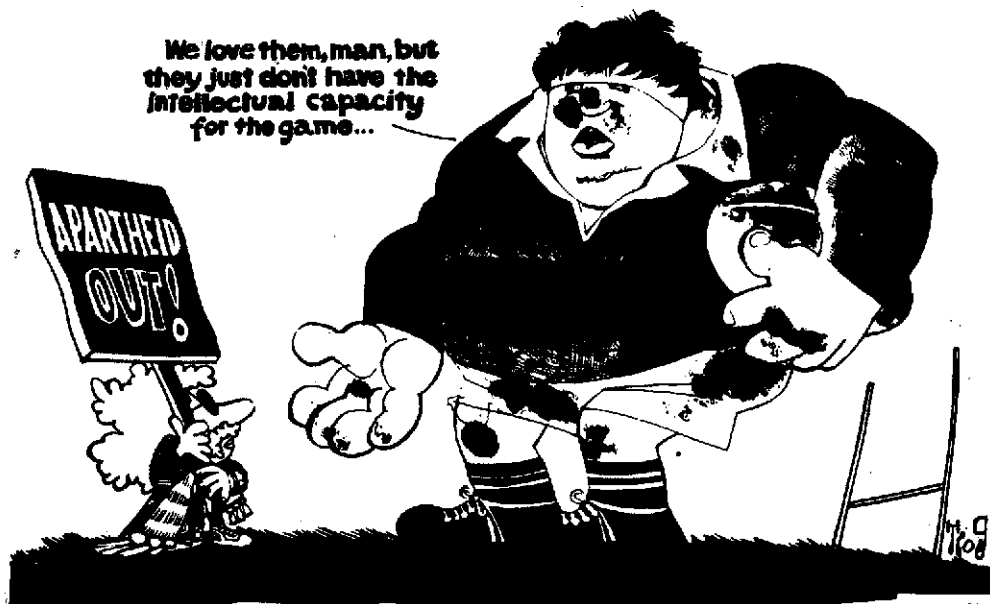
satellites, even though I could not divulge certain classified information." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, March 13, 1971)

Several prominent entertainers are planning visits to South Africa. The Queens Booking Agency, the black-owned company that has arranged Muhammed Ali's South African visit, has signed contracts with a South African promoter for a tour by singers Brook Benton, James Brown, Lea Roberts, Judy Clay, and Timothy Wilson. James Brown has since decided to cancel his visit.

This same agency has arranged the visit of Aretha Franklin to South Africa. Miss Franklin will be in South Africa for three weeks and will perform only to black audiences for a fee of \$15,000 per week. This visit has been strongly criticized in several circles. The Chicago office of the American Committee on Africa commented that the trip could only serve to bolster the apartheid system while a meeting of the Concerned Workers for Africa voted to send letters and telegrams to Miss Franklin in an effort to educate her on the plight of blacks in South Africa and to encourage her to cancel her engagement. (Washington Afro-American, July 10, 1971 and Amsterdam News, New York, August 21, 1971)

James Michener's latest novel is now banned in South Africa, but Michener is going there in October to speak before the Johannesburg and Cape Town Chambers of Commerce. (Star, Johannesburg, August 21, 1971)

A spokesman for the National Medical Association (the Black doctors' organization), Secretary Robert D. Watkins, said that the association, which sponsored a trip to Africa this year, would not exclude going to South Africa IF INVITED. (Star, Johannesburg, August 21, 1971)



ACTION NEWS AND NOTES

CORE LEADER CALLS FOR BLACK SKILLS TO AID AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Roy Innis, after a four-week tour of Africa, announced preliminary programs for increased political and economic activity relating Afro-Americans to Africa. Among the suggestions was the use of Black fighting men's skills in places such as Guinea to ward off Portuguese attack, and the Southern Sudan, as well as areas of other Black liberation struggles in Africa (The New York Times, August 22, 1971). At a student conference of Black and African movements, resolutions were passed supporting the central Sudan Government (Muhammed Speaks, June 11, 1971).

PROPAGANDA VICTORIES FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGAL

The New York Times continues to run personnel ads for positions in South Africa. The latest calls for an area manager with a "high degree of drive and ambition," preferably a "South African national!" False advertising?

The September issue of the Black popular magazine, Ebony, carried a series of pictures accompanying a spread on men's fashions that had backdrops and accessories advertising the Portuguese Government airlines, TAP.

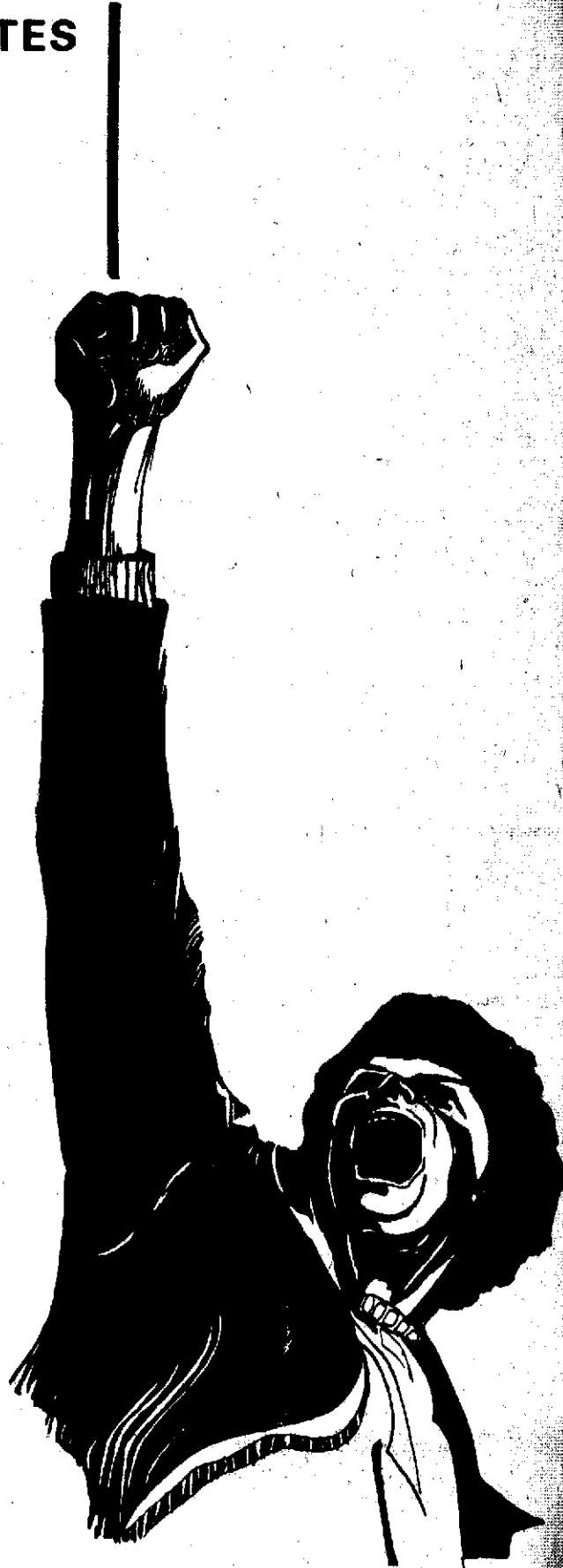
INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS

In ENGLAND, the Anti-Apartment Movement has launched a campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa in memory of the International Year to Combat Racism (WAY News, August 15, 1971). Secretary of the AAM, Abdul Minty, denied the report in the British Sunday Telegraph that the movement's offices had been entered by the South African security branch which stole an important contact list of the movement. Minty said no such list was involved, although he commented that the British Government did know that the South African police used "independent police forces" in the U.S. (Star, Johannesburg, August 14, 1971). A movement in England is afoot to change the stipulation that four Rhodes scholarships go to four white South Africans. (Africa Digest, August, 1971)

In spite of the growing action on the South Africa issue in AUSTRALIA, the official policy has meant increased economic ties, revealed by the latest figures which showed Australian exports up \$20 million since 1970. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 2, 1971)

In NEW ZEALAND, anti-apartheid groups are coalescing to form a campaign to boycott government and business ties with South Africa. Plans include a coordinated information service. New Zealand imports South African wine at a preferential tariff price, which is another campaign target. (Zambia Daily Mail, Lusaka, July 29, 1971)

A GERMAN Committee for Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique has been informed by government and business sources that the five German companies involved in the Cabora Bassa Dam project would like to get out of the scheme. One of the firms, Siemens, had a delegation which asked the Bonn Government to withdraw government credits. The German committee plans to raise questions at stockholders' meetings. In response, another company, AEG, has called on the police to prevent questions on Mozambique. (Standard of Tanzania, July 28, 1971) Meanwhile, Protestant churches in West Germany will be giving about \$300,000 to the South



African Christian Institute. (Lutheran World Federation, September 7, 1971)

Four major UNITED NATIONS agencies still maintain ties with Portugal and South Africa in spite of U.N. resolutions. These include the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Telecommunications Union, and the Universal Postal Union. (Star, Johannesburg, June 17, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICA'S DIPLOMATIC IMAGE BUILDING

The South African Ambassador to Australia claimed that his country had progressed considerably since the Verwoerd days, saying that color was not the issue but rather "differences which are so great that we cannot see them being bridged in the foreseeable future." (East African Standard, August 4, 1971) He failed to describe the differences. The New York head of the South African Information Service says that his country has a "scarecrow image" it doesn't deserve. (Star, Johannesburg, August 14, 1971)

RESPONSE TO GANDAR'S CALL FOR CONTINUED CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA

(See the last issue of SOUTHERN AFRICA.)

David Evans, former member of the South African Liberal Party and political prisoner for five years in Pretoria until 1969, outlined his belief that Lawrence Gandar's approach to South Africa represents in fact the "ideology of the vested interests in South Africa," and ignores the fact that after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre the "politics of protest had ended [and] the politics of confrontation had begun." Writing in Anti-Apartheid News (London), Evans says that many South African liberals like Gandar want change, but cannot face losing control in South Africa. Thus they look to "peaceful change," and inevitably acquiesce to apartheid. He also condemned Alan Paton's hopeful stand on Bantustans as "tinkering with a part of the evil mechanism" and "hardly a substitute for radical assaults on the system as a whole." (Anti-Apartheid News, London, September, 1971) In a similar vein, Abdul Minty of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) wrote a letter to the Sunday Times saying that Gandar's call for persuasive contacts with white South Africa "can only result in the future entrenchment of the apartheid system." Minty wrote further:

"After listing various proposals for peaceful change within South Africa, Mr. Gandar admits that the creative contacts formula does not amount to a 'solution' but it is, in his view, the most useful course of action at present.

This argument stems from a prior judgment that the outside world must concentrate on trying to persuade and convert white opinion by first accepting the apartheid system and then using its link with the outside world as an instrument for ameliorating some of the hardships imposed on the oppressed people of South Africa.

"But 'peaceful change' is, by definition, that which the apartheid system and its rulers will permit. Any meaningful change in South Africa can only be brought about by the majority of South Africans—the oppressed peoples themselves.

"It is a tragedy that Mr. Gandar, with his record as a critic of apartheid, is driven to support the very policies which the South African Government welcomes in order to escape international isolation. Mr. Gandar is also entirely misleading in his slighting reference to the fight for freedom in South Africa as 'a few isolated skirmishes in the Portuguese colonies.'" (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 5, 1971)

FRELIMO'S ARMED STRUGGLE ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATED

The seventh anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Mozambique was commemorated at the Church Center at the United Nations in New York City the evening of Sept. 24 (Sept. 25 is the actual date of the initiation of FRELIMO's armed struggle in 1964). Speakers at the commemoration included representatives of the Governments of Tanzania and Guyana; the Organization of African Unity; SWAPO and ZAPU, and the Pan African Student Organization in the U.S. Solidarity in the continuing struggle was reaffirmed; the deaths of Mozambican freedom fighters were remembered in honor. Sharfudine M. Khan, FRELIMO representative in the U.S., spoke about the nature and future of the Mozambican struggle and placed it within the larger African and international context.

PAN AM—ANIMALS FIRST

Pan American Airways is the only U.S. firm regularly flying to South Africa. It decided recently to cancel its safari tours to Africa aimed at trophy hunting of rare animals in response to pressure from the World Wildlife Fund: (The Sun, Baltimore, August 1, 1971)



DO NOT BUY THIS FUR !!!

TALK OF COOPERATION AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN MOVEMENTS

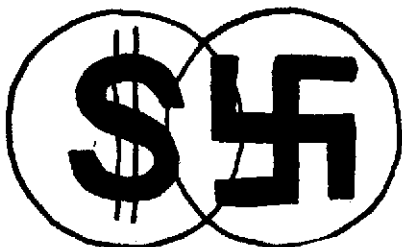
A Luthuli Memorial Foundation party was held in London recently and was the focus of a commentary in the journal "West Africa." The writer said that the internationalism exhibited at the party was reflected also by the presence of not only the sponsoring African National Congress (ANC) officials, but also representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The correspondent commented that the Luthuli Foundation (which has received monies from the World Council of Churches, the Swedish Government, and the Student Christian Movement) may "be the equivalent for the various South African liberation movements of the table-tennis talks for the Chinese and Americans, a place at which they can meet without prejudging their commitments." (West Africa, August 6, 1971) Richard Gibson, London-based writer who has praised PAC in the past over the ANC, echoed the same theme saying that ANC criticism of PAC had been reduced lately. (Richard Gibson Reports, June, 1971)

On South African Women's Day (August 9), ANC women met in Dar-es-Salaam in commemoration of the time fifteen years earlier when 20,000 women had protested the pass system in Pretoria. "It is to these women, to all South African men and women, that we who have been forced to leave our country rededicate

ourselves this day." (Standard of Tanzania, August 9, 1971)

ZIMBABWE MOVEMENTS' PROBLEMS CONTINUE

The Zambia Daily Mail reported that Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) members favoring negotiations between Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and ZANU were held at gunpoint during a recent ZANU conference in early August to prevent them voting their minds. The Times of Zambia editorialized that the vote which went against future continued negotiations with ZAPU would lead to problems for ZANU chairman Herbert Chitepo. (Standard of Tanzania, August 12, 1971) After the conference, former head of ZANU external affairs, Nathan Shamuyarira, and publicity and information, Tasiyana Mutizwa, told the press that they did not agree with the antinegotiations position, and called for unity against the common enemy. The men said that the new ZANU position violated former policy, and said they did not agree with the prevalent theory that ZAPU people would join ZANU as individuals. The pair said they would remain in ZANU, but would work to end sectionalism and regionalism in the party. (Standard of Tanzania, August 13, 1971) The Zambian Government has warned of stern action if unity between the parties remains unfulfilled. (Standard of Tanzania, August 18, 1971)



ECONOMICS

JOHANNESBURG STAR SURVEYS U.S. FIRMS ON INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

A recent article in the Johannesburg Star had an interesting collage of responses by U.S. companies when asked about pressure in the U.S. relating to their Southern Africa involvement. Their views ranged from extreme sensitivity to carefree optimism and even blunt disgust when asked how they regard the mounting political pressure in the United States to their continued activities in this country. Leaders of the firms interviewed showed a prevailing mood of caution and a dislike of becoming involved in a damaging political dispute.

Typical of this view were the remarks of Mr. K. A. Brooks, managing director of Timken South Africa (Pty.) Ltd., who was in any case reluctant to comment at all. "Attention focused on this matter can only make it worse, not better. Timken South Africa does not want any more attention than is absolutely necessary," he said.

Expressing the same caution, Mr. R. M. Barbour, manager of Dow Chemical Africa Ltd., said: "Under present pressures and circumstances, I would rather not participate in giving information. We are under pressure in the States and I am under instructions to play it quietly." Mr. Claude G. Hall, managing director of the Champion Spark Plug Company, was more outspoken: "Any pressures from America? They can just jump in the mud." The company had just carried on, except that since sanctions were applied to Rhodesia, nothing had been shipped there.

Many other companies were wholly optimistic or felt themselves to be unaffected by political pressure groups in the United States.

Not Affected

Mr. J. Steagell, managing director of Singer South Africa (Pty.) Ltd., who has recently arrived from America, said: "It does not affect us at all. There is no pressure being put on our company. I do not think they are going that far. There is a lot of noise in Washington, but they have not put pressure on us directly." Mr. P. A. Lloyd, managing director of Parker Pen (Pty.) Ltd., said: "I have no instructions and don't expect any. Although we are an American company, we in South Africa fall under the European area where they are pro-South African. I doubt whether there will be any disruption." A spokesman for International Business Machines (IBM) was confident, but apprehensive of publicity: "I would not even describe our reaction as a reaction. It has been business as usual. If we are called on to answer charges or allegations, I think we can give the assurance that we are a good employer." But he added: "We would appreciate it if you would not inflame things with wild headlines." (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971)

In another article three days later the Star continued its survey.

The Star urged that there is a marked reluctance among both Americans and others connected with South

African trade and banking to be identified publicly or have their firms named, an indication of the delicacy of the subject. Big banks with South African interests, such as Chase Manhattan and First National City, were especially guarded. Comment from a source—"don't publish any name"—close to the Commerce and Industry Association of New York: The general trend here is to accept the country and its policy, and, where it can be done, perhaps to urge some changes in a peaceful and a cooperative sort of way, rather than through boycotting or its possibility. The association has 3,700 company members, including some of the country's top corporations. It is the largest regional chamber in the United States. This informant said he had run across little, if any, reluctance of or disinclination toward investing in South Africa; nor had he heard anyone in the business world speaking in a derogatory manner about such investments. "Generally, the attitude is favorable." South African banking sources here vary in their comments. One said: "There is still a tremendous amount of interest. We see any number of people going to South Africa looking for opportunities to invest and expand their markets." (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)

BARCLAYS AND STANDARD BANKS DECLARE A RATE FOR THE JOB: SOME FURTHER QUESTIONS

In a response to a British pressure, Barclays and Standard, South Africa's two largest banks, and therefore largest employers, declared their acceptance of the principle of equal pay for equal work without consideration of race. Both banks are British-owned and Barclays had witnessed angry protest at its annual general meeting for its involvement in Southern Africa.

As of September, all African, Coloured and Asian tellers and clerical workers of these two banking giants will get the same pay as whites who perform the same jobs. Only about 300 nonwhite employees of the two banks will be affected by the decision, and the wage increases will not be large, because the gap has been progressively narrowed over the years. Newspaper reports over this move were highly complimentary. One widely syndicated column printed in the Sept. 1 Washington Post by Stanley Uys, a white South African, had this to say: "Barclays and Standard, under pressure themselves from anti-apartheid campaigners, have now set a precedent which a number of other foreign-based firms are bound to follow. The ripple effect of the decision could be considerable seeing that British firms own a substantial portion of South African industrial, mining, and financial operations."

The South African Government is not expected to put any obstacles in the way of foreign-based firms improving the wages and working conditions of nonwhite employees, although it questions the motives of anti-apartheid campaigners, who it believes want to disturb wage and promotion patterns in South Africa and edge the country toward integration. If every foreign-based firm were to improve dramatically the wages and working conditions of its nonwhite employees in South Africa, this would have a profound effect on the employment pattern of the country. More than 500 British companies have subsidiaries in South Africa. Unfortunately evaluation in the press seldom went further than superficial compliments. No articles asked the hard question of how the massive investment by Standard and Barclays helped the white South African Government maintain its economic and political health and strength.

No observers put the less delicate question whether wages for nonwhites at Barclays and Standard were appreciably above the breadline or poverty datum line.

Since there are very few of the same jobs which both whites and blacks perform, the real question is whether those nonwhites working below the level prescribed for whites are making a living and adequate wage. Discussion about an adequate wage has been growing in South Africa. The Soweto Urban Bantu Council argues that \$140 a month is the absolute minimum for laborers in this time of inflation and rising prices (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 23, 1971). In a study called "Poverty" published by a Christian group in Johannesburg, Prof. H. L. Watts argues that \$150 is the absolute minimum for a family of five. This minimum was echoed by Mr. Ray Altman, the general secretary of the National Union of Distributive Workers and an executive member of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, when he said "To anyone earning less than \$140 a month and responsible for maintaining a family, the recent rise in bus fares and in the prices of bread, milk, and other basics was a disaster." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, April 4, 1971)

Such a re-estimation of minimum living standards puts the raised wages of Polaroid and other U.S. companies in a different context. For instance, South African Breweries raised its wages ten percent "in an effort to combat the rapidly rising cost of living of the African," an increase which they argued was motivated entirely by concern for its African personnel.

A spokesman for the breweries staff said six or seven of the African staff would now earn from \$75 to \$120 a month while those in the highest paid category (25 percent of the employees) would earn \$168 to \$196 a month. This raise was also widely heralded as part of the "progressive change" occurring in South Africa, yet a majority of the breweries' African workers still earn below the breadline.

No report has been made of the spectrum of wages paid to nonwhite employees at either Standard or Barclays. One might ask whether their recent announcement really leaves more questions than it answers.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO "UPGRADING NONWHITE LABOR"

Hot on the heels of the Barclays announcement came a violent response by the Minister of Labor about the fact revealed by the Johannesburg Star that Barclays employed nonwhite bank tellers that were free to serve clients of all races. Confronted with this fact Mr. Viljoen said the government would not tolerate this type of "shoulder to shoulder work integration." It was contrary to Government labor policy.

Mr. Viljoen said Department of Labor inspectors had been sent to investigate. They would report to the minister by Sept. 9. He said he would then take "appropriate action" and hinted that Mr. Noge, the black, would be removed from his job as a teller serving whites. Mr. Viljoen said he would not be dictated to on policy matters by employers and he regarded this as a blatant contravention of the law. Viljoen then went on to explain how Mr. Noge's employment would be illegal in terms of Government policy. If Barclays Bank were prepared to build a separate teller's box for Noge, separated from other white bank tellers, and he served only nonwhite clients, his employment would be allowed. Nonwhites would be allowed to be bank tellers in their own areas, but definitely not serving white clients in white areas, Viljoen said.

Viljoen said he was shocked by the report that Barclays had gone ahead and employed a nonwhite teller without prior consultation. But he would show Barclays

that this would not be tolerated—either now or in future years. (Star, Johannesburg, Sept 9, 1971)

Mr. Viljoen's strong response did not have a basis in law but simply in the stated policy of the government. This use of his power as Minister of Labor indicates the ways in which South Africa moves far beyond the law books when it wants to enforce racial policy. The government is not now and never has been a friend of improved conditions for Africans. Most important, Mr. Viljoen's public outburst sets in stark context the supposedly "liberalizing influence" which banks like Barclays have when paying the rate for the job.

MOBIL HELPS SOUTH AFRICA IN OIL SELF-SUFFICIENCY

A \$38 million expansion program which will save South Africa about \$17 million a year in foreign exchange is to be undertaken by Mobil Refining Company (South Africa) at its Wentworth site in Durban. (South African Digest, July 23, 1971) The announcement was made by Mr. W. F. Beck, chairman of the Mobil Company in Southern Africa, who said engineering design work would start immediately, with completion of the project scheduled for 1974.

The expansion will increase the capacity of the refinery by about 60 percent. The new plant, to be built next to the existing installations, will be highly automated and computerized. Mobil, through a newly formed company, South African Oil Refining, is already involved in partnership with Total Oil and Caltex in the establishment of a \$38 million lubrication-oil refinery on a site at Wentworth.

SOUTH AFRICA'S WORLD SUGAR QUOTA INCREASES

From the beginning of August, Israel is to purchase about two-thirds of her annual sugar requirements from South Africa and Mozambique rather than from Europe. This was announced here by sugar economists and brokers, B. W. Dyer and Company. It is also reported, although it cannot be confirmed, that South Africa has recently sold two cargoes of raw sugar to Saigon. (Star, Johannesburg, July 10, 1971)

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE COST OF LIVING SOARS

Between April, 1970 and June, 1971 the cost of living index rose in South Africa by 6.5 percent—the largest rise in 25 years and among the most rapid in the world, according to an Opposition Member of Parliament, Hymie Miller. At the same time and over the same period, the number of unemployed males of all races rose by a small percentage. (Star, Johannesburg, July 24 and 31, 1971)

AUTO INDUSTRY IN TROUBLE

All the major auto firms in South Africa are experiencing troubled times. In June, both General Motors and Ford closed their manufacturing works for a week because of a severe slump in car sales in the first half of 1971. GM and Ford also announced a lay-off of 300 employees while Volkswagen reduced its payroll by 450 between March 31 and June 1, 1971. In addition, all three major companies have been following a policy of not replacing employees resigning of their own accord; this has resulted in an overall drop of 1,900 workers at the three branches, all of which are located in the Eastern Cape.

July brought more bad news for the auto industry in South Africa. Chrysler announced a two-week closing of their main plant in Pretoria while the secretary of the National Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers' Union announced a lay-off of 120 workers at their plant in the Cape.

The cause of the slump is an 18½ percent drop in auto sales in the 12-month period ending in March 1971. This drop was attributed by the industry to higher taxes, particularly increased sales taxes imposed by the government after the 1970 election, and the spiralling rate of inflation. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, June 23 and May 25, 1971; Star, Johannesburg, July 10 and Aug. 7, 1971)

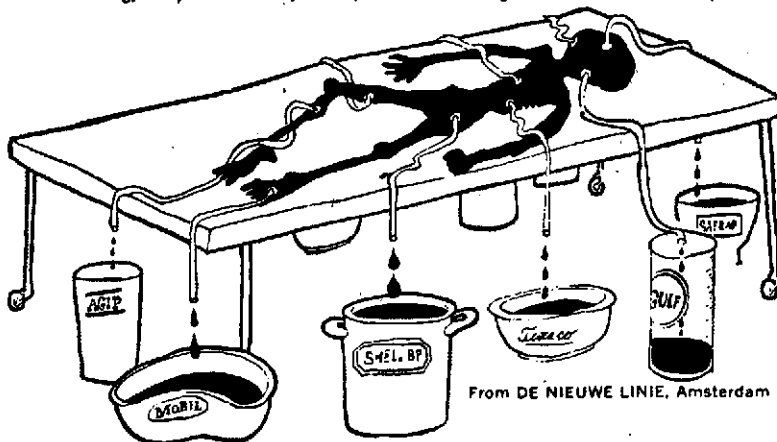
WAGE GAP WIDENS

The wage gap between white and Black workers in the main industrial sectors of the South African economy—mining, manufacturing and construction—is not only widening in cash terms, but also relatively. In manufacturing the ratio of average white to average African wages was 5.1 to 1 in May 1966. This ratio had remained more or less constant since the 1930's. But by June last year, however, the ratio had moved up to 5.7 to 1.

In mining, the position is even more inequitable. The ratio there changed from 17.5 to 1 in mid-1966 to 20.3 to 1 in mid-1970. In 1936 the ratio was 10.7 to 1, so the gap has steadily widened over the last 35 years. (Financial Mail, South Africa, March 26, 1971)

BUSINESS LEADERS GLOOMY OVER ECONOMIC PICTURE

The Transvaal Chamber of Industries has released the results of a survey in which only 31.8 percent of industrialists interviewed felt that business conditions were improving while over 25 percent felt that the actual situation was deteriorating. The other 50 percent felt that the situation was confused with certain industries facing a bright future—food, clothing, footwear and



From DE NIEUWE LINIE, Amsterdam

printing—while they feared, at the same time, an increase in the number of bankruptcies in the second half of 1971.

The survey found that business leaders felt that the factors hampering the economy's growth were artificial labor restrictions, plus severe shortages of white and black labor.

SOUTH AFRICA MAY SEEK IMF CREDIT

Reflecting the troubled state of the economy is a report in the Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg) that South Africa will apply for credit from the International Monetary Fund unless the drain in the country's reserves is stopped within the next few months. South Africa has been running a balance of payments deficit for the past two years. The trade deficit was nearly \$140 million in April and again in May. Gold and currency holdings declined from \$48 million to \$779 million in the last week of August. The Rand Daily Mail said that a contingency decision to go to the IMF had been taken. South African Treasury officials were said to be waiting to see the results of June's import and export figures before acting. (Guardian, London, July 13, 1971)

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO EXPORT TRADE APPOINTED

The startling decline in South Africa's exports has prompted the government to appoint a commission to investigate the matter. The value of South Africa's exports has dropped from \$2,118.2 million in 1968 to \$1,988 million for 1970 and \$868 million for the first six months of 1971. At the same time the cost of imports has risen from \$2,639 million in 1968 to \$3,610.6 million in 1970, reflecting a trade gap of more than \$1.4 million. (Star, Johannesburg, July 7, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN FREIGHT BOAT BOYCOTTED

Australian dock workers in Sydney refused to unload freight from a South African boat in March because it was due to take on steel for South Africa. The ship sailed without being unloaded or loaded; the action was taken to show disapproval of apartheid, according to the secretary of the Waterside Workers Federation. (Standard of Tanzania, March 26, 1971)



REPRINT

POVERTY, APARTHEID, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

by Sean Gervasi

(This paper was prepared by Mr. Sean Gervasi, research officer in economics at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at Oxford University, for the Special Session of the Special Committee on Apartheid, held at the United Nations Headquarters in March, 1971, and is reprinted here from U.N. Unit on Apartheid Document No. 30/71 dated July, 1971.)

Sean Gervasi writes: "The situation of Africans in the reserves and in 'white areas' of South Africa is actually worsening in every sense. A small percentage of Africans may be somewhat better off than it was ten years ago but the whole system of apartheid has become far more oppressive. The vast majority of Africans continue to live in real poverty and there is no prospect of their situation changing at all. It will certainly not change as a consequence of further economic growth. . . . Those who speak of the 'liberating effects' of market forces are flying in the face of reason and the facts."

THE BREAKDOWN OF APARTHEID

The milder critics of apartheid have often argued that in the "long run" the logic of "competitive capitalism" would triumph over the deliberate injustices of official apartheid policy in South Africa. Economic progress would somehow "dissolve" the system of apartheid. Today this argument is heard more and more frequently.

Apartheid, we are told, is actually "breaking down" under the pressures created by economic growth. Economic progress and apartheid are incompatible. It is, therefore, only a matter of time before further growth brings major changes in the system. This is obviously an attractive argument, even if one is unsure precisely when the "long run" will come. Many people who despair about the situation in South Africa incline to believe it. This new "liberal optimism" has important political implications for all of Africa south of the Sahara. It is consequently important to subject it to more careful analysis than it has so far received.

To many people, apartheid means what the South African Government says it means. It means "separate development" of the races. The implementation of apartheid policy would, therefore, seem to imply an increasing separation of the races at every level. Precisely the opposite has taken place during the last 20 years. More and more Africans have come to the cities. The importance of Africans in the labor force has increased. Africans are beginning to take on semi-skilled and operative jobs. These trends indicate a greater degree of economic interdependence between the races. The Africans appear to be increasingly part of one social structure.

This "greater integration" suggests to some that apartheid is not really working. Indeed it suggests that the goals of apartheid are impossible ones. The new optimism then bases itself on a rather imaginative projection of these trends. But many move from the observation of general trends such as those cited to the conclusion that apartheid is bound to disintegrate "on its own."

This rather general view of the "breakdown" of apartheid does not really merit much attention. It is based on a mistaken premise. Apartheid is not about "separate development." It is in reality an indirect system of forced labor. Africans constitute more than 70 percent of the labor force in South Africa. The economy could not do without them. As Dr. Malan once put it, "Our whole economic structure is to a large extent based on nonwhite labor." (House of Assembly Debates [Hansard], April 12, 1950, col. 4142.) So there is nothing surprising about the recent changes in the geographic and occupational distribution of the African labor force. These are the normal results of economic growth. They do not signify a "breakdown" of apartheid.

Change has taken place within the traditional "way of life," white supremacy. The social system remains precisely what it was. Whites are wealthy and free. Nonwhites remain poor. And their lives are controlled by others down to the minutest detail. As long as this remains the case, all evidence about population movements, "greater interdependence," and so on is quite beside the point.

Two Versions of the Argument

There is another argument, however, about the incompatibility between apartheid and economic growth which demands careful analysis. There are essentially two versions of it. The first, which I shall call the "weak" version, is that economic growth will bring a general increase in incomes. The relative position of every group in society remains the same. Income distribution does not change. But the rising level of absolute incomes eventually raises even the poorest groups above the level of poverty. Economic growth, in other words, eventually produces qualitative changes in the conditions of life, even for Africans. In this way, apartheid begins to "break down."

This assumes, of course, that poverty is the worst feature of the apartheid system, or at least the one with which nonwhites would first want to do away. The argument is to a certain extent persuasive. The system of discrimination and control might be easier to bear if everyone could live above the poverty line. There is no point in discussing this issue here. And the argument will be examined on its own assumptions.

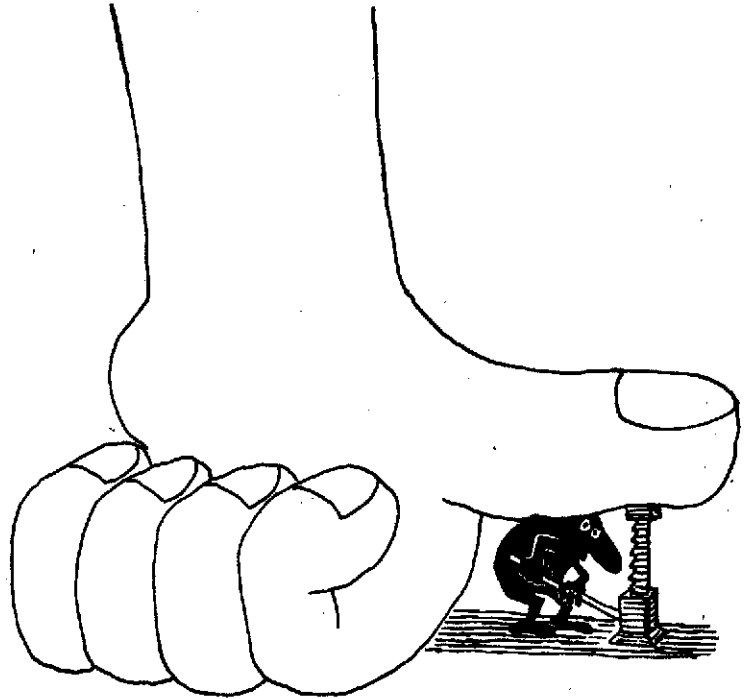
The "strong" version of the argument holds that economic progress will produce two results. It will lead, first of all, to a greater flexibility in the economy by producing higher over-all incomes. This will create "space" for a certain redistribution of income in favor of the poor. For with higher incomes, redistribution will involve less sacrifice for whites. At the same time, growth will produce changes in the occupational structure, and nonwhites will have opportunities to acquire new skills and higher pay. Malherbe states the "strong" version succinctly: "What is needed rather is to create a much larger national cake in which case fairer slices could be distributed on the basis of higher contributions." (E. G. Malherbe, "Bantu Manpower and Education" [South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1969], p. 32.)

In this version of the argument, there is a rise in absolute levels of income with a progressive change in the distribution of that income. Again, it is clearly implied that poverty will be eliminated or significantly reduced. And this is implicitly held not only to be desirable, but to constitute in some sense a "dissolution" of apartheid.

If poverty could be eliminated in this way, it might be worth discussing whether apartheid would in fact be near some kind of "break down." This paper will touch upon that question only briefly. It will be concerned primarily with whether economic growth can produce the results which are claimed for it.

Narrow Definition of Apartheid

Some observers do persist in talking about the "liberating forces" of the market economy. And they clearly think that these forces are liberating people from "color injustice," that is, from apartheid. (W. H. Hutt, "The Economics of the Colour Bar" [Andre Deutsch for the Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1964], p. 180. A useful analysis of the thesis presented by Hutt, Malherbe, and others may be found in Johnstone, "White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa," *African Affairs*, April 1970.) This is a rather naive view, whatever one's assumptions about the consequences of economic growth. It is based upon a narrow, or strange, definition of apartheid itself. It is important to be clear about what this definition is, and about what it leaves out. For it is only against the background of a correct definition of apartheid that one can see the limitations of the argument from growth and, indeed, the confusion which lies behind this whole approach.



Malherbe and others apparently believe that poverty is the core of the problem, and they see it as an isolated phenomenon. That is perhaps why they believe that apartheid can be "broken down" simply by raising wages. The poverty of Africans, however, is not an isolated phenomenon. It is part of a much larger puzzle. It is a consequence of the way South Africa is organized. This is crucial to understanding the real nature of apartheid and the limitations, even on its own assumptions, of the argument from growth.

Apartheid is commonly seen as a particularly vicious manifestation of racial prejudice. Mild critics of the system tend to focus on "racial discrimination" in their condemnation of it. Such attitudes are, of course, unimpeachably liberal. These critics often go even further and argue that discrimination is unnecessary and irrational. And that view makes it easy to believe in the argument from growth. If apartheid is "economically irrational," then it should be fairly easy to do away with it. However well-intentioned they may be, such arguments are wildly mistaken.

The Real Essence of Apartheid

Apartheid has a very real and concrete logic. As a system it has become increasingly coherent in the last 20 years (the current Nationalist government has been in power since 1948). To see this fact, however, one must dig beneath the surface. The basic purpose of apartheid is, and always has been, to secure an abundant supply of cheap labor for the economy. (See International Labour Office report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour [1953], p. 80, para. 375; and United Nations, "Industrialization, Foreign Capital, and Forced Labour in South Africa," ST/PSCA/Ser. A/10 [1970], Chap. II, *passim*.) An abundance of cheap labor can be ensured only by forcing people to do what is required of them. Apartheid, therefore, entails an elaborate system of rules for regulating the lives of nonwhites. Labor legislation, pass laws, Bantustans, labor bureaus, African "education," "area development," and so on, are all part

of this system. The operation of the system also entails a ready will to apply force. The real essence of apartheid is to be found in the complex of rules, and the arbitrary force, which whites have used to dominate others and to make them their servants.

The essence of the apartheid system is that it makes it impossible for Africans to be anything but cheap labor. This reduction of human beings to fuel bricks in an economic machine is achieved in two ways. Africans are, first of all, denied the means necessary to live independently of the white economy. For they have no rights of permanent residence except in those areas designated by the Government as African "homelands." These areas are exceedingly poor. Their economies are based almost entirely on subsistence agriculture. They lie outside the bounds of the modern South African economy. And the condition of these reserves has been steadily deteriorating in recent decades. Between 1947 and 1967, production of major food-stuffs there actually declined. (Financial Mail, Johannesburg, Oct. 4, 1968) This fall occurred, of course, in a period of rising population, so that per capita income has probably been falling sharply.

At present, 5.1 million Africans, or 40 percent of the total African population, live on the reserves. In theory, all Africans could be removed from white areas and forced to live in the "homelands." The real meaning of the new "political" arrangements legally separating the races is not that Africans will be "truly independent." The meaning is to be found in the economic situation of those who are forced, or could be forced, to live in these areas.

People living in the conditions which prevail in the reserves will be perennially on the border of starvation. Many undoubtedly do die from starvation and diseases related to malnutrition. According to the South African Medical Journal, in one African reserve at least 50 percent of all children die before the age of five. (Leary and Lewis, "South African Medical Journal, Nutrition Supplement," Dec. 18, 1965, p. 1157.) People, in other words, cannot live in the areas to which they have been restricted. The men of the reserves, and many of the women, are therefore driven out by necessity to seek work in "white areas."

When Africans leave the reserves, however, they venture into a world in which they have almost no rights of any kind. They are turned into migrant laborers whose lives are regulated by a complex system of controls. They may enter urban areas only if they have obtained contracts of employment from a Government labor bureau. In most cases, an African must accept a job offered to him. The African worker is sent wherever he is needed. He must carry a pass book containing the details of his employment, and he must produce it on demand for the police.

An African who is unemployed and does not return to his reserve risks being arrested without a warrant and sent to a work colony for up to three years. Africans have no right to bargain collectively, no right to strike, no right to take any kind of collective action. Breaches of contract by African workers are a criminal offense. In short, for Africans, the "white areas" are a police state in which they are compelled to do what they are told or suffer the consequences.

The second edge of apartheid policy thus reduces Africans to "non-beings" by depriving them of any real freedom and choice when they enter "white areas." Their lives are almost totally controlled. This denial of freedom is reinforced by a denial of any real opportunity for escaping from this situation. Africans are, on the whole, denied access to education and professional skills. For

Africans, schooling is neither free nor compulsory. There is a shortage of teachers and a shortage of schools. Higher education, for those who are qualified, is difficult to obtain. Facilities are inferior to those available to whites. The situation is summarized by one simple fact: real per capita expenditure on African education is now considerably below the 1950 level. (Muriel Horrell, "Bantu Education up to 1968," [South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1968], pp. 38-39.) And that was not high. The educational system thus offers Africans almost nothing.

Even for those who do manage to reach university or technical training school, it will be difficult upon graduation to make use of acquired skills or knowledge. For the South African Government has barred Africans from most skilled jobs. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, the Minister of Labour may bar anyone from any job because of his race. Very few Africans have the chance of moving up the occupational ladder.

The policy of apartheid has always required the maintenance of a delicate balance in the distribution of the African population. Those who were not needed stayed in the reserves; those who were needed stayed, or were sent, where they were needed. When the South African economy was based upon agriculture and mining, it was not an enormously difficult policy to implement. The Government had to control conditions in the reserves, the white rural areas, and the mines. Most of the African population lived outside the urban areas. Those



From SECHABA, London

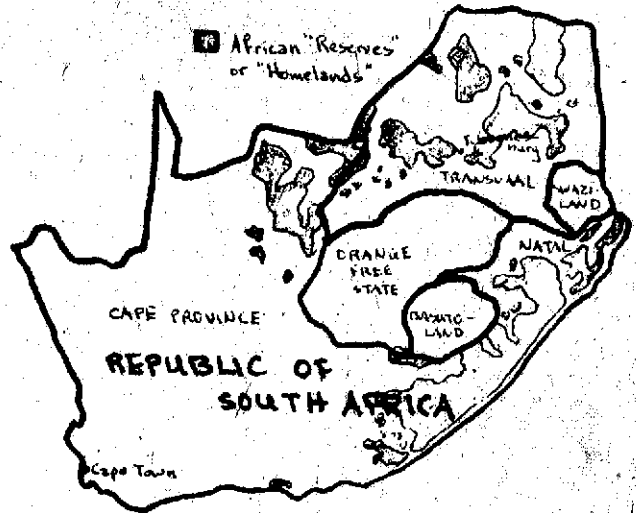
who did not, including many other nonwhites, were tolerated. The pace of social and economic change was slow. And white supremacy could be maintained without the apparatus of a police state. Apartheid 30 years ago was organized, but it was not as highly organized as it is today.

The process of industrialization has changed all that. It has set in motion many changes. The total demand for labor increased sharply, and many more African workers were drawn to the cities. The pattern of demand for labor also changed. Africans entered the industrial system. Some of them even entered skilled jobs. These changes posed a threat to many whites. They could have led to greater freedom for Africans, and to changes in the country's whole social structure. So the pressures which might have led to greater equality and to a mixing of the races socially had to be contained.

Change was allowed to take place, but only within the framework of white supremacy. Africans were allowed to come to the cities. But the response to this "pressure," to the fear of "being engulfed," was to control them more closely, to assert more vigorously the separation of the races. As one recent observer put it, "the Government is not essentially opposed to the continuing movement of African labor into the 'white' economy; it is simply opposed to this process of labor mobility, which is necessary to continued economic development, becoming at the same time a process of residential and political mobility." (Johnstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.)

Apartheid Becomes More Oppressive

The first step in "controlling" the new situation was to rationalize apartheid. The number of Africans had to be kept down to an "essential minimum" determined by the labor requirements of the economy. Africans were gradually denied legal right to reside in "white areas." They were "endorsed out" or removed by the tens of thousands. The Government made it clear that it intended

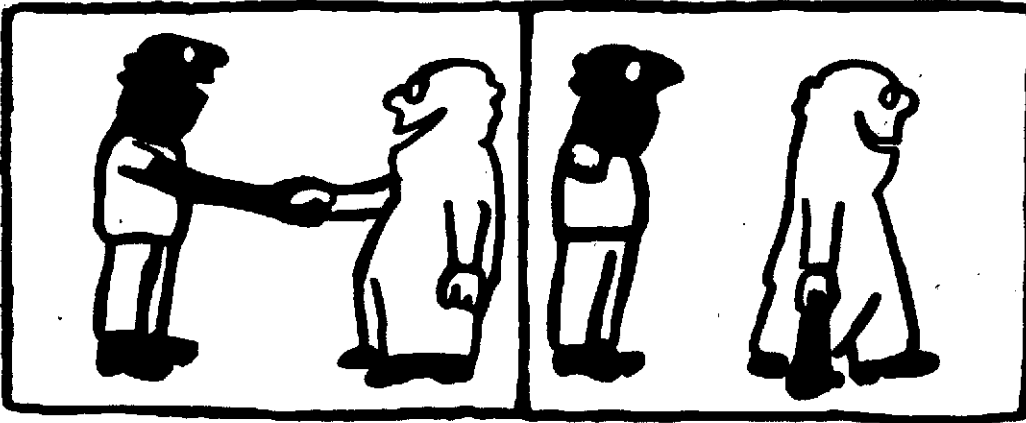


to expel all Africans who were not economically active from "white areas." A much more extensive system of controls was needed to make this policy work, and to make it efficient. This was the reason for the multiplication of regulations affecting nonwhites, and especially Africans. This was the reason for "influx control," for the establishment of labor bureaus, and for the destruction of African family life.

The African became a migrant laborer everywhere outside the reserves. The State naturally needed all the powers which would make it possible to shuttle him back and forth like a captive animal. As it acquired those powers, the whole system became more oppressive. It became necessary to guard against rebellion. Legislation contained ever more sweeping provisions for the "suppression of communism." By the 1960's, South Africa had become a highly efficient police state.

Two important conclusions emerge from this brief review of recent developments in the administration of apartheid. The first is obvious enough. The argument from growth apparently presumes that the majority, or nearly all, Africans will be affected positively by economic growth. This is not the case. Only those working in the modern sector of the economy could conceivably benefit from economic growth. More than 40 percent of the total African population, however, lives in the reserves, that is, outside the modern sector. These people could not begin to benefit from the supposed effects of growth, except in a marginal way. And more and more people in the modern sector are daily being moved out, "endorsed out," into the reserves. The argument from growth, therefore, would not apply to these Africans even if it were valid. It is consequently much less important than it appears to be.

At the same time, one must recognize that apartheid refers properly to the whole system of laws and regulations required to control the nonwhite population. And on this definition, the argument from growth is simply wrong. Apartheid in this sense has clearly become more harsh and oppressive. The idea that it is somehow "breaking down" is not merely nonsense, but an inversion of the truth. The failure to understand this fact arises from the use of a narrow and misleading definition of the system in the first place. For both these reasons, the case against the argument from growth is strong even before one attempts to analyze its validity in respect to those Africans whom one might expect to benefit from rising wages and incomes.



THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

SECRET PARLEY

The U.S./South African Leadership Exchange Program (US-SALEP) sponsored a "symposium" in late July for 20 Americans and 40 South Africans at a Holiday Inn between Johannesburg and Pretoria. Dr. Lucius Walker, executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), was invited and refused with the following words: "The promise of gracious treatment as VIP's in the best hotels while 18 million Black Africans are kept as virtual slaves in their own native land is the height of insult. No self-respecting Afro-Americans could tolerate being party to such callous abrogations of the simplest convention of human rights." Walker revealed that the invitation did not include permission to visit prisoners or those under house arrest, nor protection for those visitors wishing to see the "pass courts." (Afro-American, July 27, 1971)

It was eventually revealed that six Black Americans attended the conference, among them Harvard Student and Campus Violence Commission member, James Rhodes (who was apparently the most vocal in his opposition to South Africa at the conference), former Atomic Energy Commission member and head of the Southern Fellowship Foundation, Sam Nabrit, and John T. Patterson, a New York management consultant. Although reports on the secret proceedings of the conference have been minimal, the Johannesburg Sunday Times carried a long article which editorialized that Blacks coming to the predominantly white conference had braved threats of violence from U.S. militants in order to attend. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, July 19, 1971) In a post-conference commentary, Nabrit and Rhodes announced their interest in combatting apartheid through more economic development in independent Africa, while also saying that the U.S. business could cut profits in order to aid Black workers in South Africa. (Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Aug. 15, 1971) James Rhodes praised the "amazing strength" of South African Blacks, and indicated his belief that dialogue with South Africa was meaningless until the racial situation was solved. He expressed shock at the political repression against people who would be considered moderates in the

U.S. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 19, 1971) The Rand Daily Mail also reported that the U.S. delegates would submit a report to the U.S. Government urging continued U.S. pressure through economics and sports, underlining the futility of dialogue. Only Rhodes is quoted in connection with the report, and one doubts that the entire U.S. delegation to the conference would support such suggestions. The white Americans at the "dialogue" included the Rev. Theodore Tucker of the National Council of Churches; Victor Rockhill, a President of Chase Manhattan Bank; Vernon Eagle of the New York Foundation; Harold Flemming of the Potomac Institute; Kenneth Hunter, a California businessman; Betty Purcell of Vassar College's Board of Control; Lewis Hoskins, a Professor at Earlham College; and Edwin Munger, well-known conservative scholar of South African affairs.

There were 40 South Africans attending the conference, including three African Bantustan chiefs, and three African professionals, one Coloured, and one Asian. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi commented that he had never before been so close to South African policy makers as he was at the conference, and urged that in the future South African parliament members be urged to attend dialogue sessions. Discussion apparently ranged the spectrum, and was described by most participants as frank and useful. The Chairman of the Conference was Mr. D. P. De Villiers, the South African who headed the state's case on Namibia before the World Court. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, July 19, 1971)

SUGAR QUOTA

In the Senate vote on the Kennedy amendment to eliminate South Africa's sugar quota (which lost by 45 to 47), Liberals were surprised that Inouye and Fong of Hawaii, of Japanese and Chinese descent respectively, voted against and thereby gave the victory to the forces of Russell Long, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and one always eager to talk of South Africa as the "last bastion" against communism. (Carl Rowan in the Sunday Star, Aug. 8, 1971) The second vote, where Harris' amendment was defeated by 42 to 55, was thought to

reflect Senators' anger that Harris had "broken an assurance" to Mansfield to introduce no more amendments. (Washington Post, July 29, 1971) Upon his return from a visit to the U.S., Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chairman of the Zululand Territorial Authority, said that he had been influential in persuading Rep. Diggs, Sen. Kennedy, and others to water down or abandon their appeals to eliminate South Africa's sugar quota. Information from Washington seems to indicate that Buthelezi's intervention was significant. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, July 25, 1971)

AGNEW TRIP

Victor Gold, press secretary for Vice President Spiro Agnew, volunteered a rebuttal of press coverage of Agnew's Africa trip: the total entourage numbered 45-50, not 141; they flew basically in one plane, with cargo and Secret Service personnel in two other planes, rather than the 4 Boeings mentioned by some reports. Gold acknowledged the presence of the bullet-proof car, but said that it did not make every stop. He was particularly critical of the "scavenger" reporting of Agnew in Kenya, where Newsweek spoke of Agnew, his physician and pretty secretary watching two rhinos copulating at Treetops; Gold indicated that 35 other people, including Kenya officials, were present. (Sunday Star, August 8 and 11, 1971) Nixon congratulated Agnew on his return and welcomed him to the White House. (Atlanta Constitution, July 29, 1971)

DIPLOMATIC PARTIES

The recent all-white reception given by U.S. Ambassador Hurd in South Africa and the protest of the National Union of South African Students representatives present, have provoked reflection about the future of diplomatic functions in South Africa. Some governments, like that of the U.S., may put increasing pressure on their representatives to hold no all-white functions. The South African regime urges all diplomatic missions to respect the "customs" of the country by not holding multiracial functions and members of the government do not attend such parties. Some speculate, however, that the acceptance of Malawi diplomats at basically white social functions may lead to some softening of the rules. (Star, Johannesburg, July 31, 1971)

USIA OFFICIAL'S VISIT

Frank Shakespeare, Director of U.S. Information Agency, and Gordon Winkler, head of the Africa Desk of USIA, recently visited South Africa where they "met a broad spectrum of South Africans of all population groups." They were to visit other African countries before returning to the U.S. (South Africa Digest, Aug. 6, 1971)

DELLUMS' PROPOSAL ON U.S. FIRMS

At a meeting of more than 100 black United Methodist community developers, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) said that he would introduce "reparations" legislation whereby each U.S.-owned company in South Africa would be given one year to transfer 65 to 75 percent of its holdings to blacks; a company that failed to comply would have its South African holdings seized by the U.S. Attorney General. Dellums did not feel his bill had much chance of passage but saw it as a statement of solidarity by black Americans with the situation of blacks in South Africa. (Religious News-Service, July 29, 1971)

TOUR OF THE U.S.

Five South African members of Parliament (Nationalist Party members Le Grange, Morrison, and Smit; United Party members Jacobs and Thompson) and one Senator (Wessels) are visiting the U.S. in September. After time in Washington where they met Congressmen and Senators, Wessels, Jacobs and Morrison will visit the South while Le Grange, Thompson, and Smit tour the northern states and Canada.

DIGGS VISIT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

South African Interior Minister Gerdener said that the decision to grant a visa to Rep. Diggs to visit South Africa did not represent a departure from previous policy (Washington Post, Aug. 5, 1971), but the Christian Science Monitor (Paul Dold, on Aug. 5) saw it as a "dramatic switch" from the flat rejection of 1966 and the conditional approval (that Diggs make no speeches and that the U.S. Ambassador vouch for his behavior) of 1969 of Diggs' previous applications for visas. The Star (Johannesburg, Aug. 7, 1971) sees the visa as another sign of increased communication between Washington and Pretoria, along with the naming of Frikkie Botha as Ambassador in place of Taswell.



Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., new House Subcommittee on Africa chairman, is holding a series of hearings on southern Africa issues.

In addition to Diggs, the delegation included Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.) and his wife; Melvin Benson, Staff Consultant for the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Mrs. Goler T. Butcher, Attorney and Staff Consultant for the House Sub-Committee on Africa; and Dr. James McClelland, Staff Assistant for Rep. Vander Jagt. (Diggs' press release, Aug. 20, 1971)

Diggs and Vander Jagt visited the Portuguese Minister of Colonies in Lisbon and then went to the Cape Verde Islands and Guinea Bissau, where they were treated to a dinner with the commander of the Portuguese armed forces of the area, General Spinoza. The two men were accompanied by the U.S. military attache in Lisbon, Col. Blum. (Diario de Noticias, Aug. 7, 10, and 11, 1971) On arrival in South Africa, Diggs refused to comment on "a row with Government officials" during his stopover in Portuguese Guinea. (New York Times, Aug. 12, 1971)

Diggs arrived in South Africa Aug. 11 and left on Aug. 19. He visited Johannesburg, Cape Town, and several areas in Natal. Early in his stay he threatened to leave after 24 hours on the basis of the Government's refusal to allow him to visit Namibia. The Government explained its refusal in terms of the short notice given by Diggs. It was apparently also due to Diggs' rejection of South African escorts for his journey, a standard Government requirement for travel to Namibia. There was also conflict over where in Namibia Diggs would travel, the Government being willing to arrange meetings with "Black Opposition" leaders in Windhoek while Diggs wished to visit Ovamboland, site of Ongwediva College, recently closed by the South African Government because of student protests in favor of the World Court decision on Namibia. (Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 14, 1971; Diggs' press release of Aug. 20, 1971)

Diggs apparently decided to stay after a particularly warm reception by the Africans at the Johannesburg township of Soweto. One thousand schoolchildren there sang a eulogy to Diggs: "Here is a Black Man who is lion-hearted. He is here today. Perhaps he will help us with our difficulties." Diggs said that he was very moved, gave the clenched fist salute, encouraged the children to be racially tolerant, and decided to make his tour more of a people-to-people visit than one of government-to-government. (Star and Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 24, 1971; Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 14; Diggs' press release, Aug. 20, 1971)

Diggs arrived in Cape Town on Friday, Aug. 13 and was the guest of Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the Opposition, at a dinner. (Christian Science Monitor, 8/14)

In Natal, Diggs paid a surprise visit to individual sugar workers at the Natal Estate's plantation and heard them say that pensioners live on only \$26 per month, that laborers are recruited for a six-month contract at \$17 per month, and that Africans work six 12-hour days a week. Mr. Anson Lloyd, chairman of the South African Sugar Association, retorted that the unscheduled visit was impolite, made Diggs an hour late for his lunch at Lloyd's home, and gave the Congressman a lot of incorrect information. Lloyd said that laborers worked six 8-hour days a week, received rations and earned bonus money beyond their \$17 monthly wage; he said that pensioners receive \$9-12 from the company in addition to \$21 from the Government, and are accommodated free and provided with free water and, in some cases, with free electricity. (East African Standard, Aug. 18, 1971)

Diggs said that he would continue to act against the South African sugar quota, more convinced than ever that

sugar workers are oppressed. The sugar producers showed him a film called the "Faces of Sugar," which he described as the most racist kind of propaganda film that he had ever seen. (Diggs' press release, Aug. 20, consisting of his comments to South African journalists in Johannesburg on Aug. 19, the even of his departure.)

BUTHELEZI AND DIGGS

In Durban, Diggs dined at the home of U.S. Consul General with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu Territorial Authority, and with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Dennis Hurley. Neither Buthelezi nor Diggs would comment on their discussions. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 16, 1971) Prior to their meeting, Buthelezi said that he was anxious to clarify his views on the sugar quota issue with Diggs (after the report in the Sunday Times of "Buthelezi's bid to save the sugar quota") and that he had told Diggs in Washington simply that the elimination of the quota would also hurt the African Sugarcane Growers' Association, mouthpiece of the Zulu cane growers of Natal and an organization founded by the late Chief Luthuli, Bishop Zulu, and others. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 1, 1971)

KAISER MATANZIMA AND DIGGS

Kaiser Matanzima, the Chief Minister of the Transkei, told representatives of SAPA (South African Press Association) that he could not fulfill Rep. Diggs' request to meet with him because he had received the request—by telephone and "not through the usual channels"—too late. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 15, 1971)

OTHER DIGGS CONTACTS

In Johannesburg Diggs met with David de Beer, assistant to the Anglican Bishop of South West Africa, representatives of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, the University Christian Movement, the Black Sash, and the South African Council of Churches. He was scheduled to visit the NASA satellite tracking station at Harbeeshoek (near Krugersdorp). (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 18, 1971) In Durban Diggs was scheduled to visit the "Terrorist Trial" in the Maritzburg Supreme Court. (Star, Johannesburg, Aug. 16, 1971)

One of Diggs' main purposes was to see the operations of U.S. companies in South Africa and to examine the conditions of workers therein. He stated that he was appalled with American complicity in the system and with the false information that company officials in South Africa communicate to their headquarters in the States. He felt there were no limitations as to wage scales, fringe benefits, training programs, and other methods of raising the level of the oppressed people, and that there were many good jobs not on the reserved list. He did not feel that in "the free enterprise system of the U.S." companies could be forced to leave South Africa. Rather, he wanted to show company officials the discrepancy, increase communication and confrontation, do such things as bring Roche and Sullivan of General Motors to visit their South African plants. He hoped that national leaders of the Black community in the U.S. would come to South Africa, as well as trade union leaders, company heads, and Congressmen. Diggs was particularly critical of the General Motors and Ford plants in Port Elizabeth, which he visited. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, Aug. 17, 1971)

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ANNOUNCES 1971 ANTI-RACISM GRANTS

The World Council of Churches' (WCC) controversial Program to Combat Racism has allocated another \$200,000 to 24 organizations engaged in fighting racism around the world. Groups in Southern Africa received the majority of the grants, with \$130,000 going to the following nine organizations:

The African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC)	\$25,000
The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)	\$25,000
The Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE)	\$7,500
The National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)	\$7,500
The Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO	\$20,000
South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)	\$25,000
Luthuli Memorial Foundation (African National Congress of South Africa)	\$5,000
Zimbabwe Liberation Movements	\$10,000
Africa 2000 Project (Zambia)	\$5,000

Southern African groups receiving the funds include some of the same organizations that drew criticism after the earlier allocations, particularly the Mozambique Institute of FRELIMO and the MPLA of Angola. Opponents of the WCC Program charged that those organizations were planning the violent overthrow of the white minority governments in Southern Africa. However, the WCC declared that the funds were solely for "humanitarian purposes" such as legal aid and social, health, and educational services.

When it announced the current series of grants on August 26, the Council declared that their purpose is "to raise the level of awareness and to strengthen the organizational capability of racially oppressed people." WCC leaders recalled the statement of the Central Committee that declared that churches "must always stand for the liberation of the oppressed and of victims of violent measures that deny basic human rights." The Central Committee also said that it "calls attention to the fact that violence is in many cases inherent in the maintenance of the status quo." (Religious News Service, Sept. 13, 1971)

SOME REACTIONS TO THE GRANTS

The South African Council of Churches, following its precedent of last year, has again disassociated itself from the WCC allocations. John Rees, general secretary of the South African Council, said, "It is my opinion that these grants will have very little direct effect on South Africa

and once again appear to be tokens." (Religious News Service, Sept. 15, 1971)

The Anglican Church in Rhodesia has also officially disassociated itself from the grants. A statement issued by Bishop Paul Burrough of Mashonaland and Bishop Mark Wood of Matabeleland and broadcast over Rhodesian Radio said that not one cent has been given by the Anglican Church in Rhodesia to support the WCC's Program to Combat Racism. (Religious News Service, Sept. 13, 1971)

GRAE REFUSES WCC GRANT

The Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE) has rejected the World Council's grant because, it said, the WCC "had its priorities wrong in offering donations to three different Angolan liberation movements." GRAE was to have received \$7,500, MPLA \$25,000, and UNITA \$7,500.

From its headquarters in Kinshasa, Congo, the GRAE said that it was the only one of the three groups recognized by 30 African states and the only one responsible to nearly all Angolans who have fled the country. It added that it was the only organization fighting in the coffee- and diamond-rich northern area, the most important economic territory in Angola. Only the GRAE, it declared, had captured Portuguese government troops. GRAE spokesmen also charged that the WCC had become "political" and that its offered donation was only a "trap."

GRAE spokesmen suggested that the WCC add the \$7,500 to the money already allocated to the MPLA. By doing this, "it would make its political partiality fully coincide with the level of incompetence which it has reached."

UNITA issued a statement describing itself as the most coherent and dynamic political organization in Angola. However, because its committee members were dispersed throughout Angola, it had not had time to make a definitive pronouncement on the WCC donation, the statement said. (Religious News Service, Sept. 21, 1971)

In a radio broadcast in late September, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the WCC, said that in funding the three Angolan groups, the WCC was not "choosing an ideological movement," but "recognizing three movements of Angolan people." He said the larger sum of \$25,000 went to the MPLA because "our judgment is that the biggest of the movements should receive the most money." Expressing regret that GRAE refused the allocation, Blake said, "That, of course, is their privilege and we will give the money elsewhere if they do not want to receive it. However, they had applied for it."

GERMAN PROTESTANTS URGED TO END NEUTRALITY ON APARTHEID

German Protestants were urged to "break out of the ghetto of silence and give up the dangerous attitude of neutrality toward apartheid in South Africa." Dr. Siegfried Groth, a specialist on Africa, made the appeal before the German Evangelical Mission Day, the standing conference of Protestant mission agencies. Pastor of the

United Evangelical Mission in Wuppertal, he said that neutrality or "inhuman apartheid" shows a lack of solidarity with South Africa's oppressed nonwhites and makes the church look "incredible." African Christians, he said, are waiting for the mission programs to give up their silence and become more critical of the failures of colonialism.

RESPONSE TO "OPEN LETTER"

Dr. J. D. Vorster, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa and brother of Prime Minister B. J. Vorster, has bitterly attacked the "Open Letter" in which 45 prominent South African churchmen compared South African apartheid with Nazism. The response from Vorster was printed in Die Transvaler, an Afrikaans pro-government newspaper. Dr. Vorster said the authors of the "Open Letter" represent a "leftist liberal element" who are playing an "old communist game" in opposing "all patriotism" and nationalism.

During World War II, Dr. Vorster was arrested and detained for alleged "subversive activities" on behalf of Nazi Germany. (Religious News Service, Aug. 27, 1971)

STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE FOR CHURCH PEOPLE

On August 22, Jeremy Hurley, 19-year-old nephew of Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban and a student at the University of Natal, led a demonstration at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Durban. He and other students at the University of Natal announced that they would conduct a series of demonstrations to stir churchgoers against "racial injustices and summary banning of certain priests." The students chained themselves to the altar until they could explain to worshippers that a controversial book by a priest contains the truth about the conditions in the resettlement camps.

Father Cosmas Desmond's "The Discarded People," issued in 1970, caused the storm that resulted in Father Desmond's book being banned and himself being placed under house arrest. The Sunday Times of Johannesburg wrote an article stating that "instead of thanking Father Desmond for exposing conditions in the resettlement camps, what did the government do? They banned him and placed him under house arrest. Perhaps they will have the grace now to lift the banning and house arrest orders." As a result of Desmond's book, Dr. Piet Koornhof, deputy minister of Bantu Administration, has toured the resettlement areas and stated that "to his surprise" the camps were places of misery and horror. The government announced in the midst of the uproar that it would move ahead with four more camps. (Religious News Service, Aug. 27, 1971)

NUSAS, SASO, UCM STATEMENTS

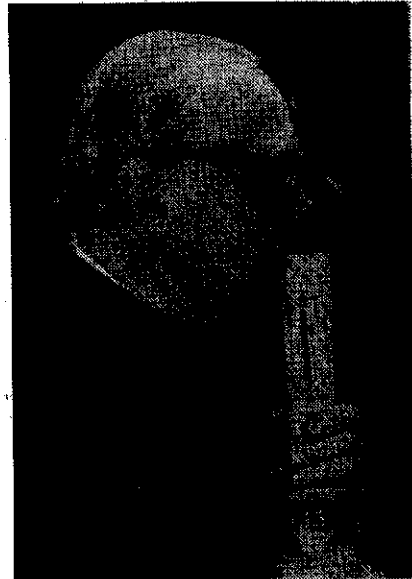
The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) has issued a strong rebuke of the Roman Catholic Church of South Africa for its lack of support for the banned Father Desmond. The motion cited the banning order and went on to note: "The expose which Father Desmond conducted on the implementation of the homelands policy—the fact that his banning aroused very little reaction from most of his immediate superiors in the Catholic Church, and that the church has shown itself to be singularly unwilling to stand up to the government's victimization of members of the cloth who have dared to speak against its policies." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 12, 1971)

Members of the South African Students Organization (SASO) passed a resolution at their recent congress in Durban stating that white churches support the "status quo" in South Africa which could be translated for Blacks as meaning "oppression." The congress said that this was "clearly demonstrated by the over-emphasis by these churches on interracial fraternization as a solution to the problems of South Africa" while they were fully aware that "the basic problem is that of land distribution, economic deprivation, and, consequently, the disinheritation of the Black people." The congress instructed the executive of SASO to take a serious look at the training of Black ministers and theologians, whose role SASO sees as being intrinsically interwoven with the surge toward Black consciousness and liberation. (Star, Johannesburg, July 17, 1971)

In the University Christian Movement, the Black consciousness group drew up a people's manifesto and threatened a Black walkout of UCM if the UCM Council did not adopt it. The Council, delegates, and observers who took part in the discussion on the future of UCM unanimously accepted the manifesto as it flowed from UCM's overall policy of Black theology and Black consciousness. The manifesto, a revised version of the SASO manifesto, said the Black people of South Africa suffered from psychological oppression stemming from living in a society that constantly reinforced their inferiority complex through deliberate denigration and intentional deprivation in all aspects of life. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 16, 1971)

TRIAL OF DEAN FFRENCH-BEYTAGH

On August 2 the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg, Gonville French-Beytagh, began in Pretoria. Foreign observers and Christian leaders from all over the world packed the Old Synagogue for the opening of the trial. The Dean is facing charges under the Terrorism Act, and is being tried before Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr. Justice Cillie. Members of the British and American diplomatic corps in South Africa will also be present.



The Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh

When the hearing started, French-Beytagh was asked to plead to a 38-page indictment alleging his support of plans by various banned organizations for the overthrow of the South African Government.

Scores of anti-apartheid demonstrators started an all-night vigil outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square in London August 1 in connection with the two Terrorism Trials starting August 2. The other trial paralleling that of the Dean is the trial of the 13 nonwhites. (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, August-September, 1971; also this issue)

The prosecutor in the Dean's trial has completed his cross-examination now, after the 59-year-old dean was in the witness box for ten days, seven of them under intense cross-examination on how he distributed certain funds. The prosecution contends that the church gave illegal financial support to banned organizations and advocated violent revolution. The Dean admitted supplying money for the funerals of three Africans who had been political prisoners, observing, "The burial of the dead is a well-known Christian charity. I am not ashamed of what I did."

Responding to the testimony of Louis Jordaan, a prosecution witness who said that he posed as a friend of the Dean while collecting information for the security police, the Anglican priest said that Mr. Jordaan had made erroneous interpretations of his comments. The Dean asserted that Jordaan seemed to have an interest in the "melodramatic." (Religious News Service, Oct. 1, 1971)

SIX ARRESTED FOR NOT PRODUCING HYMN BOOKS

Six African guests at a Methodist synod meeting in Welkom were arrested because they could not produce hymn books to prove that they had been to church. The municipal director of Bantu Affairs, Mr. P. R. Smit, said that the arrests had been made by the South African police in circumstances over which his department had no control. He said he was "very disappointed that a thing like this could have happened." The arrests were made when the six guests left the township by taxi at about 11 p.m. They were charged with being in a white area during curfew hours without having a night pass. The curfew operates nightly from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m. Earlier this year the Anglican Bishop of Zululand, the Rt. Rev. A. H. Zulu (also a Vice President of the World Council of Churches and a recent visitor to the U.S.) was arrested on a pass charge while attending a religious conference at Roodeport. Charges were later withdrawn, but such events create widespread concern for harassment of church people in South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, July 9, 1971)

DEATH THREATS AGAINST PRIESTS

The Rev. David Russell and Father Terence Pinner, two Anglican priests who work in King William's Town, are the victims of a campaign of intimidation aimed at forcing them to leave the town. Both men have received

death threats by telephone and letter, and the tires of their cars have been deliberately punctured. Now they have been warned that the campaign is to be stepped up.

Russell earlier this year fasted for 92 hours on the steps of St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town to draw attention to the plight of the people in the Dimbaza resettlement camp near King William's Town. Pinner is a British subject who has been plagued by anonymous telephone calls threatening him with death. (Sunday Times, Johannesburg, June 27, 1971)

ADVENTISTS AID RESETTLEMENT

The Seventh Day Adventist Church has made a \$50,000 emergency appropriation to help replace churches lost to African and Coloured congregations because of apartheid in South Africa. The church has no official pronouncements against South Africa's resettlement schemes of nonwhite peoples. Denominational treasurer Kenneth H. Emmerson said that 20 churches must be replaced because of redistricting. The total cost is expected to be \$240,000. He recently visited Cape Town and Johannesburg to study the situation. (Religious News Service)

COURT ANNULS LUTHERAN PASTOR'S CONVICTION

An immigrant Lutheran pastor from Germany, Dr. Markus Braun, won a high court appeal that overturned his conviction earlier on a charge of illegally housing 13 African church leaders at a Lutheran mission near Johannesburg. Pastor Braun, 38, was found guilty by a judge in Roodeport last April for unlawfully giving accommodation to black clergymen, including Anglican Bishop Alpheus Zulu, the highest-ranking black clergyman in South Africa (also a Vice President of the World Council of Churches).

The churchmen were participating in a seminar on theology of the black church when inspectors from Roodeport's Non-White Affairs Department raided the mission and found the black clergymen there. They were arrested for failing to carry identification cards.

Justice V. G. Hiemstra set aside Pastor Braun's conviction, declaring that the state did not prove that the Lutheran clergyman had the authority to allow or disallow accommodation at the mission. Pastor Braun was served with a deportation order earlier this year and was told to leave South Africa by March 31. The order is still in force. However, the pastor stayed until his appeal was heard. Dr. Braun, once barred from attending a worship service at a white Dutch Reformed church in Maritzburg because he was accompanied by a black African, reportedly had been under surveillance by South African authorities for some time. The West German clergyman, whose status at present is described as "vague," has served an urban industrial mission in the black Soweto township near Johannesburg. (Religious News Service, Oct. 7, 1971)



FLASH! FLASH! FLASH! FLASH! FLASH!

**GENERAL SECRETARY OF UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN
MOVEMENT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA BANNED**

Mr. Justice Moloto, General Secretary of the University Christian Movement of Southern Africa, has been restricted to Mafeking for five years. Moloto was seized at the weekend in Johannesburg after he had applied for a permit to work in the city. He and the director of the theological courses of the UCM, the Rev. Basil Moore, were leaving the offices of the Non-European Affairs Department in Johannesburg when two policemen stopped them. They took Moloto to John Vorster Square for questioning and later told him that he would be restricted to Mafeking for five years. History has shown in South Africa that one way the Government can efficiently squelch organizations that oppose its racist policies is by banning, imprisoning, and/or exiling its leaders one by one. Who, one wonders, will be next in the UCM?

NOTICE TO READERS:

(REGARDING SUBSCRIPTIONS)

SOUTHERN AFRICA has for five years avoided a formal subscription basis, largely because it is our belief that the people who should read our newsletter most (such as certain Congressmen, Southern African students, etc.) either cannot afford the subscription cost, or would not receive it if they were required to subscribe.

ONLY IF OUR READERS CONTRIBUTE AS THEY CAN will we be able to continue this service.

However, we do have a subscription schedule for institutions and libraries, as follows:

*\$10 annually for libraries and related institutions
\$15 for a year's back issues*

Bulk rates available: 1-10 copies at \$.50 each; 11-100 copies at \$.25 each. 1-10 copies at \$.25 each only for movement organizations.

Southern Africa Committee
637 West 125th Street
New York, N.y. 10027

October, 1971

SERIALS DEPT
NORTHWESTERN
EVANSTON IL 60201
UNITE LIBRARY
1956P

NONPROFIT ORG
ADL 0.75 PD.

